PROMPTING PRUDENCE:

EARLY MODERN REVENGE DRAMA AND THE MEMORY-TRAINING TRADITION

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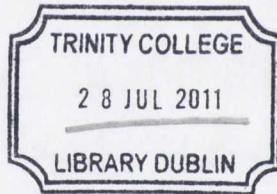
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is a product of my own work and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university. I agree that the library of Trinity College, Dublin may lend or copy this thesis upon request.

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the methods by which revenge playwrights direct playgoer attention to significant moments in their plays. My contention is that many of the devices employed by these playwrights in their dramaturgical practice (whether visual, aural, or verbal prompts) are drawn from civic practices which communicate secular or religious authority to the spectator/listener. I suggest that the mnemonic properties found in these civic didactic practices are inherited from the widespread dissemination of the central tenets of the memory-training tradition from the late medieval period (especially highlighting the importance of the Scholastic appropriation of the memory-training tradition). The evocative prompts to memory found in these practices outside the theatre are adapted by playwrights in their dramaturgy because of their utility in dramatically commanding, prompting, and directing an individual's attention. I suggest that in the theatre of entertainment the repeated employment of such devices directs playgoer attention to analogous significant moments in the plays. Moreover, because these mnemonic prompts have specific resonances with civic practices which signify secular and/or religious authority, they direct playgoer attention towards how authority is being communicated or contested through these prompts in the play.

In the revenge genre, where notional justice is consistently sought for by avengers who challenge corrupt play-world authorities, the repeated intra-textual employment of these signifying devices directs playgoer attention to recall and connect analogous significant moments where injustices are perpetrated by those in authority, or where avengers attempt to achieve their retribution. I demonstrate that playwrights direct attention to the means by which authority is sustained or challenged in their plays using the same mnemonic principles which promote prudent subject behaviour in civic practices. This thesis therefore investigates the significance of playwrights employing this identifiable cultural semiotic as a method of directing reception of their plays.

The first chapter discusses the memory-training tradition and investigates its evolution from classical writings to its dissemination into cultural practices in the early modern period. I examine the influence of Sc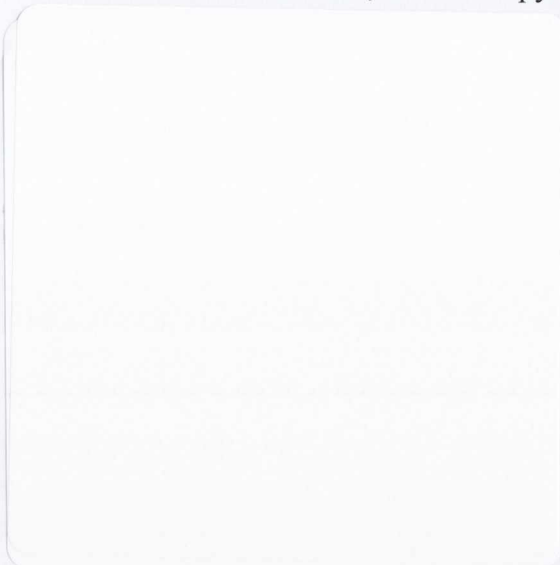holastic writings which advocated mnemonic training as an aid for the Christian faithful to remember the path to heaven and avoid the path to hell. I propose that the central tenets of such mnemotechnics, namely the use of order, repetition, and evocative imagery, became a key way of instructing and codifying subject behaviour in the late medieval and early modern period. This reading is informed by recent research which suggests that mnemonic designs can be found in a significant variety of contemporary literary and pictorial compositions such as visual alphabets, emblem books, paintings, poetry, sermons, stained glass windows, figure poems, frescoes and friezes, as well as suggesting the inherent mnemonic design found in such emerging cultural practices such as street

processions, public tortures and executions, and public announcements of civic and religious decrees. I conclude this chapter by discussing how playwrights draw on these practices in their dramaturgy, and I therefore establish an implicit connection between the memory-training tradition and the theatre of entertainment.

The second chapter discusses the use of spectacle as a method of instruction of secular and religious authority in early modern England. I suggest that playwrights draw on these cultural practices in their plays, and identify the various forms of stage spectacle we find repeatedly in the revenge genre. In the final part of this chapter I discuss a representative selection of plays from the revenge genre, where I analyse how playwrights employ visual prompts to direct reception of their plays. My emphasis lies with how playgoers are directed by repeated spectacles towards analogous moments in the plays where authority is being communicated or contested.

The third chapter examines the use of aural prompts as a method of directing subject attention in civic practices, before discussing the use of non-verbal sound in revenge drama. I identify the different aural prompts that are repeatedly included in early modern drama, and discuss the significance of particular uses of sound. Over a range of plays from the revenge genre, I then analyse how playwrights direct playgoer attention to analogous significant moments where authority is being communicated or challenged using these aural prompts.

The final chapter discusses the use of repeated verbal prompts in revenge drama. I discuss the indebtedness of late Tudor and early Stuart drama to studies of rhetoric and to earlier forms of drama, but also suggest that the particular patterns we find in later drama mark a significant departure in terms of dramaturgical practice. This repetition of certain phrasing and verbal imagery, which evokes how authority and subjection is signified intra-textually, is informed, I suggest, by those repeated didactic cultural practices outlined in the previous chapters. To support this, I analyse the verbal patterns found in a representative selection of revenge plays, I suggest the possible cultural resonances of these repeated prompts, and discuss the significance of playwrights recurrently employing these prompts at significant moments in their plays.

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I want to dedicate this thesis to my parents, and to my sister Ciara, for their love and support throughout. It would not have been possible to complete this thesis without them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Governing treatises on memory training from antiquity to the early modern period is a repeated set of assumptions about what makes effective prompts to memory. The prompts should enable the memory-student to make a lucid association with a certain idea, or the prompts should evocatively recall that idea to mind. Prompts should be arranged in an orderly pattern, and for memory to be effective it must be trained through repeated exercises. In this thesis I discuss how these precepts are identifiable in many of the emerging cultural, artistic, and literary practices in late medieval and early modern England, and I analyse the means by which the dissemination of these precepts occurs. I suggest that playwrights, in mimetically reproducing the semiotic arrangement of contemporary governance in their plays, appropriate many of these mnemonic practices in their dramaturgy. They do so, I propose, to prompt and direct playgoer attention to significant moments in their plays.

My focus then is not on the direct application of the memory-training tradition to early modern drama, for such an approach is undercut by the lack of evidence of playwrights' interest in or awareness of this intellectual practice. Rather I am interested in how early modern drama is informed by those cultural practices which mediate the principles for prompting and directing attention found in the memory-training tradition. In particular, I want to investigate how the imperative to be attentive to certain prompts is a didactic practice (whether adopted by secular or religious authorities to direct subject behaviour), and how in certain plays of this period, namely the revenge genre, these governing practices are illuminated.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter one of this study traces the evolution of memory training from its classical origins to the early modern period. In its lengthy history, memory training has been malleable to the needs of its instructors and practitioners. I suggest that the advocacy of memory training by the Scholastic writers (under the banner of the cardinal virtue of prudence) marks a major shift in the cultural diffusion of its central tenets.[1] From that point, rather than being a private individual practice by the student of memory, it is used authoritatively to direct Christian behaviour. I trace the evidence of this influential shift in a number of emerging cultural practices, and suggest that the principles of memory training become a primary means by which religious and secular institutions communicate, and sustain, their authority over subjects. Connecting this to the early modern theatre, I suggest that playwrights reproduce similar prompts in their plays to create evocative associations for the playgoers between the repeated prompt and authority.

I begin the second chapter by discussing how spectacle is used in early modern English society to communicate authority to the spectator. I identify the various forms of stage spectacle that we find recurring in the revenge genre, and suggest their borrowings from civic practices. I then examine the use of stage spectacle in a number of plays from this genre, and suggest the different means by which playwrights use visual prompts to direct playgoer attention to analogous significant moments in their plays, where the notion of authority and subjection is being interrogated.

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[1] Albertus Magnus's discussion of memory training is found in *De Bono*, Tractatus IV, Quaestio II 'De Partibus Prudentia' which can be found in translation as an appendix to Mary Carruthers's *The Book of Memory: A Study in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 267-280. Thomas Aquinas's discussion of memory training is found in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Volume 36, Prudence (2a2ae. 47-56), 49.1-6 trans. by Thomas Gilby (London: Blackfriars, 1974), pp. 61-75.

In the third chapter, my attention initially turns to the soundscape of early modern England. I demonstrate that the repeated use of certain familiar aural prompts outside the playhouse directs listeners' attention to a particular authoritative institution, and therefore to their own subjection to that authority. In turning to the playhouse, I demonstrate that there are conventional uses of certain aural prompts which create an evocative network of associations for the attentive playgoer. By examining the use of aural prompts inserted in the stage directions of a selection of revenge plays, I suggest that playwrights use these signifiers to convey meaning, to draw playgoer attention to the conventional use of that sound outside the theatre, and to direct playgoers to connect significant moment to significant moment.

In the final chapter I investigate how playwrights use certain repeated patterns of evocative imagery or phrasing to connect analogous moments in their plays. I begin by suggesting that studies of rhetoric and the dramatic heritage of these plays do not fully account for how playwrights use repeated verbal prompts in their plays. I suggest that these repeated verbal prompts often have evocative cultural resonances, and/or that these prompts direct playgoer attention intra-textually to the means by which authority is sustained or contested by characters in the plays.

Therefore my study asks three main questions. Firstly, what connections can be made between the intellectual practice of memory training and dramaturgical practice in early modern theatre? Secondly, how do playwrights use the mnemonic properties found in cultural practices to direct playgoer attention in their plays, and what possible effect might this have on playgoers? Thirdly, how could knowledge of this cultural inheritance influence current critical approaches to these plays?

CRITICISM

My research, therefore, brings together a number of areas addressed by recent

criticism: the memory-training tradition, early modern cultural practices of authority,

and the revenge genre of the late Tudor and early Jacobean theatre. In the opening

chapter my focus is on the dissemination of the principles of the memory training

tradition in early modern English culture. Two wide-ranging and ground-breaking

studies first published in the 1960s, Paolo Rossi's *Logic and the Art of Memory*

(1960) and Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory* (1966), are invaluable introductions to

the subject and the dissemination of its ideas in early modern Europe.[2]

Complementing these works are Mary Carruthers's three studies of artificial memory

treatises in the medieval period: *The Book of Memory* (1990); *The Craft of Thought*

(2000); and *The Medieval Craft of Memory* (2002).[3] Janet Coleman's *Ancient and*

Medieval Memories (1992) provides a thorough delineation and analysis of those texts

printed on memory training in antiquity and through the medieval period,[4] while Lina

Bolzoni's two studies, *The Gallery of Memory* (2001) and *The Web of Images* (2004),

elucidate how the memory-training tradition was diffusely influential in both

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[2] Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, trans. by Stephen Clucas, 2nd edn. (London and New York: Continuum, 2006). Rossi's study was first published in 1960 as *Clavis Universalis: Arti della Memoria e Logica Combinatorial da Lullo a Leibniz*. Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Pimlico, 1992). Yates's study was first published in 1966. While my focus is not upon how the memory-training tradition develops in elite intellectual circles in early modern Europe, my understanding of the potentialities of this subject has been informed by a number of studies in this area. For example, Walter Ong's *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1958) is a vital study for understanding the relationship between memory training and the development of studies on logic in early modern Europe. Similarly, Lisa Jardine's *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), and Umberto Eco's *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans. by James Fentress (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) are invaluable aids for understanding how Rossi's and Yates's studies broach subjects which had far-reaching influence in early modern European intellectual circles.
[3] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*; Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Paintings*, ed. by Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2002).
[4] Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

intellectual and cultural practices in early modern Europe.[5] Recently the memory-training tradition has been approached from a number of different disciplines such as cognitive psychology and music, in, respectively, Jocelyn Penny Small's *Wax Tablets of the Mind* (1997) and Anna Marie Busse Berger's *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005).[6] Historical studies of cultural memory and/or the means and necessity of remembering in medieval and early modern Europe such as Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record 1066-1307* (1993) and the first volume of Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory* (1994) have also enriched our understanding of the memory-training tradition's diffuse influence.[7]

My primary area of interest, however, is with how the basic principles of memory training (the repeated use of evocative or associative imagery) inform late medieval and early modern cultural practices of authority (religious and secular) which are then mimetically reproduced by playwrights in their dramaturgy. In her 1966 study, Yates provocatively suggests that the late medieval emphasis on memorable imagery in art and literature could have been influenced by the Christian didactic training of memory. This is evidenced, Yates proposes, in the evocative imagery found in the artistic and literary output of Giotto, Petrarch, and Dante.[8] However, this idea is not fully developed, and when Yates does turn to early modern theatre, her concern is with the structural similarities between Robert Fludd's memory

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[5] Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. by Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to Saint Bernardino da Siena* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[6] Jocelyn Penny Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1997); Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

[7] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record 1066-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Vol. 1, Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).

[8] See Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 102-113

theatre and the physical lay-out of The Globe.[9] More recent studies have attempted

however to connect memory training to early modern drama. William E. Engel's two

studies, *Mapping Mortality* (1995) and *Death and Drama in Renaissance England*

(2002) illuminate how early modern cultural preoccupations with death and memory

can be better understood through the diffusion of the precepts of memory training.[10]

In both studies, Engel traces this diffusion in a wide range of works including

emblem-books, commonplace books, dictionaries, and histories. In the latter study,

Engel suggests that the emblematic staging of certain scenes in plays, notably in *The*

Spanish Tragedy, *Hamlet*, and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, evoke 'images of fatal

destiny'.[11] Garrett A. Sullivan Jr.'s recent *Memory and Forgetting in English*

Renaissance Drama (2005), also uses memory training as a departure point for an

analysis of early modern drama.[12] His primary concern is with dramatic interplay

between memory and identity, or conversely, forgetting and loss of identity, for the

dramatic subject. Clearly, then, while this study draws on rich supporting critical

material, it also advances a new application of how the memory-training tradition can

inform our understanding of early modern drama.

In the remaining three chapters of this thesis, I analyse how playwrights

prompt playgoers to remember and connect significant moments in their plays

through, respectively, the use of visual, aural, or verbal analogues. I am particularly

interested in how many of these prompts are adapted from authoritative cultural

practices found outside the theatre, and how playwrights may be drawing on this

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[9] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 330-354.
[10] William E. Engel, *Mapping Mortality: The Persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); William E. Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England: Shades of Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[11] Engel, *Death and Drama*, p. 2.
[12] Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

visual, aural, or verbal recognition by playgoers. Since my chosen dramatic genre is revenge tragedy, which consistently provides meditations on mortality, many of these cultural practices surround the ceremonies of death. A number of recent studies have concentrated on the importance of the mnemonic properties surrounding the ceremony of death in this period, most notably Nigel Llewellyn's *The Art of Death* (1991), Michael Neill's *Issues of Death* (1997), Stephen Greenblatt's *Hamlet in Purgatory* (2001), Peter Marshall's *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (2002), and Thomas Rist's *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England* (2008).[13] My research also emphasises the means by which authority is sustained, and subjection communicated in early modern English culture and drama. Notable studies in this field include Roy Strong's *Splendour at Court* (1973), Stephen Orgel's *The Illusion of Power* (1975), Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980) and *Shakespearean Negotiations* (1988), Francis Barker's *The Tremulous Private Body* (1984), Catherine Belsey's *The Subject of Tragedy* (1985), Jonathan Sawday's *The Body Emblazoned* (1995), William Carroll's *Fat King, Lean Beggar* (1996), and Mitchell Merback's *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*

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[13] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1991); Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Thomas Rist, *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England* (London: Ashgate, 2008).

(1999).[14] On the genre of revenge tragedy, Fredson Bowers' *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy, 1587-1642* (1940), Charles A. Hallett and Elaine S. Hallett's *The Revenger's Madness* (1980), Jonathan Dollimore's *Radical Tragedy* (1984), John Kerrigan's *Revenge Tragedy - Aeschylus to Armageddon* (1996), Stevie Simkin's edited volume of essays *Revenge Tragedy* (2001), and Rist's recent study (above) provide engaging analyses and identify generic tropes and conventions.[15]

METHODOLOGY

Implicit in the way I have cast my argument is the understanding, influenced in part by the not incompatible works of Clifford Geertz's *The Interpretation of Culture* (1973) and Michel Foucault's essay on 'The Subject and Power',[16] that culture can be interpreted through an analysis of how particular sign-systems produce meaning for the subject, and hence direct subject behaviour. For Geertz, the concept of culture

denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of

[14] Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1975); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London and New York: Metheun, 1985); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995); William Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999).
[15] Fredson T. Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy, 1587-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940); Charles A. Hallett and Elaine S. Hallett, *The Revenger's Madness: A Study of Revenge Tragedy Motifs* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1980); Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1984); John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); *Revenge Tragedy*, ed. by Stevie Simkin (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
[16] Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', *Power*, ed. by James D. Faubion, trans. by Robert Hurley and others (London; New York: Allen Lane Penguin Press, 1994), pp. 326-349.

which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life.[17]

In early modern England, I argue, certain symbolic forms recall the subject, at least in part, to the dominant institution (secular and/or religious) that communicates its authority through an identifiable sign-system. Such recognisable signs can be visual, such as a royal procession, aural, such as the ringing of church-bells, or verbal, such as the repetition of certain evocative phrases e.g. verses from the Bible. The identification of the sign prompts the subject's recollection of that dominant institution. Similarly, the rationale for my thesis is shaped by Foucault's provocative suggestion that in society 'Power relations are exercised, to an exceedingly important extent, through the production and exchange of signs'.[18] It is with these interpretative models in mind that I turn to early modern drama and discuss how playwrights direct playgoer attention to significant moments in their plays. I suggest that playwrights use certain prompts in their plays that are immediately evocative and memorable for playgoers. Playwrights do so because they are drawing on their own cultural experience of what constitute effective prompts for memory. In doing so playwrights mimetically reproduce those signs which have specific civic resonances with cultural practices exercised by the dominant state and/or religious institutions. The employment of these prompts by playwrights in the revenge genre, where conventionally injustices are perpetrated by those in power, and/or the protagonists' recourse to vengeance is inevitably a transgressive action against those in authority, may create powerful resonances for playgoers who are accustomed to identifying these prompts with secular and religious authoritative practices outside the playhouse. Or, at least, the repeated use of these prompts directs playgoer attention to the

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[17] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Hutchison & Co. Ltd., 1973), p. 89.
[18] Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', p. 338.

artificial means by which authority is communicated, and subjection sustained, in the play-world. With these ideas in mind, I begin by readily, if presumptively, aligning my understanding of the production of meaning in early modern drama with Geertz's critical approach to cultural interpretation:

> The whole point of a semiotic approach to culture is […] to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them.[19]

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[19]Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 24.

CHAPTER 1

MEMORY TRAINING AND THE THEATRE OF ENTERTAINMENT

This chapter investigates which principles of the memory-training tradition are appropriated to cultural, artistic, and literary practices in the early modern period. To achieve this, I analyse the recurring principles for prompting memory found in classical, medieval, and early modern texts on memory training. While the memory texts written in each period may be intended for varying practices (from oratorical aids to humanist endeavour), I argue that three principles are uniformly prescribed for individual exercises in all memory-training texts: the use of order, repetition, and imagery (either associative or evocative). That these principles can also be observed in many of the emerging cultural, artistic and literary practices in the late medieval and early modern period, suggests that the memory-training tradition may be diffusely influential. A common theme of such emerging practices, I suggest, is the instruction of a certain code of prudential subject behaviour (secular and religious): a code dependent upon the spectator/listener/reader remembering his or her subjection to authority and the consequences of transgressing the rules set out by that authority. Moreover, this marks a major shift in the tradition's sphere of influence: we recognize a development from memory-training exercises for an individual, to appropriating the principles of memory training to direct a wider audience's attention to certain key ideas.

Secondly, in this chapter, I propose that playwrights direct playgoer attention to where subject behaviour is being investigated by using the same mnemonic principles that are used to regulate subject behaviour outside of the theatre. Thus, this chapter demonstrates that playwrights adapt the mnemonic principles evident in these cultural,

artistic and literary practices in their dramaturgy to direct playgoer attention to significant moments where authority is being communicated or contested. I suggest that in the revenge tragedy genre, where the moments of moral deliberation invariably resolve into a transgression of religious and/or secular authority, and since the onus on the playwright is 'to show' and not 'to tell', that playwrights draw playgoer attention to how such subject behaviour is maintained. Therefore the prompts to memory that playwrights use to direct playgoers to recall significant analogous moments where authority is being communicated or challenged in the play (whether visual, aural or verbal as the following three chapters examine) may also recall the playgoer to the multiple practices outside the theatre which use the same mnemonic principles to regulate subject behaviour.

I – THE RULES OF MEMORY

I begin by outlining the origins and key principles in the linear development of the memory-training tradition. Memory training originates in ancient Greece and is based on a technique of impressing 'things' and 'words' on the mind, using images.[1] In *De Memoria et Reminiscentia* Aristotle proposes that 'memory, even memory of the objects of thought, does not occur without an image' and suggests that memory belongs to the same part of the soul as imagination.[2] Aristotle insists that 'exercises preserve the memory by repeated reminding'.[3] He separates remembering as an experience from the act of deliberate recollection, which is an exercise, and suggests that if a person wants to recall a certain memory then 'those that have some sort of order are easily

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[1] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 44. Simonides of Keos (c.556-468 B.C.) has been traditionally credited with the invention of formalised memory training (Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 44). On Platonic and Aristotelian theories of memory see Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 5-38, or Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, pp. 81-94.
[2] Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, trans. by David Bloch in *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection: Text, Translation, Interpretation, and Reception in Western Scholasticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 29.
[3] Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, p. 35.

remembered'.[4] Aristotle also suggests laws of association for recollection where one mnemonic image recalls another.[5] In his example, one chain of associated images may be 'from milk to white, from white to air, and from this to moist, from which autumn is recalled'.[6] The abstract and non-specific set of images of 'milk', 'white', 'air', 'moist' and 'autumn' reveal little about Aristotle's concept of the pictorial (or evocative) aspect of the image. This may be because Aristotle's treatise is about remembering and recollecting in general and not specifically oriented towards memory training. However, a number of the precepts that will re-appear in later memory-training traditions can be identified: the necessity of images as prompts to memory; the need for order; the importance of creating associations to prompt memory; the need for repetition in memory exercises.

Techniques for memory training next appear in treatises on rhetoric in ancient Rome.[7] The usual technique in these treatises is an 'architectural' approach whereby the student of memory forms a series of places in memory by walking around a building and remembers places in that building in a certain order. The student then attaches images to these places, and thus, when called upon to make his speech he can move in his mind from place to place in the building and retrieve the images stored there.[8]

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[4] Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, p. 41.

[5] Lina Bolzoni notes that through this technique the individual recalls to memory the things which escape it due to associations whereby 'one memory recalls another, the image of one thing drags another along with it, provided that between the two there is a relationship of similarity, or conflict, or contiguity'. Lina Bolzoni, 'The Play of Images', *The Enchanted Loom: Chapters in the History of Neuroscience*, ed. by Pietro Corsi (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 19.

[6] Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, p. 42.

[7] The three main Ancient Roman sources for memory training are *Rhetorica Ad Herrenium* (c.86-82 B.C.), Cicero's *De Oratore* (55 B.C.) and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (c.55 A.D.). *Ad Herrenium* is a school-text, written by an unknown master, outlining the rules for the art. *De Oratore* and *Institutio Oratoria* are comprehensive texts on rhetoric. Frances Yates notes that in Ancient Rome, memory becomes an art that 'belonged to rhetoric as a technique by which the orator could improve his memory, which would enable him to deliver long speeches with unfailing accuracy'. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 18. For an account of the Roman method see Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, pp. 8-9, Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 17-41, Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 39-59 and Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, pp. 95-116.

[8] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 22.

Cicero describes this in Book II of *De Oratore*. Calling it a 'memory for things' (as opposed to a 'memory for words' which is much more exacting [9]), Cicero says that orators can use this 'special property' to 'imprint on [their] minds by a skilful arrangement of the several masks that represent them, so that [they] may grasp ideas by means of images and their order by means of localities'. [10] The anonymous writer of *Rhetorica Ad Herrenium* (attributed to Cicero until the modern period) instructs his students that the images used must follow certain rules. [11] These dictate that the place for the image must not be too crowded, that the images must be neither too close nor too far apart, and the images must be seen clearly. A significant development in this method is the use of evocative imagery to prompt recollection. As *Rhetorica Ad Herrenium* instructs,

> Now nature herself teaches us what we should do. When we see in everyday life things that are petty, ordinary, and banal, we generally fail to remember them, because the mind is not being stirred by anything novel or marvellous. But if we see or hear something exceptionally base, dishonourable, extraordinary, great, unbelievable, or laughable, that we are likely to remember a long time [...] Thus nature shows that she is not aroused by the common, ordinary event, but she is moved by a new or striking occurrence. Let art then imitate nature, find what she desires, and follow as she directs. [12]

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[9] Memorising an image for each individual word is the second, more difficult, technique. Cicero acknowledges this when he states: 'But a memory for words, which for us is less essential, is given distinctness by a greater variety of images; for there are many words which serve as joints connecting the limbs of the sentence, and these cannot be formed by any use of simile – of these we have to model images for constant employment [...]' Cicero, *De Oratore*, Books I-II, trans. by E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1996), II. Lxxxviii, 359, p. 471.
[10] Cicero, *De Oratore* Books I-II, 359-360, p. 471.
[11] Pseudo-Cicero, *Ad C. Herrenium de Ratione Dicendi (Rhetorica Ad Herrenium)*, trans. by Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1999), III. xvi-xx, pp. 29-34.
[12] Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica Ad Herrenium*, pp. 35-36.

Therefore in the pseudo-Ciceronian method we can see the governing principles of order and repetition and instructions for the use of evocative imagery.

In the late medieval period the Scholastic writers advocated memory training as an essential aid for prudent Christian behaviour.[13] Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas both rationalise memory as a part of prudence, by explaining memory as reminiscence, which is found in the rational part of the soul.[14] In *Summa Theologiae*, Aquinas states that since 'experience is stocked with memories [...] consequently recalling many facts is required for prudence'.[15] Memory training is therefore used to remember useful lessons from the past with a view to prudent conduct in the present and future. Aquinas recommends 'four aids to cultivating a good memory':[16]

> First, one who wishes to remember should pick certain images that, while fitting his ideas, are somewhat out of the ordinary, for what is unusual rouses wonder, and so the mind dwells on it the more intently [...] Second, a person who wishes to hold things in his memory should arrange them in order for his consideration so that he may readily pass from one to another [...] Third, a person should put his care and concern into the things he wants to memorize [...] Fourth, we

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[13] Lina Bolzoni suggests that 'the Christian world inherited [memory-training techniques] from the pagans and changed them according to its own needs, giving them an aura of morality and piety'. Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, p. xvii.

[14] Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 81. See Albertus Magnus, *De Bono*, Tractatus IV, Quaestio II '*De Partibus Prudentia*' in Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* pp. 267-280; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Volume 36, Prudence (2a2ae. 47-56), 49.1-6 trans. by Thomas Gilby (London: Blackfriars, 1974), pp. 61-75. Paolo Rossi observes that Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas's rationalisation is 'explicitly derived from Aristotelian and pseudo-Ciceronian sources (*Rhetorica Ad Herrenium*) and [is] particularly indebted to Cicero's inclusion of memory as a part of Prudence'. Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, pp. 10-11. Similarly, Janet Coleman's discussion of the pseudo-Ciceronian technique (*Rhetorica ad Herrenium*) and other (correctly) attributed Ciceronian (*De Inventione* and *De Oratore*) texts illuminates how Aquinas appropriates his source material for the new Christian doctrine: '[Cicero's] primary interest[...]is in the practice of virtuous behaviour. So that in the *De Inventione*, II, 53, 159-60, he defines virtue as a habit of mind in harmony with reason and the order of nature. Virtue has four parts, prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance. Prudence is the knowledge of what is good, bad, or neither, and it too has parts: memory, intelligence and foresights (*memoria, intellegentia, providentia*)'. Coleman, pp. 41-42 (her italics).

[15] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Volume 36, (2a2ae. 47-56), 49.1 trans. by Thomas Gilby, (London: Blackfriars, 1974), pp. 61- 63.

[16] Ibid. p. 49.2, p. 63.

should frequently ponder over the things we want to remember […] custom is like second nature.[17]

We can see that the prompts used in memory-training described by Aquinas are clearly indebted to the pseudo-Ciceronian method, emphasising the need for evocative imagery, order and repetition. The fourth aid, which advises meditation on the memory itself, conflates the idea of repetition from the third rule with additional emphasis on those things which should be remembered (Christian tenets). Together, these constituent parts aid customary or habitually moral Christian behaviour.

II– MEMORY TRAINING IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The art of memory enters upon a new lease of life in the early modern period in continental Europe.[18] The publishing phenomenon in fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe of memory-training treatises which Yates, Rossi, and Bolzoni describe, can be roughly divided into those texts that follow the Aristotelian rules of association and those that follow the pseudo-Ciceronian technique that is advocated in Scholastic writings.[19] However, as Yates suggests, both types of treatises 'become merged […] in the general agglomeration of the memory tradition' in this period also.[20] Furthermore

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[17] Ibid. 49.2, p. 63.

[18] Bolzoni describes how, 'in the sixteenth century, while printing was simultaneously extending the art of memory and undermining its foundations, while renowned intellectuals – from Erasmus to Melanchthon, from Agrippa to Rabelais – were subjecting it to criticism and satire, it is born anew and even experiences its moment of greatest splendour'. Bolzoni, 'Play of Images', p. 22.

[19] One example of the Aristotelian method is Ludvico da Pirano's 1422 untitled memory treatise. See Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 115. Examples of the pseudo-Ciceronian method include Jacopo Ragone's *Artificialis Memoriae Regulae* (1434), Jacobus Publicius's *Oratoriae Artis Epitome* (1482) and the Dominican friar Peter of Ravenna's *Phoenix Seu Artificiosa Memoria* (1491). See Rossi, pp. 15-22 and Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 93-94. Since the linear development of the memory-training tradition is not my primary area of research, in the following lists of memory treatises written in Latin I have relied on the research of Rossi, Yates, Bolzoni, and Engel. I have consulted those texts which are available in translation. Details and their critical sources can be found in the bibliography.

[20] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 115. An example of a treatise which includes both Aristotelian rules for association (Yates terms this the 'Democritus' type) and the pseudo-Ciceronian rules for evocative imagery is Luca Braga's untitled memory treatise (1477). See Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 114n.

these treatises fall into two categories: the practical application of memory training[21] or

its appropriation by an emerging humanist movement.[22] Despite disparate authorial

intent and source material, there is a consistent set of primary rules which govern these

emerging movements: namely, order, repetition and the use of imagery to prompt

memory (either through association or evocation).[23] Therefore, in the linear

development of the memory-training tradition there is a uniformity of rules, if not

intention. Contemporaneously there was also a number of essays and studies written in

response to (if not satirising) this publishing phenomenon by some of the authoritative

writers of the period.[24] The merit of memory-training was hotly debated, and this, if

anything, continued the dissemination of the central precepts of the tradition.

Early modern England remains relatively untouched by this publishing

phenomenon until the sixteenth century when a number of translations and adaptations

of European texts appear. The precepts for memory training can then be found in many

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[21]My reading of the critical sources cited in this chapter has yielded the following texts. Sources are acknowledged in the bibliography. Examples include Giorgius Daripinus Sibutus's *Ars Memorativae* (1505), the Dominican friar Johannes Romberch de Krypse's *Congestorius Artificiosae Memoriae* (1520), Johann Fries's *Ars Memorativa* (1525), Walter Riff's *Memoria Artificialis* (1541), Johann Menzinger's *Praecepta de Naturali Memoria Confirmanda* (1568), Johannes Spangerbergius's *Artificiosae Memoriae* (1570) and Thomas Lambert Schenkel's anthology of memory treatises *Gazophylacium Artis Memoriae* (1610).

[22] Examples include Giulio Camillo's *L'Idea del Theatre dell' Eccelent* (1550), Gugliemo Grataroli's occultist medical text *Opuscula [...] de Memoria Reparnada, Augenda Confirmandaque ac de Reminiscentia* (1553), the theological encyclopaedia, *Thesaurus Artificiosae Memoriae* (1579) written by the Dominican friar Cosma Rosselli, Giordano Bruno's numerous works *Shadows* (1582), *Circe* (1582), *Seals* (1583), *Statues* (1587) and *Images* (1591), and Fillipo Gesualdo's *Plutosofia [...] nella quale si spiege l'Arte della Memorie* (1600). I follow Yates for the title abbreviations of Bruno's works (Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 199).

[23] For example, Jacopo Publicius's account of memory-training in his handbook of rhetoric entitled *Oratoriae Artis Epitome* (1482) contains the same rules for 'order of places', advises that students of memory should 'continually recall those things which [they] wish to hold firmly impressed in memory' and advises both associative imagery (for example, 'the sword of justice, the scales of equity') and evocative imagery that should be 'great, unbelievable, indecent, unique, or very beautiful'. Publicius's treatise is reproduced and translated as 'Jacobus Publicius, The Art of Memory', trans. by Henry Bayerle in *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, ed. by Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, pp. 226-254.

[24] Again, my reading of the critical sources cited in this chapter has yielded the following texts. European responses to, and satires of, the memory-training treatises can be found in Erasmus's *De Ratione Studii* (1511-13), Cornelius Agrippa's *De Vanitate Scientarum* (1530), Philip Melanchthon's *Rhetorices Elementa* (1534), Petrus Ramus's *Scholae in Tres Primas Liberal Artes* (1569) and René Descartes' *Discourse on Method* (1637).

texts published in England (or published in Europe and re-published or translated in England), including *ars memorativa* treatises and textbooks on rhetoric.[25] Memory training is also often referred to in a diverse number of publications ranging from satires to anti-Jesuit propaganda which suggests a widespread dissemination of its central precepts.[26] Medical texts from this period also highlight the importance of a highly-retentive memory and often refer to the memory-training tradition.[27] Moreover there is a sustained publication history of seminal writers, from the classical and medieval

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[25] Thomas Bradwardine's *De Memoria Artificiali* (1325-1335) is the exceptional early example. Each of the following later texts are either full-length studies of memory training, or the subject is discussed in the text (where noted): Robert Copland's translation of Peter of Ravenna's text, *An Art of Memory That Otherwise is Called the Phoenix* (c.1548), Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), pp. 113, William Fulwood's *The Castel of Memorie* (1562), Thomas Watson's *Compendium Memoriae Localis* (1585) and William Colson's *The First Part of French Grammar[...]by Arte Locall, called the Arte of Memorie* (1620). Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), pp. 129-130, and his revised Latin edition of the earlier text, *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623), also discuss memory training.

[26] References to memory-training (often as 'arte of memorie'), or to a formalised approach to memorising, appear in educational, pedagogical, and training manuals such as Thomas Elyot's *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1537), p. 222, Abraham Fraunce's *The Lawier's Logike* (1588), p. 118, Roger Ascham's *The Schoolemaster* (1589), pp. 8-9, and John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612), p. 234. Criticisms of memory-training can be found in Richard Sherry's (translation of Erasmus) *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550), p. 218, and, as noted above, Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), pp.129-130. Further references to memory training can be found in histories, biographies, political pamphlets and manuals on soldiership such as Lodowick Lloyd's *The Pilgrimage of Princes* (1573), p.19, Raphael Holinshed's second volume of *Chronicles* (1586), p. 85, Thomas Nashe's *Strange Newes* (1592), p. A4r and *The Vnfortunate Traveller* (1594), p. L4v, Robert Albott's *Wits Theater of the Little World* (1599), p. 155, Gervase Markham's *Cauelarice* (1607), Book 3, p. Xx2, Robert Dallington's (translation of Guicciardine's text) *Aphorismes Ciuill and Militarie* (1613), pp. 51-52, and Robert Anton's *The Philosophers Satyrs* (1616), p. 30. References can be found in liturgical readings, sermons, anti-Jesuit propaganda and Christian manuals for behaviour such as Thomas Playfere's *The Pathway to Perfection* (1593: published 1597), p. 18, Miles Mosse's *The Arraignment and Conuiction of Vsurie* (1595), pp. 115-116, Richard Greenham's *Propositions Containing Answers* (1597), pp. 3r, James Godskall's *The Arke of Noah* (1604), pp. D3r, John Brinsley's *The True Watch* (1606), p. 34, George Hakewill's (translation of César de Plaix's French original) *Anti-Coton* (1611), p. 46, Joseph Hall's *Contemplations vpon the Principall Passages* (1612), pp. 245-246, and Lewis Bayly's *The Practise of Pietie* (1613), pp. 598-599. References can be found in poetry, epigrams and poetic criticism such as William Webbe's *A Discourse on English Poetrie* (1586), p. G2r, Philip Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1595), p. G4v, Alexander Craig's epitaph for 'Mr. Al Dickson' in *The Poetical Recreations of Mr. Alexander Craig of Rosecraig* (1609), p. 133r, John Davies's 'Of Knights of famous memory' in *Wits Bedlam* (1617), epigram 220, and John Vicar's translation of John Owen's *Epigrams* (1619), Book 3, epigram 4.

[27] Direct references to memory training can be found in Thomas Newton's translation of Levinus Lemnius's *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576), p. 122, and Richard Carew's secondary translation (of Iohn Huarte's *Examen de Ingenious*) *The Examination of Mens Wits* (1594), p. 155. References to the importance of a highly-retentive memory and a formalised approach to memory can be found in Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), p. 46; André Du Laurens' *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight; Of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age*, (1594), p. 73, p. 77, and p. 82; and Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Vol. I. (1621), pp. 150-152.

period, who address the concept of memory-training.[28] Many of these writers texts also

a part of the core Tudor curriculum.[29]

III – LINEAR TRANSMISSION

These examples provide the first possibilities for the transmission of the central

precepts of the memory-training tradition into early modern drama. Could the

playwrights have been aware of memory training and adopted those mnemonic

principles to direct audience attention in their plays? This conjecture has met with much

derision. Jonas Barish is unequivocal in his assertion that Shakespeare does not 'show

any curiosity about the so-called artes memorativae, that weird melange of

mnemotechnics and occultism that dazzled so many Renaissance philosophers and

scientists' and a more recent commentator, Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., assumes the same

indifference from Marlowe and Webster, before stating that since Frances Yates' *The*

Art of Memory there has been 'a critical overemphasis on artificial memory'.[30] The

relatively low number of references to the memory-training tradition in early modern

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[28] Critical sources cited in this chapter have yielded the following list of texts: Plato's *Timaeus* (360 BC), Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium* (c.87 BC), Cicero's *De Oratore* (55 BC), Seneca's *De Beneficiis* (63 AD), Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* (c.77 AD), Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (95 AD), St. Augustine's *Confessions* (397-8 AD) and *De Trinitate* (c.410 AD), Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (410-430 AD), Bede's *Historica Ecclesiastica* (731 AD), Boncompagno da Signa's *Rhetorica Novissima* (1235), Albertus Magnus's *De Bono* (1246-48), Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* (1265-78), Ramon Lull's *Logica Nova* (1303/04), *Liber ad Memoriam Confirmandum* (1308) and *Liber de Divina Memoria* (1313), William of Ockham's *Dialogus* (c.1332), and Petrarch's *Rerum Memorandum Libri* (1342-43) and *Secretum* (1347-53).
[29] See T.W. Baldwin's *William Shakspere's Petty School* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1943, 2005), esp. Chapter 1 which addresses Kempe's book on education, pp. 9-30, and *Shakspere's Small Latine and Less Greeke* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1943), esp. Volume II, pp. 108-133 on Shakespeare and rhetoric; Robert S. Miola's *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 1-17; Stuart Gillespie's section on Cicero in *Shakespeare's Books* (London & New York: Continuum, 2001), pp. 106-112; A.J. Piesse's 'Reading English Renaissance Children and the Early Modern Stage' in *Studies in Children's Literature 1500-2000*, ed. by Celia Keenan & Mary Shine Thompson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 24-27; Ursula Potter's 'Performing Arts in the Tudor Classroom' in *Tudor Drama before Shakespeare*, ed. by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren and Martine van Elk (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), esp. pp. 143-147.
[30] Jonas Barish, 'Remembering and Forgetting in Shakespeare', *Elizabethan Theater: Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum*, ed. R.B. Parker and S.P. Zitner (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996): 214-221, esp. 219-220; Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting*, p. 5.

drama suggests that this is a tenable critical position.[31] While the playwrights would probably have been at least aware of such a tradition, either through their primary education in the classics or because of recent publications and debate on the subject, a formalised direct application of the principles of this tradition is not evident in any of the plays.

An apt literary comparison can be made between John Donne's sermon 'The Art of Salvation, is but the Art of Memory' (1618) and references to memory-training found in John Marston's *The Malcontent* (1603) and Shakespeare's *King Henry VI, part 1*. While Donne conscientiously both addresses the subject and uses its mnemonic principles to point his language, the playwrights refer to the tradition to lend emphasis to what a dramatic character is saying. Thus Donne invokes the Augustinian meditation on memory found in *De Trinitate*:

And when God works so upon us, as that *He makes his wonderfull works to be had in remembrance*, it is as great a mercy, as the very doing of those wonderfull works was before. It was a *seal* upon a *seal*, a seal of *confirmation*, it was a *sacrament* upon a *sacrament*, when in instituting the *sacrament* of his

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[31] Garrett A. Sullivan observes references to memory training in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. 'Begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of pia mater' (*LLL*. Iv.i.99) or 'Why that contempt will kill the speaker's heart, And quite divorce his memory from his part', (*LLL*. V.ii.150) or 'A fever she reigns in my blood and will remember'd be' (*LLL*. IV.iii.96) and 'The building fall and leave no memory of what it was' (*TGV*. V.iv.10). See Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting*, p. 5. In an illustrative example from *Hamlet*, when Ophelia cries to Laertes, 'There's rosemary, that's for remembrance; pray you, love, remember', she is not simply mad, but rather as Jonathan D. Spence notes, 'steeling Laertes for an act of vengeance by invoking the widely held belief, carried in many mnemonic treatises of the day, that rosemary was the sovereign herb for strengthening the memory'. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 20. The use of rosemary as an aid to memory indicates a formal approach to memory – a conscious, deliberate effort to ensure that the past is remembered. Memorising is an action; an imprinting of a past event, to ensure that in the present and future a reaction can be made. While memory treatises may not be referred to directly, a formal approach to memorising is often present in the texts. Examples of this appear in a wide range of plays: 'Blotting your names from books of memory' (*2H6* I.i.96) from *Henry VI, part II*, 'I would forget it fain;| But, O, it presses to my memory,| Like damned guilty deeds to sinner's minds' (*Rom* III.ii.110) from *Romeo and Juliet*, 'Except they meant to bathe in reeking wounds/ Or memorize another Golgotha' (*Mac* I.ii.39-40) from *Macbeth* and 'Yea, beg a hair of him for memory' (*JC* III.ii.131) from *Julius Caesar*. Ben Jonson writes, 'I will be silent, yet that I may serve, but as a decade in the art of memory, to put you still in mind of your own virtues' (*The Case is Altered* II.iv.39-43).

body and his bloud, Christ presented it so, *Doe this in remembrance of me.*
Memorare novissima, remember the *last* things, and *fear* will keep thee from
sinning; *Memorare praeterita,* remember the *first* things, what God hath done
for thee, and *love,* (love, which, mis-placed, hath transported thee upon many
sins) love will keep thee from sinning.[32]

Donne does so using, as A.M. Guite suggests, 'useful sequences and striking images',
dividing his text 'into rooms or courts to make his division visually clear and
memorable' and turns 'words or even the syllables into a sequence of mnemonic
notae'.[33] By contrast, John Marston has Will Sly say in the induction scene to *The
Malcontent:*[34]

WILL SLY   Who? I? I'll tell you a strange thing of myself; and I can tell you, for one
              that never studied the art of memory, 'tis very strange too [...] Why I'll
              lay a hundred pound I'll walk but once down by the Goldsmith's Row in
              Cheap, take notice of the signs, and tell you them with a breath instantly.

                                                        (*The Malcontent*, Induction, 99-105)

It is an instance of intellectual bravado by Will Sly, but is not supported further in the
text. The difference is illustrative, and although the Marston example suggests a
sustained (if slight) interest and awareness of the tradition among playwrights, and,
moreover, suggests that playgoers would have understood the reference, it does not

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[32] John Donne, 'Sermon XX Preached at Lincoln's Inn' (1618) in *Fifty sermons. Preached by that
Learned and Reverend Divine, John Donne* (London: Printed by J. Flesher for M.F., J. Marriot, and R.
Royston, 1649) in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed
01/12/08]

[33] A.M. Guite, 'The Art of Memory and the Art of Salvation: The Centrality of Memory in the Sermons
of John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes', *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol IV, No. 1, Spring 1989, (Durham:
Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies University of Durham, 1989), p. 1. (1-17). On the importance of
St. Augustine to memory studies in the early modern period, A.M. Guite writes 'Memory was a
phenomenon and a mystery of central importance because Saint Augustine, on whom preachers and
thinkers on every side of the religious divide depended both for mental furniture and verbal ammunition,
had made it so'. St. Augustine also highlights the importance of a good memory. See St. Augustine of
Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Book 10,
sections 8-21.Other critics have also addressed mnemonic principles found in Donne's sermon including:
Achsah Guibbory, 'John Donne and Memory as- "the Art of Salvation"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*,
43. (1980): pp. 261-274, Heinrich F. Platt, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (Berlin and New York:
Walter De Gruyter, 2004), p. 219 and Garret A. Sullivan Jr., *Memory and Forgetting*, pp. 66-73.

[34] John Marston, *The Malcontent*, ed. by M.L.Wine (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

offer any means of analysing whether playwrights directed playgoer attention using the mnemonic principles found in the tradition as Donne does so clearly in his sermon. Similarly, in *King Henry VI, part 1*, Shakespeare lends emphasis to the threatening words of Richard Plantagenet to Somerset and Suffolk (which sets in motion the ensuing civil war) by invoking the memory-training tradition:

RICHARD   For your partaker Poole, and you yourself,
                    I'll note you in my book of memory,
                    To scourge you of this apprehension;
                    Look to it well, and say you are well warned. (*1H6*, II.vi.100-104)

Richard's 'book of memory' is probably a commonplace book or diary, or perhaps more figurative in meaning akin to Hamlet's 'table of my memory' (*Ham.* I.v.98). While this formalised approach to remembering mentioned by dramatic characters is noteworthy and lends emphasis to the act of memorising, it reveals little about how mnemonic principles are used to direct playgoers to remember the significant moments in the action of the plays. Simply referring to the tradition to lend emphasis is not the same as using the principles of the tradition to prompt a playgoer's memory to a certain idea recurrently.

IV – INDIRECT TRANSMISSION

As illustrated in the above examples, it becomes clear that playwrights are not directly engaging with the memory-training tradition. While they may be aware of it, and aware of the critical debate surrounding it, they seem to show no interest in directly employing its principles. There is clearly a disparity between the way Donne directly employs its principles to instruct the individual listener/reader of his sermon in the means of achieving salvation, and the more oblique references in dramatic compositions

for theatres of entertainment. However, this disparity may reveal why such direct engagement with this tradition is unlikely in early modern drama.

Notwithstanding the possibility that playwrights were unaware of, or uneducated in, the tenets or principles of memory training, there is a key separation between the memory treatises that evolve in a linear fashion (or their direct application in a sermon such as Donne's) and the plays we find in the popular theatre of the late Tudor and early Jacobean period. Memory training is an individual exercise. The individual is conscientiously endeavouring to arrange a pattern of ideas in his mind using evocative or associative images. The individual is entirely aware of the practice that he is performing. In a direct application such as Donne's we find both the subject of remembering and the means for remembering ingeniously intertwined. Disregarding the Christian didacticism we find in its message for one moment, we can see that its intention is to instruct the individual in principles that are no different from any other memory-training treatise, emphasising order, repetition and the use of evocative or associative imagery. We also find such patterns of ideas and imagery in early modern drama. However, for the playwright to use the precepts that we find in the memory-training tradition specifically to direct playgoer attention would mark a major shift from an individual exercise to exercising the minds of the collective. A private practice would need to become a means of directing public attention. While not entirely inconceivable, there is no evidence in the plays to suggest that this kind of appropriation and direct engagement with the subject occurred.

When we find patterns of evocative imagery or the use of visual or aural analogues which direct playgoer attention in a play from the end of the Tudor period, it is more reasonable to suggest that playwrights are repeating dramaturgical practices found in extant play-cycles, morality plays, and university drama, or that they are

appropriating those civic cultural practices which seem especially resonant or memorable. Thus, despite the late publishing flourish of treatises on memory training in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, this appears to have minimal implications for critically approaching early modern drama.

However, this apparent lack of direct engagement with the evolving linear tradition may be misleading. The relative scarcity of printed texts concerning memory-training until this period seems to suggest a disengagement from, or an unawareness of, an emerging European movement. Despite this, there is a critical consensus which asserts that the memory-training tradition was diffusely influential in a number of emerging cultural, literary, and artistic practices in late medieval and early modern continental Europe, and the memory-training treatises that are written can be understood as 'just the backdrop of a cultural drama developed on many levels'.[35] This is the second, more circuitous route, whereby the memory-training tradition could later influence early modern drama.

A major source for this 'cultural drama' is the Scholastic advocacy of memory training as an aid to Christian devotion. While Albertus's and Aquinas's treatises are not the only medieval commentaries on memory-training in this period, they are the most influential.[36] We can see this in the repeated references to Aquinas alongside

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[35] Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, p. xvii. Yates has also suggested that 'though one must be extremely careful to distinguish between art proper and the art of memory, which is an invisible art, yet their frontiers must surely have overlapped. For when people were being taught to practise the formation of images for remembering, it is difficult to suppose that such inner images might not sometimes have found their way into outer expression'. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 91-2. Engel also suggests that 'the memory arts [...] left a deep impression on the arts and letters of the Renaissance [...] They survive and resurface in some expected, although decidedly curious, cultural practices'. William E. Engel, *Mapping Mortality*, p. 13.

[36] Rossi suggests that 'the synthesis of Aristotelian and Ciceronian doctrines inaugurated by the two great Dominicans was an example which many later writers on the mnemonic art followed', and details, among other works, Bartolomeo da San Concordia's *Gli Ammaestramenti Degli Antichi* (c. 1347), Domenico De Carpinis *De Nutrienda Memoria* (1476), and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1503). See Rossi, pp. 12-13, p. 24, and p. 26. See Coleman on the contributions of John Blund, David of Dinant, John of La Rochelle, Averroes, Albert the Great, John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 363-421 and pp. 465-537.

Aristotle and Cicero in later memory treatises.[37] Moreover, in conflating classical

accounts of memory training (both the Aristotelian 'philosophical explanation for using

arbitrary associations as a basic mnemonic tool'[38] and the practical applications found

in the writings of Cicero, Quintilian, and *Rhetorica Ad Herrenium*) with contemporary

religious thought, the Scholastic writers address how a trained memory can be used to

influence behaviour. While in part this advancement constitutes a linear development of

the (pseudo-Ciceronian) memory-training tradition with consistent emphasis on

individual exercises and recurrent rules for order, repetition and the use of evocative

imagery, its intention marks the advent of a major shift in the memory-training

tradition's sphere of influence.[39] Having already isolated where the Scholastic

appropriation is consistent with previous and future memory-training models, it is now

important to understand where it differs. Whereas until this point, memory training

offered the individual student of memory a method for retrieving a variety of materials,

now, what was to be retrieved was essential material for virtuous Christian behaviour.[40]

Thus, Aquinas states that 'the aptitude for prudence is from nature, yet its perfection is

from practice or from grace. And so Cicero observes that memory is not developed by

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[37] For example, see Yates's discussion of Aquinas's influence on the *ars memorativa* treatises of Johannes Romberch and Cosmas Rossellius. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 122 and pp.128-130.
[38] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 123.
[39] The linear development is evident in its practical elements which are indebted to *Ad Herrenium*. As Bolzoni observes, it is 'a code with precise procedures for acting on the mind, creating mental images capable of influencing the faculties of cognition, memory and will', whereby the objective is to 'mould the inner faculties' in order to 'speak not only to the bodily eye but also to the mind's eye'. Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*, p. 4. In Bolzoni's *The Gallery of Memory* this code is further deciphered: 'The code is founded upon a science of images, which is formed through extensive reading, which travels across and unites different forms of expression, which relies upon memory'. Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, p. xiv.
[40] Carruthers and Ziolkowski suggest that 'in a monastic context forgetting was not a mere peccadillo but a full-fledged vice (*vitium*). For a Christian to forget was one way to end up offending God and suffering oblivion as a consequence'. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, p. 21.

nature alone, but owes much to art and diligence'.[41] Connecting the cardinal virtue of

prudence to memory training takes the memory techniques of classical rhetoric and re-

contextualises their precepts as a means of salvation. But as Bolzoni suggests, this is

further complicated because Christianity is a 'memory religion':

> The whole aim of the liturgy [...] is to make people remember and relive the
> story of salvation, both at the level of the community and the individual. The
> revival of classical memory techniques takes place in a profoundly different
> context, therefore, one involving a meeting and interaction of preaching and
> meditation, of teaching addressed to the masses and individual processes of
> penitence and spiritual elevation.[42]

Moreover while memory training could be an activity practised by an individual

Christian reader, the precepts of memory training are now found in multiple practices

which become a central means of directing Christian behaviour in the wider

community. Mary Carruthers succinctly describes this development (*memoria* is her apt

term) as creating a modality of medieval culture (drawing on Clifford Geertz's

argument that cultures can be understood as 'symbol-systems'). In this reading, culture

is a public and social phenomenon, reliant on modalities which enable such a symbol-

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[41] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Volume 36, Prudence (2a2ae. 47-56), 49.2 trans. by Thomas Gilby, (London: Blackfriars, 1974), pp. 61, 63.

[42] Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*, 4. Catholic theologians continually resorted to Aquinas's understanding of systems of memory as a part of ethics. In one example, Spence observes, Ignatius of Loyola instructed his followers 'to apply their five senses to those scriptural passages they were contemplating', connecting sound first to the imagined pictured scene, before involving the other senses. Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, (1552-54). As Spence suggests, 'If the five senses evoke the past in its diversity and bring it – contextually primed, as it were – into the present, it is the three faculties of memory, reason, and will that have the burden of deepening the significance of what is being contemplated, especially when the subject matter is not something visible in a conventional sense, as in the case of an awareness of sin'. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, p. 15. While the example of Ignatius is hardly representative of studies of memory in general from this period it does illustrate the centrality of memory and remembrance to Christian devotion, and suggests a sustaining of earlier Catholic decrees which insist that the faithful 'must assiduously remember the invisible joys of paradise and the eternal torments of hell'. This final quotation is from Boncompagno da Signa (1165- c.1240), an Italian professor of rhetoric (J.I. 47 and Pal. 54 Bibliotheca Nazionale Florence). See Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 69-72.

system to operate.[43] With such a perspective, *memoria* is a modality of medieval culture which has

> identifiable and verifiable practices and procedures that affect a variety of cultural phenomena (the making of books, the compositional structures of sermons, the layout of the bible, citational habits, classroom diagrams, the prevalence of certain tropes in poetry) and it is also a value in itself, identified with the virtue of prudence. As modalities, values enable certain behavior, and also give greater privilege to some behaviors over others […] They thus become conditioners of culture […] It is in this way that I think we can meaningfully speak of the Middle Ages as a memorial culture, recognizing that, as a set of institutionalized practices, *memoria* was adapted, at least to a point, as these institutions changed, and yet that as a modality of culture it had a very long life as a continuing source and reference for human values and behavior.[44]

Bolzoni concurs, describing the *memoria* modality in terms of a code that is structured so as to be creative, as well as recuperative, and which finds expression

> through words, purely mental images, mixtures of words and images, illuminated manuscripts, images that are painted, sculpted, broken up and recomposed in mosaic or made to gleam in stained-glass windows.[45]

Such a theory on the importance of memory to medieval society, insofar as it affects subject behaviour, cultural phenomena, and institutionalised practices, suggests a variety of ways whereby the primary rules of memory training could be passed to the later period. Frances Yates similarly proposes that

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[43] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 259.

[44] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 260.

[45] Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*, p. 6. Of the medieval appropriation of memory-training tradition, Raphael Samuel suggests that 'beginning as a rhetorical device, it came to be practised, in the Middle Ages, as a kind of visual analogue to thought. It was associated both with the production and storage of images, and with the location of memory places – as, say, burial grounds and shrines. Memory of words becomes memory refracted through the iconography of things […]' Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 36.

this inner art which encouraged the use of the imagination as a duty must surely have been a major factor in the evocation of images. Can memory be one possible explanation for the medieval love of the grotesque, the idiosyncratic? Are the strange figures to be seen on the pages of manuscripts and in all forms of medieval art not so much a revelation of a tortured psychology as evidence that the Middle Ages, when men had to remember, followed classical rules for making memorable images? Is the proliferation of new imagery in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries related to the renewed emphasis on memory by the scholastics? [...] That the historian of the art of memory cannot avoid Giotto, Dante, and Petrarch is surely evidence of the extreme importance of this subject.[46]

This theory suggests that the cultural transmission of medieval writings on memory into early modern culture cannot be estimated by enumerating the widespread publication of new mnemonic treatises alone (although these show a sustained knowledge of, and development in, the memory-training tradition) but rather through examining how the cultural, socio-political, literary and artistic practices that can be traced back to this mnemonic tradition (of ordered, coded associations based on repeated evocative imagery to instruct prudential behaviour) continued to develop in the later period. As Raphael Samuel suggests, quoting from Albertus Magnus:

> The art of memory, as it was practised in the ancient world, was a pictorial art, focusing not on words but on images. It treated sight as primary. It put the visual first. Outward signs were needed if memories were to be retained and retrieved: 'Something is not secure enough by hearing, but it is made firm by seeing.' The primacy of the visual was even more apparent in the Middle Ages, when images were systematically mobilized to fix sacred narrative in the minds of the unlettered and when emblems, such as pilgrims' badges or the heraldic devices

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[46] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 112.

adopted as a measure of genealogical descent, were a kind of universal currency.[47]

The central precepts that I suggest are uniform to all the disparate memory-training traditions from antiquity to the early modern period can be isolated in multiple cultural, literary, and artistic practices in late medieval and early modern Europe. These include the design of visual alphabets, heraldic signs, stained glass windows, frescoes and friezes, emblem books, dictionaries, histories and encyclopaedias, [48] physical memory theatres, figure poems and striking imagery on carved stone wall adornments.[49] These precepts can also be isolated in the design of *sententiae* (alphabetically arranged epitomes or apophthegms), catalogued *distinctiones* (biblical excerpts for preaching arranged in alphabetical order) and in florilegial writing, in intellectual/cultural

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[47] Samuel, p. viii. There is, of course, a practical element to the primacy of the visual in memorising. As Jocelyn Penny Small suggests, 'the really startling fact is that the Romans have a visual system, the loci, for remembering words, but do not use a visual system to make those words clearer and more understandable or to even find those words within a mass of text. Not until the Middle Ages do such visual finding aids appear. At that time illuminations helped to make each page easier to memorize in much the same way that today we often remember that this or that fact appeared in conjunction with a particular picture on the lower left of a page approximately one-third of the way through the text'. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, p. 101. In this seemingly minor point we see how memory techniques were applied to the act of writing and display to ease the act of memorization. Mary Carruthers observes that same technique in Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and suggests that 'before a work can acquire meaning, before a mind can act on it, it must be made memorable, since memory provides the matter with which human intellect most directly works [...] this is a fundamental assumption of memorial cultures. If one thinks of the ornaments of a work as mnemonic hooks, as its inventorying heuristics, one will quickly understand that ornaments need minimally to satisfy the requirements of memorability'. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 144.

[48] For visual alphabets see Raphael Samuel, p. 36; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record 1066-1307*, 2nd edn., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), pp. 179-180; Rossi, p. 135; Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp.125-127, Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 109. For heraldic signs see Clanchy, p. 230. For stained glass windows see Samuel, p. 36; George Henderson, *Early Medieval Art and Civilisation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 155-7. For frescoes and friezes see Samuel, 36. For emblem books see Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), pp. 33-36; 48-51, William E. Engel, 'Mnemonic Criticism & Renaissance Literature: A Manifesto', *Connotations* 1.1 (1991), pp. 28-30. <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/uni/nec/engel11.htm> [accessed 12/02/08]; Ayers Bagley, 'Some Pedagogical Uses of the Emblem in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England', *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Emblem Studies*. 7 (1993): pp. 39-60 <http://iconics.cehd.umn.edu/Reading%20Room/zip/Pedagogical.pdf> [accessed 03/03/08]. For dictionaries, histories and encyclopaedias see Rossi, pp. 29-60.

[49] For the physical memory theatres Yates' *The Art of Memory* contains lengthy discussions of Giulio Camillo's (pp. 163-174) and Robert Fludd's memory theatres (pp. 330-354). For figure poems see Bath, p. 52. For grotesque imagery in the works of Giotto, Petrarch, and Dante see Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 112.

practices and movements such as the *ars moriendi*, *danse macabre* and *memento mori*

traditions, in educational practices such as the dissemination of popular and sacred

history in spectacles such as Corpus Christi processions, and even the composition of

music and musical systems.[50]

Clearly many of these practices, excepting the physical memory theatres, also

emerged in late medieval and early modern England.[51] The furore surrounding

iconoclasm in early reformist Tudor England illustrates how the use of evocative

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[50] For musical composition and music systems see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), esp. p. 51; pp. 93-94; pp. 214-220. In *The Book of Memory* (1990), Mary Carruthers suggests that the *ars dictaminis* (letter-writing) and *ars notataria* (short-hand) traditions are both indebted to rhetorical studies of *memoria*, and asserts the mnemonic functions of images in *voces animantium* or 'bestiary' books (elementary and entertaining texts containing images of animals for unlearned novices to retain moral precepts in monastic training), in Calendar/Zodiac images in two-dimensional grids or diagrams, in visual or pictorial alphabets, and in the later pedagogical florilegial books. The use of bestial imagery as a mnemonic device for retaining moral precepts can be found in the writings of Isidore of Seville, John of Garland, Peter of Ravenna and Johannes Romberch. Thomas Bradwardine 'also uses mental pictures from the Bestiary and from the traditional depictions of the Zodiac signs for mnemotechnical purposes' Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 126. Dating from Isidore of Seville's encyclopaedic *Etymologiae* as an early source in the sixth and seventh century to Romberch's *Congestorium Artificiose Memorie* in 1520 we see a sustained tradition of evocative (animal) imagery used to retain information. When Carruthers discusses the differences between Thomas Bradwardine's *De Memoria Artificiali* (1325-1335) and those of antiquity, it is the 'incidental similarities' that are most interesting. These can account for, Carruthers suggests, 'certain enduring requirements of human recollection (such as having a rigid, easily reconstructable order to the backgrounds; making visually remarkable emotionally-laden associations through images; and the rule of Seven Plus-or-Minus Two), and the other being a few continuous pedagogical traditions'. While the rules cited here (order and number) are capacity-based, the need for remarkable or emotionally-laden associations to retrieve memory is also clearly dependent upon a response to stimuli. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 124-8; 176; 130-31. For writing practices, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 7. For *sententiae* and *distinctiones* see Busse Berger, p. 51. For florilegial writing, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 174-181 or Busse Berger, 51. For *ars moriendi*, *danse macabre* and *memento mori* to which I will return below, see Theodore Spencer's *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1936), Philippe Ariès' *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. by Helen Weaver, (London: Allen Lane, 1981), Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, pp. 17-27, and Michael Neill's *Issues of Death* p. 48; pp. 62-66; and p. 306. All connect these practices to a late medieval and early modern preoccupation with memory and death. For street processions see Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court*, p. 23 or Raphael Samuel, p. 28.

[51] However, as mentioned above, Yates does make an interesting theoretical argument connecting Fludd's theatre of the mind to the construction design of The Globe. See Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 330-354.

imagery is a primary principle of contemporary religious instruction.[52] Indeed John

Phillips gives one illustrative example when he notes that Bishop Stephen Gardiner, a

major opponent to the attacks on images during Edward VI's short reign (1547-53),

'argued that just as the Church provides religious instruction to the illiterate by means

of images, so the state and the nobility impress upon men's minds their authority

through seals and blazonry'.[53] Furthermore we can note that the widespread publication

of emblem books (with their combination of image and moralising dictum), the use of

commonplace books, the sustained reconstruction of an English past visualised

evocatively in history books, the moral didacticism found in the evocative spectacle of

civic, judicial and religious pageantry and theatre, and the preoccupation with images of

death, mourning and spectacular funereal practices, which all suggest a similar

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[52] The enduring controversy of iconoclasm in post-reformation England, where the use of images for religious instruction was, as John Phillips suggests, 'tainted through [its] associations with Rome, the Marian government and, for some, the disruption of public order', seemingly does little to affect this pervasive cultural means of instruction and assimilation, dependent on the order and repetition of evocative imagery prompted aurally, visually or verbally. John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 142. Indeed a number of texts on protestant polemics and propaganda also use images in their texts to aid understanding. The relative scarcity may be due to the exorbitant cost involved in commissioning woodcuts rather than the theological debate on iconoclasm. The outstanding example is the revised 1576 edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* ('Book of Martyrs'). However prior to Foxe's revised publication we can also see such evocative imagery in the following: Anne Askewe's *Examinations* (1546-7) has an interesting pictorial frontispiece of a palm leaf bearing martyr holding a Bible with the antichrist (wearing pope's three-tiered crown) at her feet; the large fold-out woodcut of Anne Askewe's execution (which re-appears in the Book of Martyrs) in Robert Crowley's, *The Confutation of the .xiii. Articles* (1548); and in John Bale's *Image of Both Churches* (1545; repr. 1548; 1550; 1570), a protestant exegesis of the Book of Revelation, which has some smaller woodblocks throughout illustrating the passages (followed by explications). With the later Elizabethan brand of compromised Anglicanism, although iconoclasm was official royal policy, and despite Puritan opposition to this means of mediating God's message, we can see that the use of evocative imagery as a prompt for meditation on prudential Christian behaviour did not simply disappear (See Phillips, pp. 111-139). For further discussion of this controversy and how it resulted in anti-theatrical pamphlets being regularly published in the late Tudor period see Paul Whitfield White's 'Theater and Religious Culture', in *A New History of Early English drama*, ed. by John D. Cox & David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 133-152. An apt literary example of the use of evocative imagery in protestant discourse can be found in the parade of the Seven Deadly Sins in Book I, Canto iv of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Though not pictorial, the imagery used is highly evocative and reminiscent of the memory images we find in the pseudo-Ciceronian influenced *ars memorativa* treatises. For example 'Gluttony' is described as a 'deformed creature, on a filthie swine,| His belly was vpblowne with luxury;| And eke with fatnesse swollen were his eyne'. (*FQ*, Book I, Canto iv, 21, 2-5).
[53] Phillips, p. 90.

assimilation in England.[54] These ideas will be addressed in the remaining three chapters, but it is sufficient to say that with these practices in mind, that early modern English culture was not alienated from the European phenomenon, and that this second, more circuitous, means of transmission may provide an illuminating insight into how information was disseminated and assimilated in early modern English society.[55] Clearly an engagement with, or an awareness of, the memory training treatises (or those texts which engage directly with the subject) published in Europe is not the only means by which the precepts for memory training (which clearly pre-date the fifteenth and sixteenth century publications) could pass into the early modern English mindset.

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[54] Emblem books have provoked sustained critical attention in relation to the memory-training tradition. Michael Bath's *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (1994) follows Engel's article 'Mnemonic Criticism & Renaissance Literature: A Manifesto' (1991) in observing the indebtedness of emblem books to the image-making practice described in the memory training treatises. The emblem books, replete with both rhyming epigrams and easily understandable pictures, provide one starting point for understanding the widespread proliferation of memorable evocative imagery recognisable in the light of the memory-training tradition. While Bath suggests that 'it is frequently impossible to identify the immediate source for such emblems', he does admit that arrangement of the emblems and the use of commonplace books had already been recommended by Aristotle in *Topica* and that the commonplace books 'were essentially a technique for assisting the memory by providing classified locations in which the knowledge thus gained could be stored, located and retrieved. The schemata which provided the typical structures for such systems of classification rapidly became conventionalised, and the structure of conventional organising topics and headings supplied various meta-systems which defined the categories within which knowledge was organised in the period'. Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 33; William E. Engel, 'Mnemonic Criticism & Renaissance Literature: A Manifesto', *Connotations* 1.1 (1991). <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/uni/nec/engel11.htm> (accessed 12/02/08). Bath's interpretation of such techniques of classification is reminiscent of Paolo Rossi's research in the area, although both critics approach the subject with different aims in mind. While Bath asserts that such a tradition culminates in emblematic figures, Rossi suggests emblematics are only one part of a general intellectual flowering in the early modern period which may find root in the mnemonic tradition. Thus Rossi can describe the 'logic' or art of Giordano Bruno as 'clearly influenced by Lullism and the "art of memory", as well as the cabala, and emblematics' which was understood by its inventor 'as a form of magic'. Thus, while Rossi interprets such emblems as 'primarily literary works' he suggests that 'it is extremely important when we are tracing the development of philosophical and "speculative" phenomena such as Lullism and the *ars reminiscendi* to take account of such works because they were an important means of cultural transmission and cabalist themes and the hermeneutic methods associated with them'. Rossi, p. 78. Mary Carruthers concurs that 'certain classes of allegorical images, such as those in Renaissance emblem books, were to be used for meditational reminiscence' and suggests a medieval predecessor for these in the form of mnemonic diagrams found in liturgical and devotional books throughout the Middle Ages used for pedagogical and meditative purposes. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 221; pp. 253-254.

[55] By similar means, although he also retains emphasis on contemporary memory treatises, William E. Engel connects memory training (as a part of sub-set of 'memory, emblems and sententiae, and melancholy') with 'treatises on natural and artificial memory; emblem books, illustrated "bibles of the poor," dialogues on and collections of heroic devices, commonplace books, thesauri, and behaviour manuals; essays, anatomies and medical treatises'. Engel, *Mapping Mortality*, p. 6.

However, it is the sustained thematic pattern of the information that is to be assimilated which may prove most interesting. The information takes the form of secular and/or religious instruction. It informs the spectator/listener/reader on how to act. It serves to regulate the behaviour of potential transgressors through a show of civic or religious power, revealing either the consequences of transgression or the might of the opposing law. The semiotic arrangement of this society regulated behaviour through consistently prompting subjects to remember their subjection. While this recalls the Scholastic appropriation of the memory-training tradition as a part of prudential practice, it also illustrates how the precepts of memory training have become manifest in a wider sphere. The transgression which is to be avoided is now reinforced by both secular and religious authority, and their intersection. Prompts to memory are used evocatively to reinforce the consequences of transgression and, thus, regulation of subject behaviour becomes performative, and therefore theatrical.

The multiple theatres of early modern England (religious, civic, judicial, punishment, and anatomy) all use a complex series of ordered and repeated evocative imagery to reinforce the power of authority in the memory of the spectator/listener/reader. Michel Foucault's discussion of power relations aptly describes this form of dissemination and assimilation:

> Power relations are exercised, to an exceedingly important extent, through the production and exchange of signs; and they are scarcely separable from goal-directed activities that permit the exercise of power (such as training techniques, processes of domination, the means by which obedience is obtained), or that, to enable them to operate, call on relations of power (the division of labour and the hierarchy of tasks).[56]

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[56] Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', p. 338.

Gordon Kipling, in writing of the lavish ceremonies for royal entries to cities suggests that, 'for two centuries these "wonderfull spectacles" served British cities as ritual dramas of royal manifestation and civic acclamation. As drama, they required frankly mimetic performances from both ruler and citizen'.[57] Stephen Greenblatt similarly suggests that 'Royal power is manifested to its subjects as in a theater, and the subjects are at once absorbed by the instructive, delightful, or terrible spectacles and forbidden intervention or deep intimacy'.[58] In early modern England the maintenance of authority, religious and secular, is dependent on repeated and evocative performances of that authority.

V - DRAMATURGY

However, the term 'theatre' also naturally evokes the theatre of entertainment. It is abundantly clear that playwrights mimetically reproduce the semiotic arrangement of their period. Dramatic effect consistently insists upon the playgoer's cognisance of layered repetitious non-textual resonances. In their staging, ceremonies, pageants, funerals, judicial procedures, public punishments, pulpit-preaching and masques all recall cultural practices beyond the playhouse. Moreover the use of bells, trumpets, drums and other musical effects also resonate with off-stage practices. Similarly, the use of evocative language meta-theatrically addressing hotly debated contemporary issues, also evokes the authority whose language is being appropriated.

However, the theatre of entertainment differs in one crucial way from the other theatrical cultural practices of early modern England. By the late sixteenth century there is no onus on the playwright to moralize, only to entertain. His job is 'to show' and not 'to tell'. There is no contract of ethics between the playwright and playgoer. Indeed he

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[57] Gordon Kipling, 'Wonderfull spectacles: Theater and Civic Culture' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox & David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 155.
[58] Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, p. 65.

is granted the authority to entertain, but not to instruct. Jean Howard suggests that 'Plays for the public stage were not, by and large, overtly homiletic, committed to the straightforward promulgation of dogma'.[59] Rather the playhouse is a licit (if at times censored) forum for ideas, where contemporary political and religious controversies are presented and satirised, where inter-textual parody and appropriation is pervasive, and where the strengths and follies of people are explored in emotive detail.[60]

My critical concern is not with the concept of the subject but with how the subject is informed of and remembers his subjection.[61] Garrett A. Sullivan suggests that memory and forgetting 'charts multiple interfaces between the subject and society' and that 'memory and forgetting are the terms through which the subject is located in relation to various social institutions and practices'.[62]

> Memory disciplines and interpellates the subject into the social order; forgetting is the vehicle by which the social order both imagines its opposites and polices its subjects through appeals for the reformation of their corporeal and spiritual deportment. In addition, forgetfulness constitutes a mode of being associated with humoral, spiritual and social disorder. In sum, oblivion has its own forms of embodiment and social practices, ones that are coded as at best passive and at worst sinful and erosive of identity.[63]

Specifically I want to show how the prompts to memory we find outside the theatre are indebted in form to the memory-training tradition that is initially appropriated for

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[59] Jean Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 7.
[60] For discussions of censorship in early modern drama see Jonathan Dollimore's *Radical Tragedy*, esp. pp. 22-25. For a discussion of how the theatres occupied a liminal place (both geographically and ideologically) in early modern London see Stephen Mullaney's *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), esp. pp. 1-59.
[61] For discussions of power, authority, and the subject in early modern drama see Stephen Orgel's *The Illusion of Power*, pp. 1-58, Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p. 5, and *Shakespearean Negotiations*, pp. 63-65, Catherine Belsey's *The Subject of Tragedy* esp. pp. 13-54, Christopher Pye's *The Regal Phantasm: Shakespeare and the Politics of Spectacle* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 43-81 and Jean Howard's *The Stage and Social Struggle*, pp. 4-8.
[62] Sullivan, p. 21.
[63] Sullivan, p. 40.

Christian instruction. However, as is set out in the second chapter, these principles are also identifiable in civic instruction. Whereas the modality of medieval culture which Carruthers describes as *memoria*, and Bolzoni describes as a 'code', is inherently Christian, the diffusion of these mnemonic precepts into multiple cultural practices, creates a modality of both secular and religious form, reliant on informing the subject of the consequences of transgression in life and afterlife. While the conflict between secular and religious law became a recurrent theme in the Romance genre, and re-emerged in the morality plays of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the public theatres established in the late Tudor and early Stuart period offered a popular literary forum that could address this conflict in a much different way. In no genre is this better illustrated than revenge tragedy.

In the (sub-) genre of revenge tragedy the playgoer is constantly asked to attend to the conflict between the entertainment (the narrative of wilful vengeance) and the religious and civic transgression such actions accord. As John Kerrigan suggests, the (sub-) genre of revenge tragedy highlights the disparity between *lex talionis*, Aristotelian 'just' vengeance and Old Testament 'life for life, eye for eye' (Exodus 21: 23-25) on the one hand, and, on the other, the Christian New Testament injunction of 'turn the other cheek' (Matthew 5:38-9) and leaving punishment to God, not to mention legal decrees forbidding personal retribution.[64] Thus, it highlights the acute moral anxiety involved in supporting such actions by playgoers, albeit veiled by entertainment and notional 'justice'.[65] Hence, playwrights who draw attention to moments of moral deliberation, by using the same principles for directing audience attention evident in cultural practices with authoritative civic and religious instruction about certain prudent

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[64] Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy*, pp. 22-23.
[65] Justice, that is, understood within the parameters of the operations of justice within the individual play.

behaviour, immediately highlight the moral conflict faced by the playgoer. The theatre

of entertainment relies on the conventional uses of these prompts and draws attention to

how the subject is informed of their subjection. William E. Engel suggests that 'the

symbols and images associated with Renaissance cultural commonplaces are not as

easily "read" as might be generally assumed' and that 'the Art of Memory is the

corrective lens that can bring back into view just such aspects of the Renaissance life

and letters'.[66] This may be true, but it is not the contemporary treatises on the subject

alone which have such an influence on literary production. It is the diffusion of the

precepts we find in the memory-training tradition into a form of religious (and later

secular) didacticism, that is influential in early modern culture and late Tudor and early

Stuart theatre (which mimetically reproduces that culture's semiotic arrangement if only

to overturn its original intention). Furthermore Engel suggests that 'Renaissance

memory images came to store and disclose, and to translate and revive, their symbolic

contents and backlog of cultural meanings'.[67] I demonstrate this in discussions of

visual, aural, and verbal prompts found in early modern drama in the following three

chapters. The code through which playgoers understand the semiotics of their culture

outside the theatre will be shown to be appropriated, utilised and highlighted for

conflicting purposes in the revenge genre in the theatre of entertainment, thereby calling

attention to this code and the way in which subject behaviour is regulated.

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[66] Engel, *Death and Drama*, p. 29.
[67] Engel, *Death and Drama*, p. 2.

CHAPTER 2

VISUAL PROMPTS

I n the opening chapter of this thesis, I have demonstrated that the use of memorable striking images in medieval and early modern cultural, artistic, and literary practices can be related to this period's preoccupation with remembering to live in a prudential manner within the constructs taught by religious and civic authorities. I have shown how a recurrent use of striking imagery as a means to remember can be understood as consistent with the memory-training tradition. In this chapter I propose that early modern English religious and secular authorities employed spectacle as a medium for the instruction of subjects and demonstrate how playwrights appropriated such uses of spectacle for the theatre of entertainment. I discuss how the mnemonic properties of such spectacles are used by playwrights to prompt playgoers to recall significant analogous moments in their plays.

I begin by arguing that visual prompts to direct spectator attention can be found in many of the authoritarian practices of early modern English church and state institutions. From royal processions to public dissections of the corpses of criminals, I suggest that these spectacular displays of authority serve as a principle means of conditioning subject behaviour. Such uses of evocative staged spectacle inform the spectator of the institution's authority, and also, in some examples, of the consequences of transgressing that authority. Noting the overt theatricality of many of these practices, I then turn to how playwrights mimetically reproduce these staged spectacles in their plays, and suggest the possible effect playwrights were attempting to create for playgoers in doing so. I describe the different forms of stage spectacle found in revenge

plays, from masques to cadavers left onstage, and discuss their conventional usage, mnemonic properties, and cultural resonances. In the latter half of this chapter I turn to a representative selection of plays in the revenge genre. My critical concern is with how playwrights use visual prompts to direct playgoer interpretation towards how authority is communicated and contested in these plays. Rather than imposing a single reading of the use of spectacle across these plays, I delineate the multiple ways in which playwrights' recurrent use of analogous spectacles potentially serve to mnemonically prompt a playhouse audience who are accustomed to being directed to institutions of authority in this way.

I – THE MULTIPLE THEATRES OF EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Drawing on Guy Debord's philosophical study of the phenomenon of spectacle in the electronic age, Michael H. Keefer proposes that early modern England also had 'une société du spectacle':

> one in which power legitimized and reproduced itself through progresses, civic processions and pageants, through public rites of celebration and of punishment, through an appropriation of the potentially subversive forms of carnivalesque festivity, and finally through such overtly fictive forms as the court masque and the various dramatic genres which flourished on the public stage.[1]

The multiple theatres of early modern England (civic, judicial, penal, religious and entertainment) were all reliant on the use of spectacle to disseminate information to their spectators. From staged public proclamations to court processions to trials and executions, such spectacles informed the subject of the authority of the governing

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[1] Michael H. Keefer, 'Self-image et Spectacle in *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*', *Spectacle and Image in Renaissance Europe – Selected papers of XXXII Conference at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours*, ed. by André Lascombes (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1993), p. 110. Guy Debord's influential reinterpretation of Marxist theory was first published in 1967. See Guy Debord, *La Société du Spectacle*, trans. by Ken Knabb (New York: Zone Books; London: Rebel Press, 1994).

system and, implicitly or explicitly, served as a reminder of the consequences of transgressing such authority. Civic ceremonies informed about duty, while judicial and penal ceremonies served as warnings. Religious spectacle gave guidance through arresting words and images. Meanwhile, the theatre of entertainment, Keefer suggests, allowed for a dialogic contestation and 'interrogation' of these other spectacles of authority in 'a public space'.[2]

The function of spectacle in early modern drama is a matter of some contention in modern criticism. Andrew Gurr posits that 'there is no doubt that a basic division among playgoers was created by differences in the level of education' and that 'at less educated levels, even as early as the 1570s, the eye prevailed over the ear and spectacle rivalled poetry as the main playhouse attraction'.[3] Gurr's insistence on spectacle for the eyes of the less educated understates the important critical and cultural juncture at which stage spectacle resides.[4] Even by allowing for different standards of education among the playgoers, or indeed accommodating the pretensions of playwrights, the use of spectacle to direct attention and disseminate information (just as with aural and verbal prompting discussed in the next chapters) must resonate for playgoers with similar uses of spectacle in authoritarian practices outside the theatre.

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[2] Keefer, 110.

[3] Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 98. This vein of criticism shadows Wolfgang Clemen's suggestion that the authors of *Gorboduc* (1562) included the five dumb shows because 'subconsciously [they] felt the need to make some concession to the eyes of the audience in a work where such immoderate demands were being made on their ears'. Wolfgang Clemen, *English Tragedy before Shakespeare*, trans. by T.S. Dorsch (London: Metheun & Co., 1961), p. 57. Indeed Clemens follows Muriel Bradbrook's division of the learned writer from the populist writer: 'Of course it was possible for the learned writer, like Ben Jonson, to refuse the demands of the public, and to cut out dumb shows, clowning, and music. But even Ben Jonson was well drilled in the popular methods of play-writing, and could use them if necessity drove him to collaboration or hack-writing. The majority of the writers did their best work inside the conventions of the public theatres'. Muriel Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy*, 2nd Edition, first published 1935, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 35-36.

[4] Stephen Orgel argues that 'The distinction [...] between "verbal" theaters and "visual" theaters in this period is a false one. Both the Globe and the court theater were spectacular, both were highly rhetorical; the visual and the verbal emphases in no way excluded each other'. Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 19.

Francis Barker suggests that denigration of spectacle in literary criticism of later Jacobean non-Shakespearean drama has largely arisen from a misunderstanding of 'the Jacobean *mode* of representation itself, which is [...] alien to the history which succeeded it and the historiography which has refused its significance'.[5] Spectacle has a meta-narrative which evokes a whole body of memory of collected images for the playgoer from outside the theatre and from past theatrical experiences. As William E. Engel suggests, 'spectacle [...] is to be understood as a function of a host of variable and often vying cultural forces'.[6] Rather than merely a complement to narrative, or a visual treat to entertain the distracted or uncomprehending playgoers (while not discounting the obvious importance of both of these), theatrical spectacle mimetically reproduces the cultural means by which information is disseminated and assimilated, and, therefore, the means by which subject behaviour is modified. Intrinsic to theatrical spectacle as a mode of representation in the early modern period is a catalogue of other equally theatrical spectacles (civic, judicial, penal, anatomical and religious) and the authority these theatres represent.

CIVIC

In civic processions and public announcements a range of mnemonic devices served a purpose. Royal processions, such as the entrance of a ruler into a town or city, followed a set procedure of visualised rituals. In the early fourteenth century a small gathering of the town's most important people (clergy, guildsmen, officers) met the new arrival, but as Roy Strong suggests, in the late fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries across Europe this simple procedure was transformed into elaborate 'street

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[5] Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), p. 16.
[6] Engel, *Death and Drama*, p. 39.

pageants' with 'street theatres' combining 'tabernacles, fountains and gardens', 'groups of allegorical personages' and 'biblical and historical "*exempla*"'.[7] David Scott Kastan, after discussing the passage of Elizabeth through London on the day before her coronation (14th January, 1559), suggests that 'Renaissance rulers [...] habitually expressed their power theatrically'.[8] Kastan suggests that 'a spectacular sovereignty works to subject its audience to – and through – the royal power on display, captivating, in several senses, its onlookers'.[9] Moreover, as Strong suggests, such royal spectacle displayed 'the achievements of the present and reviewed those of the past while turning an optimistic eye to the future' and therefore consciously informed the spectator of the temporal narrative of their past, present, and future subjection to this authority.[10]

JUDICIAL AND PENAL

In the English legal system of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, while 'petty' or 'trial' jury cases are essentially theatrical in form, public punishments and executions are, as many Foucault-influenced readings have suggested, didactic spectacles which 'elicit [...] the truth of the crime and display [...] its purgation', while fashioning 'self-regulating subjects'.[11] Mitchell B. Merback describes the communal ratification of such punishments as 'judicial spectatorship'.[12] Since the spectators were

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[7] Strong, *Splendour at Court*, p. 23.

[8] David Scott Kastan, 'Proud Majesty Made a Subject: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter, 1986), p. 466.

[9] Kastan, 'Proud Majesty', p. 466.

[10] Strong, p. 23. The royal entry of James I into the city of London in 1604 is a particularly revealing example of this type of spectacle. Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker, at the behest of the city companies, devised shows to greet the king as he passed through the streets. D.J. Gordon records that these were, for the most part, 'triumphal arches, what the Elizabethans understood as classical emblems suitable to a conquering emperor, together with brief poems or songs to explain the meanings of the displays'. D.J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D.J. Gordon*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), p. 11.

[11] Lorna Hutson, 'Rethinking the "Spectacle of the Scaffold": Juridicial Epistemologies and English Revenge Tragedy', *Representations*, No. 89 (Winter, 2005), p. 30. See also Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage*, pp. 110-115.

[12] Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, p. 128.

not directly involved in the trial of the accused, the 'sentencing ritual was critical to the people's understanding of the crime, its circumstances, the evidence and the determination of guilt'.[13] Involved in the process from trial to verdict to pre-execution ceremony to execution is an intricate melding of judicial authority, religious authority and popular ratification. Merback suggests that

> The very idea of punishment enacted as a form of spectacle is predicated on the belief in their educative potential, through the 'lessons of the scaffold', as they were later known to the moralists who exploited them, could run the gamut from cautionary tales, through brutalizing threats of violent retribution, to *exempla* of damnation.[14]

The process therefore achieves validation and affirmation by passing through the realms of authority of court, church, and community. The spectacle of punishment, because of a tri-fold affront to the accepted laws of the interconnected branches of society from state to religion to lay-people, is dependent upon a series of mnemonic devices for validation. These range from Christ's punishment, to the *ars moriendi* tradition and 'the good death' in the earlier morality plays, to, more simply, recognition of the state's power and the subject's own place within the existing social hierarchy. All aspects are concerned with the informative power of the spectacle as a deterrent to traversing socially and religiously constructed moral boundaries. As Molly Easo Smith observes,

> The public execution's social relevance depended [...] on its proper enactment through the collusion of all its participants, including the hangman as an

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[13] Merback, p. 128. Molly Smith suggests however that while 'theater establishes distance between spectacle and spectators [...] the authenticity in the enactment of public punishment makes its distance considerably more nebulous. In fact, participants in public executions and hangings remained acutely aware of their profound relevance both to the authorities who orchestrated the performance and to the spectators who viewed it'. Molly Smith, 'The Theater and the Scaffold: Death as Spectacle in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1992), pp. 220-221.

[14] Merback, p. 135.

instrument of the law, the criminal as a defier of divine and sovereign authority, [and] the spectators as witnesses to the efficacy of royal power and justice [...][15]

The visually arresting element to this process makes the deterrent more memorable. Indeed Michel Foucault suggests that in western society until the eighteenth century that those punished were marked 'either by the scar' it left on the body of the victim, 'or by the spectacle' that accompanied the ceremony, 'to brand the victim with infamy', for 'men will remember public exhibition, the pillory, torture and pain'.[16]

ANATOMY

For some criminals, however, the degradation of their bodies was only beginning with their torture and execution. The executed bodies of some criminals were granted to educational institutes for public dissection in anatomy theatres. As Jonathan Sawday reveals, from 1505 the Guild of Surgeons and Barbers in Edinburgh were granted the body 'of one executed felon each year for the purposes of dissection'.[17] Anatomy theatres were purpose-built across Europe in university towns and metropolitan cities such as Leiden, Amsterdam, Bologna, Padua, Rome, Paris, and Montpellier and, in the early seventeenth century, London.[18]

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[15] Molly Easo Smith, 'Spectacles of Torment in *Titus Andronicus*', *Studies in English literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring, 1996), p. 324.

[16] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 34.

[17] Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 55. Sawday notes that by the mid-sixteenth-century the University of Oxford (1549), Caius College, Cambridge (1565) and the College of Physicians in London (1564/5) had all been granted the right to dissect executed criminals (within certain parameters, of course; for example, Caius College received two bodies per year, while the College of Physicians were granted four). See Sawday, p. 55.

[18] Michael Neill suggests that 'from their inception in the late fifteenth century, public dissections were organized as festive and triumphal occasions, accompanied by processions, music, and feasting, and timed to coincide with midwinter celebration – or even occasionally with Carnival. From the mid-sixteenth century, their quasi-commercial character was emphasised by the growing practice of selling tickets to the large audiences attracted through public advertisement; and their consciously theatrical effect was enhanced by the erection, in many parts of Europe, of increasingly lavish, purpose-built amphitheatres, where two or three hundred spectators could watch the brilliantly illuminated spectacle, which typically lasted for up to five days'. Michael Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 115.

However, the relationship between the theatre of anatomy and the theatre of entertainment is contentious and, at best, speculative. Francis Barker suggests in his essay on Rembrandt's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicholaas Tulp* that the scene of dissection (in Rembrandt's conception of it) is an exercise of jurisdiction over the body of the executed criminal, 'an act of penal and sovereign domination which is exemplary and substantive, symbolic and material, at one and the same time'.[19] This Foucault-influenced reading of the painting in particular and of the underlying narrative of public dissection of criminals in general, ritualises the act of dissection into a signifying practice for authority. In this way the anatomy theatre relates to those other theatrical spectacles (civic, judicial, penal and religious) where Neill suggests that public dissection was as much a piece of didactic tragic drama as it was a scientific event: 'a dramatization of the human encounter with death [...] not confined to the simple moralization of the imperfection'.[20] Rather, the dissection was a theatrical spectacle of 'the shameful nakedness of death' whereby 'it was precisely the public display of all that should remain hidden which rendered this final punishment so degrading'.[21] Both Barker and Neill therefore insist upon the further punishment of the criminal and the

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[19] Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body*, p.74.
[20] Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 119.
[21] Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 117.

effect this had upon the spectator, rather than the scientific purpose of the dissection.[22]

Furthermore the dissection of the criminal body signified a just revenge punishment for their attempt to transgress the boundaries set out by the monarch - the head of the body politic. With this interpretation the criminal is dissected for attempting to similarly mutilate the body politic. Therefore what the dissection of criminal bodies signifies for the spectators is a striking visual reminder of what it means to transgress social boundaries, and also a visually arresting image of the consequences of such transgression. To appropriate such evocative scenes of dissection, mutilation and corporal punishment into the revenge plays of the theatre of entertainment recalls for the playgoer the consequences of such criminal transgression in the public theatres of punishment and dissection.

RELIGIOUS

This interweaving of instruction with visually arresting images is also commonplace in religious theatre and ceremony. Gerald Robert Owst argues for the pulpit as a stepping stone to the early modern playhouses by citing the preachers' willingness to 'shift the scene of their activities from the church to the churchyard' and,

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[22] Notably Sawday suggests that the dissection of criminals' bodies as a deterrent to crossing social boundaries would have increased in the popular imagination in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as the number of executions decreased yet the demand for the bodies for anatomy theatres increased. Sawday takes the example of executions at Tyburn where 'an average figure of 560 annual executions [...] has been calculated for the final eleven years of the reign of Henry VIII – the period during which the 1540 Act providing for the supply of corpses to the Barber-Surgeons was passed. Four corpses out of a possible total of 560 victims of the executioner suggests that dissection as an additional form of punishment would hardly have impinged to any great extent on the popular mind. But as we move through the reigns of Edward VI (560 executions annually at Tyburn), Mary (280), Elizabeth (140), and James (140), it becomes apparent that, gradually, as demand for bodies rose, and as the supply of bodies from the scaffold seems to have fallen, so the visibility of dissection must have increased'. Sawday, p. 55. During Elizabeth's reign, as Molly Smith notes, a total number of around '6160 victims were hanged at Tyburn, and though this represents a somewhat smaller figure than those hanged during Henry VIII's reign, Elizabethans were certainly quite familiar with the spectacle of the hanged body and the disembowelled and quartered corpse'. The staging of these executions was also reminiscent of the theatre, with 'seats available for those who could pay' and a large open standing area below the gallows for the disadvantaged. See Smith, 'The Theater and the Scaffold: Death as Spectacle in *The Spanish Tragedy*', pp. 217-218.

in doing so, enabling the transition from liturgical Latin to vernacular speech in secular plays.[23] More interesting, however, is early modern theatre's appropriation of liturgical drama (miracle plays and mystery cycles) in the form of allegorical figures in morality plays, pseudo-resurrection scenes, and specialised Vice characters such as "Revenge" in later secular drama (although the latter of these are also indebted to classical drama). In the final chapter on verbal prompting this dramatic inheritance is analysed in more detail, but in terms of spectacle, we can see that the staged setting of preaching (both pulpit and *scaffaldus*), the theatricality of various sacred processions and practices (for example, on the feast of Corpus Christi), and, moreover, the explicit need in Christian practices to make material memorable, resonates with later theatrical and dramaturgical stage practices.

II – SPECTACLE, AUTHORITY, AND THEATRE

SPECTACLE, THE CROWD, AND COMMUNITY

Therefore we see an interaction between the practices involved in modifying subject behaviour and the emerging foundations of early modern theatrical practice. The most obvious parallel between the cultural and theatrical practices of spectacle is the uniform address of a crowd of individuals amassed to assimilate information in a social arena. It is important to consider how the individual may be affected by being part of a crowd. Emile Durkheim suggests that the ritual of religious worship, for example, represents an affirmation of the movement from the individual utilitarian consciousness

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[23] Gerald Robert Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, first edn. 1933 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 478.

to collective social harmony.[24] Similarly, Gustave Le Bon suggests a law of 'mental unity' in such crowds, whereby 'the sentiments and ideas of all the persons in the gathering take one and the same direction, and their conscious personality vanishes'.[25] For Le Bon, mental unity is cultivated through the use of arresting images:

> Crowds being only capable of thinking in images are only to be impressed by images. It is only images that terrify or attract them and become motives for action.[26]

For this reason, Le Bon asserts that 'nothing has a greater effect on the imagination of crowds than theatrical representations' since 'theatrical representations, in which the image is shown in its most clearly visible shape, always ha[s] an enormous influence on crowds'.[27] Stephen Greenblatt suggests that playwrights utilised this sense of community in the crowds:

> The theater manifestly addresses its audience as a collectivity. The model is not, as with the nineteenth century novel, the individual reader who withdraws from the public world of affairs to the privacy of the hearth but the crowd that gathers together in a public play space. The Shakespearean theater depends upon a felt community: there is no dimming of lights, no attempt to isolate and awaken the

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[24] Emile Durkheim argues that, like divinity, 'society exists and lives only in and through individuals'. Durkheim suggests that 'the real reason why the gods cannot do without their worshippers any more than these can do without their gods; it is because society, of which the gods are only a symbolic expression, cannot do without individuals any more than these can do without society'. See Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. by Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1915), p. 347. Relocating the argument from worship to festivals in the early modern period, Michael D. Bristol suggests that 'festival reunites the individual with the collective' and has a 'conservative social function'. See Michael D. Bristol, *Carnival and Theater – Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York & London: Routledge, 1985), p. 29; p. 39.
[25] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), p. 2. First published as *Psychologie des Foules* (Paris: Alcan, 1895).
[26] Le Bon, p. 56.
[27] Le Bon, p. 57.

sensibilities of each individual member of the audience, no sense of the disappearance of the crowd.[28]

Such awareness, on the part of the playgoer, of their participating in a crowd environment can only strengthen their recollection of those other occasions when they participated in such communal activities. Any understanding or interpretation of the play on the part of the individual playgoer is dependent upon their own store of collected memories from outside the playhouse, and their recognition of the sign-system by which they were directed to certain ideas on these previous occasions now found in the setting of the theatre of entertainment.

Ian Munro observes that the crowd in early modern England (and more specifically London) 'was necessary as a creating (and validating) frame for the performances of urban culture' and was also 'a performance itself' whereby,

> Within the theatrical economy that dominates early modern experience, the crowd is at once audience and subject, at once watching and participating in a performance. This doubled structure, which could be called the carnivalization of performance, undermines the controlling intentions of the ceremony of representation.[29]

While Munro's argument suggests the subversive element in the organisation of crowds, I would rather point towards the overwhelming controlling intention in the various ceremonies' representations. Rightly Munro asserts that 'the performance of ritual is the performance of communal memory', and certainly the early modern crowd are aware, and even self-conscious, of their participation in a crowd and what that entails, but it is incorrect to assume that spectacle outside the theatre has the same effect

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[28] Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, p. 5.
[29] Ian Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 26.

that it has inside the theatre.[30] The theatre of entertainment absorbs these outside

spectacles, and perhaps in its turn endows a heightened sense of theatre to civic and

religious spectacle. Nonetheless whereas plays are clearly open to interpretation,

spectacle outside the theatre is intended to be interpreted in a certain way: to assert the

existing social hierarchy and maintain the social order. Thus, civic spectacle serves to

induce obedience to, and reverence for, authority in the spectator. Judicial and penal

spectacle juxtaposes horror and sympathy for the spectator while religious spectacle

encourages religious adherence. Each serves as a reminder for prudent behaviour.

The visual images of the royal procession, the scaffold and the cross all convey

a certain authority and association of memory (secular, religious, or both) to the

spectator. Mnemonic spectacles of the mind are reconfigured as real spectacles which

evoke an associated body of memory for the spectator. The present authority is

constructed through mnemonic spectacle which positions the spectator to reflect on the

past, interpret the present through this reflective paradigm and position oneself for

future behaviour. Long after the processions have ended, when the monarchs, clergy,

judges and executioners have returned home, the memory image of authority and the

consequences of transgression are intended to remain with the spectator.

THE PLAYHOUSE

However, as I suggest in the opening chapter, in the theatre of entertainment

there are no repercussions for an invalid interpretation since no overwhelming authority

exists. In the social contract between the playwright, the players, and the playgoers, a

fictive rendering is offered for the purposes of entertainment, and while much more can

be intended in and by the performance, the authority is balanced between the offering

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[30] Munro, p. 26.

and the interpretation. For example, in comparing the offerings of the playhouse and the

pulpit, Steven Mullaney suggests that,

> Unlike the pulpit [...] the stage was an affective rather than a didactic forum
> [...] The shift away from the morality tradition and its abstract personification
> of states-of-being and toward the particular, discursive and theatrical
> embodiment of affective characters demanded and produced new powers of
> identification, projection, and apprehension in audiences [...][31]

I address the movement from the homiletic traditions of morality drama in the final

chapter, but for now, suffice it to note the separation between didactic and affective

forms of communication. The playwright may be fined or imprisoned for heresy or

political blasphemy, but there is no verifiable guilt for playgoers entertained by the

transgressive actions enacted onstage.[32] As Greenblatt suggests, there was 'a set of tacit

understandings' between playgoer and playwright whereby it was understood that in the

plays 'no-one was to be actually killed or tortured [...] no-one was really cursing or

praying or conjuring' and that scripts were 'screened ahead of time by censors'.[33]

However, as has been suggested in the opening chapter, despite there being no

verifiable guilt on the part of the playgoer, there must have been a sense of moral

anxiety for playgoers as they were directed to analogous moments of significant moral

deliberation in these plays through the same means by which they were directed to a

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[31] Steven Mullaney, 'Mourning and Misogyny: *Hamlet, The Revenger's Tragedy* and the Final
Progression of Elizabeth I, 1600-1607', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), p. 144.
[32] Notably, *Arden of Faversham* (1588-1592), the one revenge tragedy/domestic tragedy of the 1590s set
in England, ends with a return to civic order and the pronouncement of death sentences on the offenders.
The Mayor is given the final line of the play proper and says, 'To speedy execution with them all' (*Ard.*
Xviii, 39). Likewise the English ambassador arrives after the bloodshed in the final scene of *Hamlet* and a
type of order is restored in Elsinore under his and Fortinbras' guidance. See Anon., *Arden of Faversham*,
ed. by Martin White (London: A&C Black, 1995). Umberto Eco aptly describes a 'fictional wood' into
which the reader (or indeed playgoer) enters, and in doing so, enters a 'fictional agreement' with the
writer (or playwright and players) to separate the fictional world of our experience and 'the world that for
now, without too many ontological commitments, we call the actual world'. Umberto Eco, *Six Walks in
Fictional Woods* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 77.
[33] Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, p. 13.

single didactic message of authority outside the theatre. In the revenge canon, where these moments inevitably lead to a transgression of the rules of secular and/or religious authority, this feeling must have been especially heightened. For in revenge tragedies, with their interweaving of familial, civic, and religious duty, the entertainment of the stage revenge is dependent exactly on the excision of such prudent subject behaviour on the part of the protagonist. Directed towards transgressive behaviour in the plays by the same semiotic arrangement which outside the theatre informs them of their subjection, playgoers are caught between the culturally inculcated denunciation of the avenging actions and their non-committal attendance at such an entertainment.

III - THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF STAGE SPECTACLE

In the revenge tragedies I will be discussing, several features of stage spectacle are consistently used: namely masques, dumb shows, plays-within-plays, funeral processions, dances, trials and executions, and cadavers left onstage. All, except plays-within-plays, are self-evidently stage spectacle since they require no accompanying narrative (although frequently, this too is provided). We know that the dumb show (in part) summarises lengthy action, just as we know that the remaining 'cadaver' is only playing dead. Plays-within-plays have been included on the basis that the onstage presence of characters attending a dramatic performance meta-theatrically directs playgoer attention to the mutability of the reception and interpretation of stage spectacle. This idea will be discussed further in the following analyses of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet*. The investigation of these stage spectacles will proceed from an analysis of how playwrights appropriate spectacles from outside the theatre in their plays, to a textual analysis of the analogous use of evocative scenes of stage spectacle in a representative selection of plays from the revenge genre. In particular, I analyse and

isolate playwrights' manifold uses of spectacle in dramatic staging to direct playgoer attention, and to prompt playgoers to recollect earlier analogous scenes.

MASQUES

In order to discuss masques, the first distinction that must be made is between the court masque and the masque included in stage drama. The former is an allegorical show, described by Stephen Orgel as being 'for the court and about the court'.[34] The latter is the inclusion of a minor masque-like scene in a play with a court setting. David Lindley describes the court masque's normal configuration:

> Its heart is the appearance of a group of noble personages dressed in elaborate disguise to celebrate a particular occasion and to honour their monarch. They perform some specially designed (and well-rehearsed) masque dances, and then take out the members of the court audience in the communal dance of the revels. The fundamental job of the masque writer was to provide a fiction to explain the disguised arrival, and the basic symbolic assertion of all court masques derived from the moment of the dissolution of the masque's fiction into the social reality of the court.[35]

As Jerzy Limon points out 'the boundary between the masque world and the nonmasque world of the court is not clearly marked, if at all'.[36] Stephen Orgel points out that in court masques,

> the audience was as much on display as the performers, and contemporary accounts tend to dwell at greatest length on the spectators, not the players. This,

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[34] Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 38.
[35] David Lindley, 'Introduction' to *The Court Masque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 1.
[36] Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), p. 93.

of course, was entirely appropriate, since the center of the spectacle was not the entertainment but the entertained, the monarch.[37]

The court masque works as a glorifying ritual of triumph and excess where the monarch is celebrated, through allegory and association, as an ideal heroic leader.[38] Jean Wilson observes that the spectators of such entertainments and masques might be described as threefold: the monarch 'whom it honours, the public who view it, and the participants themselves'.[39] For the monarch 'is shown not only as he is […] but as he should be – as, indeed, he ideally is' and 'the masque itself serves as a vindication of the reality of the ideal vision'. For the spectators, they are being shown 'an image of their own country, as embodied in its elite' and in that sense 'the masques and pageants are exercises in public relations'. Participants would have been aware 'that they were engaged in a ritual in which they presented themselves to and for themselves'.[40] In the appropriation of these private court practices for the public stage, such concepts of state representation and ratification, and also the multiple focal points of the spectacle, are especially important in directing and prompting playgoer attention to ideas of authority.

It is outside the scope of this study to discuss individual court masques, but rather the focus must fall on how playwrights took this private court practice and adapted it for their plays in the public theatre. Enid Welsford points out the practical application of such masques in drama:

Masques and pageants were frequently inserted into Elizabethan tragedies. A sudden change from masquing to murder, from revelry to revenge, was a

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[37] Stephen Orgel, 'Making Greatness Familiar', *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. by David M. Bergeron (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981), p. 22.
[38] Stephen Orgel suggests that the court masque 'presents the triumph of an aristocratic community; at its center is a belief in the hierarchy and a faith in the power of idealization'. Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 40.
[39] Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabethan I* (New Jersey: D.S. Brewer, 1980), p. 9.
[40] Jean Wilson, p. 11.

favourite tragic motif, and even when the masque did not actually bring about a catastrophe, it deepened the horror, and brought with it a stifling atmosphere of intrigue and corruption.[41]

Masques become a stage convention in revenge tragedies in the early modern period.[42] Clearly masques in stage plays are an appropriation of an exclusive and codified court practice in a much shorter and less elaborately choreographed form. Masques are inviting pieces of stagecraft in that the playgoer can see a spectacle which is normally reserved for more privileged eyes.[43] They invite the playgoer, as a spectator, into the rituals of court, yet predominantly it is to appropriate that celebratory ritual into something more dangerous or subversive. It would be facile to make a comparison between subtle political messages in the court masques and the more obvious intra- or extra-textual political messages (or indeed the physical acts of revenge) found in masques in plays, but rather the main point is that the majority of playgoers would be aware that such entertainment takes place in the enclosed arena of the Elizabethan or Jacobean court. For the learned playgoer they may relate the neo-Platonic 'conception of the possibilities of art' found in the spectacular court masques whereby 'images are shadows of the 'truth' that lies behind and beyond them' as David Lindley suggests, to

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[41] Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 292.
[42] This is true of revenge tragedies such as *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587), *Titus Andronicus* (1591), *Antonio's Revenge* (1600), *The Malcontent* (1603), *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606), *Women Beware Women* (1621), *The Maid's Tragedy* (1610), *Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1632), *The Traitor* (1631) and *The Cardinal* (1641). Indeed in *Antonio's Revenge*, *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Cardinal* at least one person is killed in each by masquers.
[43] As Stephen Orgel suggests, one of the chief attractions of Elizabethan popular theatre was its pageantry and masques because of 'its ability to mime the spectacle of courts and aristocratic enterprises to an urban, pre-dominantly middle-class audience in a society that had grown relatively [...] mobile'. Orgel 'Making Greatness Familiar' p. 19.

the inclusion of such spectacles in the stage-play.[44] However, more plausibly, for the

majority of the playgoers the spectacle of the masque draws attention to four concepts:

the multiple-level spectator framework; their outside knowledge of court practices with

its social hierarchy and institutions; their recognition of the artificial construction of

such spectacle (both stage and court); and the state authority that is signified through

such spectacle. Drawing on Stephen Greenblatt's arguments for 'self-fashioning' in the

early modern period, Jerzy Limon suggests that the court masque 'functions as a

manifestation of the concrete behaviour of its particular authors and as a reflection of

the codes by which behaviour is shaped, and it reflects upon these codes'.[45] However,

for the playwrights of the public theatre the inclusion of masques in their plays is not

bounded by either a didactic or sycophantic frame. Also their plays may be performed

many times for many audiences and, as Curtis C. Breight suggests, through 'displacing

commentary on English *realpolitik*' to continental Europe they avoid suspicion or

censorship.[46] Perhaps, therefore, it is unsurprising that masques in revenge tragedy

plays either reveal disunity in court, or, moreover, play an active part in dismantling the

court's set-up. That is not to say that masques in stage-plays are evidence of any type of

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[44] Lindley, 'Introduction', pp. 1-5. Stephen Orgel suggests that the court masque 'is a form that most consistently projects a world in which all the laws of nature have been understood and attacks of mutability defeated'. Stephen Orgel, 'The Poetics of Spectacle', *New Literary History*, Vol. 2, No. 3 Performances in Drama, the Arts, and Society (Spring, 1971), p. 387. Counterpointing this, David Lindley's critical concern is with the mutability of interpretation of court masques. He observes that in recent criticism, 'commentators have concentrated on the precise political context of individual masques to reveal their embodiment of the ideology of the court and to uncover ways in which performances might figure the designs and political desires of the king, or contrariwise might encode, in however devious and indirect fashion, the political positions of particular noblemen and women who sponsored or took part in them. The court masque, then, while it might merely seem sycophantically to idealise the court was in fact attempting to steer and control the understanding of the audience'. David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 17-18. In the revenge genre of theatre of entertainment, the included court masques can be equally equivocal as will be seen in my analysis of *The Spanish Tragedy*, but the most notable examples (e.g. *Antonio's Revenge* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*) overturn the court-sanctioned spectacle of authority into a transgressive attack by the avenger subject on that authority.

[45] Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), p. 93.

[46] Curtis C. Breight, *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), p. 78.

political subversion by the playwrights (if so, we must read every play which contains

regicide as a political polemic) but rather that playwrights are directing playgoers'

attention to the meta-theatricality and artifice of such a device and in doing so

illuminating such court behavioural codes (intra- and extra-textual) as a form of role-

playing. While the court practice signifies unity and authority, in revenge tragedy plays

the masque inevitably dismantles this unity (or unveils disunity) and suggests the

frailties of such an artificial construction.

DUMB SHOWS

In the course of her study on *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy*,

Muriel Bradbrook did much to define the dramatic purpose of the dumb show,

describing it as an 'economic and vivid way of giving events' which helped to 'confuse

the time sequence' through which it 'discomposed the narrative by making some of the

action telescoped and symbolic'.[47] Bradbrook asserts that the 'action in the dumb show

must certainly have been inflated' and 'at its worst it was purely spectacular'.[48]

Similarly, Andrew Gurr suggests that 'dumb shows were affairs of pure spectacle'

which at their simplest were 'parades of spectacle, formal processions using all the most

gorgeous apparel, with crowns, sceptres, torches and swords' (190). Dieter Mehl

highlights a 'marked reliance on the sensational and spectacular' in dumb shows,

asserting that in plays like *Gorboduc* (1562) and *Jocasta (1566)* the authors 'tried to

relieve the monotony of the formal structure by inserting scenes of a pantomime

nature'.[49] However, this approach to dumb shows may be misleading. As I have

suggested earlier, stage spectacle mimetically reproduces a fundamental means of

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[47] Muriel Clara Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions*, p. 43; p. 14; p. 35.
[48] M.C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions*, p. 27.
[49] Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show* (London: Methuen, 1964), p. 25; p. 5.

communicating secular or religious authority to the subject in early modern England.

Thus, such dumb shows, Michael Hattaway suggests, can be understood as related to

the 'religious and civic shows of the late Middle Ages, to Royal Entries, City Pageants,

and Lord Mayor's processions'.[50] Furthermore, Hattaway describes dumb shows as

'obvious occasions for spectacular moments in plays [which provided a] kind of

dramatic shorthand as dramatists could draw upon the moral learning of iconological

encyclopaedias and emblem books as well as on the familiar devices of English

heraldry'.[51] Similarly, William E. Engel, in connecting early modern cultural practices

to literary traditions that evolve from memory training, suggests that the dumb show is

like an emblem from an emblem book which 'contracts recognisable icons into a single

frame, and imparts a message through multiple means'.[52]

Mehl traces the origins and development of the dumb show and describes how

early dumb shows primarily portray 'allegorical and mythological subjects' while 'later

ones usually contain a telescoped version of a scene from the play itself'.[53] The

importance of both types of dumb shows cannot be underestimated in terms of their

utility as mnemonic devices; the first type forces the playgoer to reflect upon and

interpret the spectacle with regard to the formal narrative, while the second consciously

breaks the temporal framework of the play (*Hamlet* is different in this regard, as I will

demonstrate) and meta-theatrically calls the playgoer's attention to the artificially

constructed time-frame in the play itself.

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[50] Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), p. 64.
[51] Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre*, p. 64.
[52] William E. Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England*, p. 47
[53] Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show*, p. 25. Bradbrook points out the cross-over the inter-relation of these two types of dumb show stating that while 'the early dumb shows were allegorical, [...] the later ones have a special atmosphere of portentousness which easily becomes allegorical'. M.C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions*, p. 42. Early examples can be found in *Gorboduc* (1562), *Jocasta* (1566) and *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587) while the later type is found in plays such as *The Battle of Alcazar* (1589), *Hamlet* (1600/01), *Antonio's Revenge* (1601), *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607), *The White Devil* (1612), *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613) and *The Changeling* (1622).

PLAY-WITHIN-THE-PLAY

Masques, dumb shows and plays-within-plays all force the playgoer to be aware

of their role as a spectator. However, with the play-within-the-play a subtle but

significant distinction can be made since the playgoers must be aware of the stage-

player and the stage-playgoer as each moment is played out. While it may have been

possible with the dumb show for the playgoer to focus entirely on the show while being

conscious of how it reflects the formal narrative action, and while in the masque one is

constantly aware of the deliberate inter-connection between the show and the plot, in

the play-within-the-play the playgoer is viewing and connecting two apparently self-

contained dramatic units. However, both units are also inter-connected by the

playgoers' recognition of the machinations behind such a play. Moreover, the playgoers

are aware that certain onstage characters are also aware of the play-within-the-play's

purpose while other characters are not. This, in turn, directs playgoer attention to

multiple stage focal points.[54] Thus, the play-within-the-play creates an intricate

framework of spectacle, spectacle of spectatorship and spectatorship where the on-stage

characters mirror the role of the playgoers themselves (i.e. to watch, listen and

interpret). Through this framework of spectatorship the play-within-the-play directs the

playgoers' attention to what it means to be in the role of spectator, how to interpret

what the spectacle represents (whether the spectacle reinforces or challenges authority),

and the mutability of interpretation.

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[54] For example, in *Hamlet* when Lucianus 'pours the poison in the sleeper's ears' (*Ham.* III.ii.253 SD) the playgoer is certainly watching the stage murder, but he also must watch for Claudius' reaction, and for Hamlet's reaction to this reaction, and to a lesser extent for Horatio's reaction to Claudius' reaction, and also for Gertrude's reaction both to the staged murder and also her son's and new husband's reaction, and also for the stage play-goers' reactions (including Polonius and Ophelia) to see if they suspect anything.

FUNERAL PROCESSIONS

While masques, dumb shows and plays-within-the-play may invoke/evoke or recall for playgoers the social and political institutions to which they are subject: on-stage funerals, funeral processions and dead marches recall that final authority to which all are subject, death. Funeral processions and, indeed, discussions of appropriate funeral rites, are unsurprisingly quite common in revenge drama.[55] The religious controversy surrounding burial rites will be discussed in chapter four, but, for now, I suggest that a fascination with the ceremonies surrounding death may reflect the concerns of early modern audiences. Theodore Spencer asserts that

> As the sixteenth century began, and the worldly ideals of Italy spread more widely through France and England, the emphasis on the present life naturally increased, and one would expect to find that the old teaching about death has correspondingly begun to fade. But this was not so. The more joyous the voice of life grew, the louder became the hollow tones of death, and beneath all the grandeur [...] men still saw the mockery of the skull.[56]

Furthermore, such constant meditation on death for the individual was supported in religious ideology. As Spencer insists,

> All serious opinion, public and private, Roman Catholic and Protestant, said the same thing: '*Memento homo quod cinis es!*' '*Cogita mori ut vivas!*' – the

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[55] Funeral ceremonies (scant and inappropriate though they may be) occur in *Hamlet*, *Antonio's Revenge* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*. Michael Neill has pointed out that much of the action in various revenge tragedies stems from inappropriate honouring of the dead, citing *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Titus Andronicus*. Michael Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 265. Dead marches (where the body is lifted and marched from the stage) can be found in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, *Antonio's Revenge*, *Hoffman* (1602) *and Valentinian* (1614).
[56] Theodore Spencer, *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 36. The skull, that distinctive *memento mori* which seems so horrific in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, is a commonplace image in paintings and sculpture from this period. In Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* he discusses at length the significance of the death's head as a *memento mori* in Holbein's 'The Ambassadors'. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, pp. 17-27.

warning was shouted from all points of the compass. Think of death, for the whole race of Adam is corrupt with sin, and only by thinking of death may the stain be removed.[57]

Willard Farnham suggests that this 'new tragic view of life' flourished during the early modern period, and describes how death was artistically represented in 'all the gross horrors which imagination could contrive'.[58]

[Representation of death] was popular in a number of varieties; there were, for example, the Dance of Death and many ingenious *memento mori* devices. The preparation for this art is to be found in literature of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, but the actual picturing and carving of Death as a skeleton, a death's head, or a decaying corpse preyed upon by worms came into sudden popularity at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth. The age of memento mori was the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and its popularity had a climax in the designs of the sixteenth century. Its devices appeared everywhere, in paintings and prints, on sepulchral monuments, as architectural ornaments, on many kinds of jewelry, in books of emblems, books of hours, and other devotional books, on rosary beads, and on medals.[59]

The use of such evocative imagery to recall the individual to the authority to which they are subject (in this case, death and its appendant religious signification) is unsurprising in this period, as I have suggested in the opening chapter. This subject/authority relationship between the individual and death is explored in many contemporary writings. For example, in William Bullein's *A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* (1564), the allegorical character Mors (Death) informs Ciuis (Civilian) 'you are my

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[57] Spencer, p. 52.
[58] Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), pp 40-41.
[59] Farnham, pp. 41-2.

subiect, and I am your Lorde'.[60] Given such a preoccupation with death, and the use of

spectacle as a principal means of communicating authority (death and its appendant

religious signification), great cultural importance was attached to funeral ceremonies.

Michael Neill observes that in Tudor and Stuart England the funerals of the great

'belonged to a species of public theatre, for they were self-consciously designed as

pieces of street-pageantry or "triumph"'.[61] Nigel Llewellyn suggests that 'the funerals

of the great were, clearly, deeply memorable occasions which helped construct and

reconstruct social experience'.[62] Neill has suggested that great early modern funerals

were both 'biographical drama and political theatre, designed [...] to insist upon the

"continuity of the social body" in the face of Death's subversive challenge; and since

funeral pageantry belonged to the public language of power, its splendours were

vigorously promoted by the state'.[63] Llewellyn describes at length the visual culture of

mourning in this period and suggests that 'public mourning was almost totally

concerned with signifying practice' whereby the 'natural body was virtually forgotten

and culture's concern was to support the accumulation of meanings attributed to the

social body'.[64] Clearly funeral processions invested greatly in mnemonic devices to

preserve the memory of the deceased, but these signifiers also preserved the memory of

that funeral occasion itself.

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[60] William Bullein, *A Dialogue bothe Pleasaunte and Pietifull wherein is a Goodly Regimente against the Feuer Pestilence with a Consolacion and Comfort against Death* (London: Ihon Kingston, 1564) *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 17/06/08] (p. 77)

[61] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 267. Furthermore Neill points out that, 'every detail of the funeral procession, from the display of knightly arms, banners, and heraldic devices to the arrangement of successive groups of paupers, yeomen, household servants, serving gentlemen, client gentry, and noble mourners, was designed to proclaim not just the power, wealth, and status of the defunct, but their place inside a fixed and unassailable social order, to which the rituals of the Church gave ultimate sanction and the inscription and iconography of the tomb bore lasting testament'. Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 269.
[62] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p. 60.
[63] Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 279.
[64] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p. 93.

Playwrights obviously made use of such a national preoccupation.[65] On stage, telescoped versions of these funeral processions evoked both outside knowledge and memories of off-stage funerals, while also prompting the recollection of the character once 'alive' and now 'deceased'. Of course, they also evoke the memory of other stage deaths and other stage funerals and processions. Clearly also, the spectacle involved in funerals or funeral processions on-stage is not merely the coffin or tomb but also the affected mourners. Therefore, for the playgoers the funeral spectacle involves the evocation of death (in terms of their awareness of the dead character, their own mortality and the authority of death), and of mourning as a social practice (in terms of the mourners and the mourning ritual) and the inter-relation between the contemplation and the practice.

DANCE

Dance is found in revenge tragedies in three main forms: within the masque; as a dance of madmen; or a court measure.[66] Dance is a ritual which, as Alan Brissenden observes,

> From classical times onward [has] been a symbol of harmony and concord, and in the elaborate entertainments of the Renaissance courts especially this symbolism [is] supported by spectacle of costume and setting.[67]

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[65] As Stephen Greenblatt has suggested, 'Shakespeare's theater was not isolated by its wooden walls, nor did it merely reflect social and ideological forces that lay entirely outside it: rather the Elizabethan and Jacobean theater was itself a *social event* in reciprocal contact with other events'. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, p. 15. Michael Neill supports this by suggesting that 'the stage funeral [...] can never have been a merely neutral piece of action; as with other forms of pageantry, its gestures and décor carried with them a freight of social and political meanings on which the dramatists were bound to draw'. Michael Neill, 'Exeunt with a Dead March', *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. by David M. Bergeron (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981), p. 162.

[66] Examples of masque dancing can be found in *Titus Andronicus*, *Antonio's Revenge*, *The Malcontent*, and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, examples of the dance of madmen can be found in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling*, and examples of a court measure can be found in *The Malcontent* and *Cupid's Revenge*. A notable exception (or perhaps more aptly, an agglomeration of all these types of dance) can be found in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* where the avengers dance over Montsurry's body.

Furthermore, dance 'was seen as the means by which order came out of primal chaos'.[68]

In revenge tragedy, however, dance primarily opposes such notions of order and unity, and furthers the revenge plot through exposing disunity in court or through enabling the avengers to take action. Moreover, the inter-relationship between spectacles of dance and death may recall that other dominant motif found in late medieval and early modern art, *La Danse macabre* or 'the Dance of death', which Farnham traces as influential in the first extant morality in English, *The Pride of Life* (ca. 1400), and the later *Castle of Perseverance* (ca. 1425).[69] Michael Neill suggests that 'for audiences of this culture even relatively insignificant details whose connection with the Dance is now obscured may have set up powerful resonances'.[70] Dance in revenge tragedies therefore evokes a response from the playgoers in two main forms: it highlights the ritual of the dance as an indicator of the disunity and disharmony in the court; or it summons a meditation on death through a motif which is dominant in artwork from this period.

TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS

In revenge plays where the entertainment and (more often than not) resolution of the action is dependent on the avenger transgressing the civic and religious injunction against murder, it is perhaps surprising that there is a dearth of trials and executions involving protagonists. Often the avenger dies in completing his duty (for example, in *Hamlet*) or commits suicide (for example Hieronimo in *The Spanish Tragedy*, or Clermont in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*) or is acquitted of all wrong (for example, Antonio in *Antonio's Revenge*). The exception to this can be found in *The*

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[67] Alan Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* (London & Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981), p. 3.

[68] Brissenden, p. 3.

[69] Farnham, pp. 182-191.

[70] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 58.

Revenger's Tragedy where Vindice celebrates (rather than confesses) his deeds, is arrested and leaves the stage guarded. The Oresteian model (of challenge, action, and account-for-action) is never fully orchestrated in these plays. However, within the plays there are often arrests, trial scenes, and executions involving minor characters.[71]

The inclusion of such scenes in these plays suggests that a working judicial system which will punish those who transgress the boundaries outlined by that system exists in the fictional world of the play. That these scenes should occur early in the tragedies either calls attention to the faults present within that system (for punishing those who should not be punished) or highlights how the avenger protagonist can not use that system to his own benefit. The avengers normally do not have legal recourse because those who have wronged them are in a dominant position in that society. The trial and execution ceremonies must also resonate with the playgoer's knowledge of trials and executions which were public events in this period.

However, there is also a key separation between the evocation of real state authority and of systems of justice in the play. In Aeschylus's *Eumenides*, Athena's final judgment in favour of Orestes validates the playgoers' support of the avenging protagonist. In early modern revenge drama the absence of that trial for the avenger forces a swift resolution on the action post-revenge. It is left for the playgoer to interpret the action and they themselves must bear witness to the avenger's actions. If the playwright has included a trial/execution scene earlier in the play this should resonate in the play's final scenes where the avenger resorts to a less societal-bound form of justice.

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[71] Most notable are Pedringano's arrest and execution in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Quintus and Martius' trial, sentencing and execution in *Titus Andronicus*, the Duchess's younger son's trial and sentence in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, and the scaffold scene in *The Atheist's Tragedy* where D'Amville accidentally kills himself with the executioner's axe.

CADAVERS LEFT ON-STAGE

In a society fascinated by death, where public anatomy theatres and public executions were widely attended, and where playwrights actively attempted to tend to these interests, it is unsurprising that revenge tragedies became popular and that the mutilated or dead body is a central figure in this genre. The sight of the body evokes multiple responses due to its manifold cultural resonances. There is the obvious pathos and tragedy of seeing 'death' in close proximity and watching the other characters' mournful reactions and the evocation of mortality and the afterlife. However, it also evokes the physical side of death, the breakdown of life, or lifelessness - what it means to be without life. From the moment Horatio's body is found hanging in the arbour in *The Spanish Tragedy* the sight of the dead, decayed, or mutilated body becomes a dominant feature of revenge tragedy plays. In *Horestes* (1567) Aeghistus is murdered but his body is borne offstage within fourteen lines.[72] One evolution of the revenge genre which Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* brings, which is highlighted in *Titus Andronicus*, perfected by *Hamlet*, and made horrific in *Hoffman, Antonio's Revenge, The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, is a meditation on the dead body. Whereas the dead Andrea who watches and comments upon the action of *The Spanish Tragedy* evokes contemplation of the afterlife, that which is post-life, Horatio's body, as I suggest below, evokes contemplation on what it means to be lifeless. In this genre, cadavers are constantly left on-stage after some type of furious action and the remaining characters discuss the consequences of their or others' actions (for example, in the final scene of *Hamlet* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*). Life is clearly seen to be ongoing without the 'person', yet the physical body still exists. The memory of the person still

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[72] See John Pikeryng, *Horestes*, ed. by Marie Axton in *Three Tudor Classical Interludes* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1982) (*Hor.* 790-814).

exists, and the body of the person still exists, yet the person (a macabre reversal of Webster seeing the 'skull beneath the skin'[73]) is now part of the past. The spectacle of the dead body thus prompts the playhouse spectator to recall not only the living character. It also recalls the conditions which led to his or her death, whether, for example, the fall-out from a contestation of authority or as punishment for that character transgressing against those in authority within the play.

IV - THE PLAYS

Now, after examining how authority in early modern English society is sustained through the use of memorable didactic spectacles, and after discussing at the various types of stage spectacle employed by playwrights in the theatre of entertainment and how these can be understood as an appropriation of the cultural practices examined in the opening section, I apply these findings to a representative selection of plays from the revenge tragedy genre. In doing so, I analyse the multiple forms of stage spectacle found in these plays, and the mnemonic properties and dramatic effect of analogous scenes of stage spectacle for playgoers.

GORBODUC, OR FERREX AND PORREX (1562)

Beginning with an early example of the genre, my concern in this analysis is with how Sackville and Norton used stage spectacle to direct playgoer reception of their play. Dumb shows precede the five Acts of *Gorboduc* and provide symbolic visual prologues to the rhetorical debates of the play. I suggest that the function of these dumb shows (directing playgoer interpretation) is intimately linked with the implicit

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[73] T.S. Eliot, 'Whispers of Immortality', *The Complete Poems and Plays* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), p. 52.

contestation of authority found in the play. In a play which is entrenched in dense political rhetoric, the dumb shows have both movement and arresting imagery. They also foreshadow the debates which follow, informing the playgoers of what will occur in the next Act. For select playgoers 'The Argument of the Tragedy' would have been circulated before the play.[74] Moreover the tale of Gorboduc and his warring sons would have been well-known in this period.[75] In such an arrangement the narrative is clearly secondary to the way in which the narrative is expressed. However, with such an emphasis on the oratorical arrangement, why include the dumb shows to further explicate a known story? The simplest answer is the entertainment factor of these spectacles, but this does not account for how such spectacles direct playgoer reception of the play.

Gorbuduc was first performed on Twelfth Night, 1562, and was the crowning entertainment at a lavish banquet at the Inner Temple. The play was written by two members of the Inner Temple, 'the Queen's cousin Thomas Sackville and the Protestant Parliamentarian Thomas Norton'.[76] Queen Elizabeth did not attend the first production, but attended another performance of the play less than two weeks later (18th January).[77] Both productions were performed on a specially built 'great scaffold' in Whitehall.[78] The nature of this 'great scaffold' suggests a type of elevated stage or platform from

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[74] As Dieter Mehl suggests: 'the written "argument" was [only] handed to the more important people in the audience at the beginning of the performance' in a manner similar to when at pageants 'only the Queen and her immediate followers were informed about the meaning of the show, while the rest of the audience has to be content with the outward spectacle and splendour'. Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show*, p. 11.

[75] Sackville and Norton draw on Geoffrey of Monmouth's hugely popular and influential *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136) for source material in *Gorboduc*. See Tydeman, 'Introduction', p.11.

[76] For the circumstances of these performances see Marie Axton's 'Robert Dudley and the Inner Temple Revels, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Sep., 1970), p. 365. I am indebted to Andrew Power for directing me towards this article.

[77] See William Tydeman's 'Introduction' to Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's *Gorboduc* in *Two Tudor Tragedies*, ed. by William Tydeman (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 14.

[78] Henry Machyn, an eyewitness of the event, wrote that on 'the eighteenth day of January was a play in the Queen's hall at Westminister by the gentlemen of the Temple, and after a great masque, for there was a great scaffold in the hall, with great triumph as has been seen; and the morrow after the scaffold was taken down' *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J.G. Nichols (London, 1878), pp. 273-274.

which the players were above the spectators. This trajectory is indeed ideal for the didactic tone of the play and, of course, can carry connotations of the pulpit, the judge, the execution stage, and public civic proclamations. The play was written and performed just under three years after Elizabeth's proclamation on dramatic censorship (7th April, 1559) which prescribed 'that a license [was] not to be given to plays dealing with matters of religion or the governance of the state'.[79] In *Gorboduc*, however, such a ruling is clearly not heeded. Paul Whitfield White observes that the political and religious message is explicit:

> The play offered the Queen advice not only on accession, but also on how to rule a Christian commonwealth, espousing Calvin's own political notion of a Christian monarchy strongly guided by and indeed ruling in conjunction with parliament.[80]

The play has been interpreted as Sackville and Norton's promotion of the suit of Robert Dudley, or as a polemic on the succession crisis and a promotion of the Grey line.[81] Terry Reilly, meanwhile, understands *Gorbuduc* as 'a craft-bound play, written by lawyers to be performed before lawyers and politicians' which connects the 'quasi-mythic reign of Gorboduc to the contemporary succession controversy and to the

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[79] Paul Whitfield White, 'Patronage, Protestantism, and Stage Propaganda in Early Elizabethan England', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 21, Politics, Patronage and Literature in England 1558-1658, Special Number (1991), MHRA, p. 43. White convincingly argues that this proclamation was not seriously enforced, and that 'Protestant stage propaganda was practised into the early 1570s'. White, 'Patronage', p. 43. I return to these ideas in the final chapter.

[80] White, 'Patronage', p. 43.

[81] On *Gorboduc* and the question of Elizabeth's marriage see Susan Doran's 'Juno versus Diana: The treatment of Elizabeth I's marriage in plays and entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Jun., 1995), esp. pp. 257-262. Doran suggests that '*Gorboduc* followed the precepts laid down in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559); that all monarchs should look into the mirrors held up through poetry and drama to learn how to behave wisely and morally. Thus the play was designed to send out a clear message to Elizabeth that should she imitate the actions of King Gorboduc, retribution would swiftly follow. Just as Gorboduc had acted against the natural order in dividing his kingdom between his two sons, so Elizabeth would be acting against nature if she refused to marry, and just as Gorboduc's action had led to a country bereft of an obvious heir and to a consequent civil war, so would Elizabeth's rejection of matrimony', p. 261. As David Bevington observes, Elizabeth I made it clear that 'the sort of advice proffered in *Gorboduc* was not to her taste'. David Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 143.

contemporary debate concerning inheritance practices'.[82] While these interpretations

contextualise the arguments of the play, they only explain the play's appeal as a type of

dramatised political polemic, and do not consider how the play is structured to render

such arguments. Thus, David Bevington shrewdly acknowledges that the play's

'interest in rhetoric signifies the exploration of language as a useful public art', but he

ignores the notion of spectacle as an equally useful public art.[83]

The stylised rhetoric used in the laboured debates between Gorboduc, his sons,

and their counsellors complicate what are easily understandable arguments. In Act one,

scene two, it takes Philander over a hundred lines to tell Gorboduc that it would be a

mistake to divide his land between his sons while he is still alive. However, the

opening argument of the play has already forewarned the playgoer of Gorboduc's

intention; and likewise the dumb show and explanation have already insisted on

Gorboduc dividing his land. Of course, many of the playgoers would be aware of the

story of Gorboduc anyway. Moreover, as Bradbrook suggests, 'the audiences were

trained by their whole dramatic tradition to feel an allegorical significance behind a

formal or mythic grouping' and, furthermore, to interpret it correctly.[84] Likewise the

first dumb show is performed, articulated in language, and interpreted for the playgoer,

before any debate occurs. For those playgoers who received 'the Argument' the debate

is the third time the essentials of the plot are imparted. For the other playgoers it is the

second time, but clearly the first dumb show is so explicit in its lesson that no-one could

fail to predict what is to occur. Knowing which arguments are successful or

unsuccessful is the most obvious implication from this; and this process elevates the

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[82] Terry Reilly, 'This is the case: *Gorboduc* and Early Modern English Legal Discourse Concerning Inheritance', *Tudor Drama before Shakespeare, 1485-1590*, ed. by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren, Martine van Elk (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 195.
[83] Bevington, David, *Tudor Drama and Politics*, p. 145.
[84] M.C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions*, p. 28.

role of the playgoer into the role of expectant interpreter is the result. The appeal of the play for the playgoer lies with their own ability to predict and judge the failings, the successes and the constructs of each argument. This is unsurprising in a play written for a legally-trained set of playgoers. The easily memorable image from the dumb show that precedes the dialogues in each Act enables the playgoer to predict and assess the arguments that follow.

Indeed the entire framework of the play can be seen to mirror the political message of the play: to avoid difficulties in the future it is prudent to draw on past examples and act accordingly to rectify that problematic future in the present. Such historical *exempla* are included in the play when Philander cites Morgan and Cunedag's rebellion, and the subsequent war between them.

PHILANDER   This kingdome, since the bloudie ciuill fielde
              Where Morgan slaine did yeld his conquered parte
              Unto his cosins sword in Camberland   (*Gor*. I.ii.161-163)[85]

Of course, the entire play is an *exemplum* of the consequences of unclear succession rules. Likewise the playgoers are drawing on the past (in the play through the dumb shows) to predict the present and future action. We can see therefore that spectacle in the dumb shows serves to instruct the playgoers in this reflective/predictive paradigm which underscores the political message of the play.

Such overt manipulation and instruction of playgoers in *Gorboduc* is a crude example of the use of stage spectacle to employ mnemonic principles in drama. It is reminiscent of the spectacle of all friends but 'Good Dedes' leaving Everyman in the morality play of the same name. It positions the playgoer to interpret the action under a

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[85] See note on text. This quotation is the same in both A and B texts and the line numbers are taken from J.Q. Adams's edition.

set of constructed interpretative principles. However, the final political message is singular, just as the religious message in *Everyman* is singular.

EUBULUS   But now O happie man, whom spedie death

Depriues of life, ne is enforced to see

These hugie mischiefes and these miseries,

These ciuil warres, these murders & these wronges.

Of iu[...]ice, yet must God in fine restore

This noble crowne vnto the lawfull heire:

For right will alwayes liue, and rise at length,

But wrong can neuer take deepe roote to last.

(*Gor*.V.ii.272-279).[86]

DOCTOUR   If his rekenynge be not clere when he doth come,

God wyll saye '*Ite, maledicti, in ingem aeternum!*'

And he that hath his accounte hole and sounde,

Hye in Heven he shall be crounde.   (*Everyman* 914-917).[87]

To dismiss the dumb shows as mere entertainment is to dismiss the framework for playgoer response in the play, which is dependent on associations made by the playgoers between spectacle and rhetoric within the reflective/predictive paradigm devised by Sackville and Norton. In this play, however, the use of stage spectacle is separated from the formal action and characters of the play proper. The connection is wholly allegorical, and playgoers must connect the meaning of the device to the

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[86] I have excerpted this quotation directly from the B-text. Line numbers are supplied from the Adams's edition. The quotation is problematic because in the B-text above we see that 'But now [...]' ends with 'wronges'. In the A-text, with its minimal punctuation, we see the first sentence continue into the second sentence. In Adams's edition, he ends the sentence at 'justice', thus making the preceding actions 'wrongs of justice'. In Tydeman's edition, he follows the B-text more closely and ends the sentence with 'wrongs'. Adams's enjambment changes the focus of the two sentences substantially, and juxtaposes civil injustices in the first sentence with divine restoration in the second. The corrupt A-text, with its lack of punctuation joins both ideas. The B-text connotes justice with divine restoration, and seems the most appropriate ending for this play.

[87] "Everyman", *Medieval Drama: an Anthology*, ed. Greg Walker (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 281-298.

narrative and subtext of the play. My concern in the later plays is with how playwrights' recurrent use of scenes of analogous stage spectacle (connoted with certain characters or nexus of ideas) direct playgoer attention to how authority is communicated or contested in the plays, and create evocative resonances with similar off-stage uses of spectacle in authoritative practices.

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY (1587)

In this seminal revenge play, Thomas Kyd creates a series of visual analogues which direct playgoer attention to how injustices are perpetrated by those in authority through their control of the media for representing the past. Both misrepresentation of the past and the restrictions placed on representation must have been especially resonant for a late Elizabethan set of playgoers, not least in contemporary reformist politico-religious historical revisionism, but also in the sharply defined societal demarcations where the possible satisfaction of grievances endured was often dependant upon wealth and position. These ideas will be further explored in the final two chapters on aural and verbal prompts, but in this chapter I discuss how the playwright's use of spectacle directs playgoer attention. In Kyd's corrupt Spanish court setting (through which the playwright is blatantly profiting from the anti-Spanish sentiment propagated in contemporary propaganda, yet also holding a mirror to the inequalities of the English system) authority is articulated through spectacle. Moreover, the perpetration of injustice by those in authority in this corrupt play-world is exemplified through spectacle. Culminating with the 'Soliman and Perseda' play, we see how Hieronimo's transgressive revenge on these figures of authority overturns the conventional regulatory use of such staged spectacle.

In Kyd's play, the Andrea and Revenge framing device turns the play proper into a play-within-a-play on 'a gigantic scale'.[88] Andrea has returned from the Virgilian/quasi-Purgatorial afterlife with the allegorical figure of Revenge as choric commentators on the action of the play proper.[89] Andrea is representative of life post-death: an embodied speaking representation of the person that once was which contrasts greatly throughout with the bodies of the murdered characters in the play proper. Unlike the revenants in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* or *The Atheist's Tragedy*, Andrea is, like Tantalus in *Thyestes* (the Senecan model which Kyd is appropriating), ultimately outside the action of the play proper, a spectator much like the playgoers.[90] However, he is also integrated into Kyd's overall design as a representative of a pre-play past, a past which is never allowed to be presented faithfully in the corrupt Spanish court.[91] Moreover, Andrea is an interested party in the play proper demanding retribution for his death in battle.[92] The pre-play past which leads to his death sets in motion the series of events which lead

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[88] Bradbrook, 43.

[89] In chapter four, I discuss discussing Kyd's treatment of the afterlife at further length. In using the choric model, Kyd is following both classical and contemporary drama. Ronald Broude notes precedents for this in the Inner Temple play *Gismond of Salerne* and Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*. See Ronald Broude, 'Time, Truth, and Right in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (Apr., 1971), p. 142.

[90] For a discussion of Kyd's use of Seneca see Scott McMillin's 'The Book of Seneca in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 14, No.2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1974), pp. 201-208. With the figure of Revenge, Kyd is similarly appropriating the Senecan model, where the allegorical figure 'Fury' accompanies Tantalus. However, he is also clearly drawing on the stock allegorical figures of the morality plays and mid-sixteenth century English drama. As Ronald Broude notes, 'Kyd follows the tradition established by *Vindicta Dei* in *The Three Laws* of John Bale, Nemesis in the anonymous *Respublica*, and Correction in George Walpull's *The Tide Tarrieth No Man*'. Broude, p. 142.

[91] For an interesting discussion of how Andrea 'is part of the drama' and 'not merely a spectator' because of how he is linked to Horatio, see Herbert R. Coursen. Jr.'s 'The Unity of *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 65, No. 5 (Oct., 1968), p. 772. I would counter this by saying it is fundamentally important that Andrea is merely a spectator, because it forces an association between this outside character and the playgoers which inevitably impacts upon their interpretation of the action in the central play world.

[92] Steven Justice notes the ambiguity surrounding Andrea's demand for retribution: 'One of the play's traditional puzzles has been Andrea's motive for revenge: death is, after all, one of those things that happen in war [...] Bel-imperia complains that Balthazar did not play fair [...] but this sounds more like bad manners than a capital crime, and at any rate does not seem to bother Andrea himself'. Steven Justice, 'Spain, Tragedy, and *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1985), p. 277.

to a fulfilment of Revenge's promise that '[Andrea] shalt see the author of [his] death

[…] Depriv'd of life by Bel-imperia' (*ST* I.i.87,89). That Andrea and Revenge are ever-

present spectators to the action of the play proper in a peripheral position of the stage

lends the immediate action a secondary focal point for the playgoers.[93] Awareness of

the figures of Andrea and Revenge as spectators recalls the original premise for revenge

and the pre-play past, but also points towards the inevitable future outlined by

Revenge's promise. This elaborate interweaving of past, present and future, through a

framework of multiple levels of interpretative spectatorship predicated on the use of

multiple stage focal points is repeated by Kyd on six occasions of stage spectacle in the

play.

In the masque of Act one, scene four (which is, in fact, a series of dumb

shows from a masque) Hieronimo explicates the 'mystery' and allegorical significance

of three knights capturing three kings and treating their respective captives with

respect.[94] After the first two knight and king set-pieces the King supports and celebrates

Hieronimo's explanation. Both of the first two Kings are Portuguese. The playgoers

must now be aware that they are watching a number of spectacles: the show itself;

Hieronimo as interpreter and organiser who is watching for the King and ambassador's

approval; the King and ambassador themselves; the Spanish court that is watching the

masque; and, of course, Andrea and Revenge who, like the spectators, are watching the

overall action. By the time the third show is performed the playgoers may reasonably

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[93] In Katherine Eisaman Maus's edition of the play, she suggests that Andrea and Revenge would sit in the upper stage. This suggestion, which would keep both characters highly visible throughout, while appealing, may be incorrect. In the third Act, 'A letter falleth' (*ST* III.ii.23 SD), and Maus sensibly acknowledges that this is 'presumably dropped from the upper stage'. Having Bel-imperia's blood-written letter fall from the same location as her dead ex-lover and the stock allegorical figure of Revenge, while thematically evocative, is also confusing and unnecessarily amplifies Hieronimo's initial doubt in the letter. Side-stage seems a more probable location for Andrea and Revenge throughout the action. Although in one justification of Maus's choice, Andrea's judgments in the final scene might be especially evocative from a raised stage position. See Katherine Eisaman Maus, *Four Revenge Tragedies*, p. 332; p. 339.

[94] All three shows represent semi-fictional English successes in the Iberian peninsula.

suspect that Hieronimo will give his explanation and then the King will support and celebrate that explanation. Hieronimo explains that in the third 'mystery' John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, comes to Spain and takes the King of Castile prisoner. Now, however, the Portugese ambassador validates and celebrates this final show by saying, 'this is an argument for our viceroy,| that Spain may not insult for her success' (*ST* I.iv.168-9). After each show there is an explanation and an interpretation of the past which validates present action. However, clearly Kyd is also drawing attention to the fact that interpretation of the past is dependent upon who is interpreting.

In the second Act the spectacle of Horatio's stabbed body hanging in the arbour is a pivotal moment in the play. For some ninety lines, from the end of scene four until the end of scene five, Horatio's body is the main object of focus. From when Balthazar, Lorenzo, Serberine, and Pedringano leave the stage until Hieronimo enters, the spectacle is of Horatio's hanging body alone. Horatio, who, unlike Andrea, has been visible as a living and breathing character, is now lifeless. Clearly Kyd is drawing attention to the point that the physical body still remains, yet the person, the character, is absent. Indeed Hieronimo separates the body from the person in his speech, while still recognising that the body was once the person, describing the spectacle as 'he that whilom was my son' (*ST* II.v.15) and a 'bloody corpse' (*ST* II.v.21). Similarly Isabella closes over Horatio's eye-lids 'for once these eyes were only my delight' (*ST* II.v.49) and separates the body from the person. The bloody handkerchief is taken by Hieronimo as a *memento mori* and he says that 'it shall not from me till I take revenge' (*ST* II.v.52). More interesting, however, is decision not to entomb the body until he has achieved revenge. The cadaver is to remain with Hieronimo, without any funeral until Horatio's death is avenged. Like the handkerchief, the body becomes a signifier to remember to avenge, but rather than something that should remind the avenger of who,

or what, he is avenging for, it is both signifier and sign.[95] It is the visual reminder of the series of injustices perpetrated by those in authority, but also provides the necessary visual prompt for Hieronimo to confront those in authority. Kyd is clearly aware of the evocative resonances of Horatio's dead body for playgoers, as its unveiling in the play's final scene demonstrates. I will return to this idea below, but first I want to discuss Kyd's other uses of stage spectacle.

The final scene of the third Act contains a dumb show for Revenge to comment upon or 'reveal' to Andrea. The first thing which is striking about his revelation is that it is descriptive rather than interpretative:

> *Enter a Dumb Show*
>
> ANDREA   Awake, Revenge, reveal this mystery.
> REVENGE   The two first, the nuptial torches bore,
>   As brightly burning as the mid-day's sun:
>   But after them doth Hymen hie as fast,
>   Clothed in sable, and a saffron robe,
>   And blows them out and quencheth them with blood,
>   As discontent that things continue so.
> ANDREA   Sufficeth me, thy meaning's understood [...]   (*ST* III.xv.28-36)

In *Gorboduc* the dumb shows were equally symbolic yet the matter was interpreted. Andrea appears to understand the dumb show's intent but it is not explicated to the playgoers. The message does seem rather simple however: that the potential marriage between Balthazar and Bel-imperia will end in bloodshed. Frank Ardolino interprets Andrea's 'thy meaning's understood' as to show that 'Andrea now finally understands

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[95] John Kerrigan writes that 'the scarf and handkercher, complementary emblems of remembrance [...] focus *The Spanish Tragedy* around the relationship between memory and revenge' John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy*, pp. 174-5. Such physical emblems, including most evocatively the revelation of Horatio's body in the final scenes, trace a visual representation of the past in the play.

what will happen in the play'.[96] Clearly, however, he cannot understand any more than what has been already told to him in the very opening scene of the play with Revenge's promise. However, Andrea's impatience at the impermanence of his memory in those who live (and the associated revenge he demands), and then appeasement, again clearly shows how Kyd elaborately directs the playgoers' attention to the interaction of the past in the present through spectacle. It also highlights the multiple possible interpretations of such spectacle.

Hieronimo's 'Soliman and Perseda' forms a play-within-a-play within a play-within-a-play within a play. It elaborates upon Hieronimo's masque since the players in Hieronimo's play are now characters in the formal play as well as characters in 'Soliman and Perseda'. In addition, two of the four actors, Lorenzo and Balthazar, are unaware that the other two actors, Hieronimo and Bel-imperia, are intending to cross the line between acting and its fictional world and the real world of the formal play. The success of Hieronimo and Bel-imperia is dependent on the court's and the other actors' belief in the drama (to achieve their revenge; clearly, they are not concerned by the aftermath).

For the playgoers this culmination of a series of analogous stage-spectacles is dramatically significant in a number of ways. Firstly, it meta-theatrically directs attention to the artifice involved in dramatic practice. Moreover, it recalls role-playing and self-presentation by the other characters throughout the play. Secondly, the matter of the play-within-the-play has been made explicit since it has already been described by Hieronimo in the first scene of the final Act.[97] The King and viceroy are also aware of the plot since they have the argument to the play. Therefore, the playgoer would have

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[96] Frank Ardolino, *Apocalypse and Armada in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1995), p. 26.

[97] If Hieronimo's play was originally played in sundry languages then this scene provides all the information needed for the interpretation of the action.

been aware that if the play is enacted properly both Erasto and Soliman (Lorenzo and Balthazar) die. However, Hieronimo has stated that Bel-imperia's character Perseda also must die. This recalls the promise of bloodshed from the dumb show, although the playgoers are as yet unaware whether or not both Balthazar and Bel-imperia will die. Thirdly, it directs attention to how Hieronimo and Bel-imperia's revenge is made as public as possible (with as many spectators as possible), contrasting with the earlier death of Horatio. Fourthly, the scene recalls Hieronimo's masque with its formal ostentation, the presentation of the past in the present and how this is subject to multiple interpretations. Finally, it recalls the opening scene of the play and Revenge's assertion that Andrea will see Balthazar 'depriv'd of life by Bel-imperia' (ST I.i.89) and recalls all that has occurred between the assertion and the eventual event.

Hieronimo's unveiling of the body of Horatio to the court after the *Soliman and Perseda* play is a self-conscious piece of theatricality by the mourning avenger. He says 'See here my show, look on this spectacle' (ST. IV.iv.89). The body on display creates a visual analogue with the earlier scene of the crime and its aftermath. The unveiling of the cadaver is Hieronimo's way of presenting that past publicly. In his mournful, yet also somehow gloating, speech to the court he explains the reality behind the fiction in his play, while also clearly stating the grievances he has suffered. However, of course, these grievances fall on deaf ears (for he is addressing the King of Spain whose nephew has just been murdered, and the King of Portingale who has just lost a son), and he is promptly arrested, and later commits suicide.

The play proper ends with a dead march where the Duke of Castile and Balthazar's bodies are borne from stage. Presumably Lorenzo's body is taken away too since he was the son of the Duke. After the Spanish court has been shattered by the socially transgressive, but notionally justifiable actions of the avenger Hieronimo, it is,

figuratively, those corrupt pieces of authority which have warranted such a response

from a subject who are picked up and carried from the stage. After the completion of

this spectacle, Andrea and Revenge comment on what has occurred in the play proper.

Evidently, the bodies of Hieronimo, Horatio, Bel-imperia still remain onstage during

this final scene. However, Andrea is delighted with the outcome of the drama stating

that 'these were spectacles to please my soul' (ST. IV.v.12) and asks Revenge if he can

condemn Castile, Lorenzo, Baltazar, Serberine and Pedringano to everlasting 'unrest'

(ST. IV.v.30).[98] This ambiguous ending is returned to in the following chapters, but for

now suffice it to say that this final spectacle completes a familiar visual pattern in the

play.

Kyd uses these analogous spectacles to direct the playgoers' attention to the

representations of the past in the present. The repetition of such scenes which make

similar demands on the playgoers' interpretative faculties prompts the recollection of

the earlier scene and its thematic appendage. The framing of these spectacles, with the

various onstage focal points, directs playgoer attention to the multiple interpretations of

these representations, and the mutability of renderings of the past in an unjust system.

While the overall play-outside-the-play device of Andrea and Revenge constantly

recalls the playgoer to the original premise for revenge in the play and asserts the right

of the past (represented by Andrea) to co-exist alongside (but ultimately outside) the

present action, the other spectacles from the dumb show to the unveiling of Horatio's

cadaver to the dead march of Hieronimo's enemies all emphatically assert the contrast

between who is presenting the past through spectacle and who is interpreting the

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[98] Thelma N. Greenfield suggests that Andrea's boastful and assumptive final speech is reminiscent of a stock dramatic convention from early Tudor plays where 'man, being man, repeatedly asserts his power of self-determination against great powers in competitions that finally concern his status in both worlds'. Greenfield isolates such precedents in the interlude *Hickscorner* (1513-1516) and in *The World and the Child* (1500-1522). See Thelma N. Greenfield, '*The Spanish Tragedy*: Revenge's and Andrea's Kindred', *Pacific Coast Philology*, Vol.16, No. 2 (Nov., 1981), p. 36, esp. pp. 33-37.

spectacle. The interpolation of these visual prompts direct playgoer attention to the means by which authority is mediated and controlled in the play. Hieronimo's overturning of play-world order is only temporary (through his play-within-the-play and display of the cadaver of his son) but his contestation of authority is mediated visually. The final removal of the bodies re-establishes the past order of the Spanish court. For a set of playgoers accustomed to seeing authority manifested visually, Kyd's recurrent use of spectacle to direct them to how authority is sustained and then contested in the play must have been especially resonant.

In this analysis, therefore, I have shown that Kyd uses a series of memorable evocative visual prompts to direct playgoer attention to analogous significant moments, but also to a complex nexus of ideas about how authority is communicated, mediated, and contested in the play. In the next section I discuss how recurring visual prompts may also be used to evocatively compound significant themes of authority and subjection in drama.

TITUS ANDRONICUS (1594)

In Shakespeare's early tragedy the fracturing of the body politic is visualised in the spectacle of the increasingly exposed dead or mutilated body natural. This connection of dismembered bodies, both political and natural, has been suggested before, but I want to examine how playgoers are directed to Shakespeare's compound

use of evocative spectacles, especially highlighting the play's moral trajectory from the

opening to the final scene.[99]

The strange and lengthy opening scene of the play, containing war triumphs and

sacrifices, elaborate funeral processions, bitter political faction-fighting, judicial

hearings and executions, accession crises and the fear of a foreign ruler, all replete with

ceremonial worship, must have resonated for playgoers with a number of off-stage

cultural practices and contemporary controversies. Resituated to an imagined pagan

Roman world, the play evades censorship, yet for an early modern playgoer, the play-

world's form of governing authority must have been reminiscent of early modern

England.[100] Titus's willingness to sacrifice family and self for state strikes a discordant

note with the more immediately recognisable self-serving political machinations of

Saturninus and Bassianus. Similarly, Titus's early commitment to the propriety of an

imagined code, which notionally justifies his command for the sacrifice of Alarbus, and

his murder of Mutius, fits uneasily with the absence of any formalised concept of

justice throughout the rest of the play. The governing authority figures in the play

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[99] I am indebted to three articles on the idea of the dismemberment of the body natural/body politic in the play: Gillian Murray Kendall's '"Lend me thy hand": Metaphor and Mayhem in *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn, 1989); Katherine A. Rowe's 'Dismembering and Forgetting in *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994); and Molly Easo Smith's 'Spectacles of Torment in *Titus Andronicus*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring, 1996).
[100] Nicholas Moschovakis suggests that for an early modern audience the idea of religious sacrifice must have been especially resonant in the late Tudor period: 'The annals of post-Reformation Christianity [...] afforded episodes of bloodshed and persecution [...] During the Armada year of 1588 alone, the English government executed more than thirty Catholics as traitors. Over the following six years, more than fifty were put to death [...] As though [*Titus Andonicus*'s] pagan mores were not shocking enough, [Shakespeare] juxtaposes them with discordant reminders of the Christian cultural context that might be presumed to bound the audience's moral horizons. On one hand, these reminders may cue spectators to notice the grossly un-Christian motives of Shakespeare's characters. On the other hand, the contrast might remind them of the peculiarity of Christianity's claim to unique and universal authority, and of the exaltedness of the spiritual and moral standards that Christians would have to meet in order to affirm their religion's aspirations'. Nicholas R. Moschovakis, '"Irreligious Piety" and Christian History: Persecution as Pagan Anachronism in *Titus Andronicus*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Winter 2002), pp. 460-462.

consistently perpetrate and accommodate a series of injustices. As I will show, these

injustices are visualised through the increasing exposure of the mutilated body and/or

cadaver.

The opening procession before the Capitol shows a clear division in Rome

caused by the opposition of two brothers, Saturninus and Bassianus, competing to

become Emperor. Rule of state is seen to be elevated above familial duty. However,

Titus has been selected by the Tribune and they must await his return to Rome. Titus'

arrival is heralded by a Captain and the following stage directions describe his arrival:

> *Sound drums and trumpets, and then enter two of* TITUS' *Sons, and then two men*
> *bearing a coffin covered in black, then two other Sons, then* TITUS ANDRONICUS,
> *and then,* [*as prisoners*], TAMORA, *the Queen of the Goths, and her* [*three*] *sons,*
> [ALARBUS], CHIRON *and* DEMETRIUS, *with* aaron *the Moor, and others as many*
> *as can be. Then set down the coffin and* TITUS *speaks.*   (*Tit.* I.i.72.1-5)

In this crowded scene with 'as many as can be' the focus is clearly not on the living but

on the coffin (seemingly a representative coffin for his many sons lost at war) which is

borne onto the stage. Titus only speaks when the coffin is set down.[101] The central

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[101] Jonathan Bate observes that there is enough evidence to strongly suggest that *Titus Andronicus* was written for Henslowe's Rose Theatre. If so, and since the lay-out of the Rose is known, then Bate suggests that 'The opening scene of Titus has four focal points: the doors at either side upstage, the tomb of the Andronici in the centre and the gallery aloft, also centre. The action consists of movements within and between these spaces: there are conversations above, conversations below and conversations between above and below. There are actions to the right and actions to the left and still points in the middle'. Jonathan Bate, 'Introduction', *Titus Andronicus* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006), pp. 37-38. Actually, there is a fifth focal point if you separate the tomb from the central stage area where Titus, his family and his captives stand when they arrive. The placement of the coffin is separate initially from the tomb. Originally, the Tribunes, Marcus, and the Senators are aloft. Bassianus and Saturninus enter from stage right and stage left. Stage centre is originally presumably an empty space which visualises the opposition between the brothers. At line 66 Bassianus and Saturninus ascend to the upper stage. Titus enters with his entourage and they stay at stage centre before the trap-door which will serve as the tomb. The tomb is opened at line 93 and the coffin is laid in it at line 152. Marcus descends to the stage centre at line 171, leaving Saturninus, Bassianus, the Tribunes and Senators above. After Saturninus' ascension

position of the coffin and the funeral and sacrifice ceremonies and rituals it initiates

contrast greatly with the political world of Saturninus, Bassianus, and the Senators. The

natural body is contrasted with the body politic, but clearly also the natural body is in

service of the body politic. Likewise, a third bodily unit, the body of the family, is

contrasted with the body politic, and evidently the family body is second to the body

politic. However, these contrasting foci are all realised and summated in the unitary

coffin which covers the dead body or bodies. This conflation of competing causes into a

single spectacle is deconstructed by Shakespeare's use of the increasingly mutilated or

exposed body throughout the rest of the play, until it culminates in the horrific final

scenes of cannibalism.

The sacrifice of Alarbus and the burning of his entrails thus sets in motion a

series of spectacles of the body being destroyed or dismembered which climaxes in the

Thyestean feast in the play's final scene. As the horror mounts and the visible

dismembered or dead body takes central stage, so too, traditional loyalties to family and

state, once represented by the figure of the isolated Titus, are threatened and destroyed.

Titus kills his youngest son Mutius for both disobeying him as father, and secondly out

of duty to his emperor. His son's body is left on-stage (before being entombed) for

approximately 100 lines. Chiron and Demetrius treasonously stab and kill Bassianus on-

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to the throne at line 237, all come down to the centre stage. After Tamora and her consort are released, Bassianus, Marcus and Titus' sons bear Lavinia out of one side of the stage. Saturninus, Tamora and her family and followers exit at the other side of the stage. Titus kills Mutius who blocks him from following Lavinia at stage right or stage left. Then Saturninus, Tamora and her consort emerge at the upper stage at line 303 and speak down to Titus. When they leave the upper stage at line 342 everyone leaves the stage except for Titus. The scene, once so crowded with people, now only contains Titus and the body of his dead son, Mutius. Marcus and Titus' remaining sons return and entomb Mutius. Then Titus' sons leave Marcus and Titus alone at line 395. Then Saturninus, Tamora and her consort appear at one side of the stage. At the other side appear Bassianus, Lavinia and Titus' remaining sons. Titus is centre stage with Marcus and above the tomb. And so the first act ends with the division in the state visualised and at its centre, Titus kneeling before his new Emperor and his family tomb.

stage and put his body into a pit.[102] Martius and Quintus fall into the pit and through

grossly unjust machinations are framed for the murder of Bassianus. Moreover, by

falling into the pit, Martius and Quintus are forced to share the 'unhallowed and

bloodstained hole' (*Tit.* II.ii.210) with Bassianus' dead body. The line between life and

death is seen to be a tenuous one as now those living are forced to share a grave with

the dead. At the end of the second Act, Lavinia appears, ravished, with her hands and

tongue cut from her body. Quintus and Martius are beheaded and Aaron cuts off Titus'

hand.[103] A messenger returns the two heads and Titus' severed hand and the separated

body is made a visual spectacle on the stage. Whereas before the body was covered in

the coffin, or was stabbed, yet still whole, Lavinia's body, the heads, and the hand, all

grotesquely make the spectacle of the dismembered body the focal point of the action.

Aaron kills the Nurse and her body remains on-stage until it is borne away by Chiron

and Demetrius. In the final Act, Titus cuts the throats of Chiron and Demetrius as

Lavinia collects their blood in a basin. And then in the macabre final scene, the

Thyestean 'bloody banquet' the bodies of Tamora's sons are served to Tamora and

Saturninus. In the aftermath Lavinia, Tamora, Titus, Saturninus are murdered and again

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[102] Figuratively, the prey that is hunted in the second Act is human rather than animal. The hunt scene is particularly evocative of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Shakespeare's indebtedness to the plot of this classical myth has been noted by many critics. Charles and Michelle Martindale observe that Shakespeare's 'version of the story of Tereus, Philomela and Procne (*Metamorphoses* VI.424ff.) lies behind the play's action, and helps to characterise and control it. The story, one of violent rape and equally violent revenge, is perhaps the grisliest in the entire Metamorphoses'. Charles and Michelle Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 49. Following this theme, A.B. Taylor suggests that 'the play's major Ovidian debt is for the metamorphosis at the heart of its central, nightmarish vision of mankind turning animal and preying on the defencelessness and vulnerable among its kind'. A.B. Taylor, 'Moralizing and metamorphosis in *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare's Ovid*, ed. A.B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 78.
[103] The severed hands in the play, Katherine Rowe suggests, would have been especially significant for early modern playgoers: 'The lopped, wandering hands of *Titus Andronicus* function within a Renaissance tradition of manual semiotics based largely on Galen's medical and philosophical treatise *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (*De usa partium*) and articulated through sixteenth-century emblem books, heraldry, genealogical charts, and ritual gestures. In this semiotics the hand is the preeminent sign for political and personal agency. The severed hands of *Titus Andronicus* display both the adequacies and insufficiencies of the metaphor of the body as a means of constituting political community'. Rowe, 'Dismembering and Forgetting in *Titus Andronicus*', p. 280.

their bodies remain onstage while young Lucius becomes 'Rome's gracious governor' (*Tit.* V.iii.145).

Exposure of the mutilated or dead body increases throughout the play. The compound effect of this increased exposure must have prompted playgoers to recollect the earlier scenes. Whereas in the opening scene the bodies of Titus' dead progeny are covered and entombed, and are clearly rendered as the willing sacrifice for the honour of Rome, from the murder of Mutius to Bassianus' pit, to Lavinia and Titus' violated bodies, to the macabre feast, the dead/mutilated body is made increasingly visible. This visibility of the destruction of the body natural counterpoints with the invisibility of the play-world's justice system. The semblance of order that was visible in the opening scene, with the Tribunes' offer to Titus, and the elaborate formalised rituals of mourning and celebration, is later counterpointed with the absence of that ordering of justice. The innocent Quintus and Martius are arrested for an act they did not commit. The perpetrators of that act are rewarded by their mother when she refuses to listen to the pleas of Lavinia. Titus's daughter's tongue and arms are dismembered so that she cannot communicate this injustice.[104] Titus's hand is shorn off in the false hope of saving his two sons. The act becomes meaningless, as the two heads are delivered, their executions ratified by the state authority. In such a system, any recourse to justice through conventional means is impossible and Titus must act covertly to exact his retribution. Thus it is the mutilated body (through the Thyestian feast) which provides a

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[104] Mary Laughlin Fawcett observes that Lavinia's silence might have been especially resonant for early modern playgoers: 'Her muteness places her in the situation of the audience of the play: knowing what happened, possessing both seed and names, and condemned to watch others fumble toward her truth. Yet she cannot quite become an audience (she has no hands with which to clap); she must remain the disputed territory around which other characters anxiously hover'. Mary Laughlin Fawcett, 'Arms/Words/Tears: Language and the Body in *Titus Andronicus*', *ELH*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Summer, 1983), pp. 265-266.

focal point for how notional justice is exercised. The extremity and finality of this excessive act, transgressive of all normative behaviour and so far removed from the ritualistic sacrificial killing of the opening Act, is visually compounded by Shakespeare's increased use of the exposed body as spectacle throughout.[105]

Therefore, in direct comparison with *The Spanish Tragedy*, in *Titus Andronicus* there is a discernible pattern of visual prompts which direct playgoer attention to how authority is communicated and contested in the play. Shakespeare's lavish opening scene, with its careful divisions of stage space and multiple focal points, clearly relies on spectacle to visually communicate the power-struggle to playgoers. For a visually literate set of playgoers this evocation of state power must have been especially resonant. However, Shakespeare also uses visual prompts to direct playgoers to interpret the dominant metaphor concerning authority in the play (where dismemberment and exposure of body stands for disintegration of previously united family and state and the erasure of justice).

In this analysis I have shown that Shakespeare's compound use of visual prompts directs playgoers to connect and contrast significant analogous scenes where authority is being contested. In the next section my concern is with how Shakespeare creates an intra-textual framework in *Hamlet* for guiding playgoer attention, interpretation, and response to certain significant scenes where authority is being communicated or contested. In doing so, the playwright directs attention to the semiotic openness of spectacle as a form of communication, and the mutability of its interpretation for different spectators.

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[105] Louise Noble has recently suggested that we should understand the act of cannibalism in the play as being connected with 'early modern English culture's anxiety over corpse pharmacology' and connects this to how the line between civilization and barbarity is demarcated and understood through the spectacle of the body. See Louise Noble's '"And Make Two Pasties of Your Shameful Heads": Medicinal Cannibalism and Healing the Body Politic in *Titus Andronicus*', *ELH*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Fall, 2003), p. 678.

HAMLET (1601)

Moments before the entrance of the King, Queen, and courtiers to attend 'The Murder

of Gonzago' or 'The Mousetrap', the prince asks Horatio to watch the King at the

enacted murder scene and to interpret his reaction:

HAMLET   There is a play tonight before the King -
          One scene of it comes near the circumstance
          Which I have told thee of my father's death.
          I prithee when thou seest that act afoot,
          Even with the very comment of thy soul
          Observe my uncle. If his occulted guilt
          Do not itself unkennel in one speech
          It is a damned ghost that we have seen
          And my imaginations are as foul
          As Vulcan's stithy. Give him heedful note,
          For I mine eyes will rivet to his face
          And after we will both our judgements join
          In censure of his seeming.   (*Ham.* III.ii.71-83)[106]

The prince's private conference with his friend directs Horatio's focus of attention in

the following scene, and also therefore playgoer attention, to Claudius's reception of the

staged murder. However, this simple premise for staging the crime, to 'catch the

conscience of the King', (*Ham.* II.ii.539-540) is soon complicated by Hamlet's

interjections in the play's performance, which direct playgoer attention (both onstage

and offstage) to multiple focal points. I will analyse how the play-within-the-play, at the

centre of *Hamlet*, braids together, and resonates with, other analogous scenes of stage

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[106] F1 (1623) follows the above lines almost exactly, with only minor grammatical changes. In Q1 (1603) there is an abbreviated version of this speech, but the significant commands to Horatio are still included: 'There is a play tonight wherein one scene they have | Comes very near the murder of my father. | When thou shalt see that act afoot | Mark thou the King, do but observe his looks, | For I mine eyes will rivet to his face' (*Ham.* Q1. ix.52-56).

spectacle in the play. In doing so, I want to suggest how Shakespeare directs playgoer

attention to the semiotic openness of spectacle and the mutability of its interpretation;

and to the distinction between the subjective and objective spectatorship.

The opening court scene of the play, with its reliance on the visual effect of the

peripheral darkly-clad prince in contrast to the celebratory scenes centre-stage,

introduces playgoers to the means by which Claudius's authority is rendered visible.[107]

Maurice Charney suggests that the staging of this scene, and the other court scenes in

the play, is particularly reliant on the monarch as centre-stage spectacle:

> In the large court scenes, placed so symmetrically at the beginning (I.ii), middle
> (III.ii), and end (V.ii) of the play, the King and Queen sit on the chair of state or
> throne, which was set on a dais with a few steps leading up to it. Presumably,
> only one large throne was used to accommodate both of them, as in *Macbeth*. In
> these formal court scenes, we must imagine that Claudius and Gertrude invoke
> all the ritual and pageantry at their command to display divine right: crowns,
> royal robes, scepter and golden ball, and elaborate ceremony.[108]

Whichever way the play was originally staged, the court subjects Cornelius,

Voltemand, Laertes, and Polonius are all dutiful and respectful in their dialogue with

Claudius. It is the dark figure of Hamlet alone, presumably wearing a long black cloak

now so familiar from paintings of funeral processions from this period, who casts

aspersions on Claudius' words. However, he also calls attention to his own black cloak

as 'but the trappings and suits of woe' (*Ham*. I.ii.86).[109] Hamlet, last consulted in court

business, and even then the subject of condescension by his Uncle, initially provides an

insubstantial opposition. Hamlet also admits his mournful behaviour might 'indeed

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[107] I return to the cultural resonances of Hamlet's dark cloak in the next chapter, when I analyse the funeral commemorations in the play.

[108] Maurice Charney, '*Hamlet* without Words', *ELH*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Dec., 1965), p. 471.

[109] In Q1, Hamlet describes his attire as 'ornaments and suits of woe' (*Ham*. Q1 ii.39).

'seem',| For they are the actions that a man might play' (*Ham.* I.ii.83-84). He is aware that his attire, while signifying his mourning to the court visually, and implicitly signifying opposition to the authority of the King and his mother (who, for obvious reasons, find it politically, socially and conscientiously expedient to not dwell on the past) insufficiently communicates his anger, hurt and confusion. The spectacle of the single estranged mourner, silent and unaddressed until the sixty-fourth line of dialogue, and then left alone by all others who follow the King's command to 'Come away' (*Ham.* I.ii.128), does however direct playgoer attention to its strength in visually communicating the isolation of the prince.[110] Simultaneously, with Hamlet's misgivings, it also reveals how such spectacle can insufficiently express meaning, and the breakdown between the spectacle and directed spectator interpretation. Moreover, in Claudius's court, where the central spectacle (which the other onstage courtiers orbit around) is the King himself, Hamlet's initial opposition is both mute and moot.

The difficulties in the interpretation of spectacle are demonstrated throughout the play in the figure of the Ghost.[111] In the play's opening scene, Horatio describes it as 'this thing' (*Ham.* I.i.20), Marcellus describes it as a 'dreaded sight' and 'this

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[110] There is no order in Q1, but, of course, everyone leaves after Claudius states he will toast Hamlet. This idea will be returned to in the third chapter.

[111] The equivocal nature of the Ghost has attracted much critical attention. See, for example, Robert H. West's 'King Hamlet's Ambiguous Ghost', *PMLA*, Vol. 70, No. 5 (Dec., 1955) where, while suggesting the Ghost's Christian form, West believes it is not necessary to ascribe a certain denomination. A number of more recent approaches have yielded interesting readings of the play in its cultural context. See, for example, Margreta De Grazia's 'Theology, Delay, and the "Old Mole"', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Fall, 1999), pp. 251-267, Stephen Ratcliffe's 'What doesn't happen in *Hamlet*: The Ghost's Speech', *Modern Language Studies* Vol. 28 No. 3 (1998), esp. pp. 126-7, or Clinton P. E. Atchley's 'Reconsidering the Ghost in *Hamlet*: Cohesion or Coercion?' *Philological Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Fall, 2002), pp. 5-20. Stephen Greenblatt has also recently read the figure of the ghost in the light of the reformist abolition of the practice of Purgatory and post-mortem intercession. He suggests that the figure of the Ghost may resonate for early modern playgoers with a widespread fear in Elizabethan England about being forgotten after death. See Stephen Greenblatt's *Hamlet in Purgatory*, esp. pp. 205-258. Leslie Croxford also addresses the problematic Purgatorial origins of the Ghost in 'The Uses of Interpretation in *Hamlet*', *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, No. 24, (2004), pp. 99-100. Or for the military attire and what this represents see R.A. Foakes's '"Armed at point exactly": the Ghost in *Hamlet*', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 58 (2005), pp. 34-47.

apparition' (*Ham*. I.i.24;27).[112] Onstage before the sentinels and Horatio, Bernardo

concedes that it is 'In the same figure like the King that's dead' (*Ham*. I.i.40). While

Horatio uses the familiar form 'thou' to address it (*Ham*. I.i.45), Marcellus and

Bernardo use the impersonal pronoun 'it' to describe the Ghost (*Ham*. I.i.49;50). For

Marcellus 'it' is 'like the King' (*Ham*. I.i.57), and Bernardo later describes the Ghost as

a 'portentous figure' (*Ham*. I.i.108) and, after his second appearance, as 'majestical'

(*Ham*. I.i.142). Horatio sensibly and objectively judges the Ghost to have appeared

because of the conflict with Norway because it wears the 'very armour' the living King

Hamlet wore in the last combat with King Fortinbras (*Ham*. I.i.59). In the play's fourth

scene, however, when Hamlet sees the Ghost, the prince asks 'be thou a spirit of health

or goblin damned' (*Ham*.I.iv.40), and 'be thy intents wicked or charitable'

(*Ham*.I.iv.42). Later he describes it as a 'dead corpse' (*Ham*. I.iv.52) and, later again, as

'a perturbed spirit' (*Ham*.I.v.180). In his second soliloquy Hamlet again questions the

form of what he has seen, and his own interpretations of it, by saying,

HAMLET   The Spirit that I have seen
                         May be a de'il, and the de'il hath power
                         T'assume a pleasing shape.   (*Ham*. II.ii.533-535)[113]

Again in the third Act, after the Ghost's intervention, Hamlet addresses the Ghost as

'gracious figure' while using the familiar form of address, 'you' (*Ham*. III.iv.101). The

play is replete with different terms for the Ghost, and criticism is saturated with

analyses of its mutable nature, but what I want to draw attention to is how the lack of

verbal definition within the play of that which is spectacular (demonstrated through not

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[112] These descriptions are common to Q1 and F also.
[113] In Q1 this speech is slightly altered: 'This spirit that I have seen may be the devil | And, out of my weakness and my melancholy | (As he is very potent with such men) | Doth seek to damn me' (*Ham*. Q1 vii.430-433). F is identical to Q2.

only the different interpretations by various characters, but also multiple interpretations of single characters themselves) directs playgoers to the semiotic openness of spectacle.[114] It forces playgoers to think interpretatively, because in this play of questions, the answers are either not readily available, or so abundant and conflicting that they become misleading.[115] Hamlet's wariness of the Ghost, compounded by the lack of definition of spectacle in the play, leads, of course, to his testing of Claudius in the play-within-the-play, which as a form of stage spectacle itself will resonate strongly with this notion of interpretative spectatorship.

Turning again to the scenes immediately preceding the 'The Mousetrap', we might wonder whether early modern playgoers would have thought that the demands that Hamlet makes of the King in this scene are too high. Having been impressed by the First Player's expressive and evocative acting, Hamlet reveals his intention to write a 'speech of some dozen lines, or sixteen lines' (*Ham*.II.ii.477) which is to be inserted in 'The Murder of Gonzago':

HAMLET Hum, I have heard

     That guilty creatures sitting at a play

     Have by the very cunning of the scene

     Been struck so to the soul that presently

     They have proclaimed their malefactions. (*Ham*.II.ii.523-527)[116]

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[114] We see this repeated on a number of occasions throughout the play, from Ophelia's confusion over Hamlet's dishevelled appearance at her closet, to Hamlet's 'antic disposition' which wavers between disguise and reality (*Ham*. II.i.75-81; *Ham*. I.v.170)

[115] As Harry Levin notes, 'the word 'question' occurs in Hamlet no less than seventeen times, much more frequently than in any of Shakespeare's other plays. Recalling that it comes as the final word in Hamlet's most famous line, we may well regard it as the key-word of the play [...] besides direct inquiry, there are other modes of questioning, notably doubt and irony [...] Each of these three devices is a figure of speech and simultaneously a figure of thought, to take them as they are categorized by Quintilian. This overlapping classification is useful, if it helps us to understand how words adapt their structure to ideas, how the very process of cogitation can be dramatized'. Harry Levin, *The Question of Hamlet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 20.

[116] 'Confessed a murder committed before long' (*Ham*. Q1 vii.429) is the version of 'proclaimed their malefactions' in Q1.

On the evidence of Claudius's calm and controlled performance in the public arena in the play's second scene, he certainly does not seem likely to break down and confess all. Moreover, the First Player's speech has shown Hamlet how easy it is to feign genuine emotion. Indeed the prince focuses upon this point saying 'What's Hecuba to him, or he to her, | That he should weep for her?' (*Ham*.II.ii.494-495). Hamlet therefore asks Horatio to watch for Claudius's reaction as well.[117] This simple request, I suggest, has a significant impact for playgoer reception and interpretation of the 'The Mousetrap' play.

Hamlet's instructions, quoted above, reveal the plot and intention of the play-within-the-play. It is to re-enact a past private event, the murder of old King Hamlet, which is orchestrated from the information given to Hamlet by the ghost. The private past transgression of state authority is to be made as public as possible. However, Hamlet's instructions to Horatio also include an imagined prototype future: where the play is happening; where Hamlet and Horatio are observing Claudius attentively; where the King is moved by the re-enactment and betrays his guilt; and where afterwards both conspirators discuss the King's reaction.

The dramatic effect for playgoers is that these instructions inform them of what they should be watching for in the play-within-the-play. It introduces an expectation for playgoers to observe multiple focal points in the action, namely 'The Mousetrap' play itself, Claudius, and, of course, Hamlet and Horatio. Not only their understanding of the play, but also simply following the plot, is dependent upon their attention to these focal points. Of course, it also forces an association between playgoers and Hamlet and Horatio, since they are aware of the secondary motivation of the play. Moreover, both

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[117] This request to Horatio by Hamlet is, of course, mirrored in the play by Claudius's instructions to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to observe Hamlet.

conspirators are also imagined, in this prototype future that Hamlet sets out, as passive audience members much like the playgoers themselves. The arrival in state of the King, Queen, and their consort, and the edgy exchanges between Hamlet and the other dignitaries, resonate with the second scene of the play, while simultaneously heightening the dramatic tension and expectancy levels. Clearly everyone is waiting for the play to begin, and this will evoke, on the part of the playgoers, their own sense of growing excitement before the beginning of the play proper.

As the performance begins, a dumb show foreshadows the action which will occur in the play-within-the-play. Moreover, it actually completes the order of the play which is made impossible by the abrupt ending of 'The Mousetrap'. It therefore visualises the plan that Hamlet had devised, but for whatever reason, Claudius either does not see the dumb-show or sees it and does not react to it.[118] Hamlet is clearly displeased with the dumb show describing it as 'munching mallico' and 'mischief' (*Ham.* III.ii.130-131). He has seen that Claudius has not reacted at this point, yet his inserted lines are still to come. Then the Player appears as the Prologue and again Hamlet is dismayed when he says to Ophelia, 'We shall know by this fellow.| The players cannot keep council – they'll tell all' (*Ham.* III.ii.134-135).[119] The tension is again built through Hamlet's suggestion that the Prologue will reveal all, but the

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[118] Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor suggest in their annotated edition that 'The dumb-show has often been omitted in performance, partly in order to avoid the problem of the King's failure to react to it, but this leaves the audience ignorant of the outcome and especially of the role of the Queen'. Thompson and Taylor, eds., *Hamlet*, Arden Shakespeare, p. 306. Hamlet does state the future role of the queen in 'The Mousetrap' however, once the performance is disrupted: 'You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife' (*Ham.* III.ii.257). Notwithstanding this, the dumb show does further prepare the playgoers for how the later scene in the play-within-the-play is to be performed, cueing them for the moment of revelation. Claudius's non-reaction may actually increase the tension further as playgoers are unsure whether the King will react later.

[119] The response to Ophelia is similar in Q1 and F. However, there is one interesting difference in how this response is framed. In Q1 Ophelia asks 'What doth this mean, my lord?' (*Ham.* Q1 ix.86) In Q2 Ophelia states 'Belike this show imports the argument of the play' (*Ham.* III.ii.131). In F this statement is turned into a question: 'Belike this show imports the argument of the play?' (*Ham.* F III.ii.135) Q1 and F show how Ophelia's interpretation is entirely dependent on Hamlet's guidance. Q2's question seems more likely as it demonstrates how Ophelia is becoming an active interpreter of the onstage action.

remarkably short prologue reveals nothing, raising playgoers' awareness of their own expectations.

As 'The Mousetrap' progresses, Hamlet's attentions appear to move to the female figures in his life. He compares the brevity of the prologue to 'woman's love' (*Ham*. III.ii.147), and, after a particularly offensive line to Gertude regarding second marriage, says 'That's wormwood' (*Ham*. III.ii.175). Indeed the preoccupation of the opening exchanges between the Player King and Player Queen is the issue of second marriage. After the Player Queen vows 'Both here and hence pursue me lasting strife | If once I be a widow ever I be a wife', Hamlet ironically interjects 'If she should break it now!' (*Ham*. III.ii.216-218)[120] Similarly, as the Player King sleeps, Hamlet asks Gertrude, 'Madam, how like you this play?' (*Ham*. III.ii.223) Before the play, and in his discussions with Horatio, Hamlet's motivations were seemingly to provoke a reaction from Claudius; now, however, Hamlet calls attention to Gertrude's interpretation. As a theatrical effect, the questioning of Gertrude and the issue of second marriage forces the playgoer to be aware of other spectators on the stage: namely the Queen and the courtiers. The play is clearly offensive to Gertrude with its emphasis on the iniquity of re-marriage and playgoers must be aware of her reaction and the other courtiers' reaction to this affront. Gertrude's response - 'The lady doth protest too much, methinks' (*Ham*.III.ii.224) – can be read in a number of ways, displaying her nonchalance, her self-control, or her innocence. However played, and however interpreted, it raises the awareness of the playgoers of Gertrude and the play-going courtiers as an additional significant focal point in the spectacle.

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[120] Both interjections are included in Q1 and F, with the word 'wormwood' repeated twice in these editions.

When Lucianus enters, Hamlet announces him as 'nephew to the king' (*Ham*.III.ii.237) and publicly connects himself to the onstage role. Ophelia comments 'you are as good as a chorus, my lord' (*Ham*.III.ii.238). This comment is important because it signals Hamlet's desperation for the play to be followed according to his design, not just by the king, but also the rest of the court. Hamlet's motivations with the play have now changed irrevocably. Originally Hamlet sought to reproduce the previous private crime in the public arena to evoke a reaction from Claudius. Now, however, he includes a sustained attack on his mother's irreverence towards her past marriage. Moreover, the murder in the play-within-the-play also suggests future action, Hamlet's revenge. Lucianus' murder will re-enact the murder of King Hamlet, but it will also prophesy Hamlet's future actions. The body presently in the garden is representative of both the past and future, King Hamlet and Claudius.[121]

Prior to the poisoning, Lucianus speaks of his readiness to commit the deed, the happy coincidence of 'thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing' (*Ham*.III.ii.248), and the poison he will use of 'mixture rank'.[122] He supplies no motive or reason for his actions. Hamlet provides the necessary background to the plot in his ascription of 'nephew' and avenger to Lucianus. Hamlet is clearly providing a particular framework for interpretation of the play. Whereas the dumb show synopsises the action silently (and is uncomplicated in exposition), and the Prologue is meaningless, and the Player King and Queen only speak of the hypothetical ramifications of second marriage, and Lucianus only speaks of the deed and not his

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[121] This is supported by Hamlet's second description of Lucianus: 'Begin | Murderer: leave thy damnable faces and begin. Come, | "the croaking raven doth bellow for revenge"' (*Ham*.III.ii.245-247). In the play Lucianus will murder the Player King just as Claudius killed the real king, but Lucianus' crime is also described as revenge, which resonates with Hamlet's intentions to kill Claudius. Just as the Player King represents both King Hamlet and Claudius, Lucianus represents both Claudius and Hamlet. Therefore for Claudius to interpret the play correctly he must associate with the murderer and the murdered, his past crime and the future threat that Hamlet poses.

[122] In Q1 there is a lengthy interjection by Hamlet prior to the appearance of Lucianus that is omitted in Q2 and F (See *Ham*. Q1 9.147-157).

motives, Hamlet supplies the narrative for the murder, and controls its interpretative framework, while implicitly connecting this plot to events at Elsinore.

At the moment of the poisoning in the play-within-the-play, the playgoer must therefore attempt to watch and interpret the reactions of many characters at once. The playgoer must certainly watch the stage murder, but he also must watch for Claudius' reaction, and for Hamlet's reaction to this reaction, and to a lesser extent for Horatio's reaction to Claudius' reaction. Gertrude's reaction both to the staged murder and also her son's and new husband's reaction is also important, as are the stage playgoers' reactions (including Polonius and Ophelia) to see if they suspect anything. This elaborate network of spectators and focal points, where interpretation is dependent on the playgoers' recognition of the onstage characters' mute understanding of the inferences made in 'The Mousetrap', meta-theatrically directs playgoer attention to the semiotic openness of spectacle and the mutability of interpretation.

It thus becomes readily apparent that there is a separation between the directed reading of this spectacle, and the possibility of other potential readings. For after the moment of the poisoning, Hamlet interjects and hurriedly clarifies for the court what has been and will be seen.[123]

HAMLET   'A poisons him i'th' garden for his estate. His
           name's Gonzago. The story is extant and written in
           very choice Italian. You shall see anon how the
           murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife.   (*Ham*. III.ii.254-257)[124]

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[123] Of course, in explaining how the plot will end (which is previously shown in the dumb show) Hamlet troublesomely connects his own desire for revenge with Claudius' fratricide and relationship with Gertrude.

[124] This does not appear in Q1 but it is in F, and the following conversation between Hamlet and Horatio is abbreviated. Moreover, Horatio is much more amenable to Hamlet's interpretation in Q1 stating 'The King is moved, my lord' (*Ham*. Q1 179). In F Horatio is, like in Q2, more equivocal.

Claudius rises, Gertrude is seemingly concerned for her husband ['How fares my lord?' (*Ham*.III.ii.259)], and all leave the scene except for Hamlet and Horatio. Hamlet is jubilant, and while reflecting on his apparent success he proclaims himself a worthy playwright:

HAMLET   Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers, if the rest
           of my fortunes turn Turk with me, with provincial
           roses on my razed shoes, get me a fellowship in cry of
           players?   (*Ham*.III.ii.267-270)

However, Horatio seems unsure of the measure of Hamlet's success. 'Half a share' he replies, but Hamlet insists on 'a whole one' (*Ham*.III.ii.271-272). Hamlet then asks him: 'O good Horatio, I'll take the Ghost's word for a / thousand pound. Didst perceive?' (*Ham* III.ii.278-279). Horatio is again largely non-committal saying 'Very well, my lord' and 'upon the talk of poisoning', 'I did very well note him' (*Ham*.III.ii.278-282). Hamlet appears certain that he has proof of Claudius' guilt but Hamlet's chosen second set of eyes seems sceptical.[125] The original purpose of the play-within-the-play was to ascertain Claudius' guilt, with Claudius proclaiming his 'malefactions' (*Ham*.II.ii.527). This has not occurred. However, Claudius has left in anger.[126] For the other courtiers (and noting the subsequent behaviour of Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, Polonius, and Gertrude) the King's anger may have been reasonably interpreted as displeasure at the none-too-subtle threat Hamlet makes to Claudius in the

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[125] Leroy F. Searle, in an essay on interpretation and reading in the play, has unconvincingly suggested that since Hamlet is so preoccupied with watching for the reactions of others that he does not 'read' the play he has organised or recognize how he becomes closely associated with Claudius in this scene. However, Searle does also note Horatio's reluctance to agree with Hamlet's interpretation. See Leroy F. Searle, 'The Conscience of the King: Oedipus, Hamlet and the Problem of Reading', *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Autumn, 1997), p. 337.
[126] Guildenstern later attests to his 'choler' (*Ham*. III.ii.296), and Claudius's one comment in leaving – 'Give me some lights, away' – is arguably his least composed moment in the entire play (*Ham*. III.ii.261). Compare this with 'She swoons to see them bleed' when he diverts attention from the Gertrude being poisoned in the play's final duel scene (*Ham*. V.ii.293). Evidently, it is publicly known that the king is displeased, but the cause of his displeasure is unknown.

play where a nephew poisons a king to gain his throne. While the playgoer may make the association between the death of King Hamlet and the murder of the Player King, the text suggests the onstage characters do not make that connection. It is for the director to decide whether to play Claudius's angry departure in such a way as to suggest that Hamlet's interpretation is correct. However, the scepticism of Horatio resonates keenly with the difficulties of interpretation of spectacle elsewhere in the play. The framing of 'The Mousetrap' directs playgoers to a mode of interpretative spectatorship, where the semiotic openness of spectacle is inherently interrogated, and the merits of the subjective interpretation (i.e. Hamlet's) are neatly contrasted with the objective interpretation (i.e. Horatio's).

A brief analysis of the latter scenes of the play will demonstrate sufficiently how this interrogation of spectacle is a recurring pattern in this play. Hamlet decides to refrain from killing Claudius in his chamber, because he believes he is 'a-praying' (*Ham.* III.iii.73). Clearly, he can not hear his Uncle's words, but the sight of Claudius, presumably kneeling, directs his misperception. Similarly, at the moment of the Ghost's intervention in Gertrude's chamber, Hamlet interprets his arrival as connected to his own avenging mission, and not the Ghost's secondary injunction ['leave [Gertrude] to heaven | And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge | To prick and sting her' (*Ham.* I.v.86-88)], while in the spectacle of Ophelia's funeral procession and ceremony, Hamlet is transformed from a dispassionate objective spectator of the 'maimed rites' when the deceased is identified (*Ham.* V.i.208; 230).

Similarly, as the play ends, only Gertrude and Horatio have been made aware of Claudius' 'guilt' by Hamlet. Claudius, Hamlet, and Gertrude die, so only Horatio is left to 'speak to th' yet unknowing world | How these things came about' (*Ham.* V.ii.363-

364).[127] He asks Fortinbras and the English ambassador to 'give order that these bodies | High on the stage be placed to the view' (*Ham.*V.ii.361-362). For Fortinbras, the revelation of his version of events (his account and interpretation, which is somewhat limited due to his minimal involvement in the play) is supported by the spectacle of the murdered bodies. Whereas the play-within-the-play re-enacted a version of the past while suggesting a possible future, this final spectacle that Horatio orchestrates is conclusive and entirely meditative on the past action. Horatio's promise, to 'truly deliver' the past to the public, aims to deny multiple interpretations and only offer the truth.[128] However, Shakespeare again draws attention to who is interpreting, with its implicit questioning of Horatio's objectivity in presenting, and the impossibility of accurately representing the past.[129]

With *Hamlet*, I have shown how Shakespeare uses a series of analogous, if episodic, stage spectacles to direct playgoer attention to the semiotic openness of spectacle and its resultant resistance to monosemous interpretation. In the play-within-the-play scene, playgoers are directed to a network of competing focal points onstage, and playgoer interpretation and understanding in this scene is dependent upon their recognition of how onstage characters interpret these spectacles to construct meaning. Drawing on earlier scenes in the play where Shakespeare highlighted multiple

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[127] As 'Fortinbrasse' enters in Q1, Horatio describes the body-strewn scene as 'this bloody spectacle' (*Ham.* Q1 xvii.114). The final scene is much abbreviated in Q1, but Horatio's intentions for story-telling are even more resonant with early modern English proclamations. Horatio requests that 'Let there a scaffold be reared up in the market-place | And let the state of the world be there, | Where you shall hear such a sad story told | That never mortal man could more unfold' (*Ham.* Q1 xvii.122-125).

[128] Stuart Kurland suggests that Horatio's desire to narrate the story of Hamlet quickly, can be best understood topically in the light of the uneasiness surrounding the Elizabethan succession question, and that this scene may have had special resonances for late Elizabethan playgoers: 'The apprehension Horatio voices about the instability of "men's minds" can best be understood in the context of a recurring concern throughout the play with popular unrest, and anxiety known to many in the play's original audiences, especially as it relates to the succession'. Stuart M. Kurland, '*Hamlet* and the Scottish Succession?' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1994), p. 288.

[129] Horatio is clearly unaware of the full details of Hamlet's interaction with the ghost, as he is unaware of Claudius' private speech and the proof of Claudius' guilt which the playgoers have heard.

perspectives and interpretations of spectacle, 'The Murder of Gonzago' forces the playgoer into interpretative spectatorship, just like their onstage counterparts, and this model of questioning how spectacle should be interpreted, and how easily it can be misinterpreted, and the difference between objective and subjective spectatorship, is further manifested in the play's final Acts.

Drawing this analysis of the play out into the wider discussion of this chapter, it strikes me that Shakespeare draws on the playgoers' recognition of the uses of spectacle in offstage didactic instructions of authority (and how these demonstrative visual prompts modify subject behaviour). The playwright's construction of these scenes directs playgoers to consider the importance of spectacle as a vehicle for the public communication of authority in the opening court scene or as a contestation of that authority in the play-within-the-play. In both scenes the primary focal point is the centrally-placed monarch, but whereas the first consolidates Claudius's authority, the latter scene overturns that representative mode by directing both onstage characters and playgoers to how the King's visibility as a spectacle may be his undoing. Moreover, Hamlet's interjections in the play-scene which prompt playgoers to be aware of multiple onstage spectacles, and the recurrent examples of misinterpreted spectacle found in the play, and the insistent separations made between objective and subjective interpretations of spectacle, all direct playgoers to spectacle's mutability as a communicative medium for authority. This mutability of interpretation contrasts decidedly with the governing intentions of civic didactic authoritative spectacle, and thus demonstrates how playwrights in the revenge genre rely on authoritarian practices from outside the playhouse to lend emphasis to their drama, but also, on occasion, to evocatively overturn their conventional usage. I will return to this idea in the next

chapter when I discuss how the use of aural prompting in *Hamlet* signifies how Claudius's authority is communicated and contested.

V - CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have shown how revenge tragedy playwrights appropriate the spectacles found in civic, judicial, penal, religious and anatomical 'theatre' to direct playgoer attention. In the theatre of entertainment the illusory nature of such spectacles, and the authority which demands a single interpretation, are questioned. Continuing the arguments set out in the opening chapter I have analysed the mnemonic properties found in civic spectacles. I have then demonstrated how playwrights appropriate such visual prompts to create powerful resonances and to direct playgoer attention. In the course of the analysis I have set to define, distinguish, and contextualise the singular properties and effects of stage spectacles such as masques, dumb-shows, plays-within-the-play, funeral processions, dances, trials and executions, and cadavers left onstage.

In the textual investigation I sought to implement the ideas outlined in the opening section and analysed the framework for playgoer response which forces an association between spectacle and rhetoric within a reflective/predictive paradigm in *Gorboduc*. In *The Spanish Tragedy* I traced representations of the past in the play, considered the central importance of the unveiling of Horatio's body, and examined Kyd's use of dumb-shows and plays-within-the-play. In *Titus Andronicus* I analysed stage movement in the opening scene and traced the increased violation and exposure of the body over the course of the play, and the suggested the compound effect of these spectacles. In *Hamlet* I demonstrated how Shakespeare's manipulates playgoer reception of 'The Murder of Gonzago', and suggested how the playwright draws playgoer attention to the semiotics of spectacle. In the next chapter I will discuss

playwrights' use of aural signifiers (non-linguistic sound) in the revenge genre to direct

playgoer attention to the communication or contestation of authority.

CHAPTER 3

AURAL PROMPTS

arly modern playgoers were accustomed to receiving information through listening.[1] For these playgoers, as Julie Stone Peters suggests, 'hearing the play was at least as important as watching it' and 'those who came to the theatre were not only "spectators" but "hearers" or "attentive auditors."'[2] The importance of listening attentively to the words spoken onstage will be addressed in the final chapter, but in this chapter I demonstrate how the repeated use of non-verbal aural signifiers, such as trumpet flourishes, drum beats, and cock-crows, also direct playgoers' attention to analogous significant moments in the plays. The mnemonic properties of these aural prompts, I suggest, are used by playwrights to command and direct playgoers' attention. I begin by investigating the soundscape of early modern England and discuss how sound is a primary means of communicating secular or religious authority to the listening subject. I then discuss the different aural prompts that are found in play texts and analyse how particular prompts convey different meanings to the listening playgoer. In the final part of the chapter, I suggest how through the repeated use of such

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[1] Peter Thomson has observed that 'Much more information reached the Elizabethan citizen by way of public proclamation, and if he went to law, as Elizabethans so tirelessly did, he might hear but never see a judgement', in Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd edn. (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1994), p. 23.

[2] Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book 1480-1880, Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 151. An argument between the superiority of sound over spectacle for conveying meaning was contentiously debated in the early modern period. Ben Jonson foregrounds the argument for the superiority of sound over spectacle; for a delineation of Jonson's argument see Andrew Gurr, *Play-going in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 86-88, or Sarah Van den Berg 'True Relation: the life and career of Ben Jonson', *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 3, or Richard Cave, Elizabeth Schafer and Brian Woolland, 'Visualising Jonson's text', *Ben Jonson and Theatre: Performance, Practice and Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 33. Frances Yates suggested that in later Renaissance interpretations 'spectacle achieved dominance [...but...] the Shakespearean type of theatre was a predominantly aural theatre [...]', in Frances Yates, *Theatre of the World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 118 and p. 124.

prompts playwrights direct playgoer attention to significant analogous moments where authority is being communicated or contested through the use of sound in their revenge plays.

I – THE SOUNDSCAPE OF EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

The playing companies were seemingly fully aware of the utility of aural prompting in commanding attention. Travelling troupes of players announced their arrival in towns noisily with trumpets and drums. As Peter Thomson observes:

> The drumming up of audiences on such occasions was a literal undertaking. Henslowe's records make that clear: 'Lent unto the company the 6 of February 1599 for to buy a drum when to go into the country 11s 6d.' The two trumpets bought the following day by the actor Robert Shaw were for the same purpose. The touring players announced themselves in each new town with two trumpets and a drum.[3]

Similarly, before each performance, trumpets were sounded to announce and advertise the commencement of the play. Ronald Watkins suggests that:

> we do not need to be told of the normal method of calling the *attention* and silence of the audience at the beginning of the play: it is probably a repetition of the trumpet-call which had already been advertising from the Huts (*the space in the theatre above the heavens*) to the whole of London the fact that a play is to be given this afternoon.[4]

For playgoers, this particular trumpet-call may have become synonymous with the theatrical event. However, similar aural prompts were often used to command the listener's attention and to convey meaning outside the theatre in early modern England.

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[3] Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, p. 20.
[4] Ronald Watkins, *On Producing Shakespeare* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1950), p. 63 (Watkins's emphasis).

The interjection of familiar aural prompts in the English soundscape frequently directed

the denizens' attention to its dominant institutions, namely, church and state.[5] Bruce

Smith observes that, 'through sound dominant institutions assert their presence: in early

modern England bells signalled mandatory church attendance on Sunday, trumpet blasts

heralded a proclamation, guns were fired at regular intervals from castles and

fortresses'.[6] This linking of the use of non-verbal sound to command attention with the

communication of authority is a striking feature of early modern English society.[7] Such

reliance on non-verbal aural prompting is, of course, indicative of a predominantly oral

society, where much information was assimilated by listening rather than reading.[8] The

non-verbal prompts direct the listener's attention to the verbal communication itself, or

to significant moments in the verbal communication. Such aural interjections, as Wes

Folkerth suggests, assign a certain 'value and recognition to particular elements and

events in the acoustic environment'.[9] In recognising or deciphering the aural prompt's

meaning listeners are also prompted to recall the secular or religious authority that is

commanding their attention. Thus Folkerth suggests that

> Hearing resonates throughout early modern culture as a sense characterized by
> passivity, community, obedience, and tradition [...] Without denying the
> emerging ascendancy of the visual in early modern England, it bears

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[5] David Lindley suggests that the trumpet and drum were a useful means of attracting listeners' attention: 'London was noisy – but, apart perhaps from the firing of cannon or ringing of church bells, the sounds of workmen or the rattle of carts, it had a human scale. The only musical instruments that could begin to dominate the aural environment were trumpet and drum. It is no coincidence that they were the instruments which announce noble or royal presence, nor that it was the sound of trumpet-blasts that signalled the start of performances at Shakespeare's Globe', in David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Arden, Thomson Learning, 2006), pp. 89-90.
[6] Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 46-47.
[7] Bruce Smith notes the experience of one contemporary visitor to London and his impression of its sounscape: 'Paul Hentzner, a German jurist [who travelled to London in 1598] observes that, in general, English people are "vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells"'. For full details of Hentzner's account, see Smith, p. 53.
[8] On oral culture in early modern England see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 1-50 and pp. 259-298.
[9] Wes Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare* (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 18.

remembering that the sense of hearing continues to occupy a significant place in that persistently oral culture as well; that light in the King James version of the Bible is brought into existence by a prior vocalization, that the first words to the gospel of John are 'In the beginning was the word'.[10]

While Folkerth's examples are verbal, it strikes me that the non-verbal aural prompts which I am discussing convey a similar didactic meaning to the listener.[11] The interjected sound commands the attention of the listener, while also directing listener attention to the authoritative institution which is announced by the non-verbal sound. In mimetically reproducing the semiotics of their society onstage, playwrights readily adopted such aural effects to similarly command attention, convey meaning, and to make the staging more evocatively resonant and realistic.[12]

II – AURAL PROMPTS IN THE PLAYHOUSES

Before commencing my analysis of aural prompts used in the playhouse, I must first make a number of prefatory remarks about my methodology in this chapter. Clearly an investigation into how patterns of interjected aural prompts direct playgoer attention is predicated on three assumptions: first, that such an aural prompt could have been used, second, that the playwright intended this prompt to be used, and, third, that the printed source text used for an analysis of the play accurately includes the apposite

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[10] Folkerth also observes that: 'further examples of the importance of sound are encountered in the well-known cosmological metaphors elaborated in various early modern accounts of the *musica mundana*. Aural imagery used in conceptualizing the physical universe was commonly applied in references to human social existence as well. There is a preoccupation in Shakespeare's day, one which permeates his history plays, with social harmony and concord, two terms that indicate the obligation individuals have to accept their social roles and stations', in Folkerth, p. 18.

[11] For example, as Johnson notes, 'Church bells functioned as the most obvious "soundmarks" in the acoustically dense soundscape of early modern London. In addition to providing recreation for the youths of the parish [bell-ringing was a popular activity in the evenings (see Johnson, pp. 50-55)] they were actually rung to summon people to services – but with ostentatiously Protestant restraint', in Johnson, p. 53.

[12] Of course, it was also a stage convention to use aural prompts to simply make sure that playgoers were listening attentively to the onstage dialogue. Ronald Watkins notes one apt example of this in *Julius Caesar*, where three separate cues for the band are made in twenty-five lines, for instance, when Casca announces 'Peace, ho, Caesar speaks' (*JC* I.ii.2), in Watkins, p. 63.

aural cue. Evidence is easily found for the first of these in theatrical inventories,[13]

contemporary accounts of performances,[14] and in the self-evident numerous stage

directions for music and sound effects we find in early modern drama. Intentionality or

intentio auctoris is more difficult to ascertain, but throughout this chapter I suggest that

by highlighting conventional uses of sound, we can discern that playwrights included

these stage directions for specific purposes. The final point, regarding authorial

manuscripts and corrupt copies, is most difficult to argue, since printed texts may have

been based on memorial reconstructions, or extrapolated from prompt books.[15] While I

have noted the differences in the numerous editions of the plays used (see also 'A note

on the selected editions'), it strikes me that even if the extant copy of the play is not

based on authorial manuscripts, and rather on memorial reconstruction, or extrapolated

from prompt books, then for certain aural prompts to be recalled when re-scribing

underlines their mnemonic significance in the staging of the original play itself.

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[13] The theatrical inventory for The Lord Admiral's Men recorded by Philip Henslowe in his diary indicate the stock of musical instruments which a playing company would have had: 'Item, iii trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a basse viall, a bandore […]', in *The Diary of Philip Henslowe From 1591-1609*, ed. by J. Payne Collier (London: Shakespeare Society, 1845), p. 272. In *The Revels History of English Drama Vol III 1576-1613*, there is an excellent account of the location of the music stations in the different playhouses, drawn from the stage directions included in a wide range of plays. For the First Globe see pp. 190-192, and for the Second Globe and Second Blackfriars, pp. 224-226 and pp. 230-232. *The Revels History of English Drama Vol III 1576-1613*, ed. by J. Leeds Barroll, Alexander Leggatt, Richard Hosley, and Alvin Kernan (London: Metheun and Co. Ltd., 1975). Dessen and Thomson note 'roughly 250 examples' of trumpets in plays 'most often occurring when important figures enter and/or for military business'. They note over 120 directions for cornets, 360 examples of drums, 38 uses of hautboys. See Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. p. 237.
[14] In chapter 6 of *The Gull's Hornbook* (1609), Thomas Dekker provides the following satirical account of how 'A gallant should behave in the playhouse', but also notably accounts for how aural prompts are used to direct playgoer attention: 'Present not your selfe on the Stage (especially at a new play) vntill the quaking prologue hath (by rubbing) got cullor into his cheeks, *and is ready to give the trumpets their Cue that hees vpon point to enter* […]' See E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 365-369 (my italics).
[15] On textual transmission see Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 1-13, and David M. Bergeron, *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640* (London: Ashgate, 2006), esp. pp. 1-23 and pp. 93-118.

In early modern drama non-verbal sound is manifested through music and sound effects. Of music, Ronald Watkins notes that while we cannot assume modern expectations in the form of 'superficially appropriate musical comment' that accompanies the dialogue, it would be misleading to neglect the place of music in the context of early modern drama.[16] Mary Chan suggests that:

> one fact becomes clear from a survey of the traditions and conventions of the Elizabethan use of music in the theatre: music was not used almost continuously, in the way that it is in many modern films, for instance, to create a background, a 'mood', or an 'atmosphere' for the audience. Music was used in small episodes only, and where it seems to have been used to express a 'mood' its function is usually related to an earlier, conventional use of music in drama and can be traced back to the medieval, ethical notion of world harmony.[17]

It is the nature of these 'small episodes' of sound interjection, and their repeated placement in plays, that I will be analysing.[18] As Julie Stone Peters observes, such use of sound in early modern drama is better understood as 'not merely a vehicle of emotion but a conveyor of meaning'.[19] This 'meaning' draws on textual, intra-textual, and extra-textual resonances. Sound creates a series of resonances which point the play's dialogue, and far from being peripheral, it is an integral form of directing playgoer attention; in connecting significant moment to significant moment in the plays, or connecting a significant moment to a significant precedent for the use of that sound

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[16] Watkins, p. 62.

[17] Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 10.

[18] While musical prompts are used as resonatory devices on most occasions, in some revenge tragedy plays aural signifiers are a key aid to the accomplishment of revenge. Chan observes that in Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* music and thunder disguises the act of murder by quelling Lussurioso's cries, while in Marston's *The Malcontent*, music and dancing distract the other characters from a conversation revealing that the Duke was murdered. See Chan, p. 13.

[19] Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book 1480-1880*, p. 151.

outside of the theatre or from other plays. The different musical instruments and sounds often had specific resonances for regular playgoers.

The trumpet-call is used often in early modern drama. A 'flourish', which is a blast of trumpets, is the usual accompaniment of the entry of a royal or sovereign personage in these plays.[20] It can be assumed that this mirrored real court life, for Henry VIII had fourteen trumpeters in his personal band, and Elizabeth I had ten trumpeters in 1587.[21] A flourish, as John Manifold observes, 'is the shortest and simplest kind of fanfare'.[22] A 'tucket', meanwhile, is used to herald the arrival of a person of importance such as an ambassador or messengers.[23] Most likely, a 'tucket' is also a type of fanfare of rising notes towards a quick crescendo.

As these examples suggest, in early modern England, the trumpet was 'closely associated with the ruling class', and as John Milton Ward III suggests, it was 'a privilege' for English acting companies to use this instrument.[24] Even musical instruments were used to demarcate social tiers. Furthermore, Ward notes that:

> parallel uses of the trumpet are found in the life of non-theatrical Elizabethan
> England, where it also announced the comings and goings of kings and their
> nobles, furnished tilts and banquets with their regal music, led processions on

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[20] An example of 'a flourish' is found in the opening scene of *Titus Andronicus*: 'Flourish. Enter the Tribunes and Senators aloft [...]' (*Tit* I.i.0 SD). A 'flourish' is also used in *Hamlet* to precede Claudius's opening speech: 'Flourish. Enter Claudius, King of Denmark [...]' (*Ham* I.ii.0 SD).

[21] See *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th Edition, ed. by H.C. Colle, Vol. V (London: Macmillan and Co., 1940), p. 396.

[22] John Manifold, 'Theatre Music in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Oct. 1948), p. 373.

[23] An example of 'a tucket' can be found at Montjoy's entrance in *Henry V*: 'Tucket. Enter Montjoy' (*H5* III.vi.104 SD). All quotations from *Henry V*, ed. by T.W. Craik, *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006). A tucket is also sounded for the arrival of Cornwall 'Tucket within' in *King Lear* (*Lr* II.i.77 SD). All quotations from *King Lear*, ed. by R.A. Foulkes (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006).

[24] John Milton Ward III, 'Trumpets and the Tudor Theater', *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, No. 8, (1945), p. 32.

coronation days, announced each new proclamation of the ruler, and formed part of the glory of the armies and the aural color of battle.[25]

This 'aural color of battle' was, however, also very much associated with class demarcation. As John Manifold suggests,

> The trumpet's associations, to the audience of those times, were not primarily military, but primarily royal. The military association is secondary, deriving from the sovereign's titular rank of commander-in-chief. The commanding general in the field, and the commanding admiral at sea, are entitled to use trumpets because they are deputies of the sovereign [...] Infantry do not use the trumpet.[26]

We can clearly see, then, that the use of trumpets was an exclusive practice and a significant means of communicating authority to the listener. Moreover, the trumpet-call also had significant biblical associations of authority and punishment. The trumpet-call as a universally significant musical trope, originates, of course, in the Book of Revelation, where a trumpet-call precedes each of the seven stages of Apocalypse.[27] In

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[25] Ward III, 33.

[26] Manifold, p. 370.

[27] The book makes constant references to listening and to sound declaring future action. From the first chapter the 'great voice' of God is compared to a trumpet-call (Re 1:10). The presiding refrain over the second and third chapters is 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches' (Re 2:7, 2:11, 2:29, 3:6, 3.13, 3.22). Before each sounding of the trumpets over the eighth, ninth and eleventh chapters, high tension is wrought into the text through the awareness that tragic action will only commence after each trumpet-call is made (Re 8:1, 8:8, 8:10, 8:12, 9:4, 9:12, 11:15). Of course, similar uses of the trumpet as a precursor or prompt to significant action can be found on numerous occasions in both the Old and New Testament. See, for example: 'Speaker unto the children of Israel, and say, In the seventh moneth, and in the first day of the moneth shal ye have a Sabbath, for the remembrance of blowing the trumpets, an holy convocacion' (Leviticus 23:24), 'Make thee two trumpets of silver: of an whole piece shalt thou make them, that thou maiest use thee for the assembling of the Congregacion, and for the departure of the campe' (Numbers 10:2), 'So the people shouted, when they had blowen trompets: for when the people had heard the sounde of the trompet, they shouted with a great shoute: and the wall fel downe flat so the people went up into the citie, everie man straight before him: and they toke the citie' (Joshua 6:20), 'And when he came home, he blew a trumpet in mount Ephraim, and the children of Israel went down with him from the mountaine, and he went before them' (Judges 3: 27), 'Then they made haste and toke everie man his garment, and put it under him on the top of the staires, and blew the trumpet, saying, Jehu is King' (2 Kings 9: 13), 'Thus all Israel broght up ye Arke of the Lords covenant with shouting and sounde of trumpets & with cornet, & with cymbals, making a sounde with violes & with harpes' (1 Chronicles 15:28), and ' And also if the trumpet give an uncerteine sounde, who shal prepare himself to battel' (1 Corinthians 14:8). All quotations from *The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the*

theatre therefore, the formulaic use of such an instrument must create evocative

resonances and associations of authority for the accustomed listener.

Of course, other wind instruments were also used in the playhouses. Cornets

were often used and were interchangeable with trumpets for certain musical

arrangements. For example, 'a sennet', which is a formal ornate musical pattern often

used to signal a procession, is played by both trumpets and cornets.[28] The cornet pipe

was an expensive musical instrument, about two feet in length, and made from hard

wood.[29] Cornets were also used in many off-stage practices, including, as John

Manifold notes, church music and to accompany 'royal processions and public

ceremonies'.[30] E. W. Naylor also gives special mention to the use of 'Hoboyes' (or

'hautboys'; or 'shawms'; modern equivalent being the oboe) as these implied 'special

importance in stage music, generally connected with a banquet, masque or

procession'.[31] Similarly, John Manifold suggests that 'hautboys were employed on

special festive occasions, royal marriages [and] celebrations of great events' and that

there were strong associations between the sound of hautboys and 'ideas of hospitality,

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1560 edition, ed. by Lloyd E. Berry (Madison; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). I am indebted to Darragh Greene and Andrew Power for their helpful suggestions with this point.

[28] Examples of a 'sennet' are found at the beginning of the second Act of *Antonio's Revenge* ['The cornets sound a sennet' to accompany Andrugio's funeral procession (*AR* II.i.1)] and for Richard's entry 'in pomp' in *Richard III* (*R3* IV.ii.0 SD). As the Grove dictionary notes 'the term "sennet" is probably derived from Seven, and may indicate a flourish of seven notes [...] It is a technical term, and what particular notes were played is now unknown. A Sennet was distinguished from a Flourish, as is proved by a stage-direction in Dekker's *Satiromastix* "Trumpets sound a florish, and then a sennet"'. *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th edn., Ed. H.C. Colle, Vol. IV (London: Macmillan and Co., 1940), p. 715. In Fredson Bowers' edition of Thomas Dekker's works, the stage direction reads 'Trumpets sound a florish, and then a sennate' (*Satiromastix* III.ii.1), in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 345. The separation of sounds is, however, still clear.

[29] David Lindley notes that the cornet 'was one of the most versatile of wind instruments, capable of both a brilliant, almost trumpet-like sound and of a quieter singing tone; and its finger-holes meant that, unlike the trumpet, it could play fully chromatic music over a wide range', in David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 237. For a detailed description of cornets used in early modern drama see John Wm. Snider's 'Shakespeare's Cornetts', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Autumn, 1971), pp. 401-404.

[30] Manifold, p. 375.

[31] E. W. Naylor, in Watkins, pp. 64-65.

festivity and entertainment'. [32] Contrariwise, hautboys also appear to have been used

frequently to presage a coming evil onstage. [33] Horns, meanwhile, are used in hunting-

scenes. [34] Of percussion instruments, drums are used predominantly to precede or record

a moment of celebration in the play/march on stage/procession. [35]

Special effects also had a substantial aural impact on the experience of the play.

Thus Watkins suggests that thunder in the storm scene of *Julius Caesar* is used to 'point

the dialogue'. [36] A similar effect is rendered by Shakespeare in the storm scenes in *King*

Lear, *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline* and parts one and two of *Henry the Sixth*,

while, for example, Marlowe uses thunder, lightning and the striking of a clock to point

the dialogue in the final scenes of *Dr Faustus*, and similarly Marston uses the striking

of a clock in the opening scene of *Antonio's Revenge*. Cannon-fire is often used to

denote both celebration and military prowess. [37] The use of animal sounds in the plays,

such as the baying of the hounds in *Titus Andronicus* and the cock-crow in *Hamlet*,

clearly provides a realistic yet also heavily resonant soundscape (as I will discuss),

much like the use of thunder and lightning.

Just as with visual and verbal prompting, the use of non-verbal sound to connect

significant moment to significant moment in the theatre is governed by basic rules of

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[32] Manifold, p. 378. Lindley notes that the hautboy is capable of especially loud sounds. See Lindley, 238.

[33] Mary Chan has noted that oboes are used to announce the arrival of Duncan at Macbeth's castle and in *Antony and Cleopatra* to foretell that the 'god Hercules, whom Antony lov'd | Now leaves him' (*Ant* IV.iii.21-22), in Chan, p. 13. In the Folio edition of *Hamlet*, 'Hautboys play' (*Ham* F III.ii.131.1) rather than 'The trumpets sound' [as in Q2, (*Ham*. III.ii.128.1)] prior to the dumb-show preceding 'The Murder of Gonzago'. All quotations from *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by John Wilders, (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2005). See also John Manifold, p. 378 and David Lindley pp. 97 and 137.

[34] For example, 'horns' are used to announce the beginning and ending of the hunt in *Titus Andronicus* (*Tit*. II.i.o SD; *Tit*. II.i.10 SD; *Tit*. II.iii.10 SD). Snider observes, however, that cornets are used as substitutes for hunting-horns in Act three, scene two of Marston's *The Malcontent*. See Snider, p. 403.

[35] Drums are used in the opening scene of *Titus Andronicus* by the followers of Saturninus and Bassianius: 'enter Saturninus and his followers at one door and Bassianus and his followers at the other, with drum and colour' denoting both celebration and military threat (*Tit* I.i.1) and similarly in *The Spanish Tragedy* : 'Enter Hieronimo with a Drum [...]' (*ST* I.iv.138).

[36] Watkins, p. 70.

[37] One clear example of this is found in *Hamlet*: 'A flourish of trumpets and two pieces [of ordnance] goes off' (*Ham* I.iv.8).

association in memory. In the memory-training tradition, the usefulness of such aural

prompts is also noted. For example, in Book 8 of his *Rhetorica Novissima* (1235), the

Bolognese scholar Boncompagno da Signa suggests that memory can be helped by

artificial aids and justifies this through citing a long list of memory signs from the

Bible. His first example is of the cock-crow as an aural trigger, reminding Peter of his

past promise.[38] Interestingly, in a later exhaustive list of universal memory signs,

Boncompagno includes 'the blarings of horns and trumpets', which he suggests have

been devised 'for the purpose of supporting the weakness of natural memory'.[39] An

interjected non-verbal sound immediately directs listener attention to the source of that

sound and the meanings that sound conveys. In the theatre of entertainment, where

plays were advertised through the use of an aural prompt, where often plays

commenced with an aural prompt, and where playwrights interlaced their plays with

stage directions for aural prompts pointing their dialogue and scenes, such uses of non-

verbal aural prompting were central means of disseminating and assimilating important

information. In my discussion of a representative selection of plays from the revenge

genre, I want to suggest how playwrights use such non-verbal sounds repeatedly (and,

in one example, use the absence of the familiar sound) to prompt playgoers to

remember analogous scenes where authority is communicated or contested.

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[38] Boncompagno's Book 8 'On Memory' can be found in translation by Sean Gallagher in *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, ed. by Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, pp. 103-117. The other memory signs Boncompagno includes from the New Testament are visual and verbal aids: a pitcher of water (Luke 22:10), an alabaster box of ointment (Matt. 26: 7-13), Jesus' instruction to the disciples 'do this in remembrance of me' (Luke 22:19), Judas's throwing away of the thirty pieces of silver (Matt. 27: 7-8). Boncompagno also includes a list from the Old Testament. *The Medieval Craft*, pp. 110-111.
[39] Carruthers and Ziolkowski, eds., *The Medieval Craft*, p. 111.

III – THE PLAYS

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY (1587)

In Kyd's play, as the previous chapter discusses, the presentation and reception

of the past in the present is linked to both the enacting and barring of justice. In the

opening Act alone we hear multiple differing accounts of the battle scene which sets the

tragedy in motion. We hear Andrea's account of his death on the battlefield. We hear

the General's version of Spain's victory, Don Andrea's death, and the capture of

Balthazar. We then hear Horatio, Lorenzo, and Balthazar's accounts of Balthazar's

capture, Villupo's 'envious forged tale' of Balthazar's supposed death on the

battlefield, and Horatio's tale of Andrea's death (*ST*.I.iii.93). Moreover, as has been

described in the preceding chapter, we see Hieronimo's masque which gives a version

of history which 'pleas[es] both the Ambassador and [the King]' (*ST*.I.iv.173).[40]

Furthermore, the multiple audience structures emphasise the notion of playing and

presenting and question the veracity of any single rendering of the past. Invariably, the

memory of the past is shown to be dependent upon who is doing the presenting and who

is receiving that information. Stephen Greenblatt defines power aptly as 'the ability to

impose fictions on the world and to enforce the acceptance of these fictions that are

known to be fictions' and in this play presentations of a fictitious past are barriers to the

revelations and notional justice of the final scenes.[41] In this section, I analyse how aural

prompts direct playgoer attention to significant moments in *The Spanish Tragedy* where

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[40] As Carol McGinnis Kay observes, there are five different accounts of the opening battle in the play. McGinnis Kay suggests that 'the linguistic uses made of that battle […] initiate the action of *The Spanish Tragedy*' and that 'by the end of Act I we are prepared for all the lies, dissembling and half-truths to come. The multiple accounts of Don Andrea's death [establish] a milieu in which language has lost its conventional stability and [becomes] a tool of manipulation and deceit'. Carol McGinnis Kay, 'Deception through Words: A Reading of *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 74, No.1 (Jan., 1977), p. 28. Scott McMillin also notes these multiple accounts and suggests that 'what Act I implies is that the past can be controlled and brought into present meanings through acts of speech'. Scott McMillin, 'The Figure of Silence in *The Spanish Tragedy*' *ELH*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Mar., 1972), p. 31.
[41] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p.141.

authority is maintained, or subjection contested, through the presentation and interpretation of the past.

Hieronimo is the Knight Marshall of the Spanish court. He is also the sometime organiser of entertainment for the court. He is both the presenter of justice and the presenter of role-playing. In his primary role he delivers judgement in the name of the court and on a number of occasions in the play justice is sought from him.[42] As the Deputy says, the Knight Marshall's 'office' is to 'punish such as do transgress' (*ST*.III.vi.11-12). However, a central irony of the play is that Hieronimo is incapable of achieving justice through the court's system for the murder of his son. Lorenzo and Balthazar suppress any knowledge of their murder of Horatio because of the obvious political expediency in doing so.[43] Lorenzo orchestrates the murder of his accomplices and subjects Serberine and Pedringano, and sequesters the only other witness to the crime, Bel-imperia. Hieronimo gains proof of the identity of his son's murderers but he is still incapable of achieving justice because of the societal power the antagonists wield.[44] On receiving Pedringano's letter of proof, Hieronimo prays:

HIERONIMO   O sacred heavens, may it come to pass
             That such a monstrous and detested deed,
             So closely smother'd, and so long conceal'd
             Shall thus by this be venged or reveal'd.   (*ST*.III.vii.46-49)

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[42] Following Pedringano's arrest, the Watch bring both Serberine's body and Pedringano 'to the Marshal's' (*ST*. III.iii.43). He certainly gives the order for Pedringano's execution. This can be seen in the hangman's complaint that they 'have done him wrong' (*ST*. III.vii.24). Later three citizens and Bazulto request that Hieronimo will 'plead their cases to the king' (*ST*.III.xiii.46-79).

[43] In the parallel story in the Portugese court, Villupo's treachery is also dependent on presenting a false past and ensuring that the true past is never revealed. Alexandro's life is only saved by the timely intervention of the returning ambassador. In the Spanish Court there is no such outsider to present the truth about Horatio's murder to the court, only Hieronimo and Bel-imperia.

[44] In scene twelve of Act three, Hieronimo is pointedly blocked from any interaction with the King by Lorenzo. Lorenzo says 'Back! Seest thou not the king is busy?' (*ST*. III.xii.28) and 'Hieronimo, you are not well-advis'd' (*ST*.III.xii.67). Hieronimo tells the king that he will present his son to 'show his deadly wounds', but after Hieronimo leaves, Lorenzo covers this up by saying that Hieronimo is driven 'distract, and in a manner lunatic' by his greed for Balthazar's ransom (*ST*. III.xii.73; *ST*. III.xii.89).

Vengeance for Hieronimo must involve a representation of the past in the present to unveil the façade of justice which is carefully maintained by the antagonists. To do so, Hieronimo chooses his secondary role of entertainer, actor, author and presenter to assert his version of the past in the present and achieve justice. I propose that Kyd alerts playgoers to this retrieval and presentation of that suppressed past, and the unveiling of the façade of justice in the play, through aural prompts.

Scant use of sound is recorded in Kyd's text; it is explicitly included in the stage directions on six occasions only. In the opening court scene 'A tucket afar off' sounds to announce the return of the victorious Spanish army with 'Balthazar between Lorenzo and Horatio, captive' (*ST*.I.ii.99 SD; *ST*.I.ii.109 SD). The tucket sounds just as Hieronimo pledges for Horatio that 'Long may he live to serve my sovereign liege, | And soon decay unless he serve my liege' (*ST*.I.ii.98-99). The next use of sound is the use of 'Trumpets' to precede the banquet to record a peace agreement between Spain and Portugal (*ST*.I.iv.116 SD). Hieronimo's historical masque is likewise announced by 'a Drum' (*ST*.I.iv.138 SD).[45] The underlying narrative of the masque is that Spain will do no disservice to Portugal and indicates a formal code of honour. The next two sounds are implicit in the text. Birds sing to accompany Horatio and Bel-imperia's clandestine meeting: 'Hark, madam, how the birds record by night, | for joy that Bel-imperia sits in sight' (*ST*.IV.28-29). This precedes the 'outcries' which wake Hieronimo (*ST*.II.v.0 SD). The next use of sound is Pedringano's ('shoots the dag') murder of Serberine (*ST*.III.iii.32 SD). Then in the third Act 'A noise within' heralds the arrival of Bazulto and the citizens (*ST*.III.xiii.44 SD). In this scene, Bazulto seeks justice for his dead son from Hieronimo, and Hieronimo recognises the full irony of his situation as

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[45] The stage direction reads 'Enter Hieronimo with a Drum' (*ST*.I.iv.138 SD). As Knight Marshall, Hieronimo is most likely not playing music himself and 'a Drum' is therefore probably the actual drummer.

both justice-giver and inhibited avenger. Sound is not used again until the 'The

trumpets sound a dead march' to accompany the funeral march (ST.IV.iv.218 SD).

Therefore sound directs playgoer attention to a series of episodes where the

notion of justice is being considered. Thus, the aural pattern connects Hieronimo's

pledge for his son to the court; to a banquet as testament of Spanish justice; to

Hieronimo's own presentation of Spanish justice; to Horatio's death and Bel-imperia's

forced isolation; to the removal of any evidence of foul play; to the moment when

Hieronimo recognises the injustice of his situation; and finally to the only means by

which justice can be rendered in an unjust system, that of the deaths of both the

avenging protagonists Hieronimo and Bel-imperia and the Machiavellian antagonists

Lorenzo and Balthazar.[46] The use of sound indicates the movement from multiple

presentations of justice, to a suppression of knowledge of injustice, to recognition of

those who control the justice-giving, to destructive transgressive actions to oppose that

unjust society made manifest in the action of a play.

Through the presentation of a fictitious past (his play), Hieronimo launches an

assault upon those figures of authority who have thus far prevented his seeking justice.

However, as the trumpets sound the funeral march, it is the bodies of Castile and

Balthazar which are mourned and borne from the stage. The bodies of Horatio,

Hieronimo, Bel-imperia, and Lorenzo are left behind, the remnants of a battle of

multiple presentations of memory in the present to administer or deny justice. Andrea

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[46] Scott McMillin suggests that Hieronimo is defined in the opening Act as entertainer and proud father. I believe that this reading rather diminishes Hieronimo's powerful position at court, but McMillin notes a neat symmetry to Hieronimo's action between the first and final Acts: 'So in his two appearances in the opening scenes, Hieronimo acts only at the bidding of the King, and his role is defined only by two functions: his pride in a valorous son and his skill at devising pageants. Both functions return in terribly changed form at the end of the action, when Hieronimo stages a murderous playlet before his King and then reveals the object that has driven him to ruin the ceremonies of Spain, the corpse of his murdered son' in Scott McMillin, 'The Figure of Silence in *The Spanish Tragedy*', pp. 36-37.

may be exultant as he reflects on the action, but as I argue in the final chapter, it is an

ambiguous ending for a play which interrogates the subject/authority relationship.

TITUS ANDRONICUS (1592)

In Shakespeare's early revenge tragedy, the dismemberment of the body politic

(as discussed in the previous chapter), is also communicated to the playgoers through

the use of aural prompts. In the extraordinary extended opening scene, non-verbal

sound is used on eight occasions. In the rest of the play non-linguistic sound is only

recorded as being used on five occasions.[47] The play begins with flourish of trumpets

which precedes a lavish formal procession before the Capitoline Hill and the tomb of

the Andronici. Drummers accompany this procession. This noisy procession represents

a celebration and affirmation of the state and its body politic. Saturninus and Bassianus

challenge each other for the right to rule the state and in doing so demonstrate their

willingness to elevate the state above family. The trumpets and drums, therefore,

preceded formal action where the key issues involved were the celebration of the state

body, the contest of leadership of that state, and the sacrifice of the family unit for the

state. Family, state, death, and their interrelationship, are associated themes in this early

part of the play.

Then more drums sound, again accompanied by trumpets ['sound drums and

trumpet' (*Tit*. I.i.73 SD)]. Thus, we may expect a similar formal action and association

of ideas. So it proves when Marcus Andronicus appeals to his brother Titus, a five-

times-returned war hero, to contest the rule of Rome, but Titus declines. Then the

Andronici tomb is opened, and as a form of sacrifice Titus's sons murder Tamora's son,

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[47] Three of these uses of sound are the cries of horns and hounds and seem more incidental and for realism's sake than any secondary purpose (*Tit*. II.ii.0 SD; *Tit*. II.ii.10 SD; and *Tit*. II.iii.10).

Alarbus. Trumpets then sound to announce the burial of the Andronici coffin. Reminiscent of the *Book of Revelation*, action proceeds after each sounding. Trumpets likewise record Saturninus's accession to the throne ('A long flourish till they come down' *Tit*. I.i.233 SD) and Saturninus's celebration ('Flourish' *Tit*. I.i.274 SD). Another 'flourish' sounds at the re-entry of the two brothers at separate sides of the stage (*Tit*. I.i.403) and the first scene and first Act ends with 'Sound trumpets', preceding the vengeful actions throughout the rest of the play (*Tit*. I.i.499 SD).

In the final Act, Titus exacts revenge upon Tamora. Aaron, the instigator of much of the bloodshed onstage, has been removed and 'trumpets' sound to herald the arrival of Tamora and Saturninus's company (*Tit*.V.iii.15 SD). Lucius says 'the trumpets show the emperor is at hand' (*Tit*. V.iii.14). 'At hand' is a curious phrase for Shakespeare to employ at this late stage. Earlier in the play, Lavinia's tongue and hands have been cut from her body to prevent her from revealing her rape. For Demetrius and Chiron, Lavinia's dismemberment represents a suppression of their past crime. However, for Titus, Lavinia's mutilated appearance only serves as a reminder of that past wrong. For dramatic purposes, Lavinia's near-constant accompaniment of Titus on the stage from the third act until her death recalls playgoers to the past action of the play. Likewise Titus's own severed hand becomes a reminder of his own past might.[48]

Therefore, considering the emphasis on dismemberment, while the phrase 'at hand' represents the physical emperor's hand and the associated wielding of state power by an individual, it also reminds us of Titus's own missing hand and the denotation of lost power. Crucially, therefore, it is representative of the dismemberment of the body

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[48] As Katherine Rowe suggests, 'Titus's hand represents a kind of dramatic mortmain, the grasp of past experience appearing in the present: a reminder and material confirmation of the promise of revenge' in Katherine Rowe, 'Dismembering and Forgetting in *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 45., No.3, p. 290.

politic which has been enacted since the formal processions of the first Act. Ideologically, the spectacle of dismemberment communicates the rendering apart of both familial and political units. The aural signifiers serve to connect significant moment to significant moment for the playgoers. In the banquet scene (which is supposedly for the purpose of reconciliation) aural prompts again supplement and convey meaning ['Trumpets sounding' to accompany the feast (Tit. V.iii.25 SD)], while also recalling playgoers to the passage in playtime since the opening scene.[49]

No injustice has occurred prior to the opening scene; the deaths are merely the fall-out from war. What has occurred since is the dismemberment of the social code of justice. In such a corrupt state, where justice is sought yet constantly denied (as will be discussed in the final chapter) the sufferings of the body politic and the dismantling of the body of the family become visually and figuratively presented in the spectacle of the dismembered body. Marcus accedes to this interpretation when, after the deaths of Tamora, Titus and Saturninus, he says, 'You sad-faced men, people and sons of Rome [....] let me teach you how to knit again [...] these bones into one body' (*Tit*. V.iii.68-72). However, it is through the use of aural prompts that Shakespeare supplements this interpretation, thus directing playgoers to connect the opening and final scenes. In the ensuing action, practically without aural accompaniment, we see the perpetration of multiple grievous injustices, and the attending dismemberment of this body politic. In the end, the cannibalistic final ritual, which is evocatively announced through aural prompting, marks an ultimately transgressive example of bodily sacrifice and mutilation.

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[49] In F1 'hoboyes' sound rather than trumpets.

ANTONIO AND MELLIDA (1599) and *ANTONIO'S REVENGE* (1601)

GALEAZZO   Come sirs, come! The music will sound straight for

entrance. Are ye ready, are ye perfect?   (*AM.* 0.1-2)

In these two plays by John Marston role-playing is a recurring thematic concern. The opening lines of the Induction scene of *Antonio and Mellida* (above) immediately highlight the concept of 'perfect' role-playing. Also, however, these lines make an explicit association between role-playing and aural prompting (for, in this instance, music sounds to announce the child players' entrance in their various roles[50]) and it is this connection that I would like to investigate here.[51]

As I have suggested in the introduction to this chapter, if a certain sound is associated with a certain significant moment earlier in the play, then the re-use of that sound may prompt playgoers to remember that earlier association. In *Antonio and Mellida*, for example, 'cornets sound a sennet' is used five times, and on each occasion it announces the beginning of formal action in Piero's court.[52] Such use of certain aural prompts establishes an intra-textual convention for playgoers; they become schooled in Marston's dramaturgical practice. With this in mind, this section examines how Marston overturns that intra-textual convention through the omission of certain familiar aural prompts in a key scene, and thus signifies to the playgoers, through silence or the

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[50] That Marston wrote expressly for the private theatres at Paul's and Blackfriars is significant. Not only did these enclosed arenas offer better acoustics, but in early modern London they were synonymous with musical performance. John Scott Colley observes that 'the private theatres did have a reputation for music: hour-long concerts preceded productions, and music was commonly played between acts'. See John Scott Colley, 'Music in the Elizabethan Private Theatres', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol 4 (1974), p. 63.

[51] My concern is with the use of non-verbal sound as a prompt for playgoer recollection. For an extensive survey of Marston's use and knowledge of music see David G. O'Neill's three articles on the subject, 'The Influence of Music in the Works of John Marston', I, II and III. Published respectively in *Music & Letters*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 3 and 4, (Apr., July, & Oct., 1972).

[52] 'Cornets sound a sennet' can be found at *AM.* I.i.34 SD, *AM.* I.i.99 SD, *AM.* II.i.265 SD, *AM.* V.ii.74 SD, *AM.* V.ii.186 SD.

unfamiliar aural prompt, how certain characters are only pretending in the role they

play.

In *Antonio and Mellida* the interjection of non-verbal sound is linked

inextricably to the actions of Piero. Of the seventeen times that musical instruments are

used explicitly in the play, sixteen of these are connected to him. Only the golden harp

which accompanies the singing competition at the beginning of the final scene has

nothing to do with his actions. Already we have seen that on five occasions 'cornets

sound a sennet' to announce the start of his formal court action. On four occasions

'cornets sound a flourish' to announce Piero recording a moment of supposed

triumph.[53] On two occasions a 'flourish' sounds for the entry of another character to his

court.[54] In the opening scene 'cornets sound a battle within' and 'a peal of shot is given'

recording Piero's battle and his victory respectively (*AM*. I.i.1 SD; *AM*. I.i.140 SD). In

the second Act, 'music sounds for the measure' for the courting of Mellida by

Mazzagente which would potentially lead to an increase of Piero's power (*AM*. II.i.172

SD). Finally, in the last Act, 'still flutes sound a mournful sennet' to accompany the

arrival of Antonio's coffin to Piero's court (*AM*. V.ii.186 SD).[55]

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[53] 'Cornets sound a flourish' can be found at *AM*. I.i.29 SD, *AM*. I.i.92 SD, *AM*. I.i.116 SD, *AM*. I.i.140 SD.
[54] 'Sound a flourish' is at *AM*. I.i.99 SD and 'A flourish sounds' can be found at *AM*. V.ii.138 SD.
[55] In the 1602 quarto this stage direction reads '*The still Flutes sound a mournfull Cynet. Enter a Cofin*'. John Manifold suggests that this stage direction 'is another example of Marston's ostentatious Italianism' because the etymology of the term 'still flutes' may be indebted to the Italian 'flauto dolce'. Manifold notes that the 'still flutes' are most likely a recorder, and through many examples of the use of recorders in plays including *Gorboduc*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *The Maid's Tragedy* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, suggests that 'recorders have associations with the benevolent-supernatural and with mourning'. See Manifold, pp. 380-382.

After the arrival of Antonio, playing dead, there are no more explicit stage

directions for music.[56] Implicit in the text is Piero's calling for soft and gentle music

'Sound Lydian wires' (*AM* V.ii.276).[57] A series of triumphs are recorded in the final

scene of this self-proclaimed 'comedy' (*AM*. 0.146). Andrugio is pardoned and Antonio

resurrected. The Duchy of Genoa is happily united with the Duchy of Milan, through

the union of the lovers Antonio and Mellida. The villain, Piero, has seemingly

undergone a dramatic transformation of character in under a hundred lines from 'O

revenge most sweet' (*AM*.V.ii.149) to 'My love be thine' (*AM*. V.ii.262). For the

playgoers it must seem unusual that no music sounds to record this triumph because

over the course of the play they have become accustomed to hearing a flourish of

cornets at each triumph for Piero. Certainly, Piero's words signify that this scene is one

of triumph for him. However the aural trigger which is associated with a triumph for

him is conspicuously absent. This absence of sound may alert playgoers to the fact that

this is not a triumph for Piero, and, consequently, that Piero is only feigning happiness.

Where in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Titus Andronicus* aural signifiers allowed playgoers

to connect significant moment to significant moment, in *Antonio and Mellida*, it is the

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[56] R. W. Ingram, in discussing Marston's use of music in these final scenes, suggests that the last Act 'relies on the traditional musical finale'. Ingram understands it as a series of surprising reversals which are underscored by the dramatic change in music between the singing contest and the flutes that accompany the funeral procession of Antonio. Antonio rising, Ingram suggests, seals 'the happy conclusion of the play'. This reading not only omits the final moments of the play (after Antonio's revelation), but also ignores Piero's request and Marston's preceding use of aural prompting in the play. See R. W. Ingram, 'The Use of Music in the Plays of Marston', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Apr., 1956), p. 159.
[57] 'Lydian' denotes a specific musical mode, and like elsewhere in the plays, Marston is demonstrating his considerable knowledge of music. David G. O'Neill suggests that Marston would have had considerable opportunity to learn about musical theory in his years at Brasenose College, Oxford, and also during his years in the Middle Temple. See O'Neill, 'The Influence of Music in the Works of John Marston' I, pp. 125-126.

recollection of a sound that is now absent which directs playgoers to interpret the significance of the silent ending.[58]

In *Antonio's Revenge*, Marston includes the information that Piero poisoned Andrugio in the toast in that final scene of *Antonio and Mellida*. There is obviously a neatness of continuity in Marston's linking ambiguous material from the first play to his sequel. However, the question remains whether or not Marston had that ending in mind (or indeed the plot for a sequel) when writing *Antonio and Mellida*. Certainly, in the induction scene preceding the formal action of the first play, Marston has Antonio say that if the play obtains 'gracious acceptance' then 'a second part' will be written. It seems possible to suggest that Marston was fully conscious of the impracticality of enforcing an ending on a story only half completed. Thus, Allen Bergson has suggested that 'the violent, quasi-demonic pursuit and execution of revenge in the second play represents Marston's witty, literary "answer" to the improbable and romantic reformation of the human heart which resolves the comic trials of the first'.[59] By including this premise for a second play following on from the action of this play, Marston may be implicitly satirising the possibility of providing a happy ending for the protagonists. Playgoers attending the play for the first time are, of course, unaware of what will occur in the second play, but the unsettling ambiguity of the first play's final moments, accentuated by the absence of the conventional aural prompt, is self-contained. However, Marston's dramaturgy may be better understood with reference to his similar use of aural prompting in the second play.

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[58] John C. Meagher observes the dramatic effect of an absent expected aural prompt: 'Fanfares and flourishes are effectively aural costumes and properties, capable of being used for dignifying or practical dramatic effects when sustaining continuity during a descent or a quick mimed conference or a costume change and handy for indicating offstage happenings. Their very absence can be dramatically suggestive when appropriate circumstances fail to produce them'. John C. Meagher, *Pursuing Shakespeare's Dramaturgy: Some Contexts, Resources, and Strategies in his Playmaking* (London: Associated Universities Press, 2003), pp. 310-311.

[59] Allen Bergson, 'Dramatic Style as Parody in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida'*, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1971), p. 308.

In the second play, the ending is again improbable. Two Senators arrive (unseen until this point), thank the conspirators for murdering Piero, absolve them of any guilt, reveal that they have found further proof of Piero's 'plots of villainy', and then offer the conspirators any of the highest positions of government (*AR*.V.vi.17). Antonio's murder of Julio is never questioned. Even Antonio is surprised and says, 'We are amazed by your benignity' (*AM*. V.vi.28). However, Antonio and Pandulpho reject the offer and vow to 'live enclosed in holy verge of some religious order' (*AR*. V.vi.34-35). Antonio calls for 'doleful tunes, a solemn hymn' to 'close the last act' of his revenge (*AR*.V.vi.54-55).

There are striking parallels between the final scenes of both plays. In the first play, Antonio moves from seeming death to life and Piero's character transforms from avenger to repentant. In the second play, Piero moves from life to death, and Antonio's character transforms from revenger to penitent. In *Antonio's Revenge*, Piero's 'Lydian wires' from the first play are mirrored by Antonio's 'doleful tunes' (*AM*.V.ii.276; *AR*.V.vi.53). In both plays the resolution is over-simplified. In the final scenes of both plays we have a denial of the past in an artificially constructed pretence of satisfaction and resolution. In the first play, it is expedient for Piero to affect the role he plays in the final scene. For the playgoers, the visible increase in the number of bodies on the stage who are opposed to Piero would signal the personal danger that the antagonist is faced with. In the second play, it is politically expedient for the Senators to appease the avenging protagonists. When Antonio and Pandulpho refuse high positions in 'the Venice state', the senators do not attempt to change their mind (*AR*.V.vi.24). The last lines of the Senators are also quite ambiguous:

2ND SENATOR   We will attend her mournful exequies;
                  Conduct you to your calm sequestered life,

>   And then-
>
> MARIA   Leave us to meditate on misery [...]   (*AR*.V.vi.43-46)

The Senator affirms the right to mourn for Mellida, then confirms Antonio and

Pandulpho's desire to 'live enclosed/ in holy verge of some religious order'

(*AR*.V.vi.34-35). However, pointedly, the Senator's sentence is not completed, and

Maria interrupts him by asking him to leave them alone with their grief. What does

Maria, Antonio's mother, think the Senator is going to suggest? Maria continues by

saying,

> MARIA   If any ask
> Where lives the widow of the poisoned lord,
> Where lies the orphan of a murdered father,
> Where lies the father of a butchered son,
> Where lives all woe, conduct him to us three
> The downcast ruins of calamity.   (*AR*. V.vi.48-53)

Maria appears to suggest that Antonio, Pandulpho, and she herself are now defined only

by their past. The future, after the play, holds no story. Pandulpho has already asserted

that he and Antonio would prefer death to life, but they abide by the Christian

prohibition of suicide. Antonio, Pandulpho and Maria have resigned themselves to the

role of mourner. However, the Senator, by saying 'and then', appears to be suggesting

future action, and indeed future roles to play (*AR*.V.vi.45).

The 'doleful tunes' Antonio calls for enable him to communicate publicly his

transformation of roles from avenger to mourner. Antonio, Pandulpho and Maria are

self-consciously taking on fitting new roles for that present moment in time. Their

future is to be a constant reflection on the past. In *Antonio and Mellida*, Piero's 'sound

Lydian wires' convey his lack of personal triumph in the lovers' union, and signify

Piero's feigning and role-playing (*AM*.V.ii.276). In the second play, Antonio's 'doleful tunes' convey the separation of the lovers, and signify Antonio's transformation of roles (*AR*.V.vi.54). Both plays have ambiguous endings, in that the final scenes appear to be contrived situations, involving delicate political balancing acts, self-conscious role-playing to maintain this balance and refusals to accept the possible future implications of past action smoothed over by present role-playing.[60] In composing such endings, Marston satirises easy reconciliation and resolution, and indeed the notion of offering a definitive ending to a narrative.

Hamlet (1601)

As Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus await the ghost on the battlements of Elsinore, the silence is broken by the sound of Claudius' celebrations:

> *A flourish of trumpets and two pieces goes off.*   (*Ham*.I.iv.7 SD)

Although promised from the opening court scene (where Claudius announced his intention to have 'great cannon' fired as he drinks to celebrate Hamlet's decision to remain at Elsinore), these acousmatic sounds (no visible origin onstage) anger Hamlet and startle Horatio. Hamlet explains that it is a long-held Danish custom to drink toasts to celebrate success, and to sound 'kettledrum and trumpet' to communicate such success publicly to the hinterland of the Danish Court. We see this custom again returned to in the final scene of the play where the blows exchanged in the duel are to be celebrated by the drinking of a toast with the familiar aural accompaniment of kettledrum, trumpet, and cannon. It strikes me that the similarity in the soundscapes of both scenes may force playgoers to connect these two significant scenes in the play. To

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[60] Critics have long noted Marston's ability to include secondary meaning covertly in his plays. T.S. Eliot conceived of a 'pattern behind the pattern' in his plays, in T.S. Eliot, 'John Marston', *Elizabethan Essays*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), p. 177.

support this reading, I begin with a number of observations on how Shakespeare uses sound in the play.

This is a play which emphasises the act of listening. The play has twenty-five references to the 'ear' or 'ears', and it is hardly coincidental that Old Hamlet is poisoned through the 'the porches of [his] ears' (*Ham*.I.v.63). The poisoning of the ear becomes a dominant metaphor in the play for the dissemination of misinformation. For example the Ghost asserts that 'the whole ear of Denmark | Is by a forged process of my death/ Rankly abused' (*Ham*.I.v.36-8). Similarly, Claudius fears that Laertes will be affected by 'buzzers' who will 'infect his ears' with rumour and misinformation (*Ham*.IV.v.90). Moreover the play is filled with scenes where playgoers are aware that the onstage characters are engaged in the act of listening, e.g. the multiple eavesdropping scenes, or the play-within-the-play scene. Such a concentration of phrasing and action relating to this medium of assimilation evocatively and self-referentially directs playgoer attention to their own means of understanding the play, and implicitly magnifies Shakespeare's use of sound in the play.

In *Hamlet* interjections of non-verbal sound are consistently used to direct listeners to connect analogous scenes.[61] For example, a 'flourish' is used to announce Claudius's first two entries (*Ham*. I.ii.0 SD; *Ham*. II.ii.0 SD). A 'flourish' also sounds to announce Claudius's exit in his opening scene (*Ham*. I.ii.129 SD). Similarly, 'Trumpets and kettledrum' announce the entrance of the King and courtiers for the play-within-the-play, and 'Trumpets and drums' are also sounded for the entrance of Claudius and

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[61] Hamlet also refers to the ear on a number of occasions. He suggests that if the First Player had any of the 'motive[s]' Hamlet has, then he would 'cleave the general ear with horrid speech' (*Ham*. II.ii.498). He also describes how Claudius, was an infectious 'mildewed ear' to his brother (*Ham*. III.iv.62). Marjorie Garber suggests an interesting Freud-influenced reading of Hamlet's preoccupation with ears: how it indicates a displacement of Hamlet's own horror at the means of his father's murder. However, this suggestion is somewhat diminished when we recognise that other characters (as the above examples show) similarly use ears as metaphors, and because so much of the action of the play is concerned with the act of listening. See Marjorie Garber, *Coming of Age in Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 202-203.

the courtiers to the final duel scene (*Ham.* III.ii.85 SD; *Ham.* V.ii.201 SD). Thus, Shakespeare establishes a convention in the play whereby certain aural prompts are used to denote a public state occasion.

The use of sound to announce royal entry or exit demarcates public space from private space in Elsinore. On the numerous other occasions that Claudius enters or exits in the play (III.i; III.iii; IV.i; IV.iii; IV.v; IV.vii), it is immediately communicated to the playgoers, through the absence of the familiar aural prompt, that the conversation that is occurring is private e.g. the King's discussion with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in the third act, or with Laertes at the conclusion of the fourth Act.[62]

The interjection of an aural prompt frequently interrupts dialogue in the play. Bernardo tells Horatio that on the previous two nights upon the sounding of the bell ('The bell then beating one') the Ghost appeared (*Ham.* I.i.38). Similarly, in this opening scene, when the cock crows the Ghost exits.[63] Similarly, as I have suggested above, the noise of the trumpets and cannon is surprising for Hamlet and his companions on the battlements. In both of these examples, the cock-crow and Claudius's celebratory noises, the conversation changes entirely to focus upon the sound that they have just heard. Similarly Hamlet's private conversation with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in the second Act is interrupted (and ended) by 'a

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[62] One exception to this is the funeral of Ophelia where no stage direction is included, although a bell is mentioned by the priest (*Ham.* V.i.223). These 'maimed rites' are, of course, intended to be extraordinary (*Ham.* V.i.208).

[63] Eleanor Prosser interestingly notes the many cultural resonances of this effect for playgoers: 'There can be little doubt that Shakespeare's audience was acquainted with the symbolic meaning of the cock. An ancient belief – found in traditional Jewish writings and later made specifically Christian by such writers as Prudentius and St. Ambrose – held that roving demons scattered in fear at cockcrow and Le Loyer specially related the belief to his discussion of demons appearing as dead souls. The witches' Sabbath customarily began at midnight and lasted until cockcrow, at which time Satan fled terrified. As the herald of the day, the cock is the voice of light and thus of grace; in banishing night, he banishes darkness and sin. Thus Christian tradition held that cocks crowed all night at the Nativity and again at the resurrection. More specifically, the cock symbolized the voice of Christ when it called Peter to repent, a belief reflected in the familiar weathervane cock on church steeples', in Eleanor Prosser, *Hamlet and Revenge*, 2nd edn. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 121-122.

flourish' which announces the players' entrance (*Ham.* II.ii.305 SD). Likewise the planning of Hamlet and Horatio in the third Act is broken by the sound of 'trumpets and kettledrums' to announce the entry of the King and courtiers for the play, and later a trumpet sounds to silence everyone to announce the beginning of the dumb show (*Ham.* III.ii.85 SD; *Ham.* III.ii.128 SD). Similarly, in the fourth Act, as Claudius and Gertrude discuss Ophelia's movement from 'fair judgement' and the threat of the returning Laertes, it is a cryptic acousmatic sound ('a noise within') that is used twice to denote the fickle mob who have come in support of Laertes (*Ham.* IV.v.96 SD; *Ham.* IV.v.109 SD). As the King pacifies Laertes another offstage interruptive sound ('a noise within') announces the return of the distracted Ophelia (*Ham.* IV.v. 151 SD). As these examples demonstrate, Shakespeare punctuates his play with such aural prompts to not only re-direct the plot at certain moments, but also to astonish and surprise. Moreover, frequently the onstage characters discuss the significance of the interrupting sound.

In *Hamlet* sound is used frequently in an unconventional or inappropriate way. The most notable example of this is Fortinbras's command that Hamlet should be accorded a military funeral where soldiers beat drums and fire cannon so that 'the soldiers music and the rite of war | Speak loudly for him' (*Ham.* V.ii.383-384). It is at odds with the sombre musical accompaniment Shakespeare provides for tragic heroes in his other plays, such as in *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*, where a dead march is sounded at each play's conclusion. Sternfeld notes that:

> Funeral strains were among the formalities to mark the end of a noble hero or heroine, both at the children's private theatres and at the public theatres [...] Shakespeare [...] accompanies the deaths of his noble heroes with appropriate

music. But the ceremony of the dead march is withheld when a character sullied

by crime, a custom undoubtedly familiar to audiences.[64]

Quite why Hamlet should be accorded such a noisy departure is inexplicable (although

it is funereal, it is clearly inappropriate), unless we note how this discordance of

funereal sound continues a pattern in the play. For example, in the funeral of Ophelia it

is the absence of musical accompaniment which is the culturally resonant effect. Nigel

Llewellyn observes that 'music' was very 'much a part of funeral rituals' in early

modern England, and its absence in this scene must have been striking for the

playhouse audience.[65] After the silent procession arrives and the service begins the

Priest announces his misgivings about the funeral ceremony of 'bell and burial' and

states that it would 'profane the service of the dead | To sing a requiem' (*Ham.* V.i.223;

Ham. V.i.225-226).[66]

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[64] F.W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge, 2005, re-print of 1963 original), p. 18.

[65] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p. 83.

[66] Over the course of the play, we see a sustained denial of customary early modern funeral rites and mourning practices. In early modern England, as Frye observes, it was customary for widows to respect the 'doleful month during which they remained in apartments hung entirely in black' and widows often 'continued to wear a black veil for three to four years' afterwards. Roland Mushat Frye, *The Renaissance Hamlet- Issues and Responses in 1600* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 85. Clearly, Gertrude has no such apparel, and she tells Hamlet to 'cast [his] nighted colour off' (*Ham.*I.ii.68). Bertram Puckle reveals that the 'inky cloak' that only Hamlet wears is an uncomfortable and heavy funeral garment which would have covered the person from head to toe. Bertam S. Puckle, *Funeral Customs: Their Origins and Developments* (London: Werner Laurie, 1926), p. 87 (cited in Frye, pp. 94-96). Nigel Llewellyn observes that 'in grand Elizabethan funeral processions important male mourners wore gowns with hoods. Only the upper ranks were allowed to cover their hair at the funerals of the great'. Llewellyn, p. 86. Moreover, King Hamlet is buried, Claudius made King, and Gertrude remarried within a very short space in time which certainly belies contemporary historical precedents. In his opening soliloquy, Hamlet supplies the brief time-line: 'Within a month, | Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears | Had left the flushing in her galled eyes, | She married. O most wicked speed!' (Ham. I.ii.153-156) It took thirty-three days between Edward VI's death and burial in 1553. Thirty days had passed before Mary I's burial in 1558, while Mary, Queen of Scots' burial took six months because of political difficulties in 1587. Frye, 324 fn. Frye furthermore observes that 'Peers of the realm required similar preparation – six weeks for the burial of Edward, Earl of Derby, in 1572, and four months for that of the third Earl of Huntington in 1595/96, whereas the burial of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Elizabeth's principal minister, required almost a month in 1598', in Frye, p. 324 fn. As Percy Macquoid points out, in France the word 'quarantine comes from the forty days of preparation before the funeral ceremony'. Percy Macquoid, *Shakespeare's England*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 148. In the play, Polonius's funeral is also described as 'obscure' in the play and hardly befitting of the councillor of the King. The memory of his life is belittled by 'no formal ostentation' (*Ham.*IV.vi. 213). Laertes complains that no 'hatchment' (Polonius' coat of arms) is placed on his father's gravestone.

Taking note of these observations on the use of sound in *Hamlet*, I now turn to

Claudius's command of the soundscape of the play. In the play's fourth scene, as the

three men anxiously await the appearance of the ghost on the battlements, the silence is

broken by the trumpets and cannon that signify Claudius's celebrations. Bruce Johnson

suggests that this interjection of sound into the silent scene creates 'an intensely

dramatic effect, an acoustic shock through which is proclaimed a stepfather's tasteless

usurpation, a King's debauchery, and a state's decline'.[67] However, it strikes me that

Johnson's interpretation over-simplifies the effect of this aural prompt. In the

subsequent lengthy speech, Hamlet expresses his disgust with this celebration:

HAMLET   But to my mind, though I am a native here
           And to the manner born, it is a custom
           More honoured in the breach than the observance.   (*Ham.* I.iv.14-16)[68]

Thus, the means by which Claudius communicates his success publicly is a custom

which has been in existence for (at least) all of Hamlet's lifetime.[69] This means that

Hamlet's father also used this custom to communicate his successes publicly. Thus, for

the Danish subjects to interpret correctly the meaning of such a use of sound is to

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[67] Bruce Johnson, '*Hamlet*: Voice, Music, Sound', *Popular Music*, Vol. 24/2 (2005), p. 261.

[68] In the opening scene of *Pericles*, Shakespeare again suggests that just because a practice is a 'custom', it should not necessarily validate that practice. Gower describes the incestuous relationship between Antiochus and his daughter with similar disgust:
GOWER   Bad child, worse father, to entice his own
                             To evil should be done by none.
                             But custom what they did begin
                             Was with long use account'd no sin.   (*Per.* I.Ch.27-30)

[69] Claudius's successes are multiple in the play's second scene: the diplomatic pacifying of Norwegian threat (*Ham.* I.ii.27-39), the appeasement of his first minister's son (*Ham.* I.ii.42-63), and the public acquiescence of Hamlet to his request (albeit in guarded and sardonic tones) (*Ham.* I.ii.64-120). Moreover Claudius begins his speech by smoothing over the troublesome questions of his accession and marriage, and he thanks the court who have 'freely gone | With this affair along' (*Ham.* I.ii.15-16). In Hamlet's despairing first soliloquy, the prince is hurt and confused and devoid of any energy or motivation to transform his circumstances. He ends by stating simply that 'It is not, nor it cannot come to good (the relationship between his mother and Claudius); | But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue' (*Ham.* I.ii.157-158). Horatio soon informs Hamlet of the Ghost's appearance, and it is when we next see Hamlet onstage that he is on the battlements, and we hear Claudius's celebrations.

recognise and acknowledge the precedents for such usage. In Claudius's customary use of aural signifiers in celebration, he creates a powerful association with past successes in the preceding reign. The subjects' recognition of the significance of such use of sound implicitly ratifies and consolidates the new reign of Claudius. For Claudius it is a vital means of acoustically supplanting the discordant elements of his accession.[70] Claudius is publicly denying that Denmark is 'disjoint and out of frame' (*Ham.* I.ii.20). Only Claudius knows the deceptive and treacherous means by which this accession was made possible, but any doubts and controversies are smoothed over by his diplomatic successes, signalled through these familiar customary aural prompts.

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[70] The controversies of Claudius's actions are clearly stated in the play, and would have been immediately recognisable to an early modern audience. Claudius and Gertrude's marriage is unconditionally incestuous. Both Hamlet and the Ghost refer to the union as incestuous (*Ham.*I.ii.157; *Ham.*I.v.83). Legally, as Sir Lewis Dibdin points out that, 'once formed under the guise of a ceremony of marriage, the most lawless and even disgusting marriage (e.g. between brother and sister) needed a suit for its effective annulment. This was required not to make such a marriage void, for it was void *ab initio*, but in order that its invalidity might be acted on, it was necessary that there be a sentence declaring it void'. Sir Lewis Dibdin and Sir Charles E.H. Chadwyck Healey, *English Church Law and Divorce* (London: A.J. Murray), p. 74. There was a significant historical precedent for such a marriage which would have been known to all contemporary playgoers. King Henry VII arranged the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. The marriage was never consummated and when Arthur died, there was no heir left to the throne. An application was made to and accepted by Pope Julius II to allow the future King Henry VIII to marry Catherine. The inability to produce an heir who survived caused Henry to divorce Catherine twenty-two years later, blaming their incestuous bond. Roland Frye points out that 'eminent scholars on university faculties', the 'English ecclesiastical court under Archbishop Thomas Cranmer' and 'the English parliament' all agreed with apportioning the blame to the incestuous bond. Henry VIII's next union, with Anne Boleyn, produced Elizabeth, so it is fair to assume that playgoers were aware of this precedent. Roland Mushat Frye, *The Renaissance Hamlet*, pp. 77-81. Likewise Claudius's accession to the throne is controversial. Although the sycophantic 'water-fly' courtiers have approved Claudius' accession, Hamlet asserts that Claudius 'popped in between th'election and [his] hopes' (*Ham.*V.ii.69; *Ham.*V.ii.65). It is not a question of Hamlet's age. Yorick's skull 'hath lien [...] i'th' earth three-and-twenty years' (*Ham.*V.i.163-4), and Hamlet clearly remembers the jester. Moreover Geoffrey Bullough has observed that Denmark's 'monarchy was elective' and although 'primogeniture was not invariably honoured' it does seem unusual that Hamlet, 'th'expectancy and rose of the fair state' is not the automatic candidate (*Ham.*III.i.151). See Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and dramatic sources of Shakespeare*, Vol. VII (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 41. Similarly, Andrew Gurr has noted that 'automatic succession by the eldest son did not replace election in England until 1272, in France in 1270, and later still in the less powerfully nationalistic territories such as Denmark'. Andrew Gurr, *Hamlet and the Distracted Globe* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press for Sussex University Press, 1978), p. 26. Finally, Rosencrantz reveals that Claudius asserts the right to name Hamlet for 'succession in Denmark' (*Ham.*III.ii.32-33). Hamlet similarly pledges that the 'election lights on Fortinbras' (*Ham.*V.ii.339). However, seemingly, Hamlet does not have his late father's pledge, or, at least, Hamlet does not have the opportunity to assert such an existing pledge. Certainly, it is better for Claudius not to draw attention to these points and suppress the memory of the circumstances of his marriage and accession. Suppression is a twofold action of denial and omission.

For Hamlet, as listening subject, (peripheral to the court's centre physically and figuratively), his liminality is communicated through this aural expression. Claudius states that these rouses are in celebration of Hamlet's agreement to remain at Elsinore, yet the prince is, of course, absent. The sounds also troublesomely connect the reigns of father and uncle for the prince.[71] We see this as Hamlet's meditation on how one maligned practice can damage the reputation of the state quickly mutates into a meditation on human weakness which is simultaneously self-referential and an exposition on his father and uncle:

HAMLET   So oft it chances in particular men

That, for some vicious mole of nature in them,

As in their birth wherein they are not guilty

(Since nature cannot choose his origin),

By their o'ergrowth of some complexion

Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,

Or by some habit that too much o'erleavens

The form of plausive manners[...]   (*Ham*. I.iv.23-30)

In this speech Hamlet's rationalisation of human weakness (for they are not guilty of that nature with which they are born) also troublesomely connects the prince's inaction to the actions of Claudius. In searching for an understanding of his own malaise and confusion, he also seems to be attempting to understand Claudius' motivations.

However, since this meditation is prompted by an aural signifier which implicates both his uncle and deceased father, this speech on weakness provides a powerful nexus of

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[71] This is not the only occasion in the play where Hamlet explicitly links the reigns of his father and Claudius through the use of a Danish custom. In the final lines before a flourish heralds the players' arrival, we hear a thematically familiar complaint from Hamlet.
HAMLET   It is not very strange. For my Uncle is King of Denmark, and those that would make mows at him while my father lived give twenty, forty, fifty, a hundred ducats apiece for his picture in little. 'Sblood, there is something in this more than natural, if philosophy could find it out. (*Ham*.II.ii.361-5)

associations for Hamlet between himself and both men. It is surely not insignificant that

this speech by Hamlet is interrupted by the entrance of the ghost of his deceased

father.[72] For in this moment of the play Hamlet's interstitial positioning between both

reigns, and between both authority figures, is evocatively prompted by the aural effect.

In the final duel scene of the play, the custom of sounding trumpet and cannon

for each toast is returned to:

CLAUDIUS   Set me the stoups of wine upon that table.

If Hamlet give the first or second hit

Or quit in answer of their third exchange

Let all the battlements their ordnance fire.

The King shall drink to Hamlet's better breath

And in the cup shall he throw

Richer than that which four successive kings

In Denmark's crown have worn. Give me the cups,

And let the kettle to the trumpet speak,

The trumpet to the cannoneer without

The cannons to the heavens, the heaven to the earth.

Trumpets the while

Now the King drinks to Hamlet.   (*Ham.*V.ii.244-255)

In the opening scene the combination of custom and public proclamation, through aural

signifiers, emphatically pronounces Claudius' triumph and approval. In the final scene,

the custom is resumed to accommodate Claudius' final deception through which he

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[72] Hamlet's lengthy speech is found only in the Second Quarto (Q2) (*Ham.* I.iv.13-37). In both the First Quarto (Q1) and First Folio (F), the ghost enters after Hamlet says 'more honoured in the breach than in the observance' (Q1 IV.12-13; F I.iv. 15-16). The initial effect of Hamlet's complaint is therefore the same in all three texts, where the customary nature of Claudius's action is discussed. However, in the extra speech in the Q2 edition, on which I base my reading, we are given a greater insight into why this continuing practice distresses him so much. As the recent Arden editors Thompson and Taylor note, 'recent editors (e.g. Edwards, Hibbard) argue that the lines were omitted from both Q1 and F as "undramatic" ones that "slow the action down"'. However, as Karl Elze notes, these lines are important because they demonstrate the prince's agitation, whereby he is 'continually losing the thread of his speech and does not finish a single sentence'. Karl Elze, *Shakespeare's Tragedy of Hamlet* (1882) cited in *Hamlet*, Thompson & Taylor edn. fn. p.203.

intends to remove the final threat to his kingship. Hamlet is the living memory of Claudius' brother's life and the associated past. This is a past which reveals Claudius as not only wife-less and throne-less but also as a murderer. Again Claudius uses aural prompts to signify that all is at peace in Denmark: 'Drum, trumpets and shot' accompany each 'hit' in the seemingly harmless duel (*Ham.*V.ii.262 SD). Claudius offers the poisoned cup to Hamlet, but he declines. But 'the Queen carouses to [Hamlet's] fortune' (*Ham.*V.ii.271). The Danish custom which Claudius employed to signify his success publicly in the first Act (and simultaneously veil the controversies of his accession), is now the primary means by which this pretence unravels.

Both scenes use the same acoustic interjection to direct playgoer attention to similar thematic concerns. For example, on both occasions Claudius commands the use of sound to cunningly deflect attention away from his own machinations. Likewise, on both occasions the sound accompanies a Danish custom. On both occasions Claudius says that he drinks to Hamlet. Similarly, just as the earlier practice forced Hamlet to make an association between his uncle and his deceased father, Claudius now explicitly states that the pearl which he places in the toasting cup is 'richer than that which four successive kings | in Denmark's crown have worn' (*Ham.* V.ii.250-251).

However, there are also some significant differences between both scenes. Where once the sound Claudius commanded acousmatically interrupted the private space outside the court, and where once Hamlet was the outsider listening to the court practice, now Hamlet is present at the public event. Similarly, whereas before Hamlet was unaware of Claudius's complicity in the death of his father and was suffering greatly, he has now resolved to fulfil his father's ghost's command: 'The readiness is all, since no man | of aught he leaves knows what is't to leave betimes' (*Ham.* V.ii.200-201). Claudius's familiar use of sound to signify celebration, which is undermined by

his deceptive perpetrations of injustice through that aural distraction, forces attentive listeners to connect both significant scenes.

Therefore, in *Hamlet* we have seen how aural prompts are used to direct playgoer attention to the means by which authority is signified at Elsinore. Claudius's use of the familiar custom to consolidate his own position forces Hamlet to recognise his own tenuous interstitial position. It also forces an association for the prince between the reigns of his father and his uncle. In the play's final scene, again Claudius attempts to consolidate his position at court through the use of this custom. He says he drinks for Hamlet, but veils his own motivations. Hamlet is again forced to make an association between his father and uncle. The repetition of sound and circumstance, thus, creates a series of evocative associations for playgoers. Perhaps it directs their attention towards the artificiality of the aural signifier, so familiar for them from civic practices, for the commandment of authority. For their understanding of the play, it forces playgoers to recognise the fragility of Claudius's means of communicating his authority, which is then overturned in the frenetic tragic action of the final scene.

THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY (1607)

In this macabre Jacobean tragedy, playgoers are introduced in the play's opening scenes to an ignoble corrupt court, where Vindice is seeking revenge for the murder of his betrothed and the death of his father, although the latter only died from discontent. Much like Hieronimo, Titus, and Hamlet, Vindice must also use disguise and guile to achieve private vindication for a public crime made private by a socially

powerful opposition.[73] However, this is complicated over the course of the play by the actions of Vindice, which seem to stem less from his ambiguous notion of justice, than from an ever-increasing motivation to destruct. I suggest that this makes it increasingly difficult for playgoers to sympathise with the plight of Vindice, or to understand his actions. Thus playgoers dissociate themselves from the avenging protagonist as the narrative develops. I suggest that this dissociation for playgoers can be understood as intra-textually validated through Middleton's use of aural prompts in the play.

There is minimal record of sound in Middleton's play until the Duke's death in Act three, scene five. The Duchess asks for 'Loud'st music sound, Pleasure is Banquet's guest' (*RT*.III.v.218). The Duke is murdered and Vindice's revenge ought to be complete. Hippolito says 'Thanks to loud music' and Vindice replies 'Tis State in music for a Duke to bleed' (*RT*.III.v.219; *RT*.III.v.221). When the play begins, Vindice calls for a single avenging action against the Duke, 'royal lecher', in order to give 'Revenge her due' (*RT*. I.i.1; *RT*. I.i.43). At this stage, close to the end of the third Act, he has achieved his original goal. However, the action continues, and Vindice's revenge transfers from the individual to authority at large. Music is next recorded when Hippolito, in speaking of his brother Vindice, says 'Sfoot, just upon the stroke | Jars in my brother, "twill be villainous music"' (*RT*. IV.i.27-28). Middleton is making an explicit connection between Vindice's transformation from revenge to villainy and the use of music.

In the first scene of the final Act, the third Noble and Vindice re-affirm this association. The Nobleman says, with echoes of Claudius' opening speech in *Hamlet*,

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[73] Charles A. Hallett and Elizabeth S. Hallett have noted 'the revenger's need to construct his world-within-a-world, that private, self-justiying world which will foster the act the external world would never sanction', in Charles A. Hallett and Elizabeth S. Hallett, *The Revenger's Madness: A Study of Revenge Tragedy Motifs* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1980), p. 10.

'Time hath several falls; | Griefs lift up joys, feasts put down falls' (*RT* V.i.165-166).

Hippolito then says, 'Revels!' to which Vindice proposes, 'Ay, that's the word, we are

firm yet. | Strike one strain more and then we crown our wit' (*RT* V.i.169; *RT* V.i.170-

171).

The final scene begins with explicit mention of 'sounding music' for the dumb

show, which then moves into the two masques, which are to provide the entertainment

for the banquet (*RT*. V.iii.0 SD). In the physical action, the music presumably quells the

cries of the murder victims, and the action is able to continue. Music provides the real

mask for the masque. At the end of the first masque 'it thunders' (*RT*. V.iii.42 SD).

Vindice interprets that his action is justified for 'No power is angry when the lustful die,

| When thunder claps heaven likes the tragedy' (*RT*. V.iii.48-49). Thus, in essence, the

thunder is the applause of the heavens for Vindice's actions, actions which, at this

venture, are far from instigating applause from the play-goers. This draws attention to

the absence of sound from the playgoers' side and thus elevates the level of distance.

This dissociation is validated, when Vindice, assured of his justness in action, declares

all and is punished for his crimes. Thus, the playgoers are confirmed in their moral

interpretation of the action of the play. The message of God approving is rejected by the

restored order in society at the play's conclusion. At this venture, when Antonio closes

the play by announcing that 'Pray heaven their blood may wash away all treason' (*RT*.

V.iii.128), the playgoers may, therefore, applaud not only for the play, but also because

they have been validated in their dissociation from avenging protagonist Vindice.

IV - CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how revenge tragedy playwrights include non-linguistic sound in their plays to enable the connection of significant moment and its associated body of memory to another connected significant moment later in their plays. I suggested that early modern playgoers were aurally educated through the use of aural signifiers both inside and outside the playhouse. In individual plays I showed how aural signifiers alert the playgoers to the perpetrations of injustice in *The Spanish Tragedy*, the *Antonio* plays and *Hamlet*; to the dismemberment of the social and political body in *Titus Andronicus*; and to a validation of dissociation from the protagonist in *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

Building upon the arguments of the first two chapters, which argue for the central importance of memory to early modern society, the connection of memory to revenge tragedy drama, and the mnemonic properties of stage spectacle, I have now demonstrated that aural prompts can also be used as mnemonic devices for an aurally literate set of playgoers. In the final chapter, I examine how the repeated use of analogous evocative verbal prompts enables playgoers to connect analogous significant moments where authority is being communicated or challenged.

CHAPTER 4

VERBAL PROMPTS

In the preceding two chapters it has been demonstrated that playwrights in the revenge genre use repeated analogous visual and aural prompts to attempt to direct playgoer attention to significant moments where authority is being communicated or contested. While I have isolated accompanying patterns of imagery which complement and highlight these mnemonic prompts, both chapters emphasise the accompanying stage effect. In this final chapter I will investigate the layered textual, inter-textual and non-textual resonances found in repeated patterns of evocative imagery in a representative selection of revenge tragedy plays. This chapter begins by suggesting that while later theatre does borrow such repeated patterns from stylistic techniques taught in the rhetorical tradition and also clearly emerges from an evolving theatrical form, we must also consider that the particular repetitive structures that late Tudor and early Stuart dramatists employ necessarily overturn the persuasive intention of rhetoric and the direct didacticism of earlier dramatic form. They do so, I argue, in favour of directing and prompting playgoer attention to significant moments where authority is being communicated or contested in the text.

Ostensibly, the repetition of patterns of imagery prompts the playgoer to remember the earlier use of that pattern. However, as these images compound and the context within which they are found in the play transforms, this repetition also calls playgoer attention to the passage in time between the original inclusion and the latter. In the revenge genre this transformation of circumstance conventionally involves the protagonists' movement towards transgressive avenging action. As has already been

asserted, the subject's choice to avenge is the choice to transgress both secular and

religious authority. Thus, when such patterns of verbal imagery direct playgoer

attention to the subject's movement towards transgressive behaviour, while, as I argue,

intra-textually prompting playgoers to remember earlier uses of this evocative phrase,

and inter-textually resonating with similar uses of this verbal prompt outside the

playhouse in cultural practices which regulate subjection to authority, they also direct

playgoer attention to the linguistic and cultural semiotics of secular and/or religious

authority.

I – REPETITION IN RHETORIC

I begin by firstly investigating late sixteenth-century drama's indebtedness to

early modern studies of rhetoric, and, secondly, examine its evolution from earlier

dramaturgical practice. Concerning the first of these, Christina Luckyj suggests that

patterns of imagery in both dramatic and non-dramatic writing can be understood as

indebted, at least in part, to early modern studies of rhetoric. Luckyj observes that

'rhetoric is designed for persuasion, and repetition is for emphasis, intensification and

comparison'.[1] The repetition of exact phrases, words, similar sounds or similarly spelt

words with a single change in letter within a sentence or paragraph is used in rhetoric to

amplify meaning and 'exornate' writing (or, as is most frequently emphasised, speech).

Such repetition is the form of linguistic exercise that Erasmus advises in *De Duplici*

Copia Verborum et Rerum (1511) ('to vary a theme by constant practice: first once,

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[1] Christina Luckyj, *A Winter's Snake: Dramatic Form in the Tragedies of John Webster* (Athens, GA & London: The University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. xiv. A fine introduction to the influence of the rhetorical studies in early modern culture is Peter G. Platt, 'Shakespeare and Rhetorical Culture', in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by David Scott Kastan (Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 277-296. On Shakespeare's use of visual and spatial tropes found in studies of rhetoric, see Alison Thorne, *Vision and Rhetoric in Shakespeare: Looking through Language* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000).

then twice, then thrice, then oftener, until [the student of rhetoric] can vary it a hundred or two hundred times')[2] and the *'repeticio'* that Richard Sherry includes (first in a list of thirty-seven rhetorical figures) in his translation of Erasmus, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550):

> *Repeticio*, repeticion, when in lyke and diuerse thynges, we take our begynnyng continually at one & the selfe same word, thus: To you this thyng is to be ascribed, you thanke is to be geuen, to you thys thynge shal be honour. In this exornacion is much plesauntnes, grauitie, and sharpnes, & it is much vsed of al oratours & notably setteth oute, and garnysheth the oracion.[3]

Similarly, Thomas Wilson writes in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) that 'sometymes wordes twise spoken, make the matter appere greater'[4] and George Puttenham suggests in *The Art of English Poesie* (1589) that 'first of all others [is the] figure that worketh by iteration or repetition of one word or clause [that] doth much alter and affect the eare and also the mynde of the hearer, and therefore is counted a very brave figure both with the Poets and rhetoricians'.[5] A full list of the different types of repetition can be found in the third book of George Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie*.[6] These forms of rhetorical repetition, which are frequently found in later drama, may account for those instances where phrasing is repeated within one line or a number of lines, such that the

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[2] Erasmus, *De Duplici Copia Verborum et Rerum* (1511) in Madeleine Doran's *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), p. 48.
[3] Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes [and] Tropes* (London: John Day, 1550), *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/11/08]
[4] Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London: Richardus Graftonus, 1553), p. 63, *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 06/05/08]
[5] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, Book III (London: Richard Field, 1589), p. 165, *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie > [accessed 07/08/08]
Luckyj also notes Puttenham's discussion of repetition in *A Winter's Snake*, p. xiv.
[6] Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, Book III, esp. pp. 163-168.

same idea is rendered in a number of different ways or the meaning of the phrase is immediately contrasted through repetition.[7]

However, the form of repetition in drama which I want to address is where certain ideas are repeated sporadically in the play assisted by the use of repeated or analogous phrasing and imagery. While seemingly an extension of these above forms of repetition, its function is quite different. Where one kind of repetition embellishes meaning, the other invites comparisons of meaning within the play; where one tautologically or contrastingly repeats the same matter in a continual textual space, the other directs attention (either explicitly or implicitly) to the passing of play-time between both passages. The stylistic feature of repetition within a single passage to amplify meaning may be indebted to the rhetorical tradition, but this does not fully explain how or why analogous patterns are used in drama.

II- DRAMATIC INHERITANCE

In turning to the form of repetition inherited in later drama from earlier plays, it is important to identify both the similarities and fundamental differences between both forms of drama. Thus, Robert Knapp insists that:

> where Shakespeare's predecessors were medieval, he is modern; mimetic where they were didactic, verging on illusion where they were bound to emblems, riddling and complex where they were morally confident if not naïve, insistently

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[7] For example in *Julius Caesar* we find 'honourable man' (or 'honourable men') repeated five times in Mark Anthony's famous speech (*JC* III.ii.74-100), in *Hamlet* we hear Hamlet's punning on 'common' and 'seems' in the second scene (*Ham.* I.ii.72-76), in *King Lear* we hear Cordelia and Lear's exchange about 'nothing' in the second scene (*KL* I.ii.87-90), and in the opening scene of *The Atheist's Tragedy* we find D'Amville and Borachio's repetition of 'Nature' (*AT* I.i.1-26). In *The Revenger's Tragedy* we hear Vindice boasting about his ability to perform such rhetorical tricks in the final Act: 'That's a good lay, for I must kill myself. Brother, that's I; that sits for me; do you mark it? And I must stand ready here to make away myself yonder. I must sit to be killed, and stand to kill myself. I could vary it not so little as thrice over again; 't'as some eight returns, like Michaelmas term' (*RT* V.i.3-7).

ironic where they were allegorical, iconoclastic where they were enthralled to images of truth.[8]

That late medieval drama might require some explication, Knapp suggests, is merely evidence of 'a forgotten semiotic'. He asserts that, similar to the 'academic debate plays, this drama [by which he means mystery, miracle, and morality plays] is too transparent, too close to oratory and to ritual (of court, college, parish, guild) to bear reading and rereading except for special purposes, whether of history or anthropology'.[9] Similarly, David Bevington, when describing earlier drama, suggests that:

> One cannot account for these plays by aesthetic laws of unity, correspondence, subordination, and the like, because they were not composed with such ideas in mind. If some contemporary had had occasion to speak for the critically inarticulate authors of these plays, and had extracted a pattern or series of patterns from their work, he might have spoken quite differently of repetitive effect, multiplicity, episode, progressive theme.[10]

It strikes me that while certainly there is an evolution of dramatic form, the disjunction proposed by Knapp, where earlier drama is somehow limited by its reliance on oratory and the properties of ritual, or the disjunction proposed by Bevington, where later drama aims for a type of aesthetic not countenanced by earlier dramatists, while strictly correct, may be misleadingly definitive. For later drama, and especially the revenge genre, still relies upon such representations of off-stage rituals to render meaning. That later theatre is not didactic in the same form as earlier drama is true. But to contrast didactic with mimetic as a significant departure point in drama's evolution is to dismiss the vital presence of the didactic that we find in later drama.

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[8] Robert S. Knapp, *Shakespeare: The Theater and the Book* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 10.
[9] Knapp, *Shakespeare: The Theater and the Book*, p. 11.
[10] David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth and Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 3.

III THE AUTHORIAL VOICE

The clearest distinction between early and late drama is its treatment of what is didactic: the authoritative authorial voice. In early drama, the play's message, be it liturgical (mystery and miracle) or homiletic (in the *psychomachia* of morality plays), is consistently reinforced and singular. On dramatic representations of liturgy Greg Walker observes:

> The biblical plays of York, Chester, Coventry, Towneley/Wakefield, and N-Town[…]mediated religious culture to socially diverse audiences [where] its cultural work was[…]*work in the world* rather than just work in the theatre.[11]

The early homiletic morality plays and interludes expound a similar Christian ideal, which Greenblatt has recently described as 'relentlessly didactic', where personified abstractions (namely vice and virtue figures in different forms) microcosmically battle for the soul of eponymous figures such as 'everyman' or 'mankind'.[12] Bevington suggests that 'the genre was characterized primarily by the use of allegory to convey a moral lesson about religious or civic conduct, presented through the medium of abstractions or representative social characters'.[13] The authority in these plays' voice is based in scripture or, at least, grounded in theological expression. With the advent of the reformation, as Pamela M. King suggests, this 'pattern of innocence, temptation, fall

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[11] Greg Walker, 'The Cultural Work of Early Drama' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. by Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 76. For the mystery and miracle plays I have consulted editions published by Early English Text Society: *The Macro Plays*, ed. by Mark Eccles, EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) which includes *The Castle of Perseverance*, *Wisdom* and *Mankind*; *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, ed. by R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills, EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); *Two Coventry Corpus Christi plays*, ed. by Craig Hardin, EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957); *The Towneley Plays*, ed. by George England and Alfred W. Pollard, EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); *The N-Town Play*, ed. by Stephen Spector, 2 vols., EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); *The Late Medieval Religious Plays*, ed. by Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy, and Louis B. Hall, EETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
[12] Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare became Shakespeare* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 32.
[13] Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe*, p. 9.

and redemption was exploited […] as an organ of political satire and religious propaganda'.[14] While we can see the appropriation of the morality play-form to political commentary in pre-Reformation plays [for example, Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (1520-2) and the anonymous *Godly Queen Hester* (1525-9)], in later morality plays such as John Bale's *Kynge Johan* (1538) and *God's Promises* (1538), we see the author's own particular religious and political authorial agenda.[15] As Bale's later exile after Queen Mary's accession suggests, this is a particularly perilous approach. However, Bale's plays are merely the most famous examples of a widespread use of drama to impart the Protestant ethos in Reformation England. Paul Whitfield White, in discussing the role that Thomas Cromwell and John Bale play in the dissemination of Reformist propaganda, observes:

> Since the institutions responsible for producing drama remained firmly intact after the Reformation, the Crown, with its many loyal officials strategically placed throughout the realm, could exercise some measure of control over the stage and exploit it, along with the pulpit and the press, as a means of drawing the people away from residual Catholicism and winning broad support for its Reformation policy.[16]

The intriguing compound effect of pulpit, press and stage that Whitfield White suggests illustrates the didactic nature of such dramatic compositions. Early in Elizabeth's reign, Inns of Court plays such as *Gorboduc*, (1562) *Jocasta* (1566) and *Gismond of Salerne* (1567) and court plays such as *Horestes* (1567) and *The Marriage of Wit and Science* (1569) present the next decisive evolution in early modern theatre's

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[14] Pamela King, 'Morality plays', *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. by Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 260.
[15] For play and interlude dates I have relied on Darryll Grantley's comprehensive *English Dramatic Interludes 1300-1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[16] Paul Whitfield White, 'Theater and Religious Culture' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 135-6.

treatment of the didactic. In these plays we can see that it is the playwrights' prerogative to comment on, or to impart, a particular political, religious or sociological idea to his playgoers.[17] While clearly amusing with their inherited stock allegorical or historical figures and tales of revenge or cutting social satire, it is through this veil of entertainment that such discourse with contemporary political and religious orthodoxy and authority is made acceptable. This acceptance has much to do with the more lenient censorship laws found in Elizabeth's reign, but it also reflects an evolution of theatrical form which overturns the conventional authoritative didacticism found in earlier drama.[18]

When we turn to the transformed socio-political and socio-religious climate of late sixteenth-century England, where the public and private theatres of entertainment become a licit, if somewhat censored and regulated forum for discourse on authority, we see that a fundamental switch has occurred. For in the popular theatre, where we constantly find religious, political and sociological issues discussed or alluded to by characters, whether what is expressed is orthodoxy or heterodoxy does not demand instant recourse to authority.[19] Indeed, as I have argued above, the playwright is granted the authority to entertain, but not to instruct.

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[17] On the solitary performance of Sackville and Norton's play which I have analysed in the second chapter, Bevington comments that 'once the performance has taken place, *Gorboduc* continued to fulfill (sic) its function of teaching a political lesson – but as a work of literature rather than of repertory theater. Undoubtedly it circulated among the courtly group in manuscript before a pirated edition required publication of the authorized text. As neo-Senecan drama for the "closet," it could operate effectively through the written word. The play lacks stage action, the stage directions are sparse, the speeches are long, the debates involved in political theory' in Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe*, p. 37.

[18] On censorship in Tudor and Stuart England see Richard Dutton's *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave/St. Martin's Press, 2000), esp. pp. 1-40, and *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), esp. Hadfield's 'Introduction', pp. 1-16, and Janet Clare's 'Censorship and Negotiation' pp. 17-30.

[19] Of course, some playwrights do fall foul of the censorship laws, with Thomas Middleton being famously reprimanded for his part in writing *A Game at Chess* (1624). However, initially, this play was inexplicably licensed by The Master of Revels, Henry Herbert, and the overt political commentary was

However, playwrights do employ those patterns that are so effective in earlier

didactic theatre to direct playgoer attention to significant ideas and moments in their

plays. Of course, playwrights are writing for an audience who are accustomed to

assimilating information in this way. The dense repetition of imagery patterns which I

will be discussing in the following plays is no more difficult to follow than

contemporary sermons. As Lina Bolzoni observes:

> when we think that for centuries the preacher speaks to a public of which the
> overwhelming majority is illiterate, we can see that there is a clear need not only
> to remember the things being said, but also to cause them to be remembered, to
> imprint them in a lasting way on the listener's mind.[20]

Moreover, as Wes Folkerth observes:

> contemporary links between the concepts of aurality and obedience can be
> traced in the historical record, where they are manifest in specific ideological
> legitimizing practices of the late Elizabethan/early Jacobean period, as well as in
> records of the contemporary judicial system. The Tudor monarchs, who ruled
> without the benefit of a standing army or police force, discovered that an
> effective preventative measure against civil disobedience was the dissemination
> of propaganda directly into their subjects' ears on a weekly basis. Attendance at
> Sunday service was mandatory for all subjects of the realm. Throughout the year
> at these services, the assembled audience would hear a variety of state-
> sponsored sermons, which were collected and distributed in 1559 as *The Book of
> Common Prayer* [...]. Several of these sermons – 'An exhortation to obedience',
> 'Against strife and contention', 'An homily against disobedience and wilfull

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somehow permitted for its short run of nine days. Middleton escaped with a fine, because the responsibility of the play performed lies with the regulator and censor, the Master of Revels. See Dutton, pp. 132-161.
[20] Lina Bolzoni, 'The Play of Images', p. 20.

rebellion' – emphasize the idea that obedience to one's social superiors is a natural and holy state [...][21]

The structuring patterns found in the later plays clearly attempt to reproduce this cultural semiotic mimetically. However, without recourse to, or claim for, authority, playwrights employ this semiotic, especially in the revenge genre, to overturn conventional authoritative discourse. Recalling Knapp's narrow argument, it strikes me that the same 'forgotten semiotic' necessary to explicate earlier drama is also needed for the later plays.

While this is more simply demonstrated when analysing the repetition of analogous visual or aural prompts because their off-stage simulacrum or resonances are more readily identifiable, the use of verbal prompts (in the form of patterns of evocative imagery) to direct playgoer attention is problematic. Foremost among these problems is that for a playgoer to connect disparate moments in the play through verbal prompts is much more difficult than through the use of repeated spectacles of mutilated cadavers or loud trumpet-blares. The kind of argument that states that since we find verbal patterns in the plays, *ergo*, playwrights must have intended these to prompt playgoer memory, while appealing, may be presumptuous. I have shown that certain uses of repetition are rhetorical flourishes, while others cannot be understood as such. Similarly, I have demonstrated that certain conventions of early drama do pass into later dramatic practices but also that a fundamental switch that has occurred.

I propose that playgoers are directed and prompted verbally in much the same way as they are visually and aurally. The evocative image, or especially striking and culturally resonant phrase, is repeatedly connected to a particular network of ideas that

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[21] Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare*, pp. 18-19.

is constructed intra-textually. However, for this pattern to be followed, and hence for the particular network of ideas to be understood, the playwright must use verbal prompts that are culturally resonant. In the revenge genre, where the plot invariably moves towards transgressive action, its attending preoccupation is with justice and subject behaviour. However, playwrights overturn this; using the same semiotic arrangement that outside the theatre regulates subject behaviour, such prompts, and their compound repeated effect, now direct playgoers to how injustices are being perpetrated by authorities in the plays, or how that authority is being communicated or contested.

IV – THE PLAYS

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY (1587)

With its allegorical Revenge figure featuring as a framing device and its reliance on rhetorical flourish (both deriving from the Senecan tradition), *The Spanish Tragedy* provides an apt starting point for a discussion of the plays. In the preceding two chapters, I have discussed the mutability of representations of the past in the play and the denial of justice in the Spanish court, understood through Kyd's use of repeated spectacles and aural effects. It is relatively simple to discern Kyd's repetition of narrative (the five-fold versions of the opening battle), thematic pattern (the Portuguese sub-plot mirrors and is juxtaposed with the main plot), visual detail (the letters, handkerchief, cadaver and series of orchestrated spectacles) and structure (the re-appearing choric feature of Revenge and Andrea). With verbal repetition, critics have noted patterns of imagery in Kyd's work before. Most convincing are Sacvan Bercovitch's discussion of repeated fire and water understood in the light of Empedoclean philosophy, Ronald Broude's investigation of time, truth and right as a

recurring pattern, and Ian McAdam's illumination of the politico-religious structure of the play in the conflation of Pauline stricture and Senecan philosophy.[22] My concern in this chapter, however, is to investigate how subjection to authority in the play, both secular and religious, is mediated through Kyd's interweaving of multiple analogous patterns of evocative imagery: 'servile yoke', entrapment, and bondage; the multiple meanings of 'doom'; and the language describing the significance of the unburied dead and commemorative funerary practices.

In Act one scene two, the King says to Balthazar, 'Meanwhile live thou, though not in liberty, | yet free from bearing any servile yoke' (*ST* I.ii.147-148). This bestial imagery of bearing a yoke recurs on many occasions and is compounded by similar bestial imagery regarding entrapment. For example, in the three dumb shows that Hieronimo narrates for the court, the same expression is used twice in a short space of time ['bear the yoke' (*ST* I.iv.146) and 'bear our yoke' (*ST* I.iv.159)] to signify Portugal's subjugation to Spanish control. In the first scene of the second Act Lorenzo describes how Balthazar should court Bel-imperia:

LORENZO   My lord, though Bel-imperia seem thus coy,
            Let reason hold you in your wonted joy.
            In time the savage bull sustains the yoke,
            In time all haggard hawks will stoop to lure,
            In time small wedges cleave the hardest oak,
            In time the flint is pierced with softest shower   (*ST* II.i.1-6)

The rhetorical device of *anaphora* is employed with Lorenzo's repetition of 'in time', but it is the repetition of the bestial and natural imagery to describe how Bel-imperia

[22] See Sacvan Bercovitch, 'Love and Strife in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring, 1969), pp. 215-229; Ronald Broude, 'Time, Truth, and Right in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (Apr., 1971), pp. 130-145; and Ian McAdam, '*The Spanish Tragedy* and the Politico-Religious Unconscious', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 42, no. 1 (2000), pp. 33-60.

will 'in time' subjugate herself to Balthazar's authority which resonates with the preceding use of such imagery. The rhetorical device amplifies the character's statement, but the repetition of imagery amplifies the playwright's underlying thematic pattern, and in this case, the re-contextualisation of the imagery from the spoils of war to enforced relationships, underlines the injustices meted out by the patriarchal aristocratic authority in the Spanish court. Compounding the set of 'bearing the yoke' imagery to denote taming, modifying behaviour, and final authority we also find a set of images of entrapment of wild animals. This pattern begins with Hieronimo's proverbial description of Horatio's merits:

HIERONIMO   He hunted well that was a lion's death,
             Not he that in a garment wore his skin;
             So hares may pull dead lions by the beard.   (*ST* I.ii.170-172)

Immediately preceding the Spanish king's 'doom' where he shares the spoils of war unequally, Hieronimo uses this image to assert his son's rights. Similarly, in the third Act, Pedringano's description of Serberine sustains this hunting motif ['here comes the bird that I must seize upon' (*ST* III.iii.28)]. In the following scene, Lorenzo continues this pattern:

LORENZO   I set the trap, he breaks the worthless twigs
             And sees not that therewith the bird was limed.
             Thus hopeful men, that mean to hold their own
             Must look like fowlers to their dearest friends.   (*ST* III.iv.41-44)

Although we cannot sympathise with Pedringano's consequential demise, this compound pattern of entrapment imagery does suggest the ability of those in authority (most often Lorenzo and Balthazar) to satisfy their wants (both in terms of political

machinations and sexual desires) and to deny the rights of others. Their overarching

authority is evident in Horatio's acceptance of a less than half-share of the spoils, in the

orchestrated murder of Serberine, and in Lorenzo's successful strategy to have

Pedringano executed. In an example of dramatic irony, the Spanish justice system (the

arrest, trial and execution of Pedringano) is only seen fully exercised when

clandestinely orchestrated by Lorenzo to veil another injustice (the murder of Horatio).

Also we see supplementary analogous patterns of phrasing related to 'bondage' in the

play; for example, Balthazar's unconvincing protestation of 'pleasing servitude' to Bel-

imperia (*ST* I.iv.80), Pedringano's 'bounden duty' to Lorenzo (*ST* II.i.57), and the

Viceroy's 'Let him unbind thee that is bound to death' to Alexandro (*ST* III.i.78). These

verbal patterns ('yoke', 'traps' and 'bondage') all suggest the means by which the

secular authority is evoked, performed and sustained in the play.

However, Kyd braids subjection with secular and religious authority, through

the use of other analogous verbal patterns, namely in repeated references to 'doom' and

funerary commemorations. The Ghost of Andrea begins the play by addressing the

difficult relationship between body and soul:

ANDREA   When this eternal substance of my soul
                   Did live imprisoned in my wanton flesh,
                   Each in their function serving other's need,
                   I was a courtier in the Spanish court.   (*ST* I.i.1-4)

Andrea's opening words, where that which is imprisoned (the soul) operates mutually

and cooperatively with that which imprisons it (the body), juxtapose neatly with

Andrea's social position (noting the rhetorical device of *conduplicatio* in 'court'-ier and

'court') and aptly express the socio-political world of the Spanish Court. Moreover, the

freedom implicitly expressed by Andrea (as opposed to imprisonment in 'wanton

flesh') is immediately countered in his tale by his restricted movement in the Virgilian

underworld, and subjugation to its deities. The royal court, where Andrea once served,

is replaced by an underworld court where authority figures ('Pluto with his Proserpine')

again have Andrea at their mercy (*ST*. I.i.76). [23]

ANDREA   Whereat fair Proserpine began to smile,

           And begged that only she might give my doom.

           Pluto was pleased, and sealed it with a kiss. (*ST* I.i.78-80)

The word 'doom', which can be found on three further occasions in the play, clearly

interlaces its multiple meanings of judgement, ruling, and eternal fate.[24] For late Tudor

playgoers, I suggest that this term, 'doom', would have been semantically loaded with

concepts of religious and secular authority.

To demonstrate this, I want to examine a number of very different publications

in the early to mid-1580s roughly contemporaneous with Kyd's play where the term

'doom' is employed in various ways. In Anthony Munday's *A Breefe Aunswer* (1582),

which attacks two defences written supporting Edward Campion (deemed a traitor to

Elizabeth) the term 'doom' is used three times, once ambiguously ('wild doom'), once

in relation to Elizabeth's decree ('rightful doom') and once in relation to 'God's

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[23]In this opening scene, Kyd initiates a clever series of resonances of male sacrifice/subservience to female control, which we again observe in Horatio and Balthazar's doomed relationships with Bel-imperia.

[24] In the *OED* the multiple forms of 'doom' can be seen: 1. A statute, law, enactment; *gen.* an ordinance, decree. *Obs.* exc. *Hist.* 2. A judgement or decision, esp. one formally pronounced; a sentence; mostly in adverse sense, condemnation, sentence of punishment. 3. Personal or private judgement, opinion. *as to my doom*: in my opinion. *Obs.* 3b. The faculty of judging; judgement, discrimination, discernment. *Obs.* 4. Fate, lot, irrevocable destiny. (Usually of adverse fate; rarely in good sense.) 4b. Final fate, destruction, ruin, death. 5. The action or process of judging (as in a court of law); judgement, trial. *arch.* 6. The last or great Judgement at the end of the world; also, a pictorial representation of this. *arch.* (Now chiefly in phr. *crack of doom.*) 7. *day of doom*: the day of judgement. 8. Justice; equity; righteousness. *Obs.* (Chiefly in versions of Scripture, or allusions thereto.) 9. Power or authority to judge; *gen.* power, authority. *Obs.* 10. A judge. *Obs. Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com.elib.tcd.ie/>(Accessed 14/11/08).

judgment and his doom'.[25] Volume 1 of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* is again reprinted

in 1583, and he uses the term nine times ranging from 'day of doom' to 'doom' as a

form or 'reckenyng' or Christian decree drawn from the Gospels.[26] Raphael Holinshed

uses the term ten times in the third volume of his *Chronicles* (1586), ranging from the

'sentence and doome of counsellors' to 'this way the day of doome'.[27] Finally, in

Thomas Hughes's *Certaine Deuises and Shewes presented to her Maiestie* (1587), an

abridged version of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* and other speeches, which was presented

to Elizabeth on the thirtieth anniversary of her reign, 'doom' is referred to on twelve

occasions.[28] We again see the multiple uses of the word from 'Mars gives a rightfull

doome' as command, to 'Who sowes in sinne, in sinne shall reape his paine: The

Doome is sworne: Death guerdons death againe' as eternal fate. What these examples in

contemporary texts show us is that the word 'doom' has multiple connotations both

with religious and secular authority, but that their similarity is the term's finality. This

cultural resonance is manifested in the repeated use of the term in the play.

In the second scene of the play, the Spanish King announces his decree on

sharing the spoils of battle:

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[25] Anthony Munday, *A Breefe Aunswer made vnto Two Seditious Pamphlets, the one printed in French, and the other in English Contayning a defence of Edward Campion and his complices, their most horrible and vnnaturall treasons, against her Maiestie and the Realme* (London: John Charlewood for Edward White, 1582). *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie>[accessed 22/06/08].

[26] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters most Speciall and Memorable, happening in the Church with an Vniuersall History of the same, wherein is set forth at large the whole race and course of the Church, from the Primitiue Age to these Latter Tymes of ours, with the bloudy times, horrible troubles, and great persecutions against the true martyrs of Christ, sought and wrought as well by heathen emperors, as now lately practised by Romish prelates, especially in this realme of England and Scotland*, 4th revised edn. (London: Iohn Daye, 1583), *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie>[accessed 24/06/08]

[27] Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles, beginning at duke William the Norman, commonlie called the Conqueror; and descending by degrees of yeeres to all the Kings and Queens of England in their orderlie succession*[...] (London: Henry Denham, 1586). *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie>[accessed 18/06/08]

[28] Thomas Hughes, *Certaine Deuises and Shewes presented to her Maiestie by the gentlemen of Grayes-Inne at her Highnesse court in Greenewich, the twenty eighth day of Februarie in the thirtieth yeare of her Maiesties most happy raigne* (London: Robert Robinson, 1587), *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 23/06/08]

KING   Content thee, Marshall, thou shalt have no wrong,

                   And for thy sake, thy son shall want no right.

                   Will both abide the censure of my doom?   (*ST* I.ii.173-175)

The two contrasting cases, Lorenzo's and Horatio's, immediately resonate with Rhadamanth's indecision (*ST* I.i.43-45) before Proserpine's authoritative decree on Andrea's fate (*ST* I.i.78-85). In both cases, those in authority who finally decide are unquestioned. In the second decision, Lorenzo is rewarded unfairly (recalling the King's nephew's entire absence from the General's lengthy description of the battle), and class order is emphatically restored at the expense of meritocracy in the King's decree:

KING   But, nephew, thou shalt have the prince in guard,

                   For thine estate best fitteth such a guest:

                   Horatio's house were small for all his train. (*ST* I.ii.185-187)

At the beginning of the third Act, in the Portuguese sub-plot, the idea of 'doom' is evoked again. Having been found out in his rather imprudent strategy to gain court favour at the expense of Alexandro, Villupo states:

VILLUPO   Rent with remembrance of so foul a deed,

                   My guilty soul submits me to thy doom   (*ST* III.i.92-93)

Villupo's remembered guilt 'submits' him to the final authority of the Viceroy. The evocation of remembrance and decree may prompt the playgoer to recall the earlier references to 'doom' and its relationship to finality in decision-making in the play. These ideas are further reinforced in the play's final scene, where Andrea bookends the tragedy by rejoicing:

ANDREA   Aye, these were spectacles to please my soul!

> Now will I beg at lovely Proserpine
>
> That by virtue of her princely doom
>
> I may consort my friends in princely sort,
>
> And on my foes work just and sharp revenge.   (*ST* IV.v.12-16)

And, furthermore, Andrea requests the same from Revenge:

ANDREA   Then, sweet Revenge, do this at my request:

Let me be judge and doom them to unrest.   (*ST* IV.v.29-30)

Andrea's request is to assume the mantle of final authority for both friend and foe. To explicate the implications of this, I turn to the other meaning of 'doom' found in contemporary writing, namely, that of eternal punishment in the Christian tradition, and examine how this is mediated in the play.

The inherent difficulty when analysing Kyd's treatment of the afterlife, as has been suggested recently by John Kerrigan and Thomas Rist, is dealing with the pagan-Christian syncretism evident in Andrea's tale of the afterlife.[29] As Rist notes,

> Features such as 'Acheron' and 'Charon' imply Andrea's afterlife is pagan, but the ghost also calls the place 'hell' [...] thus also suggesting Christianity, and the specifics of Kyd's place of the dead are complex. Recalling classical culture generally in which the dead benefit from burial, Kyd's predominant source is indeed Book VI of Virgil's *Aeneid*. However, his 'hell' also entails punishments appropriately tailored to suit 'sins' in a frame of reference becoming expansively Christian.[30]

Moreover, within the play proper, we can isolate numerous examples of contrasting theological positions. Andrea's need for post-mortem benefit from burial appears to

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[29] See John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy*, pp. 173-181, and Thomas Rist, *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England*, pp. 30-34.
[30] Rist, pp. 31-32.

derive from the classical material.[31] Virgil's description in the *Aeneid* is unequivocal

about the importance of burial, as we see in Thomas Phaer's contemporaneous

translation of the poem (1584):

> Nor for these fearfull bankes nor ryvers hoarce they passage get:
> Till under earth in graves their bodies bones at rest are set. (*Aeneid* VI.352-3)[32]

However, in Kyd's play-world this is reinforced in a Christian framework by the

Deputy in the third Act of the play, who requests that the executioner leaves

Pedringano's body unburied:

DEPUTY   So, executioner, convey him hence,

                But let his body be unburied.

                Let not the earth be choked or infect

                With that which heaven condemns and men neglect. (*ST* III.vi.105-108)

We see a similar concern about the implications of burial when we hear that Horatio is

spurred into action to retrieve Andrea's body, and also when Bel-imperia asks Horatio

'was Don Andrea's carcass lost?' (*ST* I.iv.31). This concern over funerary

commemoration and the ritual of burial is a controversial subject in Elizabethan

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[31] For example, in Sophocle's *Antigone*, the tragic action ensues after no funerary rites are permitted by Creon for Antigone's brother Polyneices:
ANTIGONE   Creon has ordained
        Honour for one, dishonour for the other.
        Eteocles, they say, has been entombed
        With every solemn rite and ceremony
        To do him honour in the world below;
        But as for Polyneices, Creon has ordered
        That none shall bury him or mourn for him;
        He must be left to lie unwept, unburied [...]   (*Antigone*, 21-27)
Similarly, in Euripide's *Electra* an example is found of further post-mortem punishment of the body. Orestes appears onstage carrying the severed head of Aeghistus and asks Electra what else should be done with the dismembered part (*Electra*, 850-890). *Antigone* in Sophocles, *Antigone, Oedipus the King and Electra*, trans. by H.D.F. Kitto, ed. by Edith Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press); *Electra* in Euripides, *Electra*, trans. by Kenneth McLeish, ed. by Marianne McDonald and J. Michael Walton (London: Methuen Drama, 2004).
[32] Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Thomas Phaer, quoted from 1584 edition, rev. by Thomas Twyne, ed. by Steven Lally (New York, 1987), cited in Jonathan Bate's Arden edition of *Titus Andronicus* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2004), p. 133n.

England. After the abolition of the doctrine of Purgatory in the Reformation,

intercession for the benefit of the dead was considered heterodoxy. As Peter Marshall

notes, reformers condemned Purgatory as a 'perversion of commemorative rites for the

dead' which 'slotted neatly into the eschatological framework of sacred history

whereby Antichrist had arisen in the form of the papacy'.[33] Michael Neill observes that:

> Crucial in exacerbating the anxieties attendant upon death and dying for most
>
> post-Reformation English people were the changes in religious practice that
>
> resulted from the Protestant denial of purgatory. The abolition of the whole vast
>
> industry of intercession – indulgences, prayers of intercession, and masses for
>
> the repose of the soul – suddenly placed the dead beyond the reach of their
>
> survivors.[34]

However, clearly Horatio's actions do benefit Andrea's passage in the afterlife. Thus, as

Rist asserts:

> At the very moment it claims that post-mortem remembrance benefits the dead
>
> (a Purgatorial claim in the sixteenth-century), Andrea also implies that his
>
> afterlife *must* be purgatorial. [35]

Similarly, the Deputy believes his actions can confer some further punishment on the

afterlife of the criminal, Pedringano. Such preoccupations with post-mortem

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[33] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 144.

[34] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 38. Stephen Greenblatt concurs by observing that 'with the doctrine of Purgatory and the elaborate practices that grew up around it, the church had provided a powerful method of negotiating with the dead, or, rather, with those who were at once dead and yet, since they could still speak, appeal, and appall, not completely dead. The Protestant attack on the "middle state of souls" and the middle place those souls inhabited destroyed this method for most people in England, but it did not destroy the longings and fears that Catholic doctrine had focused and exploited.' Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 256-257.

[35] Rist, p. 32 (Rist's emphasis).

intercession, Michael Neill suggests, reveals how 'the Renaissance continued to
preserve the ancient pagan superstition that happiness beyond the grave was somehow
contingent upon proper disposal and preservation of one's mortal remains'.[36] In contrast
to this idea, in the third Act, in the midst of his 'Vindicta Mihi' soliloquy which opens
with the Christian injunction against human retribution, Hieronimo offers this
perspective on unburied bodies:

HIERONIMO   If destiny thy miseries do ease,
                Then hast thou health, and happy thou shalt be;
                If destiny deny thee life, Hieronimo,
                Yet shalt thou be assured of a tomb.
                If neither, yet let this thy comfort be:
                Heaven covereth him that had no burial.
                And, to conclude, I will revenge his death!   (ST III.xiii.14-19)

Hieronimo's conviction that a Christian heaven will safeguard his afterlife if unburied
clearly contradicts the pagan framing device of Andrea and Revenge returning from the
underworld with its purgatorial and classical evocation of post-mortem intercession,
and the Deputy's extension of punishment for Pedringano. Perhaps Hieronimo's hopes
for divine protection can be only understood within the context of his own perverse
appropriation of scriptural strictures against revenge to his own avenging actions, but

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[36] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 265.

we can also see how Hieronimo's assurance is both invalidated and validated in the play's unsettling conclusion.[37]

When the main-plot ends, the revenge which Hieronimo calls for is complete. Lorenzo and Balthazar are dead. Bel-imperia has taken her own life. The Duke of Castile, the father of Lorenzo and Bel-imperia, who, troublingly, has been a passive, uninvolved spectator for the majority of the play, has been killed also. Hieronimo displays the corpse of his son to the court, and then takes his own life. The Spanish King and Viceroy survey the results of such 'monstrous deeds' and command the removal of certain bodies from the stage. As I stated in the second chapter, Hieronimo's explanations for his crimes fall on deaf ears. The repetition of the King's request to 'speak' or 'tell' when Hieronimo has already explained everything, and the grotesquery of Hieronimo biting out his tongue, amplify this inability to communicate. Again, as I have already stated, the removal of certain bodies (Castile, Balthazar and probably Lorenzo although he is omitted from the stage direction), emphatically re-asserts the power of the existing, albeit depleted, aristocracy.[38] The avengers are condemned for their 'monstrous deeds', and the final remnants on the stage, the last spectacle of the play proper, are the lifeless bodies of the avengers (*ST* IV.iv.202).

In the play's final scene, Andrea is euphoric, but not yet fully satiated. He requests permission to exercise that final authority: to 'doom' his foes to eternal

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[37] On Hieronimo's conflation of Seneca and St. Paul in this scene see James R. Siemon, 'Sporting Kyd', *English Literary Renaissance* 24.3 (1994), esp. pp. 579-581. Scott McMillin interprets this scene as evidence of a growing identification among playgoers with Hieronimo: 'The "Vindicta mihi" soliloquy occurs when Hieronimo's theatrical interest is increasing, for he is now going to take action against outrage instead of talking about it, and no matter how firm the Christian beliefs of the audience (quite firm in the case of Kyd's audience) and no matter how explicit the moral content of the soliloquy (quite explicit in the Biblical reference of the first five lines), there is a lust among playgoers to see the revenge of this wronged man succeed', in Scott McMillin, 'The Book of Seneca in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spring, 1974), p. 204.
[38] The stage direction reads: '*The trumpets sound a dead march. [Exeunt] the King of Spain mourning after his brother's body, and the Viceroy of Portingale bearing the body of his son*' (*ST*. IV.v.217 SD).

unrest.[39] Of course, his enemies have multiplied dramatically since the play's

beginning; they now include not only Balthazar, but also Castile, Lorenzo, Serberine,

and Pedringano.[40] Revenge appears to grant Andrea his request in the play's final lines:

REVENGE   Then haste we down to meet thy friends and foes:

            To place thy friends in ease, the rest in woes;

            For here though death hath end their misery,

            I'll there begin their endless tragedy.   (*ST* IV.v.45-49)

However, this prospective resolution of eternal reward for the transgressive action of

revenge may be unsettling for playgoers. The inter-related patterns of imagery I

discussed initially for 'yoke', and which could be equally easily shown for 'trap' and

'bond', all suggest the means by which secular authority is enforced and maintained in

the play proper. The second pattern, that of 'doom', whether invoking secular or

religious authority, whether meaning decree or eternal fate (and, it is interesting to note

that the finality of the second in religious dogma is matched by the finality of the first in

secular authoritative discourse) emphatically insist upon that authority's control over

the subject (whether Proserpine, the King, or finally Andrea). This verbal pattern, I

propose, would resonate with attentive playgoers concerning the conflict inherent in the

play between the secular authorities in the play, and the supernatural authorities (a

syncretism of pagan and Christian) evidenced in the choric feature and in Hieronimo's

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[39] As Ian McAdam notes, this is a curious transfer of authority to a figure who, when alive, was peripheral in the court: 'It is certainly remarkable that Andrea, in the induction a kind of pawn caught in the bureaucratic red tape of the underworld, becomes at the end of the play the presiding "judge" whose words speak the eternal fate of the entire cast'. McAdam interprets this interestingly as an example of how the play 'suggests not only the political subversiveness but also the psychological and sexual disruptiveness of the excessive tendencies of Reformation theology'. Ian McAdam, '*The Spanish Tragedy* and the Politico-Religious Unconscious', *TSLL*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2000), p. 55.
[40] Michael Neill contextualises this morally ambiguous resolution as a satisfying of the early modern playgoers' fascination with revenge: 'The intended effect of this epilogue is difficult to calculate with complete certainty; but the gloating tone of Andrea's judgements (like the murder and condemnation of the seemingly innocent Castile) appears designed to play on the profound ambivalence of Elizabethan attitudes towards revenge'. Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 212.

own overturning of Old Testament stricture to oppose secular authority. This leads us to

Kyd's treatment of the afterlife, where he repeatedly approaches the issue of unburied

bodies and post-mortem intercession. The exercise of authority and control is again a

recurring thematic pattern. Andrea's tale reveals his need for post-mortem help in this

Purgatorial/Virgilian interstitial setting. The Deputy's lines indicate that he believes he

can administer more punishment to the lifeless body of the criminal by not interring it.

However, Hieronimo believes in divine protection if his body is unburied. Yet the

protection he will seemingly receive in the afterlife is from Andrea. At the play's

conclusion we hear Andrea request the right to reward his friends and further 'doom'

his enemies. However, the bodies left onstage may recall the impossibility of that

supernatural intercession, with post-mortem benefits on earth. This idea's re-

contextualisation from the honoured soldier (Andrea) dragged from the field and

interred, to the dishonoured avengers left alone on the stage, emphasises the resumed

control of the continuing secular authority, and unequivocally renders Hieronimo, Bel-

imperia and perhaps Horatio as transgressive subjects.

Kyd's patterns of evocative imagery and phrasing prompt the playgoer to ideas

of subjection and authority in the play and resonate with off-stage authoritative

practices from state decrees to contemporary religious debate. Their mutability in re-

contextualised settings (for example, 'bearing a yoke' as an image of political

subjection or enforcing a relationship, or 'doom' signifying a final decision or eternal

fate and the inter-relationship between these two things, or Pedringano's further

punishment opposed by Hieronimo's self-justification) directs playgoer attention to the

multiple structures of authority and subjection in the play, and prompts playgoers to

analogous or contrasting uses of that verbal arrangement elsewhere in the play or in off-

stage resonances.

TITUS ANDRONICUS (1592)

I now turn to the patterns of imagery which direct playgoer attention to the multiple injustices perpetrated in *Titus Andronicus*. In the preceding two chapters, my analysis of Shakespeare's early tragedy has focussed on the visualisation and aural prompting of the dismemberment of the body natural/body politic in the play. Shakespeare is extremely repetitive in his use of imagery in the play with complex patterns of animal and bodily imagery throughout, which are in turn complemented by repeated allusions to Classical mythology and drama. Wolfgang Clemen suggests that in Shakespeare's early plays, (and he makes an example of *Titus Andronicus* and the early histories),

> much of the imagery could be described as digression and we [...] observe a tendency to spin out, expand and elaborate images. In the early histories a connection could be seen between this feature and the rhetorical habit of 'amplification'.[41]

In this chapter, I analyse Shakespeare's diverse use of water imagery as calls to memory, from the deluge of floods to the drought of parched grounds, and suggest that, rather than digression or rhetorical flourish, these patterns are especially resonant for an early modern audience and of utmost importance to our understanding of how the playwright directs attention to the play's moral trajectory.

The first use of water imagery in the play strikes a note of optimism and promise. Titus, the returning hero, begins his address to Rome's dignitaries by saying:

TITUS   Lo, as the bark that hath discharged his freight
       Returns with precious lading to the bay
       From whence at first she weighed her anchorage,

---

[41] Wolfgang Clemen, *The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery*, p. 219.

>Cometh Andronicus, bound with laurel boughs
>
>To resalute his country with his tears,
>
>Tears of true joy for his return to Rome.   (*Tit.* I.i.73-78)

Titus compares the losses ('his freight') and gains ('precious lading') of war to a cargo

transaction. The juxtaposition of personal sacrifice and sadness with pride and joy

instantly informs the playgoer of Titus' loyalty to his state. This ship-at-sea metaphor is

returned to in an intriguing form in the fourth Act in Titus's speech to Marcus:

>TITUS   *Terras Astraea reliquit*: be you remembered, Marcus,
>
>She's gone, she's fled. Sirs, take you to your tools.
>
>You, cousins, shall go sound the ocean
>
>And cast your nets:
>
>Happily you may catch her in the sea;
>
>Yet there's no justice as at land.   (*Tit.* IV.iii.4-9)

And, again, Titus says moments later,

>TITUS   Go, get you gone, and pray be careful all,
>
>And leave you not a man-of-war unsearched:
>
>This wicked emperor may have shipped her hence,
>
>And, kinsmen, then we may go pipe for justice.   (*Tit.* IV.iii.21-24)

The figurative flight of justice and the resultant discord (connected with the

conventional *Astrea*/Elizabeth allegory)[42], and the metamorphosis of trading ship to war

ship, both emphasise the transformation of circumstances and personal and political

tragedies that have occurred since the opening scenes. However, I suggest that we can

only understand this use and its potential cultural resonances, if we first analyse the

playwright's use of related water imagery throughout the first Acts of the play.

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[42] For this allegorical convention, see Frances Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977).

It over-simplifies Shakespeare's design to suggest that the patterns of imagery might fall into strict groups, but their analogous and complementary form do appear to complete a composite whole. In the first scene Titus refers to the river Styx of the underworld, while in the third Act he speaks of the river Nile flooding its banks.

TITUS   Titus, unkind and careless of thine own,
　　　　Why suffer'st thou thy sons unburied yet
　　　　To hover on the dreadful shore of Styx?
　　　　Make way to lay them by their brethren.

They open the tomb.

(*Tit.* I.i.89-92 SD)

TITUS   Speak, Lavinia, what accursed hand
　　　　Hath made thee handless in thy father's sight?
　　　　What fool hath added water to the sea?
　　　　Or brought a faggot to bright-burning Troy?
　　　　My grief was at the height before thou cam'st,
　　　　And now like Nilus it disdaineth bounds.   (*Tit.* III.i.67-72)

Both rivers are clearly intended to be understood as liminal sites, the thresholds of experience. In the first, the Styx represents the passage from life to death, and the duty of those remaining to honour the dead.[43] Of course, it also immediately resonates with *The Spanish Tragedy* and Kyd's reference to the burial of soldiers. In the second, the flooding of the Nile's banks ('it disdaineth bounds') represents the suffering of grief

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[43] In the struggle for political leadership that ensues, Saturninus challenges, 'Andronicus, would thou were shipped to hell | Rather than rob me of the people's hearts' (*Tit.* I.i.210-211). His image neatly joins both of Titus' uses of water imagery (shipping and the passage to hell), but overturns Titus' declaration of loyalty and mourning to an accusation of disloyalty and unfeeling.

beyond the human threshold, leading to Titus' vengeful reactions.[44] Both references

lead us to water as tears, one in a form of ritual grieving, the other inexpressible sorrow.

The river which provides passage to the next life becomes a river which endangers its

surroundings. However, while one river is a commonplace from pagan mythology, the

other is a real river in North Africa which has multiple and complex biblical and

mythological resonances.[45]

How one informs the other cannot be estimated by analysing these two

examples alone. The flooding motif from the second example can best be understood in

this context as representative of the deluge of water imagery found in the opening Acts.

While they are the only two named rivers in the play, the ingenious wordplay of

Lavinia's 'tributary tears' (*Tit.* I.i.162-165) clearly plays on meaning and reinforces the

water imagery. Analogously, Demitrius speaks of a necessary 'stream to cool this heat'

(of his sexual desire) (*Tit.* I.i.633). His solution is to rape Lavinia. Similarly, Lavinia's

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[44] In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare repeatedly refers to the Nile with ominous overtones. For example, Cleopatra says 'Melt Egypt into Nile, and kindly creatures | Turn all to serpents!' (*AC* II.v.78-79), and later Cleopatra describes the asp as 'the pretty worm of Nilus[…] | that kills and pains not' (*AC* V.ii.242-243). All references to the play taken from William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by John Wilders (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 1995).

[45] From the especially resonant murdering of male children in the river (Exodus 1:22) to the safe passage of Moses along the river (Exodus 2:3) to the first two plagues in Exodus (the Nile turns into a river of blood and then frogs appear from it; Exodus 7:14-25) to the presence of monsters/crocodiles in the river (Ezekiel 29:3) to the annual overflow of its banks (Jeremiah 46:8; Amos 8:8; Amos 9:5) to its potential for drought (Isaiah 19:5-6), the Nile represents both the replenishment and destruction of life. Similar imagery can be found in contemporary literature such as in Book I of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) where Error's vomit or 'parbreake' is described to be as forceful 'As when old father *Nilus* gins to swell | With timely pride aboue the *Aegyptian* vale, | His fattie waues doe fertile slime outwell, | And ouerflow each plaine and lowly dale: |But when his later spring gins to auale, |Huge heaps of mudd he leaues, wherin there breed | Ten thousand kindes of creatures partly male | And partly femall of his fruitly seed; | Such vgly monstrous shapes elswher may no man reed' (*FQ* Book I, Canto i, Stanza 21) and in Michael Drayton's 'Amour 20' of *Ideas Mirrour Amours in Quatorzains* (1594) where he writes, 'Reading sometime, my sorrowes to beguile, | I find old Poets hylls and floods admire. |One, he doth wonder monster-breeding Nyle, |Another , meuailes Sulphure Aetnas fire', in *Ideas Mirrour Amours in Quatorzains* (London: James Roberts for Nicolas Linge, 1594). *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 17/09/08]

mouth-wounds are a 'crimson river of blood',[46] and the tear-marks on the faces of Titus,

Marcus and Lucius are like a 'miry slime left […] by the flood' (*Tit.* II.iii.22; *Tit.*

III.i.127). Likewise, the sea is represented just as strongly in water imagery as rivers,

with Titus's opening statement above, Aaron's comparison of Tamora's empowerment

after the opening political exchanges to the sun's sovereignty over the 'ocean' (*Tit.*

I.i.505-508), to Titus' question ('what fool hath added water to sea?') prefacing his

reference to the flood of the Nile's banks (*Tit.* III.i.72).

Recalling the burial rites in Titus' reference to the river Styx, there are also a

number of references to ritualistic uses of water in the text. Saturninus vows 'by all the

Roman gods | sith priest and holy water are so near' that he will not 'resalute the streets

of Rome' until he has married Tamora (*Tit.* I.i.327-331). In the macabre aftermath of

Lavinia's rape and mutilation, Chiron teases her by saying, 'Go home, call for sweet

water, wash thy hands' and Demitrius responds 'She hath no tongue to call, nor hands

to wash' (*Tit.* II.iii.6-7). In the additional scene found in the 1602 Folio edition of the

play, Titus ritualises and conflates the act of mourning with mutilation as he tells

Lavinia to cut a hole against her heart to provide a repository for her 'sea-salt tears'

(*Tit.* III.ii.15-20). This final example, however, only typifies a sustained interest in the

act of crying throughout the text.

As the many examples above demonstrate, patterns of water imagery found in

the text are intimately connected with characters' reactions to dire situations. The

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[46] Demonstrating the polyvalence of Shakespeare's imagery, it is interesting to note Louise Noble's medical interpretation of the 'crimson river'. Noble suggests that, 'Raped, dismembered, and haemorrhaging, though still alive, Lavinia's body is at once the conflicted site of violent pollution, and the source for that profound bloody elixir – rich with contradictory significations – that saturates the Roman earth […] The use of the word "river," with its alternative meaning, "course," has important semiotic implications here: meaning flow or flux, "courses" is frequently used in early modern English as an alternative to "menses." As well, Lavinia has already been constructed as "the stream" which will "cool" Demetrius's sexual "heat"'. Louise Noble, '"And Make Two Pasties of Your Shameful Heads": Medicinal Cannibalism and Healing the Body Politic in *Titus Andronicus*', *ELH*, Vol. 70. No. 3 (Fall, 2003), p. 696.

deluge of water imagery mirrors the constant recourse to tears we find by characters in the text. As I have suggested above, Titus' opening speech conflates paradoxically the tears of sadness (family loss) and tears of joy (pride in state and familial service) in the aftermath of war. In the multiple personal conflicts and tragic circumstances that ensue, predicated on Titus' insistence upon ritual and the circularity of *lex talionis* revenge, characters constantly resort to crying, whether to provoke pity or to express personal loss. Thus, Tamora sheds 'a mother's tears' (*Tit*. I.i.109) in an unsuccessful attempt to save Alarbus, and Lavinia attempts to persuade Tamora's sons from their actions by saying 'Remember, boys, I poured forth tears in vain | To save your brother from the sacrifice' (*Tit*. II.ii.163-164). Titus begs for the lives of Quintus and Martius with 'tears not lightly shed' (*Tit*. II.ii.289), suggests that his tears can 'staunch the earth's dry appetite' (*Tit*.III.i.14) or in winter 'melt the snow' (*Tit*.III.i.20) and finally states 'And let me say, that never wept before, | My tears are now prevailing orators' (*Tit*.III.i.25-26). All of these pleas for sympathy and justice are, of course, unsuccessful. With expressions of loss, we hear Marcus and Titus' sons say they 'shed tears' at the burial of Mutius who 'died in virtue's cause' (*Tit*. I.i.394-395), we hear Titus lament to Lavinia 'Thou hast no hands to wipe away thy tears' (Tit. III.i.107) increasing the horror of Tamora's sons' dreadful jests, and we hear Titus organising a ritual of grieving with his brother and sons:

TITUS   Shall thy good uncle and thy brother Lucius
        And thou and I sit round about some fountain,
        Looking downward to behold our cheeks,
        How they are stained like meadows yet not dry,
        With miry slime left on them by the flood?
        And in the fountain shall we gaze so long
        Till the fresh taste be taken from that clearness

And made a brine pit with our tears? (*Tit*. III.i.123-130)

The preoccupation with crying continues when Titus tells Marcus that his napkin

'cannot drink a tear of [Titus']' because it is already too wet with the tears of Marcus.

The utter redundancy of such crying in the violent and bloody Roman world of

Shakespeare's play is clearly signalled in these examples. Titus' preoccupation with

crying climaxes in a frenzied speech which directly correlates the act of crying with the

other patterns of water imagery we have found in the text:

TITUS If there were reason for these miseries,
      Then into limits could I bind my woes.
      When heaven doth weep, doth not the earth o'erflow?
      If the winds rage, doth not the sea wax mad,
      Threatening the welkin with his big-swollen face?
      And wilt thou have a reason for this coil?
      I am the sea. Hark how her sighs doth blow.
      She is the weeping welkin, I the earth.
      Then must my sea be moved with her sighs
      Then must my earth with her continual tears
      Become a deluge overflowed and drowned,
      For why my bowels cannot hide her woes,
      But like a drunkard must I vomit them. (*Tit*. III.i.220-232)

As this speech ends, a messenger appears bearing the decapitated heads of Quintus and

Martius and the shorn-off hand of Titus. The differing reactions of Marcus and Titus are

striking. Marcus suggests that the grieving process is necessary: 'To weep with them

that weep doth ease some deal, | But sorrow flouted at is double death' (*Tit*.III.i.245-

246). He calls on Titus to 'storm' (*Tit*. III.i.264). Titus laughs, and says 'I have not

another tear to shed', describes 'sorrow as an enemy' which would 'usurp upon [his]

watery eyes | And make them blind with tributary tears' and then he calls for 'revenge'

(*Tit*. III.i.267-270). These comments on the debilitating nature of mourning may have resonated strongly with a playhouse audience versed in contentious contemporary debates on mourning's efficacy.[47] For Titus, the excessive grievances that he has suffered cannot be adequately expressed nor countered by mourning.

To conclude this analysis of patterns of water imagery that function as evocative calls to remembrance for playgoers, I want to return to the first two images of the sea (the shipping exchange, and the flight of justice). The first of these occurs in Titus' opening speech, after Titus returns triumphant to a Rome he has willingly sacrificed family for. It clearly states Titus' loyalty to the idea of the Roman state. The placid waters which enable the exchange he renders through images, blurs the bloody realism

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[47] A commonplace theological complaint found in a wide variety of literature from this period is that grieving excessively is a refraction of the sin of despair. For example, Shakespeare turns to this idea in *Twelfth Night* when Clown asks Olivia 'Why mournest thou?' and then states that 'The more fool, Madonna, to mourn for your brother's soul being in heaven' (*TN* I.v.63-69). [William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. by J.M. Lothian and T.W. Craik, The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001)]. Similarly, in his epigram 'Of Death', Ben Jonson writes that 'He that feares Death, or mournes it, in the just, Shewes of the Resurrection little trust' and in *Sejanus* speaks of 'honourable sorrow' which consists of 'A kind of silent mourning, such, as men | (Who know no tears but from their captives) use | To show in so great losses' (*Sej*. I.i.133-136). [Ben Jonson, Epigram XXXIV: 'Of Death', *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, ed. by William B. Hunter Jr. (New York: New York University Press, 1963), p. 16; Ben Jonson, *Sejanus His Fall*, ed. by C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931)]. Likewise, Robert Burton asks in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 'what good do your teares?' and taking authority from the second Book of Samuel, suggests that to 'weep and howl' is indicative of 'an intemperate, a weak, a silly, and undiscreet man' [Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 'A consolatory digression', Vol II., ed. by Nicolas K. Kiessling, Thomas C. Faulkner and Rhonda L. Blair (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) Part 2, Sect. 3, Memb. 5, Subs. 1. 5-23]. Similarly, Francis Bacon states that although 'contemplation of death' is 'holy and religious', fear of it 'is weak' and 'groans [...] convulsions [...] friends weeping [...] blacks, and obsequies [...] show terrible death' [Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (1625), ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 9-10]. John Donne, meanwhile, discusses this subject in two elegies and suggests that a moderate show of grief is permissible as long as the faithful remain assured that this is not indicative of despair but grounded on recognising personal loss. In *Elegy on Mistress Boulstred*, Donne writes 'Yet though these wayes be lost, thou hast left one,| Which is, immoderate griefe that she is gone.| *But we may scape that sinne, yet weepe as much,| Our teares are due, because we are not such.|* Some teares, that knot of friends, her death must cost,| Because the chaine is broke, but no linke lost' (69-73, my italics). Donne reprises this theme in *Elegie on the Lady Marckham*: 'And even these tears, which should wash sin, are sin | [...]Tears are false spectacles, we cannot see | Through passions mist, what wee are, or what shee' (11-16) [Both elegies from John Donne, *The Complete English Poems of John Donne*, ed. C.A. Patrides (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1985), pp. 373-384]. With these examples we can see that mourning is a contentious issue, and Titus's discussion of the debilitating effect of expressing sorrow may have been resonant for an early modern audience. For further discussions of mourning in the early modern period see G.W. Pigman III's *Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. pp. 1-39, and Jennifer C. Vaught's *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature* (London: Ashgate, 2008) esp. pp. 1-24 and pp. 88-114.

of the sacrifices of war. As the plot develops, and the complications of a fractured state ensue, replete with ritualistic and unnecessary slaughter, Shakespeare directs playgoer attention to the erasure of justice through a complex pattern of verbal prompts.

The repetition of the water imagery in the text leading to Titus' 'deluge overflowed and drowned' appears to recall Noah's Ark and God's retributive justice for mankind's wickedness, and may precipitate Titus' actions. The absence of justice in Titus' world which climaxes immediately after this moment forces Titus to move from mourning to relentlessly vengeful, culminating in the play's Thyestian feast. Understanding 'Astraea' as Elizabeth, and the flight of 'Astraea' as Elizabeth's death, for playgoers this may take the form of political allegory about the potential for erasure of justice and civil unrest in an uncertain accession process akin to the politics we find in *Gorboduc*. This reference is slight, but we can see how the play's composite pattern of water imagery does repeatedly direct playgoer attention through biblical allusions, cultural resonances and contemporary religious debate to the impossibility of justice in Titus' Rome, and perhaps a contemporary political allusion is also intended at this point.

Notwithstanding this idea, we can see that from the evocation of death with the river Styx to the threatening flood of the Nile, from the ritual waters invoked on the occasion of Titus' vengeful enemy's accession to power to Chiron and Demetrius' horrific remarks to Lavinia, the use of water imagery traces the movement away from justice in Titus' Rome. The preoccupation with tears and the act of crying only illustrates the utter redundancy of such actions in a sympathy-free world, where grief mounts upon grief. Titus' frenzied tearful speech, so repetitious with water imagery that it figuratively becomes the deluge of his grief, is immediately undercut by the furtherance of his loss. To grieve further, to attempt to compensate for one's loss, or to

understand the injustices perpetrated becomes impossible, and the titular character can

cry no more. The second sea image of '*Terras Astraea reliquit*' ['Happily you may

catch her in the sea | Yet there's no justice as at land' (*Tit*. IV.iii.8-9)] comprehensively

underlines Titus' belief that any possibility of justice has been erased, and only the

vengeful actions of the final scenes remain.

THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY (1607)

In the final moments of Thomas Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy*, the

protagonist villain and avenger, Vindice, reveals to Antonio (the newly appointed

Duke) that he, and his brother Hippolito, killed the old Duke, seemingly in the hope of

reward. This has the opposite effect, however, as Antonio immediately calls for his

guards to 'lay hands upon those villains' (*RT*. V.iii.99). In Vindice's final speech, he

reflects on the action that has occurred and the brothers' sudden reversal of fortune:

VINDICE   Thou hast no conscience: are we not revenged?

Is there one enemy left alive amongst those?

'*Tis time to die*, when we are ourselves our foes.

(*RT* V.iii.107-109, my emphasis)

The idea of there being a 'time' for Vindice and his brother to die, preceded by these

two questions emphasising the conclusion of their recourse to vengeance, directs

playgoer attention to those vengeful actions taken and to those 'enemies' who have

been punished over the play. The final moments, with Antonio's decisiveness and

Vindice's reluctant acceptance, with Vindice's synopsis of the many incidents of the

play and Antonio's hope that 'their blood may wash away all treason', may prompt

playgoers to consider the play's framework of justice (*RT* V.iii.127). The finality of

'"Tis time to die' may also prompt the playgoer to remember the many references to "time" in connection with death and justice which recur earlier in the play.

The Faustian idea of time ticking towards an inevitable tragic conclusion is introduced in Vindice's opening soliloquy:

> VINDICE   Vengeance, thou murder's quit-rent, and whereby
>   Thou show'st thyself tenant to Tragedy,
>   O keep thy day, hour, minute, I beseech,
>   For those thou hast determined. Hum, who e'er knew
>   Murder unpaid? Faith, give Revenge her due,
>   Sh'as kept touch hitherto.   (*RT* I.i.39-44)

Vindice's speech counters his personal losses (the Duke's murder of his beloved, Gloriana, and the death of his ill-rewarded father) by promising to take revenge against the Duke.[48] The inversion of the ordering of 'day, hour, minute' directs attention to its temporal proximity. Middleton increases the close association between Vindice and 'time' when the protagonist accepts Hippolito's offer to be that 'strange-digested fellow [...] of ill-contented nature' in service to Lussurioso (*RT* I.i.76-77):

> VINDICE   And therefore I'll put on that knave for once,
>   And be a right man then, *a man o' th' time*;
>   For to be honest is not to be i' th' world.
>   Brother, I'll be that strange-composèd fellow.

> (*RT* I.i.93-96 my italics)

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[48] Larry S. Champion notes the interesting lack of direct conflict between Vindice and the Duke, the original single focus of Vindice's revenge, and the effect this may create for playgoers: 'The spectators observe the construction of the trap to which the unsuspecting culprit is almost certain to fall victim; and if, on the one hand, they are perturbed by a protagonist who will stoop to such wily calculations, they, on the other hand, can take comfort of a sort in the fact that it is the continuing acts of lechery that make him vulnerable. In any case, the Duke for the initial lines of the play is the sole villain against whom Vindice directs his scheme'. Larry S. Champion, 'Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* and the Jacobean Tragic Perspective', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Jul., 1975), pp. 302-303.

This idea of Vindice being 'a man o' th' time' clearly resonates with Hippolito, for in his recommendation of his brother to the Duke's son, he says:

HIPPOLITO   My lord, after long search, wary inquiries,
               And political siftings, I made choice of yon fellow,
               Whom I guess rare for many deep employments.
               This our age swims within him – and if Time
               Had so much hair, I should take him for Time,
               He is so near kin to this present minute.   (*RT* I.iii.20-25, my emphasis)

In these opening scenes, Middleton creates a close association between Vindice as time, once in the way he describes the acts he must take, secondly in the way he describes himself, and thirdly in the way his brother equates him with the personified abstraction, 'Time'. However, despite this repetition, there are some striking differences in the ways in which 'time' is understood in these opening references. The inverted temporal sequence of 'day, hour, minute' in the elaborate opening landlord/tenant metaphor demonstrates Vindice's desire to repay personal (T)ragedy promptly to satiate the personified abstraction of Revenge. In the second reference he describes himself as being 'a man o' th' time', paralleling the clandestine transgressive machinations of the Duke's son with his own socially transgressive vengeful objectives. In the third reference, the personified abstraction of Time is directly likened to Vindice. Conflating these three references, we see a complex pattern of time as the mediator of revenge, the avenger as being representative of, and valued in, his corrupt time, and finally the avenger as time itself. Thus, with 'time' as strictly temporal or as socially descriptive, Middleton uses this evocative verbal prompt as a call to remembrance for playgoers, and interweaves the transgressive action of revenge with the unjust exertions of authority in Vindice's world. This web of meaning recurs throughout the text.

In Vindice's first meeting with Lussurioso (disguised as Piato), he pretends that in his past life he worked as a bawd. His description of the 'strange lust' of incest he has encountered resonates evocatively with the earlier verbal pattern described above.

VINDICE   Well, if any thing
          Be damned, it will be twelve o'clock at night;
          That twelve will never 'scape:
          It is the Judas of the hours, wherein
          Honest salvation is betrayed to sin.   (*RT* I.iii.68-72)

The connotation of such socially transgressive behaviour with time, and the permissibility of such corruption within a temporal frame, continues the network of associations of contextually constructed misplaced morality. Impressed by Vindice's words, Lussurioso employs him, but rather than further the revenge-plot set out in the opening scene, it introduces the horrifying sub-plot of the pursuit of Castiza and the corruption of Gratiana.[49] Similarly, in Antonio's description of the scene of his wife's rape by Junior Brother, playgoers are again directed to this interweaving of time and the play-world's authorities' perpetration of injustice:

ANTONIO   And therefore in the height of all the revels,
          When music was heard loudest, courtiers busiest,
          And ladies great with laughter – *O vicious minute*,
          Unfit but for relation to be spoke of!   (*RT* I.iv.39-42 my italics)

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[49] For discussions of the mother/son and brother/sister relationships, and Middleton's treatment of the female characters in the play see Steven Mullaney's 'Mourning and Misogyny: *Hamlet, The Revenger's Tragedy*, and the Final Progress of Elizabeth I, 1600-1607', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), esp. pp. 158-162, Michael Neill's 'Bastardy, Counterfeiting, and Misogyny in *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring, 1996), esp. pp. 411-413, and Jennifer Panek's 'The Mother as Bawd in *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *A Mad World, My Masters*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 43, No. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring 2003), esp. pp. 422-426.

Likewise, when the Duke is near-fatally attacked in bed by Lussurioso, the father

exclaims 'O, take me not in sleep; I have great sins. | I must have days - | Nay months,

dear son, with penitential heaves' (*RT* II.iii.9-11). That the Duke is innocent in this

context, (for Lussurioso only attacks him believing that he is Spurio, his half-brother

who is having an affair with his step-mother the Duchess) is complicated by his past

treatment of Vindice's Gloriana, and the original central revenge plot. Similarly, in the

third Act, Ambitioso and Supervacuo arrange for Junior Brother to be executed 'ere

next clock' (*RT* III.iii.29). However, the First Officer takes this order to execute Junior

Brother without 'the third part of a minute' delay, under false pretences (*RT* III.iii.17).

Junior Brother, who unjustly escapes his 'doom' for the rape of Antonio's wife, is now

wrongfully executed in place of Lussurioso. In pleading for more time, Junior Brother

says:

JUN. BROTHER I tell you 'tis not, for the duke my father

                Deferred me till next sitting, and I look

                E'en every minute, threescore times an hour,

                For a release, a trick wrought by my brothers.   (*RT* III.iv.33-36)

However, later, the Third Officer merely responds, 'there's no delaying time' (*RT*

III.iv.43), and the First Officer concurs by saying 'The hour beckons us, | The

headsman waits; lift up your eyes to heaven' (*RT* III.iv.68-69). In the fourth Act

Ambitioso reinforces the connection of time to revenge and misplaced morality, when

he prevents Supervacuo from killing the Duchess and Spurio by saying 'Hold, hold,

brother! |There's fitter time than now' (*RT* IV.iii.7-8). In the final Act, where funeral

mourning for the terrible Duke coincides with accession celebrations for equally unjust

Lussurioso in one ceremony, the Second Noble aptly renders the imbalances of the

play; like Claudius in *Hamlet* impossibly 'weighing delight and dole' (*Ham.* I.ii.13) he

says 'Time hath several falls; | Griefs lift up joys, feasts put down funerals' (*RT*

V.i.165-166). In the next scene we see a twisted 'love-test' performed for the new Duke

where the three nobles, in turn, flatter Lussurioso. Its resonances with the second scene

of *King Lear*, such a famous example of injustice, are striking. Without a Cordelia-like

hesitating voice, the third speaker is rewarded most for his hyperbolic sycophancy, and

issues of 'time' are once again the recurring verbal prompt:

FIRST NOBLE   Besides my lord,
        You're gracefully established with the loves
        Of all your subjects; and for natural death,
        I hope it will be threescore years a-coming.
LUSSURIOSO   True. No more but threescore years?
FIRST NOBLE   Fourscore, I hope, my lord.
SECOND NOBLE   And fivescore, I.
THIRD NOBLE   But 'tis my hope, my lord, you shall ne'er die.
LUSSURIOSO   Give me thy hand, these others I rebuke;
        He that hopes so is fittest for a duke.
        Thou shalt sit next me.   (*RT* V.iii.28-37)

To conclude, I again turn to Vindice's final reference to 'time':

VINDICE   'Tis time to die, when we are ourselves our foes.   (*RT* V.iii.109)

It has been demonstrated that throughout the play Middleton has constructed a complex

network of meaning which connects the concept of 'time', both as a temporal construct

of time passing, and time as indicative of a reflection of culture, e.g. 'of a time', with

the objective of personal revenge, and the play world's authorities' perpetrations of

injustice. In the opening scenes Middleton carefully places Vindice, the avenger, at the

centre of this locus of meaning; not only must he commit revenge 'in time', but he is

also representative 'of a time' and, moreover, is directly likened to 'Time' itself. Over

the series of examples of this network of meaning we find prompted verbally throughout the play, it recurrently informs the playgoer of the ambiguous moral trajectory of the play-world. From Vindice's role-playing as Piato which forces him to attempt to corrupt both his mother and sister, to the absolved rape of Antonio's wife, to the mistaken attack on the Duke by his son, to the falsified death-order for Junior Brother, to the corruption which climaxes at Lussurioso's accession and is dissipated in the repeated murderous attacks of two sets of avengers in the final Act, the pattern of references to 'time' connect a number of significant moments of moral ambiguity for characters in the play.

At the play's conclusion this ambiguity is not only reinforced, but also paradoxically overturned. For Vindice's actions throughout have clearly exceeded his vengeful prerogative, and one extension of this is his reckless admission of guilt to Antonio. Lawrence J. Ross suggests that because Antonio's 'judgments fall within the drama's repetitive pattern of retribution ironically accomplished through injustice', it is morally ambiguous that Antonio's sentencing of Vindice and Hippolito comes directly after Antonio has benefitted from their actions.[50] However, Vindice's admission can only be understood within the perverse context of the play-world Middleton creates. While the play begins with a framing narrative of avenger subject opposed to corrupt authority, this binary opposition disintegrates as we glimpse further into moral vacuum of the play world: where rapists are absolved of crime only to be later executed mistakenly; where the protagonist attempts to corrupt both his sister and mother; and where Lussurioso's ceremony of both funeral and accession is somehow acceptable. In the aftermath of the bloody final scenes, involving two sets of four avengers, Vindice

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[50] Lawrence J. Ross, 'Introduction', *The Revenger's Tragedy*, ed. Lawrence J. Ross, (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1966), p. xxv. Ross attributes the play to Cyril Tourneur.

admits to Antonio the only action he set out to complete, the murder of the Duke. His time for revenge is evidently over. Likewise, Vindice is not representative 'of his time' any more. Nor can he still be understood as 'Time', the personified abstraction, for as Antonio's ruling insists; now it is 'time to die'.[51]

THE ATHEIST'S TRAGEDY (1609/10)

In the final play I am discussing in this chapter, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, I want to draw attention to a different type of repetition in drama: that of Tourneur's repetition between dramatic and non-dramatic texts, the personal significance of this for the playwright, and also the cultural resonances of these prompts for playgoers. To do this I will be cross-referencing Tourneur's elegiac poetry with the funeral scene in Tourneur's play. While analysing Tourneur's possible personal motivations in writing such verse, I will also demonstrate that this funeral scene may have specific significant cultural resonances with the nature of mourning in early Jacobean England.

In the play, the atheist villain D'Amville murders his brother Montferrars and manages to disinherit Montferrars's son Charlemont, who is away fighting on military service, by declaring that he has been killed in battle. At the beginning of the third Act, D'Amville presides over the funeral of both men, one whom he has murdered, and the other whose death he has invented. In this scene, which I will be discussing, D'Amville reads out two succinct valedictory poems before the empty coffin which is to be

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[51] Scott McMillin makes an interesting argument about how Middleton's play-ending departs from the *Hamlet*-model, with the absence of a Horatio-type figure and its unsettling 'lack of narrative mode at the end'. He suggests that 'one is left with a sense of discrepancy between the story so satisfactorily closed for the Duke and the events which have been seen to occur in this plot'. Vindice's story dying with Vindice strikes me as complementary to the finality of Vindice's time being at an end. Scott McMillin, '*The Revenger's Tragedy* and Its Departures from *Hamlet*', *Studies in English* Literature, 1500-1900, Vol. 24, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1984), pp. 277;278.

buried.[52] They are described as 'epitaphs' in the play, which should, strictly speaking, be verse inscribed on a tombstone, but here the meaning is more figurative. The orchestrator, D'Amville, reveals the focal points of attention to the playgoers prior to the scene. He discusses the upcoming scene with his co-conspirator Borachio:

> D'AMVILLE   Our next endeavour is – since on the false
>   Report that Charlemont is dead depends
>   The fabric of the work – to credit that
>   With all the countenance we can.
> BORACHIO   Faith, sir,
>   Even let his own inheritance, whereof
>   Y'ave dispossessed him, countenance the act.
>   Spare so much out of that to give him a
>   Solemnity of funeral. 'Twill quit
>   The cost and make your apprehension of
>   His death appear more confident and true.
> D'AMVILLE   I'll take thy counsel. Now farewell black
>   Night
>   Thou beauteous mistress of a murderer:
>   To honour thee that hast accomplished all
>   I'll wear thy colours at his funeral.   (AT II.iv.172-185)[53]

Clearly, D'Amville intends the funeral to be as credible as possible. Any irony will depend on the playgoers interpreting his speech as semantically loaded and looking beyond its literal meaning. The situation may be heavily ironic, even farcical, but only the playgoers and the villains are aware of this. Tourneur is directing attention to the language that will accompany the funeral spectacle, its necessarily solemn and

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[52] The 1611 quarto of the play has both poems entitled 'The Epitaph of Montferrars' and 'The Epitaph of Charlemont; in the body of the text, suggesting that the title may have been announced by D'Amville, or simply to alert the reader to their separation from the main body of D'Amville's speech. Both poems are italicised to make this effect more noticeable. See note on text.

[53] All quotations are from: Cyril Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, ed. George Parfitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

formulaic nature, and its credibility. However, before turning to this scene, it is

interesting to note the playwright's experience in composing such funereal literature.

Only four pieces of writing can be ascribed with any certainty to Tourneur.[54]

The first is a religious allegory, *The Transformed Metamorphosis*, written in 1600.[55] It

is dedicated to Sir Christopher Heydon, adorned with the hound of the Heydon family

crest, and despite the poem's obvious literary weaknesses, it succeeds as laudatory

verse for Heydon. Heydon was a staunch anti-Catholic and active persecutor of

recusants, and was in this period attempting to fill the jails of Norwich with religious

prisoners. As Kenneth N. Cameron suggests, Tourneur's flattering poem appears to be

an eager attempt to secure Heydon's patronage.[56] Whether this occurs or not, it is

noteworthy that Heydon was a long-standing companion-at-arms of Sir Francis Vere,

who was soon to become Tourneur's employer. Perhaps he attained this position

through Heydon's recommendation. With this precedent in mind let us turn to

Tourneur's other writings.

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[54] In what little we know of Tourneur's life, it has been established that he was in service as a secretary to Sir Francis Vere until Vere's death in 1609. He was in service to General Edward Cecil by 1613. In 1617 Tourneur was arrested on the order of the Privy Council, but released on the bond of Cecil, which suggests a close relationship. In October 1625 Tourneur is appointed by General Cecil as Secretary of the Council of War in an expedition to raid Spanish ships at Cadiz in south-western Spain. The raid fails, and Tourneur dies after contracting a disease aboard the fleet's flagship 'The Royal Anne', in Kinsale, Co. Cork, on 28th February 1626. If, as speculated in Allardyce Nicol's biography of Tourneur and more recently by Danièle Berton-Charrière, the poet uses the alias of William or Captain Turner, then there is documentation that he is employed in the 1600s to collect information about Jesuits living or travelling within the confines of Britain, and also spends time tracking suspects through Flanders, France, Italy and the Palatinate. This does seem likely. However, notwithstanding this, suffice it to know that Tourneur, whether also operating as a spy or not, positioned himself to be affiliated with two of the most important political families, the de Veres and the Cecils, and somehow maintained this good favour until reaching the end of his life on his final ill-fated expedition. It is an unspectacular career but one which nevertheless shows steady advancement throughout. See Allardyce Nicoll ed., introduction to *The works of Cyril Tourneur* (London: Fanfrolico Press, 1930) and Danièle Berton-Charrière, "Anonymity, deceit and authorship in the case of Cyril-William Tourneur", Estrades-CIEREC, Université Jean Monnet, St Etienne, France. Paper given at SINRS symposium, University of Stirling, 13-14 May, 2006. <http://www.sinrs.stir.ac.uk/documents/Berton%20forgeries.pdf>[accessed 10/04/08]
[55] Cyril Tourneur, *The Transformed Metamorphosis* (London: Valentine Sims, 1600), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie>[accessed 12/03/08]
[56] For a detailed discussion of this connection see Kenneth N. Cameron's 'Cyril Tourneur and The Transformed Metamorphosis', *Review of English Studies*, XVI, 61 (Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 18-24.

In 1609 Tourneur writes an elegy after the death of his master, Sir Francis Vere. Sir Francis was the nephew of John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford and, thus, importantly, he was first cousin to Edward de Vere, later 17th Earl of Oxford.[57] The elegy demonstrates clearly that Tourneur served Vere in times of war and peace, and the poem amounts to a hyperbolic enumeration of all Vere's virtues:

His *Minde* was like an *Empire, rich* and *strong,*
In all *defensiue* pow'r against the wrong,
That ciuill *tumult* or inuasiue *Hate*
Might raise against the *peace* of her estate.   (*Vere elegy*, 37-40) [58]

However, what is immediately interesting is that Tourneur dedicates the poem to Henry de Vere, the 18th Earl of Oxford and sixteen-year-old son of the now deceased Edward de Vere. In his lifetime Edward de Vere had married 15-year-old Anne Cecil, daughter of Baron Burghley (William Cecil) in 1571. This uneven match was validated by the Queen and both families, and coupled with Burghley's elevation to the peerage one year earlier the marriage consolidated the Cecil family's position at the court. Anne was the sister of Robert Cecil and half-sister of Thomas Cecil who is the father of Edward Cecil, who is to be Tourneur's next employer.

In Tourneur's elegy for Sir Francis, the subtext is blatantly self-promoting:

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[57] A celebrated soldier, Sir Francis Vere was, during the period of Tourneur's service, governor of Briell and Portsmouth, and chief commander of the English forces in the low countries. After James I made peace with Spain in 1604 with 'The Treaty of London' orchestrated by Robert Cecil to whom I'll return shortly, he retired to England to write his memoirs. For the Oxford and Cecil lines I have relied on G.E. Cockayne's *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain & the United Kingdom, Extant & Extinct or Dormant* and a number of online resources including <http://www.deveresociety.co.uk/OxfordPedigreeTree.pdf> which displays the family tree, and <http://www.earlofoxford.com> which provides biographical information.

[58] Cyril Tourneur, *A Funerall Poeme. Vpon the Death of the Most VVorthie and True Souldier; Sir Francis Vere, Knight. Captaine of Portsmouth, &c. L. Gouernour of his Maiesties cautionarie towne of Briell in Holland, &c* (London: John Windet for Eleazar Edgar, 1609) in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/03/08]

But gaue himselfe vnto the publique cause;
And in the due performance of her Lawes,
His fauours had their constant residence;
To th'end he might attract mens diligence
Directly to their dueties; and aduance
The Armies seruice. *For his Countenance*
Respected men with a Reseruednesse
Refer'd to that where with he did expresse
His exemplarie actions. So that none
Could gather from him any Signe whereon
To raise themselues a promise or a hope
Of their preferment, but within the scope
Of their peculiar merites. And the waies
And manner by the which he vs'd to raise
Deseruing men, and did his fauours spread;
Were with as much discretion managed:
And nourish'd industrie no lesse.   (*Vere elegy*, 136-152, my emphasis)

Clearly, those preferred by Francis Vere include Tourneur. While seemingly a panegyric for his dead master, the bereaved Tourneur basks gladly in Vere's reflected glory and again appears to be actively promoting his name in the hope of further employment in the Oxford/Cecil lines. Whether due to the elegy or not, Tourneur is soon in the service of Edward Cecil, commander of the English forces in the Netherlands, and son of the half-brother of Robert Cecil, or Lord Salisbury, first minister to Elizabeth I and James I. Further to this, on the death of Henry, the son of

James I, in 1613, Tourneur writes an elegy to the young prince included in a volume of poems alongside fellow playwrights Heywood and Webster.[59]

Turning to the play, we have already seen how Tourneur directs playgoer attention to the potential travestying of the funeral ceremony that is to occur. D'Amville introduces the funeral of Montferrars by saying, 'Set down the body. Pay earth what she lent' (*AT* III.i.1). This is an unsurprising opening phrase in a Tourneur funeral text. In the Vere elegy he begins by saying: 'Thy earth's returned to earth, from whence it came' (line 1). [60] In the later Henry elegy, Tourneur writes 'For although Him knew, | that sicknesse came from earth to claime her due' (line 30). But this is an unsurprising opening phrase anyway, with Tourneur clearly drawing on a passage from the *Book of Common Prayer's* 'The Order for the Burial of the Dead', from which I quote from the most widely used edition in Tourneur's period, the 1559 edition: 'we therefore commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust'.[61] Another crossover between the texts occurs with D'Amville's second line 'But she shall bear a lasting monument, to let succeeding ages truly know' (*AT* III.i.2-3) and in the Vere elegy final

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[59] Perhaps Tourneur was writing to secure support and patronage for his writing also. The Henry elegy is dedicated to George Carey, who was Lord Chamberlain until his death in 1603. Carey was a patron to the Lord Chamberlain's Men until the accession of James I when they became the King's Men. The performance information on the title page to *The Atheist's Tragedy* says 'as in divers places it hath often been acted'. Despite this we know of no specific productions or performances. His Henry elegy is published in a collection with Thomas Heywood and John Webster who belonged to Queen Anne's Men of the Curtain and Red Bull theatre. Can this be read as a plea to the Lord Chamberlain's old troupe, now operating as the King's Men? Tourneur doesn't appear to have any formal affiliation with either of the two major groups, and on January 12th and 13th 1613, both troupes performed together at court putting on two of Heywood's plays for Queen Anne. See George Parfitt, 'Introduction' to *The Plays of Cyril Tourneur* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. vii-xx. He does appear to be directly addressing the King's Men in this dedication, and from what we have seen of Tourneur's other writings and his possible *modus operandi* for career advancement, it does seem possible, but must remain conjecture.

[60] Cyril Tourneur, 'A Griefe on the Death of Prince Henrie Expressed in a broken Elegie, according to the nature of such a sorrow', in *Three Elegies on the Most Lamented Death of Prince Henrie* (London: Nicholas Okes and Felix Kingston for William Welbie, 1613) in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie>[accessed 12/03/08]

[61] *The Booke of Common Praier, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England* (London: Ricardi Iugge and Iohannis Cawode, 1559) in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 01/04/08]

lines 'Whose monument, while historie doth last, shall never be forgotten or defaced'.

Or, again when D'Amville states in young Charlemont's epitaph that he 'died a young

man, yet departed old' (*AT* III.i.26), which is mirrored in his Henry elegy when he says

of the young prince that 'he liv'd a man as long as any does' (line 4). Or D'Amville

says of Charlemont: 'we may say of his brave, blessed decease: he died in war and yet

died in peace' (*AT* III.i.33-34). While in the Vere elegy he writes, 'and when the glory

of warre did cease; retired with honour.| And expired in peace' (lines 551-552).

This analysis indicates that the nature of Tourneur's elegiac writing, of

panegyrics and laments, and their transposition into his dramatic text, *The Atheist's*

Tragedy, is formulaic and can be understood as self-promoting as much as sincere

contemplation of the deceased's virtues. It is only in the dramatic text, where we are

aware of the motivations of characters and the multi-layered levels of interpretation

created by the author that we can understand the grim double meaning when D'Amville

says of his murdered brother Montferrars that 'his worth was better at his death than at

his birth' (*AT* III.i.6). In the published funeral elegies, with their hyperbolic language

extending praise to its uttermost limits, such irony is not possible without knowing the

writer. Tourneur is clearly aware of this, and his elegiac writings, in which I include

D'Amville's funeral commentary from the play, while all resounding with a secondary

motivation on the part of the speaker, are carefully clothed in the language of seemingly

selfless praise for the deceased. The play allows for a unique insight into how such self-

serving funereal writing, which figuratively speaking is a social performance anyway, is

appropriated into a dramatic performance. It is crucial for D'Amville to be credible in

the role he performs and the words he speaks. That the words Tourneur gives him

should be so reminiscent of the phrases the poet has used before in the Vere elegy and

will use again in the Henry elegy suggest that Tourneur is either composing these texts by formula or alternatively with each other in mind.

The former would be unsurprising, as elegy-writing was a commonplace activity in grammar schools in this period so Tourneur may well have been writing these from a young age, and in contemporary rhetorical textbooks such as Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetoric* we find step-by-step models of how to compose an elegy.[62] Beyond this Tourneur was writing within a vast tradition of elegy-composition and dedicatory verse composition and indeed paraphrases one of Spenser's dedications from the *Faerie Queene* in the Vere Elegy and D'Amville's epitaphs.[63]

If it is the latter, however, and Tourneur is writing with the preceding text or texts in mind, then perhaps this reveals a level of self-awareness on the part of the author of his own political manoeuvring and manipulation of loss into gain through the model of expressed mourning and dedicatory writing. In *The Atheist's Tragedy*, where Tourneur uses many of the same phrases as the Vere elegy, and introduces phrases he will use again in the later Henry elegy, he is clearly intent on providing a seriousness and validity to D'Amville's graveside poems. As suggested above, any irony must be derived from the solemnity of this occasion and the playgoer's knowledge prior to the scene. The fourth Act of the play, which takes place almost entirely in a graveyard,

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[62] For example, Wilson paraphrases Quintilian in the 1553 edition on the first kind of oration (concerning praise), and states that 'in praising a noble personage and in setting further at large his worthinesse' the orator must 'observe thynges' before his life, during his life and after his death. Wilson includes the sage advice that 'to bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage, grauitie, and constancie' which clearly resonates with D'Amville's praise of Charlemont and Tourneur's Henry elegy. Wilson also states that 'Prowesse doen, declare his seruice to the Kyng, and his country, either in withstanding the outward e[n]emie, or els in aswagyng the rage of his awne cou[n]treyme[n] at home' which resonates with the celebration of military prowess in war and peace in Tourneur's elegies. Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique for the Vse of all Suche as are Studious of Eloquence* (London: Richardus Graftonus, 1553), *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 06/05/08]

[63] The phrase 'everlasting monument' may be taken from the 'Dedication' to Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham (1536-1624), Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A.C. Hamilton (Harlow: Longman, 2007), p. 730.

where skulls become pillows and characters are disguised at ghosts, descends into

farcical action, but the funeral scene examined here does not. [64]

Only after the ceremony is concluded does D'Amville turn to the playgoers in

an aside and say:

D'AMVILLE   'Tis done. Thus fair accomplishments make foul

Deeds gracious. Charlemont, come now when t'wout,

I've buried under these two marble stones

Thy living hopes and thy dead father's bones.   (*AT* III.i.49-52)

D'Amville enacts a consummate performance of fabricated mourning and false tribute

to consolidate his own social and political position in the difficult interstitial period of a

peer's death. Could Tourneur, who is clearly an adept courtier who manages to remain

in service to two of the greatest families in England for over twenty years, have really

been oblivious to the similarities between D'Amville's political manoeuvres and

intentions dressed in funereal speech, and his own published dedicatory or elegiac

writings which may have proved so fruitful to his career? When he composes the

Henry elegy, at least two years after *The Atheist's Tragedy* is written, he returns to

certain phrases he used in the Vere elegy and D'Amville's funeral poems. Even if

Tourneur was unaware of this repetition, which strikes me as extremely unlikely, there

are much wider theoretical implications to be drawn from Tourneur's dedicatory

writing.

Critical insistence on the continuity of the social body in the face of death, while

a valuable starting point, marginalises the clear transformation of circumstances for the

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[64] We know that D'Amville is dressed in black, we see both processions onto the stage, we hear both solemn and formulaic funeral poems, and listen to the traditional three volleys of trumpets.

individual bereaved in early modern England.[65] The death of a peer clearly opens up a

vista of new opportunities for those operating at the periphery of the nobility. As

mourning can be understood as the public performance of a private emotion, the

theatrical funeral processions can be understood as individual participation in a ritual of

communal mourning. What the elegies offer is a textual engagement within this forum

of accepted communal mourning, but from the aspect of the individual. For an

individual operating at this periphery, a well-composed elegy serves as self-promotion

in a number of ways.[66] Nevertheless, the language is formulaic. This is unsurprising as

there is are finite number of ways of expressing grief solemnly and giving praise

sensibly. What is interesting is the means by which such formulaic language can be

manipulated to accrue praise for the poet, as well as for the deceased subject. The scene

from Tourneur's play resonates with the Tudor and Stuart preoccupation with the

performance of mourning, and overturns what is construed as a public performance of

private loss into a performance of self-promotional opportunism or consolidation of

recent gained authority. In the context of the play, these verbal prompts direct playgoer

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[65] It has become a critical commonplace to assert the socio-political theory behind such self-consciously theatrical ceremonies. Thus, as Ronald Strickland suggests, 'grand pageant funeral processions of aristocrats functioned as symbolic "texts" which explicitly reinforced the social hierarchy during crucial moments of transition in social leadership', in Ronald Strickland, 'Pageantry and Poetry as Discourse: The Production of Subjectivity in Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral" *ELH*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), p. 19.
[66] Firstly, if he has been in service to the deceased, a laudatory text shows devotion on the part of the elegist in a period when, as Philippe Ariès suggests, 'Eternal salvation is not incompatible with earthly fame' but it also clearly reflects well upon the poet if he has been chosen for past service by such a great man [Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. by Helen Weaver (London: Allen Lane, 1981), p. 228]. Secondly, if he has not been in service to the nobleman, then this is an opportunity to indirectly address the family of the deceased and hopefully win favour, or at least to promote your name in circles that hitherto had been impossible to breach. Thirdly, and this is perhaps the most ingenious, regardless of whether the elegist had been in service to the deceased or not, he opportunistically composes an encomium enumerating the virtues of the deceased, makes it clear that he understands what it means to be a grateful and loyal subject to a great dignitary, and then dedicates the elegy not to the deceased, but rather to another living member of the nobility.

attention to the controlling presence of D'Amville, as self-appointed minister to this funeral (as a figure of both religious and secular authority), while simultaneously calling to remembrance, and directing attention towards, the formulaic and culturally acceptable phrasing which is used to perpetrate such a heinous injustice.

V - CONCLUSION

I began this chapter by suggesting that verbal patterns in early modern drama, while in part inherited from the rhetorical tradition and earlier dramatic conventions, are also informed by those repetitive cultural practices which direct subject behaviour. That such patterns should then be used in the playhouse to direct playgoer attention and prompt playgoer recollection of scenes of significant moral deliberation, or distinct moral ambiguity, may also direct and prompt attention to the linguistic and cultural semiotic that is so recognisable both inside and outside the playhouse. In *The Spanish Tragedy* we have seen how a complex interweaving of multiple patterns of imagery of subjection ('yoke'; 'bondage'; traps) are complemented by the finality of the authortitative 'doom' (with its mutable secular and religious resonances), and this then led to a discussion of burial ritual and post-mortem intercession and the concept of final authority. In *Titus Andronicus*, we have seen how Shakespeare uses imagery of water to signify the ever-increasing personal tragedy of the titular hero, the redundancy of excessive grief, and Titus' commitment to vengeance in the unjust Roman world. In *The Revenger's Tragedy* we have seen how Vindice is closely associated with imagery of time, and how this resolves in the play's morally ambiguous conclusion. In *The Atheist's Tragedy* we have seen a relationship traced between the social performance of mourning, the formulaic aspect of elegiac writing, and the stage villain's perpetration of contextually ratified injustices.

CONCLUSION

Every serious cultural analysis starts from a sheer beginning and ends where it manages to get before exhausting its intellectual impulse. Previously discovered facts are mobilized, previously developed concepts used, previously formulated hypotheses tried out; but the movement is not from already proven theorems to newly proven ones, it is from an awkward fumbling for the most elementary understanding to a supported claim that one has achieved that and surpassed it. A study is an advance if it is more incisive – whatever that may mean – than those that preceded it; but it less stands on their shoulders than, challenged and challenging, runs by their side.[1]

Clifford Geertz's description of the constituent parts of 'serious cultural analysis' seems to me to be an apt way to conclude my study. This thesis started from a sheer beginning in setting out to connect two disparate areas of study, memory training and early modern revenge drama. It proposed to do so through the medium of visual, aural, and verbal prompts found in authoritative cultural practices. My study builds upon existing research on memory training, and suggests that the diffusion of the precepts of mnemonics into late medieval and early modern authoritative practices could provide us with a means of interpreting and understanding that culture's sign-system, and of how authority is communicated in this period. However, it also provides close readings of a select part of that culture's literary output. I suggest that playwrights for the popular stage draw on this semiotic arrangement in the structure of their plays, where the repeated use of evocative visual, aural, or verbal prompts create powerful resonances for playgoers. The repeated use of these prompts direct playgoers to

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[1] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 25.

analogous significant moments in the play, where not only the notion of authority is being interrogated, but also the method of prompting their recollection (i.e. the spectacle, sound, or word) evokes intra- or extra-textual authoritative practices. To support these readings I draw on numerous scenes from a representative selection of plays from the revenge tragedy genre, which aptly depict the mnemonic utility of patterning structures found in these plays, and/or illuminates playwrights' borrowings from off-stage authoritative practices.

I began this study by stating that there were three primary questions to be asked, and I will now suggest what this research has demonstrated. Firstly I asked, what connections can be made between the intellectual practice of memory training and dramaturgical practice in early modern theatre? In the opening chapter of this thesis I proposed an alternative and indirect means by which early modern drama could have been influenced by the memory-training tradition. This route, through the medium of authoritative cultural practices, proposed an original means of understanding playwrights' use of identifiable visual, aural, and verbal patterns. My literary analysis concentrated upon revenge plays, for this is the genre which most consistently depicts scenes where authority is being communicated or contested.

Secondly I asked, how do playwrights utilise the mnemonic properties found in cultural practices to direct playgoer attention in their plays, and what possible effect might this have on playgoers? The emphasis of the literary analysis in this study was to understand how playwrights directed playgoer attention in their plays using mnemonic prompts, and to isolate which prompts were used. Moreover I sought to suggest why certain prompts were especially evocative or resonant for playgoers, and, hence, to discover what was the playwrights' dramatic purpose in using such prompts at significant moments in their plays. What has been demonstrated, through an exposition

of patterns of visual, aural, and verbal prompts in a wide selection of revenge plays, is that the playwrights' use of these prompts has a multi-layered effect. Most simply, playwrights are drawing on their own experience of what prompts effectively command attention in off-stage practices, and using these in their plays to alert playgoers to significant moments. Moreover, the repeated use of these prompts, also directs playgoer attention to the earlier use[s] of this spectacle, sound, or verbal prompt. However, this repeated prompt would be redundant of dramatic impetus unless its employment also conveys a certain meaning to the playgoer. Therefore, in each reading of the plays undertaken my emphasis has been upon how such patterned effects not only direct playgoers to a specific locus of meaning, but also how the prompt itself mediates meaning to the playgoer.

Thirdly I asked, how could knowledge of this cultural inheritance influence current approaches to these plays? It seems clear to me that in these early modern revenge plays, playwrights are using certain prompts (chosen because of their appositeness and realism, in terms of mimetic reproduction from off-stage practices, and evocativeness, in terms of their cultural significance and resonances) to direct the reception of their plays. This is a highly suggestive practice by playwrights, because it directs a modern reader closer to an understanding of authorial intention. Moreover, that such prompts are readily employed by playwrights as a means of directing play reception tells us a lot about how early modern English men and women were accustomed to receiving information. In connecting these mnemonic prompts in drama, through the medium of authoritative cultural practices to the memory-training tradition, this study also provides an insight into how early modern dramatists borrow both consciously and indirectly from practices outside the theatre and from influential cultural traditions.

A Note on the Selected Editions

Gorboduc (1562; 1561 in Tudor calendar): Sackville and Norton appear never to have intended publishing the play. In 1565 William Griffith published an unauthorised and corrupt edition of the play (A). In 1570 an authorised edition was published by John Day (B). Both editions are available online, and the B text is what most modern editions are based on.[1] Both Joseph Q. Adams's early edition and William Tydeman's recent edition are based on the B text, but both introduce modernized punctuation.[2] I have noted any significant differences in the quotations from the play provided.

The Spanish Tragedy (1587): Kyd's play is unproblematic. It exists in two forms, the 1592 Allde octavo in fours (A), and the enlarged 1602 quarto with additions (B).[3] Modern editors follow the 1592 edition and append the additions. I have consulted Philip Edwards's edition and Katherine Eisaman Maus's edition which both follow the 1592 edition, as well as the Allde original publication.[4] Both recent editions standardise and modernise spelling, and I have relied on Edwards for line numbers.

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[1] A-text: Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The Tragedie of Gorboduc, whereof three actes were wrytten by Thomas Nortone, and the two laste by Thomas Sackuyle. Sett forthe as the same was shewed before the Quenes most excellent Maiestie, in her highnes court of Whitehall, the. xviij. day of Ianuary, anno Domini. 1561. By the Gentlemen of thynner Temple in London* (London: William Griffith, 1565), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 4/11/07] B-text: Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex set forth without any addition or alteration but altogether as the same was shewed on stage before the Queenes Maiestie, about nine yeares past, vz. the xviij. day of Ianuarie. 1561. by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Seene and allowed* (London : Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, 1570), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 4/11/07]

[2] Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *Gorboduc; or, Ferrex and Porrex*, ed. by Joseph Quincy Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Drama* (Cambridge, MA.: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, Riverside Press, 1925), pp. 503-536; Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *Gorboduc*, ed. by William Tydeman, *Two Tudor Tragedies* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 47-126.

[3] A-text: Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish tragedie containing the lamentable end of Don Horatio, and Bel-imperia: with the pittifull death of olde Hieronimo* (London: Edward Allde, for Edward White, 1592), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/01/08] B-text with five additions: Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish tragedie containing the lamentable end of Don Horatio, and Bel-imperia: with the pittifull death of olde Hieronimo* (London: W. W[hite] for T. Pauier, 1602), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/01/08]

[4] Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. by Philip Edwards, The Revels Plays, first edition 1959 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. by Katherine Eisaman Maus, *Four Revenge Tragedies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1-92.

Titus Andronicus (1594): The textual history of this play is quite straightforward. As Jonathan Bate notes in the most recent Arden edition, 'the first quarto (Q1) was printed from Shakespeare's working manuscript, the second quarto (Q2) was printed from the first quarto (making some corrections and introducing some new errors), the third quarto (Q3) was printed from the second quarto (making some corrections and introducing some new errors), and the first folio (F) text of the play was printed from the third quarto (making some corrections and introducing some new errors). The folio also added more extensive stage directions and included the fly-killing scene [...] which had not appeared in any of the quartos'.[5] I have omitted the fly-killing scene from my analysis, but otherwise have followed Bate's edition and consulted the Q1 edition, especially for the opening scene's stage directions.[6]

Antonio and Mellida & Antonio's Revenge (1599-1600): Both plays were published in quarto form in 1602 after being entered in the Stationer's Register in 1601. I have used W. Reavley Gair's Revels editions of both plays throughout and the 1602 quartos of both plays have been consulted.[7]

Hamlet (1601): The text of Shakespeare's play is problematic as there is no authorial manuscript, and there are a number of different early editions of the text. In this thesis, I have used the 1604-05 second quarto (Q2) as my primary source. However I have also noted any substantial differences between Q2 and the 1603 first quarto edition (Q1) and

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[5] Jonathan Bate, ed., 'Introduction' to William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006), pp. 97-98.

[6] Q1 text: *The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus As it was plaide by the right honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earl of Pembrooke, and Earl of Sussex their seruants* (London: Printed by Iohn Danter, and are to be sold by Edward White & Thomas Millington, 1594), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 20/01/08]

[7] John Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, ed. by W. Reavley Gair, The Revels plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991); John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge*, ed. by W. Reavley Gair, The Revels plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978); Quarto texts: *The History of Antonio and Mellida. The First Part. As it hath beene sundry times acted, by the children of Paules. Written by I.M.* (London: Printed [by R. Bradock] for Mathewe Lownes, and Thomas Fisher, 1602), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 16/01/08] *Antonios Reuenge. The Second Part. As it hath beene sundry times acted, by the children of Paules. Written by I.M.* (London: Printed [by R. Bradock] for Mathewe Lownes, and Thomas Fisher, 1602), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 16/01/08]

the 1623 first folio edition (F). The most recent double-volume Arden edition of each of these texts has been an excellent resource.[8] I have also consulted these editions online.[9]

The Revenger's Tragedy (1606): The controversy surrounding the authorship of this play has meant that substantial research has been completed on the early quarto editions.[10] The earliest record of the play is its entry in the Stationers registry on October 7th, 1607 alongside Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One*. I have consulted the earliest 1607-8 quarto edition.[11] I see no reason not to follow the current attribution to Middleton, and, with its substantial differences in tone to *The Atheist's Tragedy*, it would be difficult to attribute it to Tourneur. I have consulted a number of different modern editions, including those of Foalkes, Gibbons, and Maus, but use Jackson's recent edition in Taylor and Lavagnino's *Collected Works*.[12]

The Atheist's Tragedy (1609-10): Tourneur's play is unproblematic. It is published in quarto form in 1611, which I have consulted.[13] I have used George Parfitt's edition, but

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[8] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006) and *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006).

[9] Q1: *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke by William Shake-speare. As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the cittie of London: as also in the two vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where* (London: Printed [by Valentine Simmes] for N[icholas] L[ing] and Iohn Trundell, 1603), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/01/08] Q2: *The tragicall historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* (London: Printed by I[ames] R[oberts] for N[icholas] L[ing], 1604), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/01/08] F: *The Tragedy of Hamlet* in *Mr. VVilliam Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies Published according to the True Originall Copies* (London: Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount [at the charges of W. Iaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley], 1623), pp. 152-282, in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/01/08]

[10] For an overview of the controversy, see Macdonald P. Jackson's '*The Revenger's Tragedy*' in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 360-363.

[11] Q1: Anon., *The Reuengers Tragaedie As it hath beene sundry times acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants* (London: G. Eld, 1607), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 25/03/08]

[12] *The Revenger's Tragedy*, ed. by R.A. Foalkes, The Revels plays (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.1966); *The Revenger's Tragedy*, ed. by Brian Gibbons, New Mermaid (London: A & C Publishers Ltd, 1967, revised 1991, 2002); *The Revenger's Tragedy* ed. by Katherine Eisaman Maus in *Four Revenge Tragedies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 93-174; *The Revenger's Tragedy*, ed. by Macdonald P. Jackson in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 543-593.

[13] Cyril Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedie: or The honest man's reuenge As in diuers places it hath often beene acted* (London: Printed [by Thomas Snodham] for Iohn Stepneth, and Richard Redmer, 1611), in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie> [accessed 12/01/08]

I have also consulted Katherine Eisaman Maus's more recent edition.[14] Both are based on the 1611 quarto.

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[14] *The Atheist's Tragedy*, ed. by George Parfitt in *The Plays of Cyril Tourneur* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 105-194; *The Atheist's Tragedy*, ed. by Katherine Eisaman Maus in *Four Revenge Tragedies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 249-330.

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