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NEGOTIATING SPACE: SPATIAL VIOLATION ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE, 1587-1638

A Dissertation Presented

by

GREGORY W. SARGENT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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English

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NEGOTIATING SPACE: SPATIAL VIOLATION ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE, 1587-1638

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GREGORY W. SARGENT

Approved as to style and content by:

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Adam Zucker, Chair

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Jane Degenhardt, Member

_____
Brian Ogilvie, Member

_____
Randall Knoper, Department Head
English Department

DEDICATION

To Sarah, you inspire what is best in me.

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ABSTRACT

NEGOTIATING SPACE: SPATIAL VIOLATION ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE, 1587-1638

SEPTEMBER 2021

GREGORY W. SARGENT, B.A., UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

M.A., NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

M.A., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Adam Zucker

Recent criticism proves the malleability of theatrical space as a lens through which the discussion of Renaissance drama proliferates. *Negotiating Space* works towards the articulation of the importance of space in the representational mimesis of performance by examining moments of violence, violation, misuse, and misappropriation. I draw a connection between the lived, material sites of the plays' action and the ideological import of representing those spaces dramatically using a focus on violation. Though much good scholarship exists detailing London-centric approaches to dramatic space, this study discursively reifies identifiable staged spaces to connect with the lives of theatrical patrons no matter where they experienced drama. The flexible definition of violation initiates a contextually responsive link to social issues like gendered agency and "fit decorum" in a chapter on domestic space. This project asserts the important proximity of theater patrons to spaces of incarceration as a component of the political and corporeal sovereignty of early modern England. Like the chapter that follows, carceral spaces trace a meaning that goes beyond the historical stage to imprint contemporary ideological debates. City walls and borders mark the site of affective political relationships that invite

the audience member to identify and interrogate his or her embodied involvement in the polis while also suggesting the importance of the theater's power to forge emotional connections. Finally, I show how metatheatrical representations of stage space employ violation or misuse to reinforce formations of representational logic. By examining the theater as a social, political, and aesthetic vehicle of culture, early modern drama explicates its own attempts to explain its onstage representations of the world (or spaces) and its participation in a culture of exchange. Using plays by Shakespeare, Heywood, Massinger, Fletcher, Marlowe, Peele, and Brome, *Negotiating Space* presents a critical arc that centralizes dramatic space as the crucial variable in the process of understanding how the theater existed as a social institution that shaped and responded to its own social practice. Space is contentious; studying its dramatic representation reflects and reveals the complex significations that shape an inclusive understanding of the world.

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"Whereby you bring men and matter in question oftentimes, that would (as long time they have) lye without any question." -John Norden, Surveyor's Dialogue *(1607)*

Lying Without Question

The quote from the epigraph is ostensibly a fiction. Norden created the character who speaks this line, the Farmer, along with his interlocutor, the Surveyor, to craft a dialogue that unabashedly attempts to rationalize and promote the work of surveyors. In the first of the five books of the *Surveyor's Dialogue*, the Farmer objects to the need for surveying, saying, "It is a vaine facultie, and a needlesse worke undertaken."[1] By the end of the first book, the Farmer will radically change his position to one of support for surveyors. Norden's hero, the Surveyor, wins this rhetorical challenge and moves on to the next (a Landowner, far less skeptical of land measurement than the Farmer). The real Norden found success at the courts of Elizabeth and James. In 1600 the queen appointed him as the surveyor of crown woods and forests and then in 1605, the crown appointed him as the surveyor of the duchy of Cornwall. He was prolific; Frank Kitchen in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* writes, "His notebook of 1623 listed 176 manors that he had surveyed, many more than once." He was very good at his job, "Duchy records show attempts to retire him in 1623, but the poor quality of surveys being made by his successors led to his recall."[2] Considering these historical contexts, one can imagine the ironic pleasure that Norden may have taken when writing words for the

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[1] John Norden. *The Surveyors Dialogue. Divided into Five Bookes: Very Profitable for All Men to Peruse, That Haue to Do with the Revenues of Land, or the Manurance, use, or Occupation Thereof, Both Lords and Tenants: As Also and Especially for Such as Indevor to Be Seene in the Faculty of Surveying of Mannors, Lands, Tenements, &c*. Printed by Simon Stafford for Hugh Astley, dwelling at S. Magnus corner, 1607, p. 1.

[2] Frank Kitchen. "Norden, John (c. 1547–1625), Cartographer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. *www-oxforddnb-com.silk.library.umass.edu*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20250. Accessed 10 June 2020.

Farmer to call his profession a "vaine facultie" and "needlesse worke." As Norden's success and long career proves, lands needed surveying; as the publication of the *Surveyor's Dialogue* proves, people needed convincing such surveying was necessary.

I begin with Norden to illustrate just a small part of the economic and political picture that fueled the growth of London and provided the perfect conditions for the rise of theater and the marketplace.[3] *Negotiating Space: Spatial Violation on the Early Modern Stage, 1587-1638* takes this moment as the foundation of the critical questions that it asks about the theater's relationship to space and how it existed as both a producer and a product of the practices that define social space. I understand the moment when Norden brings together technology and customary use to represent a microcosmic depiction of how the world was changing for early modern English people. This study focuses on the way that change affected the lived and perceived spaces that were a part of the experience of playgoers in the period. Attitudes and understandings of spatial practices shifted extremely quickly; the theater, as an artistic, economic, and social institution, did not always explicitly stage these shifts for the benefit of its audience members. However, the theater, by its very proximity to and embeddedness in the cultural matrix, could not avoid representations of space that, in part, responded to and were products of these swift changes in the conception and creation of space. After all, the theater was both a product of the spaces around it and a vehicle for the production of artistic and actual space. I think the epigraph of this introduction is a pregnant index that calls scholars of early modern drama to dig deeper into the seemingly innocent spaces, the quotidian places staged as things that may have gone without question. The plays

[3] Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1986, especially pp. 96-100.

discussed in this dissertation create fictions; they claim that this stage is the dungeon of the castle of Berkeley, this arras is the city wall of Corioles, these boards are the Arden family threshold. Nevertheless, these fictions stir up the matter of spatial representation and they pose questions of the spaces and attitudes surrounding the lived experience of space that oftentimes "lye without any question." To some extent, this is unavoidable; theater performed is essentially spatial. Even dramatic texts, read on the page instead of witnessed on the stage, call upon the reader to imagine space and to interact with the play's use of space as a thematic concern.

To lie without question is also to create a spatial metaphor. Part of how one makes sense of the world is to use metaphors that correspond to human sensory experience with what Mark Turner, professor of cognitive science and English, calls "image schemas."[4] Image schemas are central to the function of higher thought in humans, especially when we conceptualize formless ideas like space and time; for the theater, image schemas are the fundamental product of the dialogue and placement of bodies and props onstage. Turner continues, "When we project one concept onto another, image schemas again seem to do much of the work. For example, when we project spatiality onto temporality, we project image schemas; we think of time itself, which has no spatial shape, as having a spatial shape—linear, for example, or circular" (17-18).[5] That which lies without question takes on a spatial form; the thing is inert, remaining in place, lying out of sight or lying low.[6] Norden's choice of words has more import than perhaps he knew,

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[4] Mark Turner. *The Literary Mind*. Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 16.

[5] For more information on the function of metaphor in everyday life and a thorough explanation of how humans spatialize thought, see Turner and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, University of Chicago Press, 2003.

[6] The *OED* defines the phase, "to lie low" as "To lie on or below the ground, or another surface; to lie prostrate or dead, to be buried; to lie down; to crouch, keep low; (of a structure) to be demolished or

especially in a theatrical context. Due to the radical changes in use and perception of spaces in the early modern period, the theater called into question something as quotidian and commonplace as space. No longer were the concerns of space able to lay low, stay out of sight, and remain staid and unruffled. Economic and social practice brought the metaphors and metonyms of space into proximity with the lived experience of the world for many early moderns through their attendance of theatrical productions. For these people, this proximity translated into a necessity to understand and organize space and their relation to it. People needed to create new image schemas to navigate the expanding and changing economic and social relations that confronted them. The theater responded to this need, though again, I argue that it did not do so purely consciously, thanks to the very spatial nature of the artform. More importantly, the theater became an institution that was a product of the social and economic world while also producing social and economic practices.

The economic conditions and land management practices that were part of the foundational conditions of the growth of the public theaters trace their start to the sixteenth century. One piece of the complicated historical context begins with Henry VIII selling the monastic lands he repurposed from the Catholic church.[7] Other enclosures happened throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that generated unrest and social upheaval.[8] Henry VIII's actions and the social unrest that unfolded across the decades are evidence that the concept of social space was changing. To make space an

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brought down; to lie in pieces. Also *figurative* (chiefly in early use): to be humbled, abased, or brought to an abject condition" (*OED*, "low," adj. and n.2 Phrases 3a).

[7] W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: King Henry's England, 1500-1547*, Longman, 1976, especially pp. 121-148, and Joan Thirsk, *Tudor Enclosures*, Routledge and Paul, 1959.

[8] One, in Northamptonshire in 1607, forms some of the historical context for my discussion of *Coriolanus* in chapter three. See page 157.

economic commodity, it must be codified for use and profitability. To survey is to tie the land to quantifiable attributes. By making these attributes quantifiable, they can be salable. Emergent capitalist practices of land management demanded that landowners know how much land they had, what uses they could make of the land, and how much money this combination of land and use was worth. As the market for material goods grew in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, more creative and exclusionary approaches to land management characterized the concomitant displacement of peoples that fed the growing urban population and the burgeoning theatrical audience.

In the *Dialogue*, the Farmer's skepticism reveals a tension that permeated the social fabric of early modern England and, as an impetus, accreted other issues that affected the everyday lived experience of space for the early modern person. The key is in the final clause of the epigraph, that the issues of boundaries, borders, rents, and deeds would, for a long time "lye without any question." By the Surveyor simply being present, he creates a feeling of skepticism, fear, and suspicion. The Farmer goes on, accusing, "And oftentimes you are the cause that men loose their land: and sometimes they are abridged of such liberties as they have long used in Mannors: and customes are altered, broken, and sometimes perverted or taken away by your means" (Norden 2-3). In short, people like the Farmer mistrust the Surveyor because he is an agent of change and acts against established customary use of the land. Put another way, the Farmer, and other tenants like him, object to the necessary abstraction that alters the valuation of the land. Stripped of tradition and custom, the Surveyor can extract the cardinal facts of the land: acreage, wasteland, structures, and boundaries. Removing things like the customary treatment of the land makes the land alien to those that live and work upon it; it is a set of

numbers and lines rather than a coherence of memory, labor, and experience. The Farmer's frustration is evident when he says, "But in customary tenements of inheritance the case is otherwise, where the rent is and the fine (for the most part) certaine, what needs the Lord have this surveyed, or any free-hold lands?" (Norden 10). Writing in another surveying treatise, Valentine Leigh notes that the long practice of tenantry by customary practice has very deep, old roots; he writes, "There can be no custome, unless it have been used, time out of memorie of man."[9] Both these examples unintentionally[10] solidify the tenants' complaints and rationalize the weighty skepticism toward the position of the surveyor. Writing from the perspective of historical distance, David Underdown explains, "The erosion of rural traditions was also hastened by the adoption of more absolutist conceptions of property-rights, which could lead to the disappearance of commons formerly open to public use."[11] As a representative of the landlord's turn to property-capitalism, the surveyor understandably inspired skepticism, mistrust, and even fear that a way of life might be about to change in those tenants who were subject to the whims of the land's owners.

Alongside the public theater's purposive arrival in the London metropolis, land surveys represent a confluence of technology and economics that disrupted the pervasive custom-based practices of the use of social space during the 16th century.[12] In addition to

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[9] Valentine Leigh. *The Moste Profitable and Commendable Science, of Surueying of Landes, Tenementes, and Hereditamentes*. Imprinted at London by J. Kingston for Andrew Maunsell, 1577, sig. F3r.
[10] Unintentionally because the authors are surveyors seeking to promote their trade and the practices that made surveying land such a crucial part of the emerging capitalist practice of land management. By trying to defend their occupation, Norden and Leigh give textual voice to the most harmful consequence that affected thousands of people that firmly resided in the tenant class of England.
[11] David Underdown. *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660*. Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 61.
[12] Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*, Stanford University Press, 1998, especially pp. 12 and 31-56.

the unrest that surveying and enclosures fomented, there began a gradual erosion of traditions surrounding the land as many laborers migrated to larger cities when their former agrarian jobs became no longer practicable. One of these traditions, the Rogationtide perambulation, was a walk traversing the parish boundaries. This event, usually held a few weeks after Easter, gathered most of the inhabitants of a town for a walk along the boundary of the parish wherein the vicar or other parish functionary would call out the various properties and freeholds of the town members. Not only was this a way to settle land disputes and reaffirm property lines, but it was a way for the children to learn about the town, to accumulate knowledge by experiencing the landscape, and constituted a haptic interaction with place and space. The Rogationtide walks represent a vastly different way of understanding and experiencing space especially considering the customary nature of the practice. Underdown illustrates the importance of the connection to the land when he contends, "The new hedges and enclosures of the market economy obliterated both the old physical landmarks and the traditions of sociability which perambulation of the bounds had preserved" (80-81). Consequently, enclosures and land surveying drove tenants, formerly used to their customary agreements, to renegotiate or surrender their leases, displacing many people who sought refuge and a new life in the major urban center of London. This internal migration coincided with a burgeoning market of goods, both domestic and foreign, that was spreading quickly across both English lands and English social classes.[13] If the end

[13] For a more thorough explanation of the causes and consequences of enclosures and surveying that drove the poorer and non-landowning classes to move to urban centers, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*, B. Blackwell, 1988; Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, Cambridge University Press, 1991; Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1998; Roger B. Manning. *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640*, Oxford University Press, 1988.

of certain traditions meant leaving the town or parish that an English family had lived in from "time out of memory," then it also meant struggling to survive while navigating the fastest growing metropolis in Europe. In the search for diversion, many London residents turned to another burgeoning market that arose alongside the Royal Exchange, that of the commercial theaters.

Though traditions like the Rogationtide walks diminished as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries advanced, some of the custom-based relationships to the land persisted, albeit in textual form as well as through the repetition of their practice in theatrical displays. These textual and performative markers are chorographies; they are maps, descriptions, or practices of place that are distinct from strictly cartographic or topographic models. Chorographies show spatial relation as well as cultural, historical, and customary relationships. Unlike later examples of spatial measurement technology, chorographies do not rely upon absolute quantitative measurements, but rather function as qualitative accumulations. Interestingly, Norden is responsible for a chorographic map that sits uneasily between the older customary arrangements of space and the newer quantified reckoning of properties and estates. I argue for the relevance of this map, called *Civitas Londini* (1600), in its likeness to the theater's uneasy and interstitial relationship with the civic authorities of London. Other textual examples include William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (1576) and Stow's *Survey of London* (1598). These, like Norden's map, are substantially more than just ordered arrangements of spatial proximities. They are sensitive to and inclusive of customary place names, practices, and stories. They derive their authority from the way that they explain the place, much as Norden's map tells a more complex story about London; it achieves more

than just a visualization of space by cultivating an affective display of power relations and cultural geography.

Civitas Londini is a map of London from the perspective of one looking north across the Thames with Southwark in the foreground.[14] It emphasizes the Lord Mayor's procession and places the Sheriff's coat of arms at the top of the map. Radically, the map minimizes the royal space of Westminster to accentuate the spectacle of civic authority. The map takes up four folio pages and dedicates three full pages to the depiction of London. Along the entire bottom of the engraving, there is a representation of the mayoral cortège, led by trumpeters and comprising men riding side-by-side. Norden inserts Westminster on the far-left side; it is curiously misplaced, which furthers the way that the map deemphasizes the royal palace and its environs. Indeed, placed among what the map calls "Georges feeldes," the Westminster insert looks as though someone peeled back the skin of the land to reveal an anomalous growth. It is as if Norden drew it that way so that it might appear a thing unnatural or like a disruption of the fields that it displaces. This chorography illustrates a delicate balance between the monarchy and the authority of the mayor. From the viewer's perspective, the map is not to scale and not a useful guide for finding one's way. Rather, the document admits and even opens one to the idea that there is more to what defines a place than measurements and boundary lines. It is remarkable that Norden could then write the *Dialogue* seven years later, wherein the Surveyor eschews the notion of tying meaning to a place beyond absolute values. I draw a connection to the intervention of the chorography and to the theater's place in early

[14] John Norden. "Civitas Londini." *World Digital Library*, https://dl.wdl.org/14397.png. Accessed 6 Feb 2019. For more on this map, see Andrew Gordon, "Performing London: the map and the city in ceremony," *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein. Cambridge University Press, 2001, 69-88.

modern England because both served to remind the viewer or spectator that space had import beyond the quantification of it; there reside in spaces latent and implicit meanings brought out through aesthetic representation. As ordinary people strove to make sense of how space functioned in their lives, many clung to the theater as an equally important spatial technology.

The Biconditional Frame

Negotiating Space tethers the drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries to ideas and practices of space that seek to explain and contextualize the cultural, political, and historical meaning represented on the stage. I use the bi-conditional concept of the theater as product and producer throughout this study to demonstrate the theater's vibrant interaction and usefulness as a tool to signify and represent space as a key concept. This notion comes from the theoretical ideas developed in Henri Lefebvre's foundational work, *The Production of Space*. Space, in its immateriality, is not like other things that get produced in the world; however, the polyvalent characteristic of space in relation to social, economic, and political forces means that its use and creation are bound to pre-existing and in-process interactions. Of social space, Lefebvre says directly, "Though a *product* to be used, to be consumed, it is also a *means of production*; networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it."[15] The concept of space is multilayered with aesthetic, historic, and ideological valences. For these reasons, this dissertation draws upon Lefebvre throughout as a theoretical touchstone and as a connection to the spatial turn in theory and criticism that

[15] Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, 1991, p. 85.

has unfolded alongside the cultural and literary criticism that characterizes the last two decades.

Attending to space and culture has been a vigorous pairing in early modern studies, yielding books about landscape and gardens,[16] archeology and playhouses,[17] maps and geography,[18] markets and economics,[19] the court and the city of London.[20] *Negotiating Space* draws a connection between lived, material sites recognizably staged in the drama of the period and the ideological import of representing those spaces dramatically. This study differentiates chapters through material spaces rather than ideological resonance deliberately as a methodological practice. By doing so, I can focus on very specific examples of the staging of place as the plays orchestrate a response to the pressures or violations done or threatened by the changing social, political, and economic world outside the playhouse. In this respect, the places staged already exist as part of the semiotic process of representation while manifesting, albeit slowly, a transforming ontology. Even a play like Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), which I read in more detail in chapter one, does not set out to be a play about

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[16] See Cosgrove and Sullivan, op. cit.

[17] See Mariko Ichikawa, *The Shakespearean Stage Space*, Cambridge University Press, 2013; Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580-1630*, Oxford University Press, 2006; and Kent T. Van den Berg, *Playhouse and Cosmos: Shakespearean Theater as Metaphor*, University of Delaware Press, 1985.

[18] See John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, Cambridge University Press, 1994; John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan, editors, *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998; and Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[19] See Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare*, Cambridge University Press, 1992; Matthew Kendrick, *At Work in the Early Modern English Theater: Valuing Labor*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015; and Adam Zucker, *The Places of Wit in Early Modern English Comedy*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[20] See Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, Cambridge University Press, 1991; Janette Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City, 1595-1610: Drama and Social Space in London*, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007; and J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640*, Manchester University Press, 2005.

domestic space and gender politics; rather, it is a drama in the vogue of domestic tragedy, responsive partially to the circulation of real crime narratives in print and ballad forms. The ideological issues arise when the drama confronts power struggles over the space of the home. Notably, Heywood represents domestic space as a space that is both already extant and shaped anew by the play's attention to the gendered meanings of space and the way these meanings confer or deny agency.

Distilling Lefebvre's theory of spatial production allows this study to reinforce the idea that the institution of theater was neither inherently conservative nor subversive, but rather responsive and malleable. Indeed, I posit that drama's economic success stems from a purposeful amalgamation of attention to audience demand and a self-reflexive knowledge of the uses of theater. As the theater grew in economic success and cultural influence, it also manifested greater attention to its role as an arbiter of social practice. For the purposes of this study, social practice refers especially, but not exclusively, to the economic, consumerist, and artistic choices that people make. David J. Baker sources a useful historicist anecdote as evidence of behavior that self-consciously shapes social practice. He recounts that, in 1613 when the Globe burned down, the King's Men could have abandoned the site and continued presenting plays at Blackfriars. However, they did not, and the King's Men rebuilt the Globe at the company's own expense.[21] Keeping a hold on both indoor and outdoor theaters was a way for the King's Men to dictate social practice through repertory, pricing, and of course, location. By analogy, this is similar to this dissertation's argument that drama materialized space that already exists and space

[21] David J. Baker. *On Demand: Writing for the Market in Early Modern England*. Stanford University Press, 2010, especially pp. xi-xviii. He understands the move to be one that the King's Men made as a response to the demand for outdoor theaters. I would further this idea to include the company acting according to an awareness of their role as a social institution that partially dictates a type of public practice.

that was in process, not yet fully formed. The King's Men profited from having the existing Blackfriars space while also rebuilding another space to stage dramatic content. Once theater aged into the decades of the 1620s and 30s, its commercial and cultural draw derived from its ability simultaneously to respond to and dictate social taste through the selection of plays. Nevertheless, in its institutional role, the theater remained self-consciously vigilant of how the public perceived it and what uses it had for the paying spectators. One of the central concerns of chapter four and my discussion of metatheatre is the way in which the theater encouraged a more sustained understanding of dramatic representation. The emergence of a greater number of spectators from all classes prompted an awareness of the representational logic of theatrical production. Audience members viewed plays that asked them to confront their understanding of how the theater deployed space and how dramatizations of violations of space shaped and reflected attendant economic, political, and social issues. The recognition of self-reflexive narratives coincides with the flexibility of the theatrical medium as a bi-conditional aesthetic institution that influenced the use of space and responded to outside social forces.

City of Theater

London exerts an outsize influence on the study of drama in the early modern period and on historical discussions of English life in the years from 1500-1641. In the case of the latter, this is understandable given that London is the seat of political authority and the English monarch. Additionally, the capital's markets were booming, aided by the large amounts of shipping done along the Thames and the rapid expansion of people and businesses to places outside the city walls and beyond the city's control but within the

greater metropolitan sphere (Howard 5). The former concern also cannot ignore the contribution of a plethora of information on economic, social, political, and quotidian life in the city of London. Importantly, theater companies performed in London most of the year. Playhouses sprung up all over the city and its suburbs as testaments to the economic success of using London as a mainstay.

Theater historians know that the playing companies toured parts of England as a regular practice, when the plague was especially bad in London, or if the company had fallen out of favor with the municipal authorities. Though the most lucrative performances happened in the capital, many also happened further abroad in the country. There was a playhouse in Bristol, a commercial hub second only to London, but often, the performers had to make do with market squares, town halls, or the great halls of the nobles.[22] One such case offers a tantalizing glimpse into the possibilities that acting outside of London could have had. Bess of Hardwick was a woman of high social standing and some influence in court. Hardwick's granddaughter Arbella wanted to marry Edward Seymour, both of whom had tentative connection to the throne: Arbella through the Stuart line and Seymour through his direct lineage to Henry VII. According to one of Hardwick's biographers, Arbella felt like a prisoner in her grandmother's house and plotted secretly with Seymour and her uncle Henry to elope.[23] However, when Henry arrived with 40 armed men at Hardwick House, Bess consented to parlay but instructed her porter not to admit anyone other than Henry. After some conversation, Henry left without taking Arbella with him; the biographer surmises, "There was very little Henry could do, in fact. Had he stormed the house with his band of armed men, his mother, as

[22] Andrew Gurr. *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*. 4th ed, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 6.
[23] Mary S. Lovell. *Bess of Hardwick: First Lady of Chatsworth, 1527-1608*. Little, Brown, 2005, p. 440.

well as people whom he and Arbella respected, would inevitably have been hurt…She [Bess] had won the day simply because she had been able to impose her will over Henry and Arbella" (Lovell 442). This familial drama is very interesting, not least because it happened at the house of a powerful woman, which marks this episode as tangential to the concerns of domestic space in this dissertation. However, there is a further historical detail of note. Lisa Hopkins writes, "In 1600, the Queen's Men seem to have visited Hardwick, probably acting Shakespeare; Bess's biographer affirms that they played 'in the great hall of Hardwick, with Bess watching from the gallery over the screen.'"[24] In 1600, Hardwick's stature as a political figure would have already been obvious. She established this to a greater degree when she prevented a marriage that had direct implication for the monarchy. Hopkins points this out to wonder whether Shakespeare himself was at Hardwick Hall that day (she carefully mentions that there is no evidence that he was). If so, he may have witnessed this great lady's power and influence firsthand (Hopkins 25).

Pointedly, this helps shape some of the context of play performances outside of London and minimally shifts the rigid focus away from London as the definitive space for drama. The spatial detail of watching "from the gallery over the screen," the geographic fact of a play performance 149 miles distant from the nearest public playhouse, and the influence of a distinguished spectator coalesce around the universality of the playgoing experience even outside of the commercial theaters. *Negotiating Space* discursively reifies some of the identifiable staged spaces from the dramas under consideration. They range in dates of performance across a 51-year span from 1587 to

[24] Lisa Hopkins. *Renaissance Drama on the Edge*. Ashgate, 2014, p. 17.

1638. Though the spaces and the issues are not necessarily unique to these historical markers, there is a demonstrable reflection of events, current and removed, that tie them specifically to political and historical meanings. Each chapter responds to history in a unique way; the first chapter to the vogue of real domestic crimes; the second to issues of leadership, sovereignty, and succession; the third to popular uprisings; and the fourth to aesthetic shifts in play type and style. By inviting an expansive historical frame, my chapters can make more nuanced arguments about how social space and social practice intermingled in different representations across time through the way they respond to political and historical events. In chapters one and four especially, the range of dates prove sustained attention paid to the performed spatial semiotics and an interrelated concern with how those representations influenced social practice. Though all these plays had their first performance in London, the spaces that they stage are not always specific to London, even when the main action happens in the city space. As I demonstrate with the anecdote about Bess of Hardwick, spatialized contentions can carry broad consequences, not least for gender politics. When an audience recognizes those spaces readily, dramatists and plays, amidst the social practice of theatergoing, can participate in shaping questions about the use of space in productive ways. Jean Howard writes about London and says that the theater helped "to make cognitive and ideological sense of life in the city" (14). This study seeks to position this claim differently to say that theater helped make sense of life in life's lived spaces.

Genre and/of Space

To recite the genres of the plays in consideration in this dissertation would be to make a Polonius-like list of the possible offerings of the theatrical repertory across the

commercial theaters. The central ideological concern of each chapter is space as the plays represent it. This is not to say that genre has no place in this study or that it has no utility. Genre marks a useful way to categorize and think about drama and can be a helpful tool for the spectator when she approaches a play, especially if it is for the first time. This general utility and, by now, widely acknowledged method of differentiating between dramatic texts form a part of the rationale for marginalizing its impact in this dissertation. Jean Howard remarks, "In thinking about the early modern stage, in particular, it is important to stress that the utility of generic categories was less ontological than provisional and productive" (20). She goes on to mention that, in many cases, plays performed genre into existence. This is the beauty of the idea, that it is responsive to the needs of the art form. However, as it manifests through the methodological choices in this study, genre is much more of a placeholder than a defining characteristic. Reasoned thus, city comedy becomes a syntactic connector wrangling many different modes of comedy. Similarly, space is the aegis; *Negotiating Space* flexes the point of inquiry in its critical approach to texts that vary in their generic designations.

Even in the enthusiasm with which I have studied these plays, I am reluctant to designate them as "Space Plays" as if that is their chief feature. Ultimately, this would be reductive. In most of the chapters, the plays vary widely in their generic categorization, but these differences matter. To call them all space plays would be to erase the important distinctions in the manner that they materialize dramatic space. The key to linking plays like Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592) and Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (1603) clearly does not rest upon their generic designations. Instead, I encapsulate the violations of space within the matrix of their dramatic signification to trace the pre-existing and in-

process interactions that characters and ideologies have with that space. This, in turn, allows me to bring together these different plays as they pose questions and provide possibilities about how to understand social space and social practice. The institution of theater makes this understanding possible. Reproducing these spaces on the stage does not make them sacral or property them as set apart and invariable. The opposite happens; dramatic representation makes space lived-in and haptic. Space, of whatever kind, exists already for the stage to portray while also being made again through drama. Lefebvre contends, "If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production" (36). This is another key moment for the investigation of space in this study because it neatly ties together the cultural, political, and economic concerns of space with the theater's own consciousness of reproducing itself through social practice. Thus, the theater produces spaces and relies upon the consumption of those spaces by a spectatorship that recognizes them as such. None of the plays in question in *Negotiating Space* is a space play, but all the plays include ideologies of space that are central to the way they construct meaning. Whether the authors intended to do so or not, the plays participate in the aggregated materialization of concerns about the way different spaces were used, produced, deployed, violated, or appropriated.

Setting the "Consciously Spatialized" Stage

Let us return to Norden's Farmer and Surveyor for a moment. The Farmer justifies his dislike of the Surveyor by citing the disruption in people's lives that surveying can cause. Indeed, it is a weighty thing to dislodge years of traditional practice, which is why a reader might remain skeptical about the Surveyor's rationale and his assurances that a measurement of the land will benefit the Farmer too. A more sustained

reading of surveying as a materialist practice (as I briefly began above) shows that the Farmer is very likely not going to benefit from a surveyal of his freeholding. The process of surveying distances the Farmer from the traditional practices of land measurement and effectively alienates him from the land upon which he labors. Consequently, farmers and leaseholders who had operated with a custom-based stewardship of the land were now abridged of their former rights. Often, this initiated violent reprisals, especially in years of dearth when food was scarce. Joan Thirsk tells of one revolt in Norfolk in 1549 that began, in part, because of the enclosure of lands, but also because of irresponsible lords who overgrazed the common ground (14). Similarly, the 1607 Northamptonshire uprising detailed in chapter three began over enclosures and metastasized because of a string of poor harvests. Through these examples, I want to convey a sense of how volatile this new technology was as an agent of social change. New conceptions of measuring and using land constitute a violation of the customary use of land, what Norden's Farmer opines as those things that used to "lye without any question."

With this sense of violation in mind, I want to identify three thematic through lines that inform the ethos of this dissertation. The first and most important is the notion of violation. In the preceding paragraph, the Surveyor's actions constitute what I would call a violation of space by taking the measure of the Farmer's land and by completing an abstraction of that land from its use and value. In this sense, the violation depends upon the context of the situation; the Surveyor does not do anything illegal, the Farmer is not bodily hurt, and the land (in the immediate sense) does not change. Yet, what an astute reader senses as annoyance or hostility in the Farmer's tone culminates in a violation of space. Contrary to Norden's happy ending to the first book of his *Dialogue*, the violation

of space, or in his fiction, the hypothetical violation, attains by tracing the political and social significations of what the Surveyor proposes. The violation culminates in the demonstrable misuse or radical alteration of customary use of the Farmer's land. This example illustrates the reason that I do not always link the term violation to violence or bodily harm. Delineating violation helps to explore the effects of social change and map out new alternatives of social practice, which becomes one of the essential threads that this study traces through the different spaces of each chapter.

Negotiating Space applies the malleability of the term violation to the plays under consideration to show how something is amiss during dramatic action. Undoubtedly, drama does not move forward without conflict; but, in pointing out and analyzing the conflicts that fit the above definition of a violation of space, this dissertation elides more local and interpersonal conflicts in favor of recognizable social, political, and aesthetic ones. Violation is rarely alone in a text; in the readings of the plays that follow, I link the notion of violation of space to social issues like domestic space, political issues such as sovereignty, the aesthetic issues of representational logic, and issues of affective political engagement. I have found it useful to labor under inclusive examples of violation so that I may draw the focus of my inquiry onto the spaces in question. In an earlier comparison, I claimed *Edward II* and *Measure for Measure* do not match generically. Similarly, their instances of violation are not the same; however, by reading these different violations of carceral space through the political lens of sovereignty, chapter two concludes that staged representations of jail cells helped the early modern audience understand how the use of politicized space shaped attitudes about the monarchy and social practice. Once again, the

chapter's focus is on space, though the violation provides a key entry point for reading the interwoven spatial and cultural issues.

Throughout the examples of violations of space in this study, though they attenuate notably, there is still the undeniable cleaving of violation to its Latin root, *violāre*, which connotes bodily harm, unwanted intrusion, and even rapine. Etymologically, this is no surprise, but the dual sense of cleaving plays an important role in this formulation. Violations of space represented in the plays seem to be both turning toward and trying to escape the violence of the world. The lure of violence is subtly present in the way all the plays represent the violations of space and the conflicts that drive the narrative forward. Equally, the plays stand as a social bulwark against the notion of violence and as models of processing the conditions that underlie possible violations of space. Freud, in *Civilization and its Discontents*, writes, "The inclination to aggression is an original, self-subsisting instinctual disposition in man, and I return to my view that it constitutes the greatest impediment to civilization."[25] Even in cases when the violation is somewhat muted and not as linked to physical violence, there is both a pull toward and an effort to move away from whatever aggression might reside beneath the surface. I make an analogy of Freud's thought by fitting the theater as the marker of civilization; indeed, it inheres within the theatergoer the practice of sociality. Theater as an institution is not merely a mirror for the violence, real or threatened, in the plays. It is the space that produces and is a product of the violations of space that pervaded England

[25] Sigmund Freud. *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 1930. Translated and Edited by James Strachey, Norton, 2005, p. 81. This short text by Freud coheres around the conflict between Eros and Death as one of the most deeply held instinctual adversarial relationships. Seen through the added nuance gained by almost a century of philosophy and art, Freud reaches a core sense of what figuring out violation means. He declares, "I think, the meaning of the evolution of civilization is no longer obscure to us. It must present the struggle between Eros and Death, between the instinct of life and the instinct of destruction, as it works itself out in the human species" (82).

in the late 16th century. Violations of space become necessary components of the conflict narrative, which allows the plays to foment a social practice that reinforces deeper consideration of the changing nature of space and a habit of going to the theater to see such questions performed.

The second through line that I want to draw attention to is the way social practice closely interconnects with the performed violation of space in the plays under discussion. If there is a pervading need for early moderns to make sense of the way space functions, produces, and deploys in their lives, then the lessons of the theater reach beyond an afternoon's performance. Writing about a different kind of violence, Frances Dolan scaffolds a valuable critical practice. I transpose this study's construction of the link between social practice and violations of space into her words to say that this interconnectedness is "evidence of the processes of cultural formation and transformation in which they [the plays] participated."[26] For example, by the time of Edward IV's monarchy, care and improvement of the London city walls and gates fell to the various guilds in the city. When Heywood's history play, *1Edward IV* (1599) represents Falconbridge's rebellion and their attack on several of the city gates, the Lord Mayor and his cohort form the leadership of the defense. This detail is notable for Edward's absence from the city. On one level, the play models a type of social practice that seeks to put civic leadership before monarchy. Simultaneously, *1Edward IV* opens a discussion about the nature of city walls, political boundaries, and the kind of affective engagement that citizens have towards the types of collective groups that form by the wall or boundary's very existence. Heywood's play dramatizes a violation of space that helps to focus an

[26] Frances E. Dolan. *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700*. Cornell University Press, 1994, p. 3.

incisive question about the social practice of city walls. Other examples like *Arden of Faversham* (1591) or *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) pursue analyses of the violations of space through the interconnected relationship between the way theatrical social practice both forms and participates in culture to designate important transformations of domestic spaces or performance spaces, respectively. This study primarily limns space against the backdrop of performance; though social practice might seem to be an obvious point of reference to measure efficacy and progression, it plays a more formative role. The political, economic, and social actions that drive social practice are the impetus for violations of space. The plays cannot materialize such conflict without drawing upon the existing structures and practices; yet, herein lies the crux of the interconnectedness as part of a process that is ongoing and becoming. The theaters' performative discourse is evidence of transformation and evidence of continued social practices. The attention that *Negotiating Space* gives to this idea is not just symbolic of flexibility but acknowledges that the spectrum of ideas upon which drama represented its ideas is larger than encapsulations like "radical" or "conservative." The institution of theater did change English society, but never in clear, exact moments. I study space because, with the right prodding, it can reveal through present action the past and the future at once.

A final through line of this dissertation is that each chapter attempts to formulate a practice of rethinking quotidian spaces with an eye toward the currents of diachronic consequences. The presiding animus for this move comes from the work of Edward W. Soja, specifically his *Postmodern Geographies*. In the introduction, he writes,

> But I do want to make sure that the project, however it takes shape, is consciously spatialized from the outset. We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology.[27]

Negotiating Space internalizes the weight of Soja's key words in this passage: consequences, innocent spatiality, human geographies, politics, and ideology. This study does more than just reflect these ideas, it subtly connects 16th and 17th century spaces with contemporary exemplars of those spaces today. Partially, this acts as a reminder in the spirit of Soja's theme, that we must continually examine the places that we live, work, inhabit, enter, exit, avoid, and imagine because they create and possibly perpetrate systems and ideologies that are harmful, disruptive, or violent. It is also an affirmation of the worth of early modern studies and, in part, an answer to the question of "what can Shakespeare teach us?" This dissertation labors to accrete the cumulative knowledge of the early modern world to paint the fullest picture of the theater's representation of space. However, this is never at the expense of the space itself. Soja was skeptical of the lasting efficacy of historicism; he defines it rather negatively, saying, "Historicism [is] an overdeveloped historical contextualization of social life and social theory that actively submerges and peripheralizes the geographical or spatial imagination" (15). Indeed, this study aligns more closely with practices of cultural geography, what Julie Sanders calls "wider networks" (5), to make claims about space that resonate within the cultural and historical narratives about drama. An important part of the methodology of this analysis

[27] Edward W. Soja. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. Verso, 1989, p. 6.

is to bring space out of the margins with a focus on the language that dramatically constructs the spaces that plays represent. In doing so, I explore the meaning and resonance of space more fully with the aid of a tool like historicism rather than allowing the narrative of history to subsume the spatial focus.

Each chapter presents an opportunity to do the kind of important thinking about space that Soja postulates. The spaces under consideration are clear, both in their dramatic staging and in their recognizability. I have eschewed elite spaces, like royal courts, law courts, country manors, and others like them that were accessible only to a small collection of people. In accordance with Soja's dictum, I endeavor to show how the space signifies and how that signification inculcates an awareness of the hidden consequences that the violation of space carries. Happily, throughout the process of writing, I have found that many contemporary events or issues share the resonance of these consequences and that by clarifying the obfuscated politics and ideologies of early modern drama, the readings strengthen through application to our own historical moment. The third chapter reads the affective engagement with the politics of city walls and borders, which invites a comparison to 21st century constructions of borders.[28] Further, in a blog post published by the journal *Scientific American*, Jennifer R.B. Miller writes, "But the border wall is much more than just a physical wall."[29] This statement echoes my

[28] One could represent this in a variety of ways: by thinking about the politics of borders and boundaries, by studying immigration and the laws that surround human movement across political borders, and by much more, including ecological criticisms as I elaborate in footnote 29.

[29] Jennifer R. B. Miller, "How Trump's Wall Would Alter Our Biological Identity Forever." *Scientific American Blog Network*, https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/how-trumps-wall-would-alter-our-biological-identity-forever/. The sustained relevance of Miller's argument to my own is due in large part to the furtherance of eco-critical approaches to early modern literature currently proliferating. What is true today seems true four centuries past. For a salient recap of the number of human and non-human animals the wall would affect, Miller writes, "While the border wall has critical implications for human migration and international relations, this physical barrier is also an ecological nightmare. As it divides

own thinking about the borders and walls from the chapter. Miller's context is quite distinct from my own when taking about border walls. Yet, her article represents one of the many ways that contemporary people think about the issue of borders and walls. By extrapolating the lessons and analyses of early modern examples, the chapter invites the reader to reconsider walls in his or her own context. Herein is clear evidence for the relevance of early modern studies as my chapter looks to the walls of Rome and London with a nod to the current issue of America's southern border wall. These walls are not exactly alike, but their political and ideological similarities stem from their dwelling in opacity through the consciously deliberate act of simply naming them "a wall." Like Soja, this dissertation presses the reader to open themselves to an awareness of spaces, even the everyday spaces, as they interact within a complicated ideological matrix.

At the root of this project's rethinking of space is my desire to work towards an articulation of the importance of space in the representational mimesis that happens in dramatic performance. The function of space as a theoretical pursuit continues to gain relevance and nuance after the publication of Lefebvre's text.[30] In more concrete, critical treatments, there are also numerous studies that prioritize the study of space, many of which appear in the bibliography. However, in many cases, these align themselves very closely to London and thus are susceptible to Soja's fear that space will be "peripheralized" for the sake of historicizing the city. In other instances, space ties studies together, but it is in service to a different (though no less important) lens of study

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communities where millions of people live, the border wall also cuts through the habitats of over 1,500 wildlife species."

[30] Some examples include Jeff Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, and Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994; these stand alongside other fundamental texts like Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, translated by M. Jolas, Beacon Press, 1994, and David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: [Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development]*. Verso, 2006.

like material goods, gender studies, court politics, or many other avenues of thought. Performance shifts depending on the venue: indoor or outdoor theater, great hall or commercial playhouse, town commons or city gate. However, in each the representation of space mimics the real spaces imagined. The composition of a theory of dramatic space accounts for the agency that space exerts upon the drama and the way in which human actors respond and incorporate such agency. This reflects the inclusivity of space as a context and prioritizes a foundation of thought that would communicate ways of understanding the complex signification of space through drama. We turn to drama, still, to edify and entertain us because it models our temporal and spatial existence in subtle and obvious ways. Without relying on other constraints like genre or history, drama can show space as a fully formed idea of the world.

A Tour of Space and Chapter Descriptions

Can this printed page hold the myriad and intricate streets of London? Shall I cram within these words the streets, churches, gates, and sites of that great city? Take this brief sketch of a theater patron's journey from home to the Boar's Head in the early 1600s and imagine the smells and sounds of an age-old metropolis to fill the air, brimming with possibility and destitution alike. Your thoughts must deck our housewives, our prentices, our clerks, and our costermongers. There are no kings on display here today; just the movement of a groundling, walking through London because he or she desires the entertainment of a play.

Begin in Aldersgate ward, in a residence nearby St. Bartholomew the Great. These lodgings are adjacent to the medieval cloth fair, which has not been used for such purpose in a very long while since, just to the east, Smithfield is home to Bartholomew

Fair, the large and raucous cloth fair that acts also as a site of much entertainment. This patron leaves their dwelling and heads east on Long Lane so that they may turn right, to the south, on Aldersgate Street. Soon, the patron comes to the gate that guards the London city wall of the same name, which is the very same gate that James VI and I used to enter London when he came to succeed Elizabeth. After heading through the gate, the patron might turn left down St. Anne's Lane and then right again on Foster Lane. They would confront the Goldsmith's Hall, which has been located at the corner of Foster Lane and Maiden Lane since 1339. Turning east down Maiden Lane, the patron would then have occasion to pass the Wood Street Counter. This may have been a familiar landmark to the patron for Wood Street Counter housed many people who struggled to pay their debts. It is a place often remarked upon by some of the city comedies, which the patron probably knew as he or she is (I imagine) keenly interested in theater. Heading south on Wood Street, the patron heads towards a main thoroughfare, guided by the sight of the Cheapside Cross. This monument to Edward I's wife, Eleanor, was, by the patron's time, falling into disrepair and many considered it a traffic hazard. Skirting this potential hazard, the patron turns left to continue east on Cheapside Street, making their way past the Mercer's Hall, which was also near the Great Conduit, an important source of water for the denizens of London. Past the Conduit, the street becomes known as Poultry and then changes names again to become Cornhill. Walking this way, the patron cannot fail to miss the Royal Exchange on the north side of the street. Passing by this great symbol of commerce, the patron would soon stand before another market, Leadenhall, on a street of the same name, which was a place for selling leather and cutlery. Leadenhall becomes Aldgate Street, and an eastward perambulation brings the patron to another city gate, also

named Aldgate, which Stow says derives from the Old English word for "old gate."[31] It is London's easternmost gate, and it deposits the spectator just outside the church of St. Botolph and, finally, next door to the Boar's Head theater.

In a city as old as London and with as much population density and commercial activity as scholars know to be present in the early 17th century, a description of this patron's walk could have been much longer and more exhausting. The above trip details only some of the major, known landmarks along the path from Aldersgate Ward to the Boar's Head. It also assumes the most direct route, which may not be the case, depending on the spectator's mood or the depth of his or her purse. I include such a narrative to show just how closely the citizens of London lived alongside the four key spaces under discussion in this dissertation. The journey begins at home, of which I write about in terms of domestic space in chapter one. After a short distance, the patron walks by one of the many London jails, specifically a debtor's prison, when they pass Wood Street Counter; I cover this in chapter two on spaces of incarceration. The patron twice passes through city gates to enter and then exit the boundaries of London as they were delimited by the city wall, which is the subject of chapter three. Finally, the patron arrives at the theater, where spaces of performance form the matter of chapter four. Additionally, there were many markets where people bought and sold goods, which forms an important part of the context of the theater's participation in the market economy of the city at this time. In this hypothetical journey, I have enumerated four specific spaces, but there were many homes, jails, city gates, and theaters in London in the period from 1587 to 1638. Over a day, a citizen of London might have an encounter or be proximate to all of these. In part,

[31] John Stow. *The Survey of London*. J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, 1960, p. 11.

this helps prove my assertion that the spaces in question in this study were easily recognizable for their quotidian nature. Moreover, the very nature of a walk like this makes the spaces routine and threatens to mask elements of larger significance when one trains an eye upon them. If this patron walks by the Wood Street Counter every day, what might she think of it after the one hundredth time? Will it resonate as a tool of sovereign political power? Perhaps, and perhaps not depending on our imagined patron's financial situation; nevertheless, *Negotiating Space* draws the reader's eye to these spatial representations to see again the ways that these spaces demanded scrutiny and shaped the lives of the people that passed by them daily.

The first chapter, "'Greater infamy' and 'worse disturbance': the Violation of 'fit decorum' in Domestic Spaces," reassesses the role that the space of the home played in the formation of social practices of gender and economics. Much good scholarship exists on the composition of the domestic lives of the early modern English, appending the things they owned and the legal entanglements that followed from the increasing population density in many parts of the country. The fixation upon decorum and the proper way to conduct oneself in domestic life pervaded the culture from the late 16th century onward. This chapter presents two parallel (if not competing) narratives about the rules governing how people should act in their homes. One track presents information from conduct manuals, specifically those for women, to illustrate the inherent contradictions about the gendering of domestic spaces that simultaneously denies women's agency. The other line develops a reading of three plays, *Arden of Faversham*, Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), and Massinger's *The City Madam* (1632) that dramatize the contention between gendered space and agency. Both narratives

stem from the patriarchal metaphor of households being akin to little commonwealths; however, rather than satisfying the male fantasy of punishing wayward women, these plays reveal consequences for both men and women when violations of domestic space occur. They suggest that aspirations for "fit decorum" do not reside solely under the purview of the husband, but in a deeper and mutual understanding of the domestic spaces. As a secondary theme, this chapter develops a perception of the move to designating English domestic space specifically in the face of an inundation of foreign goods. The economy of English versus foreign develops in the background of the plays and the conduct manuals, exerting its power more subtly but more thoroughly. Ultimately, the arrival of foreign goods and their integration into social practice must be reckoned with as the plays reveal their prevalence to be a kind of violation of space akin to misappropriation.

Widening the contexts of influence from that of the home to those of spaces of incarceration, the second chapter, "Sovereignty, Stage, and Prison: Royal Authority and Social Space," analyzes plays and other texts to reveal the potent work that prisons and jails do to uphold the sovereignty of the monarch. By linking sovereignty to both the political and the corporeal, this chapter emphasizes how much institutions of authority rely upon the ability to incarcerate people and how the visibility of those spaces simultaneously reveal and obscure monarchical claims to power. Marlowe's *Tamburlane Part 1* (1587) and *Edward II*, *Richard II* (1595), and *Measure for Measure* represent spaces of incarceration onstage all to the effect of reifying the political power of the monarch or ruler. As spaces of incarceration become a site for transformation and correction, these plays exhibit a willingness to present successful claims of sovereignty

while refusing to eschew the violence and abject nature that often follows such claims. The link between the body politic and the sovereign's body coalesces in spaces of incarceration to become the requisite site for transformation and introspection. By placing these sites in question, the theater navigates fraught political arguments about proper authority and national stability. The proximity of jails and prisons to the daily lives of Londoners furthers the exegetical weight of this chapter's treatment of these plays.

Negotiating Space builds a narrative arc that takes readers from within the home out into the world by pausing to consider city walls and national borders in chapter three, "'Hearts more proof than shields': City Walls and Shakespeare's Politic Feelings." Here, I introduce the reader to the idea of affective political relationships, with which I attempt to build a position that maintains the importance of the bond between feelings and political representations on stage. Through Heywood's *1Edward IV* (1599) and *Coriolanus* (1608), this chapter foregrounds the importance that city walls have when violations of space occur. Affective political relationships form around the embodiment of the spectators' social involvement with the play. Playgoing becomes a social practice that encourages attachment to emotional responses through shared participation. When the violations of space constitute city walls and, by extension, national boundaries, spectators and plays are bound in a complicated matrix of emotional connection through embodied involvement with England. In each play, the use of historical sources adds nuance to the agency of civic authority as opposed to royal power. This chapter focuses more closely on London than the others; in doing so, it reassesses the city as a signifying space that invites playgoers to demonstrate and interrogate their affective relationship to politics through dramatic representation.

My fourth chapter, though not the last word about violations of space, comes at the end of the narrative arc so that it may act as a segment that encompasses possibility. The space I consider in "'Faults of misuse': Metatheatre's Representational Logic of Spatial Violation" is the space of the stage. This chapter views plays with metatheatrical conceits to be engaged deliberately with the propagation of the social practice of theatergoing as an investment into the formation of a logic of representation. I argue that the formation of a more substantial understanding of the mimetic mechanisms of the theater enabled more thorough approaches to an understanding of social, political, and aesthetic changes. In arguing that the stage can imaginatively come to represent any place, the ideological import of the theater's function as a social institution suggests that people can turn to theater to understand the world better. I remark upon the consistent backlash from antitheatrical opposition from the moment the first commercial theater opened to the closure in 1641 because it provides a useful foil that illustrates the power of dramatic flexibility when the theater self-reflexively represents spaces of performance. Metatheatrical narrative marks one important way that the theater brought together its economic and aesthetic influence; thus, as plays encouraged an understanding of the representational logic of metatheatre, they also encouraged greater engagement with institutional narratives surrounding politics, economics, and social status. The plays under consideration in this chapter evince different ways that the theater mediated representational logic. George Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (1590) broadens the dramatic corpus and gives voice to marginalized narrative voices. Francis Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) presents a play that interrogates the nature of representation and the function of social class as a variable for the theater's ability to resonate with a

broad swath of the population. Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (1638) baldly concedes the artifice of dramatic representation, but strenuously reinforces theater's possibilities in the social and economic lives of its audience. All the plays present violation in the form of misuse, misappropriation, or intrusion of space into the performing space. As these plays shifted the focus to a consideration of representational practices, they also directed their audiences to develop in their role as spectators who were more aware of the way space functions in their lives. The broad historical spectrum traversed by these plays recalls the importance of continued evaluation that the theater participated in as monarchs, theaters, and tastes changed. This chapter centralizes the space of the stage as the crucial variable in the process of understanding how the theater existed as a social institution that shaped and responded to social practice, its own and that of the ideologies outside of it. As this study reaches a conclusion, chapter four makes clear that the lessons of early modern drama are as pertinent as ever—the theater contributes to trends of cultural change and continues to function as an arbiter of spatial politics.

CHAPTER 1

"GREATER INFAMY" AND "WORSE DISTURBANCE": THE VIOLATION OF DOMESTIC SPACE

LORD LACY A fit decorum must be kept…

—Massinger, The City Madam *(3.2.153)*

The prescriptive comment from the only member of the peerage to appear in Massinger's play describes the genesis of the comedic energy of the play. The protagonist, Sir John Frugal, initially cannot contain the overreaching material desires of his wife, Lady Frugal, and two daughters Anne and Mary. Lady Frugal insists that Sir John's destitute brother, Luke, wait upon her and that she has the final say in all household matters, especially regarding the marriages of Anne and Mary. The daughters make outrageous demands for material goods and status of their respective suitors that far outstrip their economic standing and strain propriety. Against these factors, Sir John cannot keep a fit decorum, violation of the household space occurs, and only through a *Measure for Measure*-like maneuver does a comedic outcome attain. In essence, *The City Madam* (1632) becomes a play about understanding one's place within a household hierarchy as a microcosm of the larger nationalist hierarchy. In this chapter, I show how plays centrally concerned with domestic space dramatize changing attitudes toward spatial practice and how those changes radiated outward in a matrix of effects for political, social, and economic purposes. Domestic space, especially, deploys and interrogates gender politics and cultural experiences as they occur within the household space.

By the time of Massinger's 1632 production, the question of proper household conduct had been a debate in the public sphere for several decades, emerging in such venues as the theater, conduct manuals, sermons, and even in the burgeoning science of spatial measurement. Here, I use the particularly fruitful pairing of the plays and conduct manuals to create a contextual environment wherein ideas about proper conduct within the household space receive direct attention. I wish to use the clear demarcation of these ideas to posit the notion of the violated domestic space. If there was a sense of the proper conduct of household denizens, then there is also a sense of improper conduct. In the analysis of plays that follows, I use the term violation to refer to a range of ideas: sometimes physical violence within the home, the misuse of space, or the misappropriation of space or authority within space. An audience member's experience of the violation of staged space depends on familiarity with the space in question. *Arden of Faversham* (1591), *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), and *The City Madam* all materialize domestic spaces on the stage that an early modern audience could readily recognize. The Arden, Frankford, and Frugal households are spaces readily imagined within the context of London's social and economic environment, comprising the core family, the neighboring merchants and laborers, the apprentices, and the servants. Such a quotidian formation of space is useful because, as Catherine Richardson reminds us, "It is by beginning with the 'normal', by staging horrifically aberrant behavior within an 'everyday' context, that the secure can be made insecure by being shaken out of the complacency of the daily routine."[1] Indeed, this sense of escaping complacency undergirds the definition of violation in this chapter. While this is not purely a form of

[1] Catherine Richardson. *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household*. Manchester University Press, 2006, p. 15.

resistance to social codes or ascribed gender roles, there is a provocative and productive insecurity evident in these plays. I will use this chapter to show how these violations invite the early modern audience and contemporary reader to reexamine the role space plays in the definition of social roles, especially for women, the impact emergent concepts of space have upon their occupants, and the dynamic interplay of the metonymic relation between national politics and domestic space as it appeared in the cultural experience of English early moderns.

The space of the early modern home, and especially the actions of women within it, is the touchstone of this chapter's key inflection points. These include the way that the cultural shift of the use of social space forged a rethinking of structures of authority, of the interwoven aspect of women and exchange through marriage, and of England's participation in the rapid expanse of colonization. The space of the home determined how women saw their opportunities for authority and subjectivity, though contemporary conduct literature largely sought to deny such agency through endemic patriarchy. The turn to domestic plays, two tragedies and a city comedy specifically, allows my analysis to aggregate aesthetic representations of experiences that amplify the ways that space simultaneously produced and was a product of interpersonal domestic relationships. This aggregation connects to the important economic contexts evidenced in the burgeoning marketplace within which the theater participated. As one critic remarks, plays that used "these absent husbands and domestic settings…developed a new form to articulate the broader cultural concerns brought home (literally) from an expanding commercial world."[2] This same critic further underscores the importance of linking practices in the

[2] Ann C. Christensen. *Separation Scenes: Domestic Drama in Early Modern England*. University of Nebraska Press, 2017, p. 3.

home with the broader English economy when she writes, "The home was no 'private sphere' of 'play'…but a crossroads of community; a site for domestic production and, hence, female agency; and a participant in the processes of globalization" (Christensen 3.). Even when the home is a site of play, women craftily negotiated space as Emma Katherine Atwood avers, "By exploring the way women played domestic parlor games in early modern plays, we can see the ways in which women used tools of domestic leisure to negotiate serious spatial boundaries that shaped their homes, neighborhoods, and social networks."[3] Christensen and Atwood scaffold the important ways that women's relationships to any space, though especially domestic space in this chapter, reveal important aspects of broader cultural shifts and ideologies. I first survey contemporary conduct manuals to focus on the spatial and political metaphors that their authors crafted to solidify patriarchal authority and relegate women's agency to a few confusing categories. Then, I look to see how the plays answered the questions of women's subject positions in relation to the home and the economy, which reveals the theaters own sense of the market forces that affected England during the early seventeenth-century.

"Arte might helpe where nature made a faile"

This chapter takes up the drama of violated domestic spaces to argue for the ways in which these plays helped shape the understanding of the space of the home and how they both reflect and instigate discussions about the social role of men and women in the home. English theater becomes part of a framework of texts responding to the changing nature of the household and its strong connection via metaphor to concepts of political hierarchy and sexual politics. The earliest play, *Arden of Faversham*, is based on the true

[3] Emma Katherine Atwood. "Parlor Games, Spatial Strategy, and *The Two Angry Women of Abington*." *Early Modern Women*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2017, pp. 132–42, 133.

murder of Thomas Arden, an act commonly recounted as planned by his wife, Alice, who was burned at the stake as punishment for the incident.[4] The emphasis on the specific nature of the crime as one that happened in the home (strengthened by the image from the 1633 quarto of Arden's murder during a game of backgammon) and its basis in fact make its performance on stage noteworthy in a spatial sense. Using a term from Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, *Arden* is not just re(-)presented space, but a representational space, "Space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols."[5] Thus, the theater does not simply produce the actions and spaces of the factual history for the audience's consideration; rather, it also beckons the spectators to participate through their perception of the action, to live and associate anew what happened with Arden and his wife. The long historical life of the Arden story, both in performance and print, testifies to the power of the representational space and to the public interest (and perhaps belief) regarding the efficacy of the represented space to provide commentary on the home relations between men and women and masters and servants.

Materializing the spectacle of theatrical violations of space allows the playwrights from this chapter to participate in a cultural moment that sought to define men and women's roles as they pertained to the changing nature of the early modern household. As the stage beckoned the audience to re-experience the familiar setting of the household, a proliferation of advice and conduct manuals competed for the attention of readers to

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[4] See Arthur F. Kinney, editor. *Arden of Faversham* in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*. Second edition, Blackwell, 2005, p. 228.
[5] Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, 1991, p. 29.

explain, often at great length and in minute detail, the proper social and economic ordering of a home. Wendy Wall summarizes the historical context nicely,

> Housewifery was first published as a subset of husbandry and therefore necessarily defined within the goals of estate management…Between 1570 and 1650, two importantly different domestic discourses, exemplified nicely by the works of Markham and Plat, evidenced a lively debate about the definition and scope of household labor…Increased specialization segmented husbandry and housewifery into distinct knowledges and separated men's from women's domestic "space" more thoroughly.[6]

The implications of the developmental history of housewifery as distinct from husbandry is that the home becomes a contested space wherein the role of housewife, ostensibly the chief caretaker of the house, must remain subservient and of secondary importance to the husband and his affairs. Doreen Massey establishes the important connection between gender and space that the theater contests throughout the plays in this chapter. She ascertains,

> But there are other ways, too, in which space and place are important in the construction of gender relations and in struggles to change them. From the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit, to straightforward exclusion by violence, spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood. The limitation of women's mobility, in terms both of identity and space, has been in some cultural contexts a crucial

[6] Wendy Wall. *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 28.

> means of subordination. Moreover the two things - the limitation on mobility in space, the attempted consignment/confinement to particular places on the one hand, and the limitation on identity on the other - have been crucially related.[7]

Massey's theory elegantly links the foundational lens through which this chapter views the spatial violations dramatized in the plays and against which the conduct books ascribe their claims of authority and conduct. In each of the three plays I read in this chapter, the struggle between the gendered symbolism of the domestic space and the characters' (both male and female) exploration of agency and mobility materializes as violations of space, often accompanied by real acts of violence. This struggle encapsulates the dramatic force of the plays in addition to the theater's power as a cultural institution to examine the ways that gender relations are cultural constructions. As vehicles for making meaning, the plays explore threats of female mobility and alleged masculine superiority in ways that articulate narratives of a larger scope. The symbolism of the family as a little commonwealth shadows the macrocosmic implications of these plays on a national scale, especially when the patriarch is the monarch, and the family is England. The meaningful actions of these plays come from the way that they use the spatial medium of drama as a syntactic formalism to organize identity and construct gender roles. In doing so, the plays produce gendered space while simultaneously providing the means to question how such spaces attain their symbolic attitudes.

Consider the opening lines of Markham's *The English Housewife* (1631); he inscribes space into the ordering of social relations when he writes,

[7] Doreen B. Massey. *Space, Place, and Gender*. University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p. 179.

> Having already in summary briefness passed through those outward parts of husbandry which belong to the perfect husbandman…it is now meet that we *descend* in as orderly a method as we can to the office of our English housewife, who is the mother and mistress of the family and hath her most general employments *within* the house.[8]

Even at the outset of his treatise, Markham generates the source of conflict for the plays in this chapter. According to a great chain of being type of logic, the move from husband to housewife is one of descent. Markham makes the order of the hierarchy explicit here. Further, he points out explicitly that the housewife works from "within the house," thereby giving her a certain amount of agency as "mother and mistress of the family." We might deduce that the husband is master of the estate without, and the housewife is the master of the household within. On the surface, this may seem a relatively simple, if antiquated, division of labor. However, as I will examine below, each of the plays in this chapter present this dichotomy of labor as a problematic agent; I argue that this is the central method of the violation of space. Markham's opening begets such questions as where does a wife's authority begin? How legitimate can her authority be if she is beneath her husband in all things? As the plays stage action that begs these questions, they become a cultural vehicle that does not descend within a home, but rather one in which the household space ascends to a place of primary concern, one not literally within, but without and all encompassing.

Markham's discursive arc emphasizes thrifty housekeeping and promotes the ideal of a self-sufficient country estate; indeed, he calls for a return to an English ideal of

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[8] Gervase Markham. *The English Housewife*. Edited by Michael R. Best, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986, p. 5, emphasis mine.

housekeeping that is orderly, hardworking, and morally sound. He says that a housewife must be temperate "outwardly, as in her apparel and diet" (Markham 7). He paints a picture of hard work and industry rewarded by good living and harmony within the home. His description of the woman's clothes mandates that they are not fancy, or even colorful, and that they be especially free of the "toyish garnishes" of foreign fashion. Similarly, the food a housewife prepares should be utterly English, "Let it proceed more from the provision of her own yard, than the furniture of the markets" (8). Markham is at pains to privilege the local, rather than the global, food source. His tone is sober; his household is an orderly place that reflects the dedication of its mistress and master. There is no call for artifice or for ornamentation. These are important details as the conduct book seeks to determine an ideal kind of English character as expressed through a housewife's ability to maintain her home.

Plat also sets out to lead his reader to a certain sense of Englishness in his book, *Delightes for Ladies* (1602), again employing the idea that the home is a microcosm of the nation; however, striking a more materialist note, he places the household within the growing marketplace. In a way, his is a book that makes of the English character a more cosmopolitan figure. Emphasizing the city versus country aspect of these two authors, Wall characterizes Plat's intended reader as an "urban-female consumer" (26). She might also have added that Plat's reader might be something of the aesthete as well as one who desires to put on a fancy display. Gone is Markham's sober industry; Plat replaces it with vibrant descriptions of sweet things and instructions for artistic display. His opening epistle to the reader begins, "To all true lovers of Arte and knowledge."[9] This reveals

[9] Sir Hugh Plat. *Delightes for Ladies to Adorne Their Persons, Tables, Closets, and Distillatories with Beauties, Banquets, Perfumes and Waters.* Printed by Peter Short, 1602, sig. A2r.

Plat's attitude and his sustained treatment of his subject as one of artistry and skill rather than dogmatic labor. To read his advice book is to appreciate the appearance of things as an important signifier. At one point, he claims, "That Arte might helpe where nature made a faile," (A2r) evincing a savvy understanding of the household's place in relation to the marketplace and as a part of the emergent middle class. Plat's housewife does not need to rely only on hard work and a subservient attitude toward her husband; she might use her skill in artistry to create where nature leaves one wanting.

Plat is, perhaps, even more brazen when he establishes the political metonymy between household and nation. He imbues the domestic action of making confectionaries with important and near hyperbolic political implications. Consider the following imagery: "Empalings now adieu, such marchpaine wals / Are strong enough, and best befits our age: / Let piercing bullets turne to sugar bals: / The Spanish feare is husht and all their rage" (A3v).[10] There is much here to unpack in these four lines. Plat manages to touch upon the spatial management of landscape and to interweave the comestible arts and national security to set up housekeeping as a singular activity from which emerges national safety. When he refers to "Empalings," Plat connotes the historical enclosures of the 16th century. To impale literally means to wall off with pales. The presence of many surveying manuals in circulation during the first decades of the seventeenth century gives contextual weight to Plat's opening discourse. How landowners should properly manage their estates (however large or small) was a matter of considerable debate and, if we

[10] These remarkable four lines touch upon many threads that this dissertation would like to take up. The issue of enclosure is especially interesting, in that Plat claims that kitchen management shall subsume land management. In effect, the ordering of the space of the landscape will be accomplished by the emergent class distinctions propagated by the practices of the newly instructed housewife.

accept the tone of several of the surveyor-writers, a fair amount of public anxiety.[11] The monastic enclosures during the reign of Henry VIII fomented public mistrust and ire towards the monarchy and its handling of public lands. Especially grating to many leaseholders was the shift from a custom-based method of decision-making about land and borders to a quantitative measurement-based surveying. Therefore, when Plat claims "marchpane wals / Are strong enough, and best befits our age," his tone seems carefree and light in the extreme. According to the *OED*, marchpane is largely decorative in its uses ("marchpane n1"); I construe Plat's usage here as an instance of zeugma, wherein the walls are first impalings then marchpane. This serves to amplify a disorienting effect and to de-familiarize the everyday nature of confections. It also reads boldly in the context of such real historical discontent with land management. Plat's text empowers the acts of housekeeping (if not necessarily empowering the housewife herself). For this urban female consumer, the stress of worrying about land management will vanish with the effort of making the perfect dinner confection. An optimistic reader might construe that the installation of the practice of proper housekeeping (the Art of Housekeeping, as Plat might say) will solve the very real problems of land management. However, the epistle's injunction furthers my contention that these kinds of texts fostered a divisive environment surrounding gender politics of the household. Plat constructs an artful and attractive metaphor to justify his text, but there are far-reaching (and perhaps unintended) consequences for his language in terms of how he portrays household authority.

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[11] For a contemporary surveying manual, see John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue*, printed by Simon Stafford for Hugh Astley, dwelling at S. Magnus corner, 1607; for more on historical context and analysis, see Garrett A. Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*, Stanford University Press, 1998, W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: King Henry's England, 1500-1547*, Longman, 1976, Joan Thirsk, *Tudor Enclosures*, Routledge and Paul, 1959, and David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660*, Oxford University Press, 1985.

In addition to the monastic enclosures, Plat's opening epistle also interweaves national politics and recent history to make the microcosm of his well-run house complete. This is a particularly salient point of intersection for the theater because, as this chapter endeavors to show, plays that materialized spatial violations participated in a larger cultural conversation about the limits of authority and the home as a foundation of English national identity. Plat's reference is a familiar one; he writes, "Let piercing bullets turne to sugar bals: / The Spanish feare is husht and all their rage" (A3v). He continues with a chiastic structure to turn something serious into something that seems frivolous. One need not fear bullets that turn to sugar balls; additionally, the Spanish fear is hushed. The overt message is that now is the time for the housewife to make desserts rather than the husband to make war. Though implied by its proximity, there is no overt claim that these sugary bullets were the means to dissipate the Spanish fear and quiet their rage. Nevertheless, such proximity also implies that if the nation needs bullets once again, to participate in English martial exercise would be sweet (a kind of Horatian "dulce et decorum est"). Once again, through a metaphorically artful domesticity, Plat links the macrocosm of the nation with the English household, and by extension, the power and authority of the woman who runs it. Just as Markham's text enjoins an ideal (and therefore unrealistic) economy of labor and sober dedication, Plat's text is also idealistic in its material excess and attitude toward history. By demonstrating that domestic duties have the import on the national scale, both authors present fantasies of the power of proper household management. However, Plat's materialist text, and the

resulting class distinctions that it implies, may have had the broader effect in the burgeoning domestic economy of things.[12]

One of the immediate lessons of these counterpoised texts is that there is an unavoidable political valence to the practice of housekeeping. It is this aspect of the narrative that makes the domestic drama of the day so compelling in that there is a (usually) clear path for extrapolating larger contexts. If it is fitting to run a household in a particular way, then it might be proper to run a government in a similar fashion. Just as gender politics become an unavoidable and crucial part of domestic drama and manuals, so too are the political valences that attach themselves. The authors themselves encouraged these attachments. Gouge begins *Of Domesticall Duties* (1622) by saying, "By virtue whereof certaine peculiar duties are required of severall persons, according to those distinct places wherein the Divine Providence hath set them in Common-wealth, Church, or family."[13] In *A Godlie Forme of Householde Gouernment* (1610), Dod and Cleaver make an extremely similar construction, "A householde is as it were a little common-wealth, by the good Government whereof, God's glorie may be advanced" (41).[14] Both of these authors, and more, make immediate and sustained use of the metaphor of a house as a little commonwealth. As a microcosm of the nation, the household becomes a place where social relations among the members are clear (at least

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[12] By things, I mean the concrete material objects that people owned in increasing numbers in homes during the period. Critics tie this to the burgeoning middle class, to the increase of import trade, and the wider availability of goods in a growing marketplace. See especially, Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002, especially pp. 4-8. See also, Alison V. Scott, *Literature and the Idea of Luxury in Early Modern England*. Routledge, 2019.

[13] William Gouge. *Of Domesticall Duties Eight Treatises.* Printed by John Haviland for William Bladen, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible neere the great north doore of Pauls, 1622, p. 1.

[14] John Dod and Robert Cleaver. *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government*. In *Conduct Literature for Women, 1500-1640*, v. 3, edited by William St. Clair and Irmgard Maassen, Pickering & Chatto, 2000. All page number references are to this version.

in theory). The vogue of domestic tragedy in the early seventeenth century and the continued use of domestic spaces as the locus of drama throughout theater in the Jacobean and Caroline ages add fodder to the idea such a simplistic assessment of household social relations is incorrect. One of my central claims is that the drama realistically materializes the interplay between the various types of politics (gender, national) to define the way in which approaches toward space were changing and how such effects would show in recognizable arenas of cultural experience, like the home or the marketplace.

The conduct books present prescriptive theories aiming at ideal modes of behavior, though their authors acknowledge that the ideal can be difficult to attain. They couch much of their advice in disclaimers and caveats such as, "You must not doubt," and, "You must not think it strange."[15] Good housekeeping is difficult, even when the chain of command is so firmly set down and the tasks so well delineated, seems to be the lesson. This note of difficulty arises not only because it is hard to embody a moral and nationalist ideal, but also because of the tension created by the emergent gendered spaces of the household. Most, if not all, of the conduct manuals acknowledge the need for a good wife to help her husband run the household. However, in the idealized hierarchy, the wife always bows to the will of her husband, who has the final say in all manners related to the household. This creates a problem regarding spheres of influence; John Fitzherbert strikes a note of patriarchal anxiety in his text, *The Booke of Husbandry*

[15] From John Partridge. *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits, & Hidden Secrets: And May Be Called, the Huswives Closet, of Healthfull Provision. Mete and Necessarie for the Profitable use of All Estates Both Men and Women: And Also Pleasaunt for Recreation, with a Necessary Table of All Things Herein Contayned. Gathered out of Sundrye Experiments Lately Practised by Men of Great Knowledge.* Printed by Richarde Iones, 1573, sig. B6v.

(1573), when he writes, "Seldom doth the housbande thruye, withoute the leve of his wife."[16] An effective, thriving husband must have his wife's leave. I elaborate on this at some length below, but this is at the core of what causes much of the drama in the plays that this chapter examines; for what must a husband have his wife's leave? Where does his authority end and hers begin? Further, many of the conduct manual authors could not maintain the notion of the ideal throughout their works; we find, "Sixteenth and seventeenth century guides sometimes ignore or confuse the tenets of patriarchalism" (Wall 28). This kind of rhetorical slippage is ripe for dramatic purposes, such as when Dod and Cleaver enjoin wives to "boast of silence" (196).[17] One cannot boast and be silent at the same time, much as Wendoll, in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, cannot "be a present Frankford in his absence."[18] By couching their advice in terms of household relations of authority, these authors suggest a potent connection between space and social practice, one that drama (as a spatial art) exploited thoroughly.

I turn to Lefebvre to provide an instructional example of the way in which the space of production, the house, becomes an agent that produces social relations in turn (85). The spaces that bring a family together subsequently invoke a reinterpretation of those spaces. As the conduct books show, an understanding of the ordering of gendered space within the house is a confusing and possibly messy process. Patriarchal authority is no longer the firm foundation of the sense of order, even in the idealized guides. In a performative sense, the early modern stage used this debate to great advantage when

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[16] John Fitzherbert. *The Booke of Husbandry: Very Profitable and Necessarye for All Maner of Persons*. John Awdely, dwellyng in litle Britain streete without Aldersgate, 1573, p. 93.
[17] The full sentence reads, "The dutie of the man is to be skillfull in talke: and of wife, to boast of silence."
[18] Thomas Heywood. *A Woman Killed with Kindness*. Edited by Brian W. M. Scobie, A & C Black; W.W. Norton, 1985, 6.78. Further citations will be parenthetical by scene and line number.

portraying social relations, especially between husband and wife (and master and servants). If what the theater materializes on-stage is something I call familiar, then so too are the spatial violations that take place within the social production of domestic space. De-familiarization, as an elaboration of Catherine Richardson's quote above, comes through the necessary remove of the spectator watching someone else experience the violations of domestic space. By subjecting the viewer to the necessary action of decoding the signifiers of the theatrical semiotics, the theater causes the viewer to recognize the familiar and presents him or her as an auditor of the upended "normal" experience.

In what follows, I would like to approach the concern about how drama explores the problem of boundaries, especially those that separate men and women, though not exclusively so. I believe that the violation of spatial boundaries drives much of the dramatic conflict; this is especially important, as it seems also true that the early modern audience would have understood that these kinds of violations were occurring. Essentially, the drama relies upon the audience understanding that a type of violation has occurred. Subsequently, in making the move from something familiar to something violated, the plays invite the audience members to question how they would act, to imagine how the drama is real, but also a representation. In the sections below, I take on the problem of boundaries (gender, class, and labor) and how blurry they can be for the characters in *Arden of Faversham*. There are some engrossing parallels with the advice literature and with legal cases that also function to proscribe behavior in particular situations. When analyzing *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, I focus on the specific boundaries between men and women, and especially between how the space of the home

defines them, and how they in turn define such a space. Finally, I discuss the comedic energy of disorder in *The City Madam*; as the clearest example of a domestic drama utilizing the household as nation metaphor in this chapter, I read the play as attempting to reestablish some kind of order against the threat to the specific Englishness of the space. The complexity of Massinger's play builds around the trope of desire for foreign goods and the intrusion of foreign space. As these violate the space of the home, the play overtly suggests that a return to English goods and a reification of English domestic spatial values can restore the fit decorum sought at the drama's conclusion. Implicitly, *The City Madam* beckons the audience to rethink networks of exchange, examine how this constructs relative Englishness, and to see how the failure of the household to be like a little commonwealth is the cause of much disorder.

"What good rule she kept": Does Space Make the Woman?

The following is from an account from the Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archive, summarized nicely by Catherine Richardson. It is the account regarding Goodwife Ford; an old woman reports that a man (thought to be the sexton of Ash) entered the Ford house in the evening when Mr. Ford was not at home. Upon this report, a deputation of men goes to investigate. Once the men post watch at the front and rear doors to the house, the landlord, a Mr. Henry Seth, knocks on the front door. When Goodwife Ford asks what he wants, Mr. Seth says he would "come in and see what good rule she kept there" (Richardson 40-41). Goodwife Ford steadfastly refuses Mr. Seth's entrance into her home, as the records indicate, because she knew that he was not the law and could not compel her to open the door legally. Goodwife Ford maintains her refusal until Mr. Seth threatens to break down the door. Initially, we may understand Goodwife

Ford's refusal to let anyone in on a made-up pretense to be an enactment of her domestic authority. A further look confirms this, but also points to the role of space in the social exchange. The doors act as barriers and it is Goodwife Ford's prerogative to control who may enter and leave such barriers. The space of the house confers upon her the authority to govern the means of ingress and egress. Had a group of men accosted this woman in another setting, the marketplace, perhaps, the town square, or the church, her refusal to acquiesce to their demands might not be possible or even culturally appropriate. However, as a type of custodian of the house, Goodwife Ford resists Mr. Seth's (presumably) unwanted entry with admirable resolve. Only the threat of physical violence causes her to change her mind. Significantly, Mr. Seth claims he would like to see what "good rule" Mrs. Ford keeps. This recalls the earlier discussion of the language, sometime ambivalent, in the conduct manuals. Mr. Seth's request implies that what happens within the house affects the perception of such a space from without.[19] His request implies that the wife rules the house from within when the husband is not at home. Rather than acting as a resolution, however, this very fact provides the impetus for Mr. Seth and the other men's action. This episode evinces a dangerous slippage when ordinary people in normal situations must determine in whom domestic authority resides.

Though Richardson does not report what follows or what the outcome of this incident is, it is indicative of many of the social questions that the anonymous author of *Arden of Faversham* frames through the domestic tragedy. We begin to see some resemblances between Goodwife Ford and Alice Arden. Specifically, each woman

[19] In a different context, Richardson remarks upon this; she makes a metaphor of the house containing within the perception from without of the reputation and authority of the woman. She writes, "Such narrative expressions of the proscriptive advice for women position the building centrally in terms of its importance" (35).

attempts to control the borders of her space; Alice even attempts to define what space is hers so that she may take Mosby as her lover with as little visible social transgression as possible. Goodwife Ford rather adamantly denies the entry of Mr. Seth, making her the master of the space in practice. This archival account and the play are both concerned with issues of the control and mastery of the borders of domestic space and that space's ability to define a person's identity. In an analysis of the game of backgammon, immortalized by the woodcut that accompanied reprintings of the true reports of Arden's murder, Gina Bloom notes the importance of the spatial logic of games and how it applies to the play's progression.[20] The characters, she claims, navigate issues of placement for their benefit, to gain power and authority. Bloom remarks, "Gender by no means guaranteed access to a position of sociospatial power" (12), implying that the struggle for authority belongs to the women and the men of the play and that it is not certain.[21] The struggle often implies violence in some form, but, as another critic points out, violence does not necessarily unify any of the characters aims, nor does it necessarily help Alice and Mosby achieve what they desire.[22] I enfold violence and space in this chapter to make sense of the way that Alice Arden navigates her gendered relation to power and her

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[20] Gina Bloom. "'My Feet See Better Than My Eyes': Spatial Mastery and the Game of Masculinity in *Arden of Faversham's* Amphitheatre." *Theatre Survey*, vol. 53, no. 1, Apr. 2012, pp. 5–28.
[21] For more on how *Arden of Faversham* represents the changing attitudes towards space and customary land management, see Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., "'Arden Lay Murdered in That Plot of Ground': Surveying, Land, and *Arden of Faversham*," *ELH*, vol. 61, no. 2, Summer 1994, p. 231-252. For more on gender roles and the murder plot, see Mary Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge, Science, and Gender on the Shakespearean Stage*, Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[22] Kimberly Huth. "Discharging Pistols at the Sky: Violence and Its Failures in *Arden of Faversham*." *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 50, no. 3, Fall 2019, pp. 705–722, 707.

pursuit of Mosby as an act of autonomy against the social construction of domestic space.[23]

The exemplary type of spatial transgression in the play emerges through the actions of Alice Arden and her lover Mosby. In the first scene, Mosby and Master Arden meet. Arden confronts Mosby and draws from him a promise not to solicit or importune Alice anymore. Alice replies with a syllogism that demonstrates her adept verbal skills and quick mental logic,

> Thou shalt not need; I will importune thee.
>
> What, shall an oath make thee forsake my love?
>
> …
>
> Tush, Mosby, oaths are words, and words is wind,
>
> And wind is mutable. Then I conclude
>
> 'Tis childishness to stand upon an oath. (1.433-439)[24]

Alice is clearly in command of her desires and proves it by enjoining Mosby, who cannot actively woo her, to allow her to solicit him. In this sequence, Alice establishes that she is the source of powerful verbal authority. Mosby assents readily because it allows him to get what he wants (Alice) while keeping his promise to Arden. During this exchange, the play provides evidence that the characters are inside the Arden house. Master Arden, before departing for London with his friend Franklin has just eaten a bowl of broth (and barely escaped the first assassination attempt). Arden and Franklin exit but Alice and

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[23] For more on Alice's autonomy in action, see Julie R. Schutzman, "Alice Arden's Freedom and the Suspended Moment of *Arden of Faversham*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 36, no. 2, Spring 1996, p. 289-314.

[24] Anonymous. *Arden of Faversham.* In *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, edited by David M. Bevington et al., 1st ed, W.W. Norton, 2002. Further references will be parenthetical by scene and line number.

Mosby remain, presumably in some type of parlor or receiving room. This is important in the way it shows that Alice quickly takes authority within the space of the house, especially once Arden is gone. Even her reply to Mosby above indicates something of the permanence of the household structure and its importance for granting Alice authority. The wind is mutable, changeable; it does not provide the proper thing upon which to stand. Perhaps, through the character on stage and in the imagined space of the house, standing upon the authority of the household space and the more solid foundation gives Alice the authority to countermand that oath. Just as in the real-life situation of Goodwife Ford, her presence *inside* the house acts as the means through which she assumes social authority.

Serendipitously, the anonymous author provides the viewer with a sort of third-party test case of Alice's authority. Shortly after assuring Mosby that she will be the wooer, one of Arden's tenants makes an appearance to submit a grievance to Master Arden over the matter of some land grants of the former Abbey of Faversham. Essentially, the character, Greene, complains that Arden's letters patent unilaterally cut him out of any share of the Faversham Abbey land grants. Alice confirms that this is true by the seal of the Chancery. Greene, hoping to petition Arden himself but finding him gone, asks if Alice can resolve him. She replies, "If that I may / Or can, with safety, I will answer you" (1.457-458). Greene delivers his petition, the weight of which is that with no lease holding, Greene has no livelihood. Interestingly, Alice evades the question, replying, "Alas, poor gentleman, I pity you" (1.484). Alice confirms the fact of Arden's land grant but does not exercise any further authority to help Greene against her husband. Narrative logic explains this because instead of talking about land grants, Alice enjoins

Greene to hire someone to murder Arden and even gives him ten pounds to pay for the deed. However, looking further shows how Alice is nearly as greedy as Greene claims her husband to be. When she says in the appositive statement, "with safety," she refers to her own safety in holding all the grant of the Abbey of Faversham. I construe this as an example of Alice asserting authority from within the house. She first commands Mosby and then craftily turns Greene aside from his complaints, making him an accessory to her planned murder of Arden. Presumably, Alice would like to maintain all the land belonging to her husband so that she may have it upon becoming his widow, notably one of the only ways for women to acquire property in the 16th century. The safety she speaks of is not Greene's, but her own. She would use the household authority that comes with her position as the mistress of the Arden home to extend outward to the acquisition of land. This seems to be an example of the root of the anxiety expressed by the conduct books about the division of labor and authority within the household and especially echoes Plat's language about marchpane impalings and Spanish bullets turned to sugar balls. The play and the conduct books are in conversation because each proscribes a measure of safety through the housewife's actions. Alice's actions go against what Dod and Cleaver proscribe when they write, "The dutie of the husband is, to dispatch all things without dore: and of the wife, to oversee and give order for all things within the house" (196). This becomes spatial violation when the play confutes the exercise of authority as Alice uses the space of the house to exceed contemporary mores. In the performative sense, it is even more so a violation since the audience knows that Alice acts in a self-interested and very anti-Master Arden way. Though many of the conduct manuals counsel some sort of compromise (while still tinged with patriarchal bias), what

Alice does via her position within the houses (physically and authoritatively) makes this violation exemplary for its recognizability.

Alice and Mosby compound the interpretation of the Arden household space as she seeks to redefine the space to suit her desires. Subsequently, Alice makes the space of the house congruent with her body, further illuminating a connection between the violated space of the home and her violated (through adultery) marriage. Alice's body provides the connection as well as suggestion that there is a further level to the idea of the contested space. The anonymous author's language captures a wonderful instance of this metonymic conflation of the space of the house with marital authority and bodily violation. The play text says,

> MOSBY: Now Alice, let's in and see what cheer you keep.
>
> I hope, now Master Arden is from home,
>
> You'll give me leave to play your husband's part.
>
> ALICE: Mosby, you know, who's master of my heart.
>
> He well may be the master of the house. (1.636-640)

Perhaps Mosby's comment is a bit less serious when he says that he would "play" the husband's part; Alice is quite serious when she equates the master of her heart with the master of the house. It is clear that Alice is usurping some authority by naming her lover as the master of the house. The quote above deals in more intricate complications than that as Alice brings together the house, her heart, and domestic authority. By naming herself as the locus of all three, she craftily explicates the manner of control that she has over the space and the situation. The space may confer some authority on Mosby, but for Alice, and possibly the viewers, it takes more to be the master of the house; one must

have Alice's heart as well. In this way, we might read Master Arden's absence from Alice's heart through his absence from the home as another kind of violation. If Mosby's part of the quote above implies that ownership is easily transferable, then it is concomitant with Master Arden's being away from the estate.

More importantly, Alice metonymically brings together her heart and household authority. I contend that this encapsulates the way drama materializes the cultural shift in attitude towards the way people conceptualized space. By emphasizing that it is not just her house but her heart that is at stake, Alice points to her direct agency as a constituent of the space. Her title of housewife is not merely a result of her marriage to Master Arden, but a statement of authority and, if we carry out an extension of the house as nation metaphor, an effectual marker of political power. If the work of the conduct manuals were clearer on the subject, then perhaps the nature of this domestic tragedy play would be different, perhaps Arden's death would be the result of his hubris. As it stands, the play takes part in a matrix of possible approaches to new concepts of old spaces. Burgeoning domestic economies beckon new forms of household authority; Alice advantageously creates an innovative approach that allows her to choose a way to participate in the patriarchal structure of the society in which she lives. She recognizes and internalizes the home as the space in which she may exercise authority not only because her husband is absent from that space, but because it was, to some degree, culturally acceptable to do so.

"Greater infamy" and "Worse Disturbance" in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*

William Gouge, writing his second treatise in *Of Domesticall Duties*, meditates on the difference between the sexes in cases of adultery. He frames it in a question-and-answer style, asking whether it is worse for a woman to commit adultery than a man. The answer follows,

> Though the ancient Romans and Canonists have aggravated the womans fault in this kinde farre above the mans, and given the man more priviledges then the woman, yet I see not how that difference in the sinne can stand with the tenour of Gods word. I denie not but that more inconveniences may follow upon the womans default then upon the mans: as, greater infamy before men, worse disturbance of the family, mor mistaking of legitimate, or illegitimate children, with the like. (219)

The rest of the answer focuses on the problem of privileging illegitimate children and disinheriting legitimate children, a rationale for why it is worse for a man. Gouge says, ultimately, that the sin is equally bad in the eyes of God; he calls attention to "the unfairness of society's willingness to define women's reputation by their chastity."[25] This statement concerning the problems for women is instructive. Though it seems that Gouge recognizes the fair and equitable answer to be that it is equally bad for men or women to commit adultery, his text still implies that it is demonstrably worse if women do so. In this chapter, the "greater infamy before men, [and] worse disturbance of the family" bear distinctly on the way in which cultural institutions like the theater represent the boundaries separating men's and women's actions.

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[25] Laura Gowing. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 2.

Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* is a play that presents two women struggling with the possible consequences of illicit sexual relations with men who are not their husbands. The play stages a kind of meditation on what it might mean to experience "greater infamy" and "worse disturbance" by closely interweaving the violation to the space of the home. For Anne Frankford, specifically, the duties of being an obedient wife and a woman in charge of her household complicate the adulterous relations she has with Wendoll. In a simplistic reading, Anne's misinterpretation of wifely obedience and duty to provide hospitality are the reasons why she has sex with Wendoll. However, Heywood's dramatic narrative reveals the more complicated positions of Anne in the main plot and Susan in the subplot. By reading the actions through the lens of the household space, the play implies that Frankford and Sir Charles fail key obligations to the women in their lives. To follow Gouge is to risk reading the resulting adultery as Anne's fault and her death as the consequence of Frankford trying to mitigate "infamy" and "disturbance." Heywood himself condemned husbands murdering their wives, writing, "Much is that inhumane rashness to bee avoided by which men have undertooke to be their own justicers, and have mingled the pollution of their beds with the blood of the delinquents."[26] Modern criticism adds nuance to the analysis of the representation of gender relations in the play. Jennifer Panek situates the play as a critique of "'kindness'…no substitute for true charity and forgiveness."[27] Deanna Smid claims that Anne's actions are an attempt to restore harmony between the sexes; she inveighs, "When she destroys her body, her lute, she silences the disharmony of her passionate body, and

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[26] Heywood, Thomas. *Gynāikeion, or, Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women: Inscribed by Ye Names of Ye Nine Muses*. Printed by Adam Islip, 1624, p. 179.
[27] Jennifer Panek. "Punishing Adultery in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 34, no. 2, Spring 1994, pp. 357-378, 363.

thorough that control allows for the restoration of social harmony."[28] This chapter pursues a deeper analysis of the gendered spatial politics of the home, wherein *A Woman Killed* reveals itself to be a complex meditation on subjectivity, duty, and domestic space.

Heywood's purposive use of the domestic tragedy genre allows him to present the play as a social text indicative of the changing attitudes towards the spatial relations of men and women. Specifically, the play epitomizes the conflict between controlling space and controlling identity. Part of Frankford and Sir Charles's failures stem from their inability to link space and gender identity. Anne and Susan must navigate their unique subject position through their roles as women within their respective households while the men in their lives scrutinize their actions and motives. The space of the home is the governing context through which spectators and readers view the social relations under strain. Rather than acting as a stable space from which the women might exert authority or engender a definition of their roles, the home becomes a contested or confused space. As Massey suggests, "The attempt to confine women to the domestic sphere was both a specifically spatial control and, through that, a social control on identity" (179).

A significant part of the difficulty I ascribe to the women's attempt to establish a subject of authority comes from the cultural definitions of men's roles as they relate to the space of the home. In the discussion above, I write about many conduct books that specifically target women. There were also many written for men, single or married.[29] However, even with all the advice literature targeted to the literate men and women who could afford them, rules and constraints were not exact and binding. Alexandra Shepard

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[28] Deanna Smid. "Broken Lutes and Passionate Bodies in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*." *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2015, pp. 93–120, 95.
[29] I quoted from Markham's *English Housewife*, which is the second part of Markham's *Countrey Contentments*. The first part, for men, was called *The Husbandman's Recreations* (1631).

stresses that men's and women's roles, as put forth in these texts, were "prescriptive rather than purely descriptive"[30] Though this may seem clear, it is worth emphasizing as a contextual factor as we consider the actions of Master Frankford and Sir Charles. The problem becomes clearer when we recall that conduct book authors exhorted men to rule their household commonwealths leaving out the role of their wives. Men are to rule "all things out of dore" but, apparently, all things within the house as well. This, then, begs the question of how early modern women defined their authority and subjectivity in a spatial way.

Heywood's play implicitly recognizes the vague nature of the housewife's prescriptive role and thereby its complex relationship toward the space of the house. This is most obvious when Master Frankford leaves the estate presumably leaving Anne in charge of the household affairs. Anne says the following to Wendoll, as both remain in the house,

> Therefore he enjoined me
> To do unto you his most kind commends.
> Nay, more; he wills you as you prize his love,
> Or hold in estimation his kind friendship,
> To make bold in his absence and command
> Even as himself were present in the house,
> For you must keep his table, uses his servants,
> And be a present Frankford in his absence. (6.71-79)

[30] Alexandra Shepard. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 72.

Heywood puts Anne in a seemingly impossible situation here. The first two lines are innocuous courtesies that would affirm a chain of command of the type that the conduct books prescribe. With Master Frankford away, the business of providing hospitality is chiefly and solely Anne's. However, it is the "Nay, more," before the caesura in the third line of the quote that transforms the situation. Anne, as wife to Frankford, is duty bound to obey his commands, whether he is present or not. According to Anne's words, Frankford asked her to convey more than pleasant courtesy to Wendoll, but practically to transfer or substitute one man for the other. More importantly, Anne's injunctions to Wendoll come as components of the care and management of the household space. She says, in line 77, that Wendoll must be "present in the house." Additionally, to "keep his table, use his servants, / And be a present Frankford in his absence" is to assume all the duties and responsibilities of the male householder or husbandman. Effectually, Anne invites Wendoll to be her husband. Even if we follow Dod and Cleaver's definition that the husband shall have authority over all outside the house and the wife authority over all within the house, Anne's words are a very clear verbalization that Wendoll should also make himself master of the inner house as well. This is analogous to Alice's lines to Mosby ("Who's master of my heart. / He well may be the master of the house") from the previous discussion of *Arden*. Though not quite so explicit as the anonymous author, a savvy reader and playgoer will hear the innuendo in Heywood's line, "Be a present Frankford in his absence."

These lines encapsulate the spatial violence of this play. Anne is being both a good hostess and a proper, obedient housewife. Yet, the injunction is a thinly veiled invitation to infidelity. Markham's *English Housewife* would counsel a sober dedication

to duty and that the wife put trust in her faith to see her through any difficulty; however, these seem like cold comfort for Anne in this situation. Plat lacks even this small counsel; his book only says, "Arte might helpe where Nature made a faile" (A2r). There is no indication that prior to this moment, Anne has any untoward interest in Wendoll. Thus, when she stands most firmly upon her own in authority as housewife in charge of the house, duty instructs her to cede that authority in a manner that does not befit a proper housewife. The seemingly mundane space of the house becomes a special contextual detail that *A Woman Killed* presents to its audience in order to materialize the kind of cultural shift that takes place regarding the English attitude toward spatial and sexual politics. In the drama of the household, Heywood intertwines these two quite elegantly.

The play makes a case for the commonplace nature of spatial violence as it occurs in a domestic sense. Our homes can easily be sites of violence even though we establish boundaries against such occurrences. As such, as an audience of this play, we may ask how our respective roles (especially through gender) are changing and what that means. An important scene wherein Wendoll is the focal point provides a useful example of the way in which the stage actualizes immaterial boundaries. Alone onstage, Wendoll bemoans his conflicting passions, a (seemingly genuine) love for Frankford, and lust for Anne; he says

> I will arm myself
> Not to entertain a thought of love to her;
> And when I come by chance into her presence,
> I'll hale these balls until my eye-strings crack,
> From being pulled and drawn to look that way.

Enter over the stage Frankford, Anne, and Nick

O God! O God! with what a violence

I am hurried to my own destruction. (6. 12-18)

As readers, the play beckons us to act the dramaturge to understand Wendoll's complicated relationship to the customary boundaries. For viewers, this moment becomes a clear instance wherein the artificially drawn social boundaries inevitably break down. Even as Wendoll promises to himself that he will avoid looking at Anne, she crosses the stage with her husband and a servant. His two lines after the stage direction are indicative of his failure to keep his promise as well as a kind of anticipation of failure to respect the social and gender boundaries of the Frankford house. Wendoll uses ocular imagery to make a visceral point about how much he is at pains to respect the implicit boundaries. Additionally, the imagery of the eyes aids a theatrical interpretation about the palpable invisibility of the boundaries that Wendoll knows he cannot respect. To bring this together, I recall an earlier mention of Lefebvre's idea that space is not only a product to be consumed, but also an agent of production itself. Wendoll participates in both sides of this theoretical construction; he very literally consumes within the space of the house ("[Frankford] cannot eat without me" [6.40]) and, as I claim, the house is an agent that invokes Wendoll's interpretation of social relations by abetting the characters' proximity to one another. The turn to the ocular in Wendoll's language recalls a difference in perspective between the audience and the character or actor playing the part of Wendoll. The audience sees Wendoll failing to see properly and thereby is aware that, through this difference, violated boundaries exist at this point in the play.

This Wendoll, conscious of the boundaries that he violates by harboring love (or lust) for Anne, meditates on the way in which he defines his role within the Frankford house. He recognizes a certain happy turn of fate in his promotion in Frankford's eye; he says, "I never bound him to me by desert; / Of a mere stranger, a poor gentleman, / A man by whom in no kind he could gain" (6.35-37). However, by the end of this speech, what should seem to be a cause for grateful obedience becomes a resignation to villainy, "To scratch thy name from out the holy book / Of his remembrance, and to wound his name…And yet I must. Then, Wendoll, be content. / Thus villains, when they would, cannot repent" (6.47-48, 51-52). Essentially, Wendoll uses the space of the house as an impetus to reevaluate his position within the house and his duty to be bound by the customary rules, explicitly enumerated by the conduct book authors, and implicitly reproduced through social interaction. However, as previously acknowledged, these rules are prescriptive rather than firmly delimiting, Wendoll leans on the crutch of proximity for his inability to see the path to obedience.

Where Wendoll may blame closeness for his failings, Frankford may blame distance or a lack of presence. The play presents a construction of gender relations that is thoroughly subordinate to the social and dramatic construction of the space of the house. Effectively, the play shows a husband-and-wife pair where the husband is often leaving home and the wife must stay behind.[31] At this point, the play does not contradict the rules or customary practices of 17th century England. The husband is the master of the house, the authority figure, and the wife is subordinate only to him in matters regarding the home. Heywood complicates social relations by writing a drama that uses violations of

[31] It seems like Frankford often leaves the house. He only leaves twice. The second time is in pretense of other business, which he uses to catch Anne and Wendoll in bed together.

space to bring out the instability of Anne's subject position in relation to her house and her husband. Frankford's culpability is less readily apparent; after all, the title would make him out to be "kind." This play allows the space of the home to become so dominant in part because Frankford is absent from the home so often. According to the conduct manuals, it is the provenance of the husband to go out into the world. Dod and Cleaver are expansive; they write, "The dutie of the Husband is to travel abroade, to seeke living" (195-196). The typically conservative Markham defines "abroad" more strictly. The perfect husbandman should deal with things outside of the home, "whose office and employments are ever for the most part abroad, or removed from the house, as in the field or yard" (Markham 5). Here, he defines a husband's duties outside the home quite narrowly, indicating a more agrarian or land-based occupation for the husband. Heywood seizes upon this ambiguity among the prescriptions to show how the expanding middle class made matters like this complicated. Frankford is not a member of the peerage or even a knight. Yet, we know that he owns at least one other house and that it is not unusual for someone to call him away from his home and his wife on business. In this way, we may see some similarities to Master Arden from the play discussed above, a comparison worth noting as it indicates a kind of practice that continues even as it destabilizes household relations. It remains that both Arden and Frankford can justify their absences through their duties to provide and to be a good husband. Unlike Arden, Frankford's absences give rise to the spatial violation that occurs in his house.

The moment that Frankford's absence becomes the clear cause of the violation comes when Heywood stages an intensely climactic moment where Frankford looks upon his house and dwells upon the significance of its many doors and gates. Standing "two

flight shoot off" (13.2) away from his house, Frankford and the servant Nick are about to make their midnight ingress with the intent of catching Anne and Wendoll in the act. Pondering the copied set of keys (the significance of which I will discuss further), Frankford gives a moving speech wherein he seems to realize the true power of the domestic space, especially as he purposefully connects the gates and doors to his sense of self. He says,

> This is the key that opes my outward gate;
> This is the hall door; this my withdrawing chamber.
> But this, that door that's bawd unto my shame,
> Fountain and spring of all my bleeding thoughts,
> Where the most hallowed order and true knot
> Of nuptial sanctity hath been profaned.
> It leads to my polluted bed-chamber,
> Once my terrestial heaven, now my earth's hell,
> The place where sins in all their ripeness dwell.
> But I forget myself; now to my gate. (13.8-17)

There is a forceful intensity to Frankford's progression through his keys and their respective functions. Part of the poetic and dramatic beauty to this speech is that as he speaks it, Frankford becomes that present husband he has not been by becoming part of the house. The space of the house works upon him in a transformative manner, making him into the present husband, even if he is now a present witness to Anne's adultery. The two-fold function of this speech both enlists the physical characteristics of the house and describes the inward Orphean descent of Frankford to inner torment, "[his] earth's hell."

Nevertheless, we should remember that Frankford holds a copied set of keys, not his original keys. In earlier scenes, Heywood very carefully constructs Nick and Frankford's plan to sneak into the house when Wendoll and Anne think Master Frankford is away. The fact that they must do so with a copied set of keys is an indication of the breadth of Frankford's failure as a husband. He is the master of the house. The keys to that house should belong to him. The clandestine nature of his incursion into the house with a copied set of keys indicates a fault-line within Anne and Frankford's marriage; additionally, the use of copied keys might also suggest a failure or lack of masculinity. The keys represent access to various parts of the house; if Frankford must steal that access (or even stealthily obtain it) then one may question how much control over access to his goods a man like Frankford has. A larger view of the situation reveals that this is the problem with inviting and preferring Wendoll so highly within the house. When Frankford had access as a present and active husband, he does not meditate on the space of his home and one the social relations therein. It is only in his lack that Frankford finds the wherewithal to begin to understand how the house connects and becomes a part of the family unity he created with Anne. Frankford's speech takes the audience through the house and himself simultaneously, accentuating not just the material properties of the house, but the way in which gender relations constituted an extremely important part of a household's reputation. As one critic explains, "Given the ways honour and reputation could be gendered in early modern England, this invoked a fundamental double standard, which could nonetheless leave men in a disturbingly precarious position" (Shepard 83). Heywood's play considers all this; the double standard is that Anne's adultery reflects poorly on Frankford, thereby ruining the reputation of him and his household. Yet, the

speech quoted above reveals just how much this play also rejects taking the double standard at face value. Frankford laments his pitiable state, but in doing so shows us his culpability.

Frankford reels off the first three keys in quick succession: the outward gate, the hall door, and the withdrawing chamber. This progression grows in intimacy as it shrinks with size and accessibility. When line 10 begins with a conjunction, Heywood signals that something is about to change. Frankford pauses on a key, noting that it opens a door, "that's bawd unto my shame, / Fountain and spring of all my bleeding thoughts" (13.10-11). He calls the door a bawd, one that procures or facilitates sexual acts. In a literal sense, this is true; the door keeps Anne and Wendoll from the sight of others. However, the door is an inanimate object. In the fullest sense of the word, bawd, for Heywood and his audience, would have been a person actively procuring sex, thus making Frankford seem evasive regarding his role in the action's outcome. More important than personifying the door is the way Frankford links the door to his sense of shame. This is a clear case of the way that the household can embody reputation. Though the play endorses the double standard where Frankford is shamed through his wife (thus resting the fault on her "greater infamy"), Heywood writes a speech that sets the burden more firmly in Frankford's hands. Through mentioning shame, Frankford implies his wife Anne, although there is no direct pronoun reference to her. We may blame the inanimate door but should really blame the husband himself. The locked door, representing a lack of access, becomes the fountain and spring of all his "bleeding thoughts." I believe that these thoughts are the culmination of a process through which Frankford realizes the extent of his failures as a husband, and consequently, as a man. Concurrently, Frankford

and the audience come to a sexualized understanding of the way the gates of the house and the apertures of the doors are also the gates and entryways into Anne's body, which Wendoll violates (both house and body) in his unsanctioned use. What the audience perhaps wills Frankford to grasp, but what he does not, is that the play makes the space of the house very much like the space of Anne's body. Some of the tragic pathos comes when, along with Frankford, the audience sees that he does not really know his wife at all. In not knowing, he cannot fully endorse her authority and be the partner that the conduct books prescribe to have a prosperous and fulfilling household. Buried further down is the small cry of a political analogy, wherein a ruler must understand the land and the people within the land to govern the commonwealth properly.

In the two lines following, Frankford uses the passive voice to describe the effect of the events on his marriage; it is "Where the most hallowed order and true knot / Of nuptial sanctity hath been profaned" (13.12-13). The lack of agent for the verb "profaned" means that Frankford cannot blame his wife for the adultery, yet it also means that he does not blame himself or Wendoll. Perhaps, when Frankford doles out Anne's punishment, the reader or viewer will remember this moment when Frankford is unable to assign agency. Tellingly, this situation reflects the way in which Frankford would punish Anne through kindness and the way she interprets her expulsion from the house. Anne chooses not to eat or drink so that she may die. This passive death links together Frankford's inability or unwillingness to vocalize agency with Anne's acceptance that her infamy is past reckoning. She claims, "My fault so heinous is / That if you in this world forgive it not, / Heaven will not clear it in the world to come" (17. 86-88). The enumeration of the keys and gates shows a newly realized and enhanced presence

wherein Frankford comes to see the house and himself in a different way. However, he has not necessarily learned the ultimate lesson about parsing blame and thereby does not come to the full awareness of the role he has yet to play in the remainder of the drama.

What makes this play so compelling is the way it links Anne, Frankford, and Wendoll's relationships to the space of the house to their interpersonal relationships. The full speech quoted above provides the definitive piece to unlock the spatial and social relations of the play. The household, as I have argued above, has clear analogous links to other aspects of the play and to early modern culture in general. As the English economy grew and a burgeoning middle class sought to define its role within it, spatial relations between men and women were a special point of contention. This is nowhere more evident in the home, and Heywood's play proves to be a rich example of how relationships were changing between men and women, especially through the confines of spatial relations. Frankford's lack of presence becomes a failure in his role as husband that puts Anne into a difficult position in relation to Wendoll and the Frankford house. Anne, by many of the contemporary accounts of conduct writers, has the authority to govern the house as she sees fit. Problematically, Frankford imbues this authority to Anne, while also commanding that she prefer Wendoll in a manner that is unfitting. This violation leads to the further sexual violation committed by Anne and Wendoll. Frankford finally begins to comprehend what has happened as his failures force him to enumerate the spaces and places of access to his own house.

"Pray you uncase": Indecorous Desires, Exorbitant Exchanges

Philip Massinger's *The City Madam* is the sole comedy under scrutiny in this chapter. Criticism of the domestic tragedies that precede my analysis of this play often

underemphasize how domestic space importantly fashions meaning through its representation. The home sits on the margin of the play's thematic concerns and can cede discussion to issues of morality and sexual pursuits. I use this chapter to focus on the spatial politics and their influence on gender relations within the spatial circumference of the domestic. I end the chapter with a reading of a comedy to show that the social significations of space cross generic borders and allow critics to construct a more nuanced understanding of the ways that social space changed during the period. Though the actions of men and women in the home are some of my central concerns in this section, Massinger's city comedy touches upon other fruitful contexts, especially the impact of the growing economy on issues of debt, social status, and colonial expansion. The vogue for domestic tragedies waned with the progression of the seventeenth century, but the same issues surrounding the home and the struggle for women's authority within it still resonated with audiences of plays.

Marriage, as a type of economic and social exchange, looms as an influence on the early action of the play; thus, I feel it germane to begin with a discussion of the potential marriages of Anne and Mary, daughters to the play's protagonists Sir John and Lady Frugal. Marriage (or the potential for one to marry) becomes a foil for the misuse of domestic space that generates the comedic energy of this play. The play attempts to make sense of the dynamic interpersonal relations between men and women, particularly of the complexities that delimit expressions of identity and the lived experience of space within a larger matrix of social exchange and economic independence. As Mary Chan and Nacey E. Wright claim, "Courtship and marriage, among the elite in seventeenth-century

England, can be characterized as the pursuit of property."[32] Matthew J. Smith focuses on the way that debt and virtue interweave throughout Massinger's play. Though his claim does not reflect spatial concerns, it is useful to consider how his argument contributes to the interplay of influence and authority between the men and women of the play. He notes, "Massinger's virtuous characters disappear in protest against their fictional societies where virtue is indebted to economic satisfaction, where virtue is not rewarded for itself."[33] In *The City Madam*, few characters act virtuously without concomitant ulterior motives, making their jostling for influence and authority comic (for the spectator) but also morally suspect. Similarly, the sheer number of costumes and disguises that the characters utilize serves to numb the efficacy of real exchange value. Luke is a pauper, then a lord, then a pauper once again. If outward symbols like dress ostensibly signify class difference and orchestrate authority in gender dynamics, the play strains to obfuscate the divisions and leaves open avenues for innovative economic exchange and social differentiation. In *Staging Spectatorship in the Plays of Philip Massinger*, Joanne Rochester writes about the use of masques in *The City Madam* where she finds that the embedded masques demarcate the striation of court and city, middle and upper class, and men and women.[34] This chapter follows the implications of Rochester and Smith's arguments,[35] focusing on the domestic space as the variable that

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[32] Mary Chan and Nancy E. Wright. "Marriage, Identity, and the Pursuit of Property in Seventeenth-Century England: The Cases of Anne Clifford and Elizabeth Wiseman." *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*, edited by Andrew Buck et al., University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp. 162–82, 162.
[33] Matthew J. Smith. "The 'Salarie of Your Lust': Rethinking the Economics of Virtue in Massinger's Plays." *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, vol. 26, 2013, pp. 75–96, 93.
[34] Joanne Rochester. *Staging Spectatorship in the Plays of Philip Massinger*. Ashgate, 2010, pp. 76-77.
[35] There are other critics who acknowledge the spatiality of the play, but for vastly different reasons. On the layout of the playing space, see Mariko Ichikawa, "'Maluolio within': Acting on the Threshold between Onstage and Offstage Spaces," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, vol. 18, 2005, pp. 123–145,

tests most flexibly the characters' abilities to establish stable subject positions from which they can establish the maximum profit and transgress the boundaries of social decorum.

The congruence of a betrothal with economic exchange is clear; thus, marriage, or even courtship, was about denoting and defining new boundaries. The act of exchange becomes crucial when considering just what that means for a woman; thus, "As Natalie Davis has suggested: if women's identity in early modern society was constituted in part by the sense of 'being given away', the time when they answered marriage proposals and 'gave themselves away' could constitute a special moment of self-definition and autonomy" (Gowing 141). Massinger delicately exploits this moment of self-definition in order to give *The City Madam*, a city comedy and especially a domestic comedy, a contemporary twist. Throughout the play, we see a range of familial relationships explored through the lens of household authority: there is Lady Frugal who says that finding suitable husbands for her daughters is her "special privilege," "Even so, my lord; / In these affairs I govern…You may consult of something else, this province / Is wholly mine." There are the demands that the daughters make to their potential suitors; Anne says, "I require first…my will / In all things whatsoever, and that will / To be obey'd, not argu'd" (2.2.103-107).[36] Her sister rejoins, "My sister hath spoke well for the city pleasures, / But I am for the country's, and must say, / Under correction, in her demands she was / Too modest" (2.2.135-138). Later in the play, we witness Luke, Sir John's brother, in his role as household steward, lambaste (and hypocritically overcorrect) Lady

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and on the city setting, see Julie Sanders, *Caroline Drama: The Plays of Massinger, Ford, Shirley, and Brome*, Northcote House Publishers, 1999, especially pp. 43-55.

[36] Philip Massinger. *The City Madam*. Edited by Cyrus Hoy, University of Nebraska Press, 1964. Further references will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line.

Frugal and her daughters, "I'll cut off / Whatever is exorbitant in you" (4.4.130-131). Finally, Sir John joins the fray as the figure of authority that the play implies he should always have been. He excoriates Luke, literally instructing him to divest himself of his borrowed finery: "What wilt thou do? Turn hypocrite again…I have warrant to / Make bold with mine own, pray you uncase" (5.3.138-142). In each of these brief examples, Massinger affixes the lens of household space upon the dramatic interplay between the men and women of the Frugal home. In them, the characters appropriate (or attempt to appropriate) the agency to define themselves against the other members of the household. I propose that each of these attempts is in some way of violation of the household space; they are moments that disrupt the social hierarchy of the house microcosmically and gesture at the macrocosmic tenor of the metaphor wherein the house is like a little nation. Except for Sir John's moment of self-actualization, each of these violations of the household space represents a failed attempt to redefine the sexual and familial politics that ostensibly govern the home and maintain serenity within it.

The City Madam stages moments of spatial violation as overt conflicts of gender politics and the renegotiation of boundaries and authority. However, the play implicitly suggests that an intrusion of non-English commodities and values compounds these violations, thus materializing an interrogation of the spatial politics of the English home and questioning the efficacy of the household as nation simile. Out of all the characters, Lady Frugal, Anne, and Mary vocalize the clearest challenges to spatial governance and common practice. The opening lines, a conversation between Sir John's two apprentices, Young Tradewell and Young Goldwire, indicate that something is not quite right. Significantly, Massinger's dialogue informs the audience that Tradewell has just returned

from a voyage to the Indies. Goldwire, speaking of how the Frugal house has changed since Tradewell left says,

> Y. GOLDWIRE: 'Tis grown a little court in bravery,
> Variety of fashions, and those rich ones:
> There are few great ladies going to a masque
> That do outshine ours in their everyday habits.
> Y. TRADEWELL: 'Tis strange my master in his wisdom can
> Give the reins to such exorbitancy.
> Y. GOLDWIRE: He must,
> Or there's no peace nor rest for him at home. (1.1.25-30)

The city residence of the Frugal family has gone from a respectable merchant's home to a "little court in bravery." Michael Neill contends, "Sir John Frugal's patriarchy has been turned upside down by the ambitious revolt of those 'wise virago's' his wife and daughters (2.2.166)."[37] From the outset, this appears to be a classic case of the housewife establishing the limits of her authority in the home. As Goldwire says, Sir John has no peace at home unless he capitulates to this new state of the house. However, the apprentice takes care to note that the "little court" distinguishes itself not necessarily according to the personality of Lady Frugal, but by the richness of the fashions one might see. The everyday clothes of the Frugal ladies are more impressive than those of the great women that venture out to a masque, the type of event where showing off one's stylishness was a commonplace. Tradewell, absent during the transformation of the

[37] Michael Neill. "'The Tongues of Angels': Charity and the Social Order in *The City Madam*." *Philip Massinger: A Critical Reassessment*, edited by Douglas Howard, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 193–220, 198.

household, immediately comprehends the topsy-turvy and exorbitant nature of the situation. This is the domestic environment that allows Lady Frugal to claim the sole authority of "special privilege" in the choice of her daughters' husbands (as quoted above). Interestingly, the men present to hear Lady Frugal stand amazed. Lord Lacy asks, "Give you way to't?" (2.2.17). Sir John can only answer that he must. One of the suitors, Sir Maurice, wonders, "By the city custom, madam?" (20). The other suitor, Plenty, calls it "Brave, i' faith" (22). Feebly, Sir John tries to reclaim some authority when he remarks, "Give her leave to talk, we have the power to do;" (23) though the audience surely senses that Sir John loses what control he had. The men stand around and ask questions, seemingly strangers to the situation. Lady Frugal is firmly in control of the situation and, by extension, the household. I wish to posit just how far from the model of partnership the Frugal house is, especially in relation to what the conduct books mentioned above prescribe. Dod and Cleaver's economic language is deliberate, as they write, "It cannot wel be rehearsed, how many utilities & profits…nor how many losses and incommodities doe grow of the dissention and discorde betweene them. For the household, when their maister and their mistresse, or dame, are at debate, can no otherwise be in quiet, and at rest then a citie, whose Rulers agree not" (202).[38] When a husband and wife fail to work together to govern the household, they cannot profit and become an example of violation and misrule.

Massinger's play compounds the monstrousness of this confusion by showing just how much the daughters cling to their inflated sense of status. The older daughter, Anne, demands of her suitor Sir Maurice, besides having her absolute will, the following,

[38] One might also recall Fitzherbert's claim, "Seldom doth the housbande thruye, withoute the leve of his wife," only turned around–seldom may a wife thrive.

My caroch

Drawn by six Flanders mares, my coachmen, grooms,

Postillion, and footmen…

Mine own doctor;

French and Italian cooks; musicians, songsters,

And a chaplain that must preach to please my fancy;

A friend at court to place me at a masque;

The private box took up at a new play

For me, and my retinue; a fresh habit,

Of a fashion never seen before. (2.2.112-121)

Anne's demands are about visibility and the use of people and commodities to appear fashionable. Both readers and spectators recognize the hyperbolic effect that these demands have. For an early modern audience, this also must have seemed extreme. Although the availability of commodities and the growth of consumer culture steadily increased at the turn of the seventeenth century, [39] Anne's list of things she requires of her potential husband inspire a sense of incredulity. What strikes one is not only the egregious solipsism: "Mine own doctor," "a chaplain…to please my fancy," "The private box…for me." More intriguingly, Anne's demands are thoroughly un-English; she wants "Flanders mares," "French and Italian cooks," and "A fresh habit, / Of a fashion never seen before." These demands privilege the foreign and eschew the English goods. Some

[39] Joan Thirsk explains, "England's expanding consumer culture 'embraced not only the nobility and gentry and substantial English yeomen, but included humble peasants, laborers and servants as well,' who for the first time had 'cash and something to spend the cash on.' The growth … 'is readily demonstrated in any random comparison between the standard household goods of husbandmen living in the first half of the sixteenth century and those living in the later seventeenth century.'" See *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 8.

contemporaries, like Sir Thomas Smith, warned that the demand for foreign commodities would be ruinous for the English economy. He writes, "If these husbandmen, and gentlemen, and so all other within this Realme sell theire things good cheape, and yet bie all thinges deare that come frome beyond the seas, I cannot see how they should long prosper."[40] Though Markham (8) and other conduct writers warn housewives away from foreign goods, there must have been enough circulating in London to cause some anxiety regarding the profusion and desire for such goods. This makes Anne's demands a two-fold violation of space. On the local level, her request is too extravagant for the daughter of a merchant (even if he is a wealthy merchant). On the global scale, Anne's desire for foreign goods is a repudiation of English goods and thereby a rejection of her place in the little commonwealth that is her home. Her desires serve to break the bounds of propriety within the home and marks her non-participation in a contained English economy. She uses a special moment of self-definition in such an extreme manner that she effectively situates herself outside of the domestic spaces the play. Massinger's play represents this as a threat not only to the economy but to the formation of Anne's identity as a woman uncontained within the bounds of the home.

Anne's reliance on foreign goods as status symbols threatens a destabilization of English goods and values; this, compounded with the uncivil way that she treats her suitor, Sir Maurice, ascribes Anne as effectively indecorous and without a foundation for social standing.[41] Anne's sister, Mary, takes a different tact but ends up with the same

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[40] Sir Thomas Smith. *A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England.* 1581. Edited by William Stafford et al., Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library [by] the University Press of Virginia, 1969, p. 63.

[41] It is worth noting the congruence of Lefebvre's idea of abstract space with the play's representation of foreign goods and the abstract quality they convey; he writes, "Abstract space functions 'objectally', as a set of thing/signs and their formal relationships…Formal and quantitative, it erases distinctions" (49). This is the power and danger of Anne and Mary's self-definition that exceeds the spatial controls of identity in

result. When it is Mary's turn, she too uses this special moment of self-definition to alienate herself from her prospective husband and her place in the household. Correcting her sister, Mary says that she would take the pleasures of country life over those of the city. However, her attempt to re-write the sexual politics of household space only effaces her authority through overstating it. Attending to the repetition of her married name in the passage to follow, the audience and the reader both hear and see how Mary's use of her husband's name creates over-familiarity almost to the point of non-sense. She says,

> I will receive your rents…
>
> Make sale, or purchase. Nay, I'll have my neighbors
>
> Instructed, when a passenger shall ask,
>
> "Whose house is this?" though you stand by, to answer,
>
> "The Lady Plenty's." Or, "Who owes this manor?"
>
> "The Lady Plenty." "Whose sheep are these? Whose oxen?"
>
> "The Lady Plenty's."…
>
> And when I have children, if it be inquir'd
>
> By a stranger whose they are, they shall still echo,
>
> "My Lady Plenty's," the husband never thought on." (2.2.168-177)

In this speech, Mary advocates for several things that would upend traditional household authority. In some sense, the modern reader would commend Mary for inscribing her authority as wife and not subsuming herself to her husband. However, as many of the

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that it rejects the status-quo, that "fit decorum" that Lord Lacy is so keen to maintain. There is certainly an effacement of class difference in the daughters projected demands; additionally, these lines reify the way acting like a wife is akin to playing a role in a play. Lefebvre continues, "Differences, for their part, are forced into the symbolic forms of an art that is itself abstract" (ibid.). Massinger necessarily treats the alienation of the characters through abstract theatrical representation.

authors of conduct manuals have shown above, economic affairs outside the home were the province of the man. When Mary says that she will receive the rents, Plenty interjects, "You'll be hang'd first" (2.2.168). His extremely severe reaction is a measure by which one might judge the early modern sense of impropriety of a wife collecting rents. Mary incurs an egregious usurpation of space when she greedily begins to assert authority beyond the scope of the home. Mary makes this an all-encompassing kind of violation when she insists that everyone call the house, the livestock, and even the children by her wifely name. She would erase even the father from the children, having them known as the Lady Plenty's, "the husband never thought on." In this special moment of self-definition, Mary's grab for authority goes too far. Fittingly, Massinger's use of the term echo near the end of the quoted speech allows the viewer and the reader to make a metaphor of Mary's demands. She pushes the boundaries so far, that her voice can only echo as though in a large empty room, becoming hollow and fading into nothingness. She, like her sister, is well on the way to subverting traditional domestic roles and, by doing so, altering the spatial symbolism that spaces of the home produce. Massey points to the problematizing aspect of a woman being like Mary, claiming "that it might subvert the willingness of women to perform their domestic roles and that it gave them entry into another, public, world — 'a life not defined by family and husband'" (180). She alienates herself from the trappings of a domestic life that, as Dod and Cleaver advise above, should be a partnership between the husband and wife, not an effacement of one or the other, as Mary has demanded.

Massinger writes a special moment of self-definition for Sir John's prodigal brother Luke, even though there is no mention of marriage for him. Luke's story is a

pathos-inducing tale, up to a point. Prodigally wasting his own inheritance, Luke returns to live with his brother as a lowly (and much abused) servant of Lady Frugal and her daughters. In a twist reminiscent of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, Sir John leaves his life as master of the house and cloth merchant, placing Luke in a position of authority. Initially, Luke promises kindness towards his former tormentors, saying, "The weight shall rather sink me, than you part / With one short minute from those lawful pleasures" (3.2.126-127). However, this is a mixed reassurance for Lady Frugal and her daughters; Luke, like the young apprentices quoted earlier, perceives the indecorous aspect of the excessive finery the Frugal ladies display. Luke gives a hint of his intentions when he says that he would not let the ladies part with their "lawful pleasures." Fine clothing and foreign goods are not unlawful; however, as I have demonstrated above, the consumption of these things in excess threatens the stability of the Frugal household and the economic viability of the nation at large.[42]

Luke attempts a corrective that places the focus of the nature of the Frugal women's violations on their desire for non-English goods and a disregard for a healthy domestic economy. To assert his authority as master of the Frugal house, Luke acts quickly, replacing the ladies' clothes with "buffin gowns, and green aprons" (4.4.26) reasoning thus,

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[42] On the connection between clothing and the English economy, see Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Construction of a National Identity*, Ashgate, 2008. Hentschell posits that fashion sense can "consolidate a sense of nation" (105) and that foreign clothing and other goods were largely derided because of the way they encouraged an association with foreignness. Blurring the line between English and foreign, "They present the notion that clothes are capable of both disrupting and affirming English national identity" (ibid.). See also several essays collected in Catherine Richardson, editor. *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*. Ashgate, 2004, including Hentchell's piece, "A Question of Nation: Foreign Clothes on the English Subject," pp. 49-62, and Maria Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII," pp. 165-178.

I'll cut off

Whatever is exorbitant in you,

Or in your daughters, and reduce you to

Your natural forms and habits; not in revenge

Of your base usage of me, but to fright

Others by your example. (4.4.130-135)

Massinger's play fully reveals the importance of the clothes the Frugal women wear and what significance they have for the play in this scene. According to the *OED*, buffin is, "A coarse cloth in use for the gowns of the middle classes in the time of Elizabeth" ("buffin" n.). By taking away their fine dresses and their "night-rails of forty pounds apiece" (111) and giving them buffin gowns, Luke is unquestionably reminding the women and the audience of the Frugal family's middle-class status. Luke calls their prior forms "exorbitant," and by naming their new clothes as part of their "natural forms and habits," he shows by negation how unnatural their previous dress appears. This is especially meaningful for Massinger's play as it illustrates how essential, or natural, the use and reintegration of English goods is to the idea of "fit decorum." Even as he claims that he does not act in revenge, Luke's deeds represent a warning to the larger community (or nation) as he tries to frighten others with the example he has made of the Frugal women. The particularly egregious aspect of the women's violation of space in their attempt to carve out authority in the Frugal household is the reliance on foreign goods as a symbol of their power. In addition to effacing a sense of place, as Mary does, the over-indulgence in imported goods eschews the women's proper Englishness, like Anne. Just before this correction, Luke reminds Lady Frugal that she used to dress according to her

station, wearing "A velvet hood, rich borders, and sometimes / A dainty miniver cap" (4.4.75-76). This is a pointed connection of fashion with a specific culture, for, "Like the buffin cloth, which denoted class for Elizabethans, these items suggest clothing with a history, and a history specific to England."[43] Luke's overzealous corrections as an attempt to assert his authority in the Frugal household expose the underpinnings of the women's misaligned desires for foreign goods. They reveal the special moment of self-definition and autonomy that began this conversation as an eschewal of buying English goods that threatens the sense of nationhood and the stability of the English economy through an overreliance on foreign cultural commodities, mostly in the form of clothing.

The nature of Luke Frugal's violation of household space is also an over-extension of his authority, especially concerning Lady Frugal, Anne, and Mary. Though his actions may seem harsh, they are not necessarily egregious. In many ways, by forcing the women to wear buffin gowns, Luke frames his domestic authority in a way that aligns with the play's conservative arc. It follows then, if a fit decorum is to be kept, the Frugal women should dress according to their station rather than as wealthy spendthrifts who care only for continental commodities. The play frames this interpretation as an over-correction. The Frugal women seem genuinely repentant; Mary claims, "Now we suffer / For our stubbornness and disobedience / To our good father" (4.4.151-153). In sum, Luke's actions to this point may reside within the bounds of decency.

As the plot unfolds, Luke's central motivation of greed incites his misappropriation of space. Unsurprisingly, as the scope of Luke's avarice expands, so does the value of his habiliments. In this way, Massinger makes his villain a clear

[43] Randall Nakayama. "Redressing Wrongs." *Renaissance Drama*, vol. 30, 1999, pp. 25–41, 31.

analogue to the women he earlier scolds. Similarly, just as the daughters' demands of their suitors create a dangerous kind of domestic and national violation through an effacement of English goods and customs, Luke poses a threat with the outflow of capital to the Virginia colony for person gain of wealth and non-English commodities. The impetus for his actions is not the desire to be outwardly fashionable but is an inward revelation. Soon after he assumes the head of the Frugal household, Luke apostrophizes the key to his brother's counting house, wherein he finds bags of silver and various other riches. However, the most valuable thing he finds is "A manor bound fast in a skin of parchment" (3.3.36). As we learn later, this is the deed to Lord Lacy's manor, revealing that the Lord has pawned his manor, through which he holds his title, to Sir John. The discovery of this document sends Luke into a kind of ecstasy. He says,

> There being scarce one shire
> In Wales or England, where my moneys are not
> Lent out at usury, the certain hook
> To draw in more. I am sublim'd! gross earth
> Supports me not. I walk on air! (3.3.40-44)

The possibility of making more money through usury is a temptation too lucrative for Luke to handle. The metaphor of fishing shows his particular callousness and suggests the ease with which Luke figures to make his (or rather, Sir John's) money multiply. It is also a subdued criticism of the peerage that would have need to pawn their estates, caught by debt so easily like fish on a hook.[44] The ecstatic levitation he claims to experience also

[44] The issue of proper land management informs much of the contemporary attitudes around the politics of space and the struggles for authority. As I mention in the introduction to this dissertation, the shift from a customary system of land management to one of absolute property or stewardship was a contentious issue that divided the population in the later 16th and early 17th centuries. Lord Lacy has probably mismanaged

indicates the degree of his disconnection from the Frugal household. From this point until his stern correction upon the return of Sir John, Luke abdicates his responsibility as the masculine authority figure of the house.

The disconnect between Luke's responsibilities and actions is what impels Luke's very real threat of sending the Frugal women to colonial Virginia.[45] Massinger's play takes a very pregnant turn with the arrival of the men disguised as Virginia Indians. The critique of foreign commodities up to this point indicates Europe as the most threatening origination of non-English materials and practices. The disguises of Sir John and his cohort turns the drama toward a representation of the impact of colonialism on the construction of the idea of the English household. Specifically, through the commodification of indigenous peoples, *The City Madam* elides decorum when it objectifies the supposed Virginia Indians and the women for whom they would trade gold. A deeper discussion of the politics of racial representation in this play is outside the scope of this analysis;[46] however, the appearance of Englishmen costumed as Indians marks Massinger's play as a drama that both clarifies and obfuscates the theater's relation to colonialism and imperial expansion. More pointedly, the pervasiveness of colonial representations onstage denotes a concern for the continuance of English domestic

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his estate and is therefore a peer without money. The play illustrates a danger in this when a person like Luke has control over the pawned manor.

[45] For more on representations of native Americans in a dramatic context, see Jean E. Howard, "Bettrice's Monkey: Staging Exotica in Early Modern London Comedy," *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, edited by Jyotsna G. Singh, Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, pp. 326–39; Claire Jowitt, "'Her Flesh Must Serve You': Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*," *Parergon*, vol. 18, no. 3, July 2001, pp. 93–117; and Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1642*, Oxford University Press, 2015, especially pp. 194-201.

[46] In doing this, I would follow the lead from the call to expand the "archive of race" (6) put forth by Kim Hall and Peter Erickson in "'A New Scholarly Song': Rereading Early Modern Race." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 1, Spring 2016, pp. 1–13. For a discussion about race in this play, I am indebted to the participants of the 2020 SAA seminar, Reviving Philip Massinger and specifically to a paper by Lucy Munro titled, "*The City Madam*, the King's Men and the West Indies," unpublished.

practice in the face of such opportunities, both positive and negative depending upon one's contextual orientation. The scope of concern for non-English practice must also include the influences drifting in from the Americas, not solely the European influences.

Luke's violation of space is a failure to discharge his proper duties as the master of the Frugal household. When Sir John and the suitors Sir Maurice and Mr. Plenty return to the house disguised as Indians, they propose taking away the two virgin daughters and the matron, Lady Frugal, for a satanic sacrifice. Driven by his avarice, Luke cannot refuse when the disguised Plenty offers, "A mine of gold for a fee / Waits him that undertakes it, and performs it" (5.1.45-46). After a brief aside wherein he debates the proposition, Luke assents to provide the Indians with his nieces and sister-in-law, resolving to trick them into believing they will be Indian queens rather than sacrificial victims. This is an exaggeration of Luke's authority as master of the household. Gouge counsels masters not to exceed their purview, though he does note that a master may arrange a marriage for those under his charge. In a twist from Lady Frugal claiming "special privilege" over the marriage arrangements, Luke exercises his authority on this matter in a way that Gouge distinctly forbids. On the duties of masters, Gouge writes, "Profane masters also too much exceed in this presumptuous use of their power above their power: as they who enjoyne the servants to kill, to steale…to profane the Sabbath, with other like sinnes. In all these, and all other things like to these, being against Gods law, masters have no power to command" (655).[47] Luke, acting under the aegis of master of the house, makes a sacrilegious bargain with the Indians to exchange the women for "A mine of gold." At this point in the play, Sir John and the suitors have not revealed themselves to be in

[47] On stealing, Luke earlier exhorts Sir John's apprentices to hold back some of their master's goods for their own private profit, see 2.1.45-60.

disguise, so the threat to the Frugal women is palpable. Though initially corrected by Luke, an extreme consequence of their former liberality now threatens to take the women away from Britain to the foreign place of Virginia. The threat to the microcosmic household and the macrocosmic British nation remains as Luke greedily pursues his desire for wealth and power with little regard for his former status or his familial duties.

Luke completes his transformation, analogous to how the women begin the play, by wearing a set of clothing that indicates wealth beyond his status and by calling for the repayment of the loan upon which the Lacy manor stands as surety. Luke enters the penultimate scene lavishly dressed, as evinced by Lord Lacy's greeting, "'Tis he! You are well met, / And to my wish—and wondrous brave! You habit / Speaks you a merchant royal" (5.2.15-17). Lord Lacy's play on words is instructive; either merchant or royal may be the adjective to describe the other noun. If Luke appears as merchant, he is royally dressed, a signifier that is surely not lost on the audience. The rich dress is a persistent signifier throughout the play of the transformed nature of the person wearing the clothes. If Luke is royalty, then he is like a merchant-king. This carries a heavily negative connotation, especially in conjunction with the language of usury Luke uses earlier to describe his holdings. It is also reminiscent of the accusations Shakespeare's John of Gaunt implies against Richard II when he says, "This dear dear land…Is now leased out—I die pronouncing it— / Like to a tenement or pelting farm" (*R2* 2.1.57-60).[48] In both cases, Luke is guilty of transgression in dressing too richly for his station or in failing to be a proper shepherd of the realm. Massinger's play subjects the audience's

[48] William Shakespeare. *The Norton Shakespeare*. Edited by Stephen Jay Greenblatt et al., First edition, W.W. Norton, 1997. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Shakespeare's works are from this Norton edition.

gaze to an interpretation of domestic and national propriety. The characters, and especially the clothing, signal an opportunity to consider the limits of decorous authority. When Luke dons such rich clothing, his dress becomes a signifier for the violation of space through exceeded authority and wanton accumulation of land. Through Lord Lacy's language, Luke becomes guilty of a violation of space in both a large and small sense. To the audience and the reader, Luke compounds his domestic misdeeds by selling the lives of good British women for his own personal gain. For Lady Frugal, Anne, and Mary, the threat of an effaced British identity through continental commodities becomes the real danger of a displaced identity coupled with the economic loss through outflow to the Virginia Colony.

It is fitting, then, that when Sir John returns to provide correction and re-stabilization, he must undress himself from his Indian disguise. When Luke proves intractable after a series of dumb shows designed to cause him to feel remorse for his transgressions of authority, Sir John washes off his disguise and discovers himself to his brother. Massinger tidily extends the trope of costume as a signifier of violation by having Sir John remove his own disguise. Unlike the daughters, Lady Frugal, or Luke, Sir John willingly transforms himself from Indian to middle-class merchant, an important distinction of self-motivated restraint. As a stark indication of his difference from Luke (and his wife and daughters), Sir John unmasks himself and poignantly orders Luke out of his newly donned finery; he says, "What wilt thou do? Turn hypocrite again, / With hope dissimulation can aid thee?...I have warrant to / Make bold with mine own, pray you uncase. This key, too, / I must make bold with" (5.3.137-142). The finality of Sir John's command to "uncase" is clear in both the literal and figurative sense of the word. He

literally tells Luke to take off the rich garments that Lord Lacy commented on earlier and he is figuratively uncovering and exposing Luke for what he is, one who has violated the space of the Frugal home through avarice and overreach. In this final scene, the amount of revelation that occurs due to the removal of costuming reifies my earlier claim that there is a notion of proper English dress and that the play posits that it is important to the maintenance of social order on the level of the household and the nation. *The City Madam* seems conservatively to echo conduct book authors like Gouge and Markham as it advocates for the return to a homemade cloth for the women's clothes and a rejection of ostentatious finery for Luke. However, the play is also presenting a complicated enactment of the struggle for authority within the home while it gestures towards an analogous sense of national governance and colonial expansion. Though the clothes are important, they are only a symptom of Lady Frugal's over-stretched authority and Luke's poor husbandry. The daughters reinforce the point when they demand outlandish things from their potential suitors. Through this and the addition of Sir John's Virginia Indian disguise, the continued intrusion of the foreign, either in commodities or spaces, threatens the integrity of the household and, by extension, the nation. Thus, the play overtly suggests the good and importance of English commodities and domestic spatial values, as set forth by conduct book writers. Implicitly, the play reveals itself as a complex assessment of various networks of exchange, economic, familial, and colonial. It shows how a delicate construction of relative Englishness threatens to devolve into disorder within the struggle for spatial authority.

As the latest play to debut on the London stage in this chapter, Massinger's drama reminds readers that spatial politics were very much a cultural concern, even into the

fourth decade of the seventeenth century. All the plays analyzed in this chapter are important because they perform a negotiation of household space that directly enmeshes cultural concerns on a larger scale while subtly critiquing them. A more prevalent colonial presence compounds the matrix of the shifting use and production of space that affected the lived experience of early modern playgoers, including the goods they bought and sold and the trends that influenced social practice. The plays in this chapter build upon each other to suggest that the space of the home contains a multiplicity of significations that men and women navigated to determine authority and autonomy. Contrary to the conduct manuals that portrayed the home as a little commonwealth, the dramatic materialization of domestic staged space belies such clear representations of power. In the next chapter, "Sovereignty, Stage, and Prison: Royal Authority and Social Space," I widen the sphere of spatial concern to a space outside of the home but still very much within the civic purview. Carceral spaces in plays and literature reflect similarly multifaceted meanings, uses, and attitudes as the space of the home. The push outward intensifies the claim that changes to the use and production of space affected early modern people not only at the level of domestic relations, but also on a political level. My second chapter uses the space of the prison to think about the way that royal authority expressed its sovereignty through social institutions rather than through the body of the monarch. Like the space of the home and the struggle for authority within it, carceral spaces alter the landscape of political power and social control by increasing the visibility of jail spaces and by obscuring the source of the sovereign exception. Playwrights who wrote about (and sometimes in) jails invited spectators to wonder about the source of political authority and represented the deleterious effects of a burgeoning capitalist

economy. *Negotiating Space* adds carceral spaces to domestic spaces as another social space that maintains a consciously spatialized approach to the shifting cultural geography and its effects upon ideologies of power in early modern England.

CHAPTER 2

SOVEREIGNTY, STAGE, AND PRISON: ROYAL AUTHORITY AND SOCIAL SPACE

"Sovereignty implies 'space', and what is more it implies a space against which violence, whether latent or overt, is directed—a space established and constituted by violence."

(Lefebvre 280)

John Taylor's satirical approbation of prison, abbreviatedly titled, "The Praise and Vertue of a Jayle and Jaylers" (1623), lists eighteen jails or prisons within the metropolitan sprawl of London.[1] To pass by one of these on foot going about the business of the day would have been unavoidable. Jails, prisons—and more generally—spaces of incarceration, were a fundamental part of the cultural matrix of early modern London and a crucial aspect of the theatrical culture that materialized and interrogated the existence and use of contentious spaces. In part, this is not tremendously surprising; many early modern authors and playwrights spent time in jail: "Jonson, Chapman, Dekker, Lyly, Tourneur, Chettle, Daborne, and Haughton—and probably Middleton, Massinger and Field" all were, for a time, incarcerated (Pendry 285).[2] This chapter will survey a selection of early modern writings on prisons and jails, even some works written during their authors' incarceration. These texts contain a wide variety of attitudes, uses, and opinions about spaces of incarceration; representations of violence, misuse, and misappropriation in carceral spaces are the components of a connecting thread that ties

[1] John Taylor. *The Praise and Vertue of a Jayle, and Jaylers.* London: Printed by John Haviland for Richard Badger, 1623. For a reprint of this list, see E. D. Pendry, *Elizabethan Prisons and Prison Scenes*, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974, esp. pp. 1-10.
[2] Some even spent considerable stints as residents of these jails; Thomas Dekker spent seven years in debtors' prison, mostly for lack of payment to his tailor.

the plays in this chapter together. I connect this survey of prison literature to a broader discussion of plays that dramatize prison spaces and I ask how those materializations contribute to the ongoing discourse on sovereign power and royal authority, especially as it reassigned use and meaning to social spaces in order to govern the commonwealth. In effect, the plays of the period uniquely incorporate the multiplicity of meanings, functions, and purposes that constituted the juridical implementation of carceral spaces to establish sovereign authority. When the dramas attune their representation of space onstage to carceral spaces as an arm of royal power, they allow a spectator to consider the pace and scope of the changing nature of social space and they reveal how interconnected politics, economics, and aesthetic production are in the growth of London's markets, neighborhoods, and guilds.

Early modern authors wrote about prisons to inscribe a dynamic matrix of connections to a wide range of social issues. Spaces of incarceration played a prominent role in the lived experience of English people in the late 1500s and early 1600s. They became an increasingly important appendage of sovereign governance in the way in which they helped enact the sovereign exception. Private punishment became a public concern through the visibility and ubiquity of prison spaces.[3] This example of the shift in the way early moderns built and used space coincides with the move to an ideology of political rule that relied less on monarchical authority and more on the efficacy of social institutions. Older histories of prisons in England miss this transition, claiming, "In Elizabethan times no one believed in progress, so there was none" (Pendry 10), "It is only

[3] In this way, it prefigures Bentham's Panopticon and Foucault's explication of the prison. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, 1979, especially pp. 195-228.

with an effort that we realize how normal a part it [prison] was of Elizabethan and Jacobean life,"[4] and "The administration of the Fleet in the middle ages contained the seeds of great evil."[5] I take up these dated criticisms to show that this mode of thinking about the social aspect of prisons that the plays dramatize elides more resonant issues of authority and deployments of social space. Bassett, Dobb, and Pendry's work provides a useful collection of historical facts about prisons, but they do not frame the prison as a social space with tangible impacts upon early modern culture and sovereignty specifically. This chapter claims that playwrights saw the value of representing carceral spaces onstage because it engaged with mechanisms of understanding religious and political jurisdiction. Questions of space, justice, and mercy framed legal practices as the population grew and social spaces changed to accommodate the burgeoning citizenry. For example, "By 1520 there were 180 imprisonable offenses in the common law. A significant number of these new offenses dealt with vagrancy, breaking the peace, infamy, illegal bearing of arms, morals offenses, and similar acts."[6] There was also a marked restriction of access to legal avenues that would allow one to avoid spending time in jail (Peters 34). James I acknowledged the complicated role of sovereign interventions into issues of legal jurisdiction in *Basilicon Doron* (1599), wherein he admits to the "severity of Justice" but also advocates that one "Mixe Justice with Mercie."[7] As another historical commentator points out, "The notion that a combination of severity and mercy

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[4] Clifford Dobb. "London's Prisons." *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 17, 1964, pp. 87–100, 100.
[5] Margery Bassett. "The Fleet Prison in the Middle Ages." *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1944, pp. 383–402, 402.
[6] Edward M. Peters. "Prison Before the Prison: The Ancient and Medieval Worlds." *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, edited by Norval Morris and David J. Rothman, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 3–48, 34.
[7] J. P. Sommerville, Editor. *King James VI and I: Political Writings*. Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 22.

should define any approach to crime remained a key idea in the English criminal justice system well into the eighteenth century."[8] English carceral spaces stand at the intersection of these ideas of imprisonment, justice, and sovereignty; they figured heavily in the plays that interrogated definitions and executions of sovereign political power because of their unique positioning in social and juridical life and through their increased presence as spaces in and around London.

The population of those incarcerated swelled in the era, especially under Elizabeth's reign. Ruth Ahnert reasons, "England witnessed unprecedented levels of religious persecution during the Reformation."[9] She notes further that prisoners produced a wide variety of writings and the circumstance of their imprisonment was the most important organizing principle (Ahnert 3). This chapter utilizes the kinds of diversity of carceral representations that Ahnert explores to think about the space of the prison as a function of changing social space and sovereign political expression. Similarly, the principle that a prison or jail appears in the play is a guiding indicator that this chapter follows to discuss the importance of dramatic representations of prison spaces with a multiplicity of meanings and uses. This variation stems from the different kinds of meanings that early moderns (especially those writing while incarcerated) and the historical record placed upon prison spaces. One of the more obvious characteristics of jails in Shakespeare's time is the division between debtors' prisons and those prisons used to house felons. Both types appear interspersed throughout the larger metropolitan

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[8] Peter Spierenburg. "The Body and the State: Early Modern Europe." *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, edited by Norval Morris and David J. Rothman, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 49–78, 67. See also Pieter Spierenburg and Elisabeth Lissenberg, *Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe*, Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

[9] Ruth Ahnert. *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 2.

London area and they exist as part of the daily lives of Londoners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though jails took in prisoners for either felonies or debt, the system ostensibly sorted them out because the debtors' prisons had different policies and procedures for handling the men and women that resided there. The works by Dobb and Pendry give a cogent description of the differences and similarities, noting that there was a different juridical purpose given to the debtors' prisons than there was to the Fleet, for example. Similarly, the Tower usually only housed those accused of treason or others belonging to the elite social classes.

Writers like Dekker, Shakespeare, Taylor, and Marlowe shaped their texts as amalgamations of varied contextual relationships to political authority and social demand. Carceral spaces have no simple definition because authors used their existence and lived perception to represent different uses of space for different kinds of audiences. In *The Tower of London in English Renaissance Drama: Icon of Opposition*, Kristen Deiter claims writers understood the Tower, a powerful and visible symbol of sovereignty, differently depending upon their relationship to royal authority and their desire to shape or resist an imprint of the Tower's cultural meaning upon the city.[10] Multifaceted spaces of incarceration beckon a broader analytical lens to include other areas of inquiry that inform the cultural criticism of this analysis of social space. For an author like Molly Murray, the English prisons "served as the physical index of a new political contingency."[11] One of the key claims of this chapter and this dissertation is that

[10] Kristen Deiter. *The Tower of London in English Renaissance Drama: Icon of Opposition*. Routledge, 2008, pp. 3-4, 20-23.
[11] Molly Murray "The Prisoner, the Lover, and the Poet: The Devonshire Manuscript and Early Tudor Carcerality," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, vol. 35, no. 1, Winter 2012, pp. 17–41, 20.

the mutability of prison space reflects the rapid changes in social space and the varied approaches to understanding how to measure and control these spaces. Deiter and Murray helpfully point to the physicality of the space as an ideological symbol and this chapter moves further to integrate that space into evolving conceptions of sovereignty and political control. Carceral spaces serve as a key fulcrum in the configuration and interpretation of the development of sovereignty. In *Power to Do Justice: Jurisdiction, English Literature, and the Rise of Common Law*, Bradin Cormack understands jails to be the touchstone for ideas of jurisdiction and political administration. His concern with space is like mine; he contends, "This process of administrative centralization, not fully straightforward in its organization of space, was, abstractly conceived, even more complicated in its re-encoding of various fiscal, legal, and cultural subjectivities."[12] Cormack uses the very spatial notion of jurisdiction to read literature as a reciprocal practice that is contemporary with explorations of legality. I approach the changes in use and understanding of space by examining the staged representations of jail cells that reconfigure the political and social contours of sovereignty's effects upon rulers and citizens alike.

Though jails, prisons, and Counters were close to the everyday lives of Londoners both in physical proximity and in ideological import, the matrix of meanings is not easy to separate into exactly component effects.[13] Thus, cultural observations of the use and purpose of prisons often do not coalesce around succinct explanations of sovereign

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[12] Bradin Cormack. *Power to Do Justice: Jurisdiction, English Literature, and the Rise of Common Law*. University of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 15.

[13] Some see the jail as part of the broader historical narrative of daily life in the English capital. See Kelly Grovier, *The Gaol: The Story of Newgate - London's Most Notorious Prison*, John Murray, 2008, and Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550–1660*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

authority or religious persecution. This ambiguity worked productively when represented onstage; as I claim previously, the theater is an ideal medium for exploring the multifaceted effects and impacts that incarceration has on people, spaces, and politics. This begets the question of how early modern English people experienced the theatrical representation of prisons in their lives. Bolstered by the appearance of prison literature publications written by Dekker and others, the English stage provided the means to interrogate thoroughly and, through acting plays, interact with the systems of incarceration as they were becoming an increasingly common part of the socio-legal arm of state governance in the lives of members of the public. The dramatic works I have chosen to analyze reap the benefit of a multi-contextual approach to the issue. The plays present a matrix of possibilities, more akin to the way that Taylor's choice of satire allows him to present the use of prison in two different ways. In the theater, there is time to develop nuance and space for the actions and words of the characters to reflect the lived experience of the audience and to become a medium for an imaginative understanding of the civic systems that were a part of their lives and, to some degree, exerted control.

Writing specifically about debtors' prisons in *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642*, Jean Howard muses, "Once one starts to look, it is truly surprising, at least surprising to me, how many London comedies mention either the Wood Street or the Poultry Street Counter and how many actually set part of the action in one or another of these institutions."[14] Howard's excellent work on the way that drama represents the debtors' prisons as sites of potentiality, either for redemption or for

[14] Jean E. Howard. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, p. 24.

destruction, heavily focuses on the way that these spaces are products of and influences upon a market economy that was growing and changing so quickly that older methods of adjudicating debt, like the Counters, could not cope. Howard's analysis is particularly sensitive to the way that the Counters were carceral spaces operating within the metropolitan space of London and, as such, were important reference points for the representation of daily life onstage. Other authors have grappled with the way that prisons existed in the cultural imagination, though with a less narrow focus on carceral spaces.[15] One exception is John Twyning's, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City*. His book grows out of a deep engagement with Dekker and includes a chapter about spaces of incarceration in his plays *The Honest Whore Parts 1 and 2* (1604) and their setting at Bridewell. Twyning reads this very specific staging as a site of conflict between civic and royal interests and as a reclamation of the voices of those people shunted aside into such places like Bridewell and Bedlam.[16] Rather than centralizing political power in one place, his argument texturizes the discussion and reminds the reader that structures of power had many locations that people often sought to exploit through economic or social means. I use this chapter to argue that staged representations of spaces of incarceration were among the most potent reconfigurations of political power and had tangible effects upon the expression of sovereignty. The idea

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[15] On issues of drama and its intersection with spaces of incarceration, see Karen Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals: Subjectivity and the Discourses of Treason in Early Modern England*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002; Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England*, Cornell University Press, 2006. For a broader engagement with political ideologies and the theater, see, and Christopher Pye, *The Storm at Sea: Political Aesthetics in the Time of Shakespeare*, Fordham University Press, 2015.

[16] John Twyning. *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City*. St. Martin's Press, 1998, pp. 49-53. For more on Bridewell, see Joanna Innes, "Prisons for the Poor: English Bridewells, 1555-1800," *Labour, Law, and Crime: An Historical Perspective*, edited by Francis G. Snyder and Douglas Hay, Tavistock Publications, 1987, pp. 42-122.

that the Court was the most important political space for a monarch begins to change through the challenges that plays enacted in their responses to a shift in uses of social space.

The foundational springboard that texts like Howard's and Twyning's provide allows this chapter to distinguish itself by focusing on history plays and tragedies (with one comedy/problem play mixed in). Howard's book focuses on city comedies. Twyning's text is also about city plays and retains a tight focus on London. In one sense, my choice to focus on different and non-London plays motivates my desire to write about issues of sovereignty. A secondary rationale stems from this dissertation's project of understanding space as a social phenomenon and a lived experience that does not depend on a spectator's proximity to London. Both purposes drive the discussion of sovereignty as an important ideological concern that matters both within and without London. History plays and tragedies are particularly apt genres for study as I consider machinations of political power, sovereign uses of space, and assertions of royal authority over a wide array of cultural interactions, especially art and economics. Fundamentally, histories and tragedies represent the social space of the prison as a tool of sovereign authorities who are trying to maintain power, gain influence, or are reflecting on power lost. Shakespeare and Marlowe also responded to contemporary debates about the effectiveness of Elizabeth and James I's governance with plays that became nuanced discussions of sovereignty.

This chapter uses the conceptual weight of the term sovereignty through its dual resonances as a political and corporeal term. The modern explication of this term begins with Carl Schmitt's *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*

(1934). He creates a historiographical trace of the commingling of the political body and juridical order.[17] In response, Giorgio Agamben delineates the creation of a biopolitics[18] to note the gravity of Schmitt's contention and bring to bear the inherent paradox of the sovereign's existence, "outside and inside the juridical order" (Agamben 15). He also formulates this statement as, "The law is outside itself" (ibid.). Specifically, this creates a paradox wherein the sovereign's political body is outside the mode of governance, which ostensibly includes all political bodies. This is the special case of the sovereign and it is the basis of contemporary problems of sovereignty. The plays in this chapter all grapple in some way with the sovereign exception. Dramatized concepts of royal power drift between a purely god-king notion of political-theological sovereignty (spatialized as vertical sovereignty), to a more socially entwined and less directly theological manifestation of rule (called immanent or horizontal sovereignty by Hardt and Negri[19]). No matter the expression of sovereignty, vertical or horizontal, carceral spaces play an important role in determining the sovereign's ability to navigate the inside and outside of law and political power.

Writing about early modern drama, Philip Lorenz remarks on the religious aspect of the concept of sovereignty, noting that it was "the product of an amalgamation of juridical and theological ideas."[20] Though this definition aids by simplifying the idea, it does not exclude the amplifications of later thinkers; indeed, it constructs the use of the

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[17] Carl Schmitt. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Translated by George Schwab, University of Chicago Press, 2005.
[18] Giorgio Agamben. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen, Stanford University Press, 1998. Very briefly, biopolitics is the assignation of natural life as a component of state politics (Agamben 3).
[19] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2000, pp. 81-82.
[20] Philip Lorenz. *The Tears of Sovereignty: Perspectives of Power in Renaissance Drama*. Fordham University Press, 2013, p. 6. See also Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, 1957, especially pp. 24-41.

term "sovereignty" as a malleable notion that reaches through history to connect the significance of how one understands structures of power and authority. The changeable aspect of sovereignty is a key consequence of the way Joseph Campana grafts the notion of time into the term. He conceptualizes, "Sovereignty depends on both time and its denial. Succession anchors sovereignty by ensuring perpetuity through the management of mortality. That is to say, even though the fantasy of succession is uninterrupted sovereignty, there is no succession without death."[21] Through temporal succession, the spatiality of social institutions develops into the touchstone of sovereign political stability; the ruler becomes less emblematic of political order and perpetuity and the social institutions that demarcate power and participation replace him or her.[22] The juridical courts, the marketplace, and the stage, which most fully represent those social institutions, intersect meaningfully in the dramatized carceral spaces. Through representations of the person of the sovereign, this chapter makes meaning out of the way that these characters maintain authority over (in a political mode) and take part within (in a corporeal mode) the political order.[23]

"Bolts and locks barring in": Circumscribing the Place of Prison Literature

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[21] Joseph Campana. "The Child's Two Bodies: Shakespeare, Sovereignty, and the End of Succession." *ELH*, vol. 81, no. 3, Fall 2014, pp. 811–839, 824.

[22] For more on sovereignty and time, see Jens Bartelson, *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

[23] Victoria Kahn, "Hamlet or Hecuba: Carl Schmitt's Decision," *Representations*, vol. 83, no. 1, 2003, pp. 67–96, especially p. 70. Kahn indicates a historical origin for this chapter's illustration of the flux between political-theological sovereignty and immanent sovereignty; she writes, "Hobbes thus stands on the cusp of the modern era, defined both in terms of its break with older theological conceptions of sovereignty and in terms of its anticipation of the mechanisms of representative or liberal democracy" (70). For more on Shakespeare's relation to sovereignty, see Thomas Page Anderson, *Shakespeare's Fugitive Politics*, Edinburgh University Press, 2016 and Daniel Juan Gil, *Shakespeare's Anti-Politics: Sovereign Power and the Life of the Flesh*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

As with the other spaces of the chapters in this dissertation, the home, city walls, and the stage itself, I conceive of a narrative arc that ties these spaces together as transhistorical sites of inquiry and potential resistance. Unsurprisingly, what was a cause for social concern in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries still merits attention and social commentary today. Contemporary writing on prisons and the experience of incarceration produced a corpus of literature that was full of condemnation and praise. Largely, people writing about jails pointed to the unsavory conditions within and the questionable usefulness of such institutions. Some strove to give jails a redemptive quality that was more rhetorical than real. Together, these texts characterize the multiplicity and range of attitudes and opinions that shape the social, political, juridical, and economic uses of carceral spaces. Though these authors do not often recognize the prison as an explicit element of royal sovereign control, they indicate an awareness that the imprisonment of people within the king or queen's commonwealth was nevertheless political. More pointedly, these texts by Dekker, Hutton, and others prove that carceral spaces invoked many different resonances as a component of everyday life. These spaces were a part of the lived experience of early modern people for very different reasons and through varied contexts; their diffuse significations simultaneously bolstered and invited theatrical representation.

Writing on the conditions of jails, something he knew well, Thomas Dekker paints a cacophonous and unruly picture:

> Nothing could be heard, but keys jingling, doors rapping, bolts and locks barring in, jailors hoarsely and harshly bawling for prisoners to their bed and prisoners reviling and cursing jailors for making such a hellish din…some in their chambers

> singing and dancing being half drunk; others breaking open doors to get more drink to be whole drunk. Some roaring for tobacco; others raging and bidding hell's plague on all tobacco because it has so dried up their mouths.[24]

Dekker's description of jails is an example of early reportage and contributed to the boom of the genre of prison writing that occurred during 1614-1618, "A period witnessing the renewal of agitation for official aid to poor imprisoned debtors, and the first appearance of prison matter in the form of 'characters.'"[25] Dekker also prefigured the vogue for narrations of prison life and descriptions of jails in the two-part play he co-wrote with Thomas Middleton, *The Honest Whore*, of which the second part depicts the workhouse Bridewell. This play is unique in that it materializes the space of the prison "as not merely a topographical circumstance but a building with customs and inmates" (Shaw 368). The play's interest in staging unusual spaces is evident in the setting of some scenes in the mental hospital Bedlam (Twyning 20-53). Thus, the vogue for prison literature was established, signified in part by the 1612 reprint of an account of Newgate prison, *The Black Dog of Newgate*,[26] by Luke Hutton, originally published in 1596. Not popular enough to justify a reprint before the turn of the century, the demand for prison literature rediscovered Hutton's text after eighteen years. Other colorful titles from various authors

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[24] Thomas Dekker. *Villanies Discovered by Lanthorne and Candle-Light…Other New Conceits Neuer before Printed.* Printed by Aug. Mathewes dwelling in St. Brides lane in Fleet-Street in the Parsonage house, 1620, sig. I1r.

[25] Phillip Shaw, "The Position of Thomas Dekker in Jacobean Prison Literature," *PMLA*, vol. 62, no. 2, 1947, pp. 366–391, 379.

[26] Luke Hutton. *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate: Both Pithie and Profitable for All Readers*. By G. Simson and W. White, 1596. The title page of this work depicts a monstrous looking beast standing upright with snakes atop its head with one cloven hoof and one regular paw. The frequent mentions of the "Black Dog" allude not to any animal, but to a morally dubious former sergeant-at-arms, Richard Hatchman, who assumed Keepership of Newgate in 1593. After several years of suits and countersuits, Hatchman was dismissed from the post for keeping a woman who bore his child (Pendry 118-120). The pictorial representation belies the public attitude regarding this institution, though it was probably also efficacious as an inducement to purchase the book.

followed: *An Apology: written by Richard Vennar, of Lincolnes Inne, abusively called Englands Joy* (1614); *A Strappado for the Divell* (1615); *The Compter's Commonwealth: or a Voyage made to an Infernal Island* (1617) (Shaw 379-382).

John Taylor's satirical approbation of prison, abbreviatedly titled, "The Praise and Vertue of a Jayle and Jaylers," beckons the reader to consider what the use of jail might be. He claims, "That Jailes should be, there is Law, sense and reason, / To punish Bawdry, Cheating, Theft and Treason" (A7r). The punitive aspect of Taylor's assertion is interesting given that most people sentenced to spend time in jail did not do so as a form of punishment. In fact, most prisoners were incarcerated only for a relatively short period of time between arrest and sentencing. According to Dobb, "In very few cases are there any signs that a term of imprisonment was regarded as a punishment as in later times. Prisons were thought of simply as places where persons were kept in safe custody because it was considered too dangerous to leave them at large" (90). Theft, bawdry, and cheating were offenses that were usually punished by a fine and possibly some public display of penance, such as, "The pillory, mutilation, branding, public stocks, and ducking stools" (Peters 35). Men and women attached by the law for such offenses as these spent time in jail only until the courts proved their guilt and the law passed sentence upon them—then they were released. Dobb also claims that there were no set durations for prison terms (90), which is in keeping with the notion that time in jail was not meant for punishment. Likely, this was because the expense of keeping prisoners was high and funding for London's jails was very scarce. According to a statute from Elizabeth in 1601, "The counties were taxed 30s [shillings] a year for the King's Bench and Marshalsea—the two national prisons" (Pendry 29-30). In today's value, that amounts to

around £200, not an especially large amount of money to be split between the two institutions.[27] It may have been an economic as well as a legal practice to keep prison stints to a minimum.

There are, of course, exceptions to this small overview. Treason, of which I write more below, was a different kind of offense with many different outcomes, not the least of which was the possibility of indefinite duration of incarceration. Additionally, only the Wood Street and Poultry Counters were meant for those jailed for debt; however, there were acts passed (but unsuccessfully enforced) stating that the wardens must transfer debtors who could not pay for their room and board in jail to either Newgate or Ludgate prison. An Act of Common Council from 1606 declared that "prisoners within either of the said Counters which shall or will live by the common alms [of] the people shall not abide in any of the said Counters above a day and a night" (Pendry 94). Dobb reiterates that only Newgate among Taylor's eighteen jails from the poem "was intended to accommodate those charged with criminal offenses" (90). Yet almost all the jails in the London metropolis took in prisoners for many different offenses initially; it seems that officials sorted out proper dispersal later (Dobb 89). Thus, facts and reality occlude Taylor's assertion that there is "sense and reason" for these jails, conveying the satirical nature of this poem.

It is with a fair amount of skepticism that we read Taylor's metaphor comparing jail to a university or academy. His poem shows no structures in place for the institution of incarceration to act in such a pedagogical way, nor does an obvious bridge appear

[27] The National Archives. "The National Archives - Currency Converter: 1270–2017." *Currency Converter*, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/. Accessed 14 Mar. 2019.

between the kinds of spaces that jail cells and sites of learning can be.[28] Taylor makes a dialectic presentation of the metaphor; he imputes of the jail's detractors,

> Though some against them have invective bin
>
> And cal'd a Jaile a magazin of sin,
>
> An University of Villany,
>
> An Academy of foule blasphemy,
>
> A sinke of drunkenness, a den of Theeves. (A8v)

The list goes on to include that a jail is just a money-making apparatus for those running the jails (true, according to Pendry's accounts), an engendering place for roguery, and a hell on earth where devils walk among men. The scholastic metaphors indicate that one learns villainy and foul blasphemy in prison, something that Dekker's noisy description, quoted above, seems to support. This part of Taylor's poem may be the truth that makes the satire so successful; there is no virtue in sin, drunkenness, and thievery and little reason to praise a jailer who profits from the imprisonment of the poor. Since prisons were not meant as the main deterrent to crime, then they would serve little purpose else but as a gathering place for all those early modern rogues and criminals.

The speaker of Taylor's poem disagrees, but his subtle qualifiers betray that the idealist picture that he paints hides trials and tribulations for the person put in jail. The poem counters,

> But I am quite contrary to all this,
>
> I think a Jaile a Schoole of virtue is,

[28] Taylor's text predates the phenomenon that Foucault terms as a "carceral continuum," the blurring and eradicating of boundaries between "confinement, judicial punishment and institutions of discipline" (297). The jail cell had not yet taken on the role of educational institution, though Foucault argues that they did by 1840, especially in juvenile prisons.

A house of study and of contemplation,

A place of discipline and reformation,

There men may try their patience, and shall know,

If they have any friends alive or no:

There they shall prove if they have fortitude,

By which all crosses stoutly are subdude. (A8v)

The passage begins well; being a school, jail could be a place to study and contemplate, which seem like good things. In addition to Dekker, many early modern authors wrote copiously from prison, making good use of the time for study and contemplation. Calling prison a "place of discipline and reformation" is optimistic at best; however, there is a darker connotation to these words, one that applies to the case of Richard II in his own imprisonment. Below, I describe how Richard's language suggests that he must learn and use his time in the prison at Pomfret to reshape his perspective on power. At this point, Taylor's poem begins to speak a darker truth; forced confinement is a waiting game, and men will "try their patience." They will find out if any friend is alive, and this could mean staying in or getting out of prison. On the inside, the rate of death must have been significant, though no numbers for the period exist. One of Dekker's prison literature collaborators, Richard Venner, died in the Wood Street Counter three years after publishing his *Apology*; apparently, he was unable to write his way out of prison selling manuscripts to raise the money to pay his debt. Even if one had friends outside of prison who were alive, it was still a matter of waiting to see if they would help pay the debt to free one from jail.

In addition to the mental fortitude necessitated by waiting, one also needed to be strong to withstand the conditions within prison. There were only beds if one could afford it; for everyone else, the floor must suffice. In *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate*, Hutton describes his experience,

> Midst fortie men, surpisd with care and greefe,
>
> I lye me downe on boords as hard as chenell:
>
> No bed, nor boulster, may afford releese,
>
> For worse then Dogs, lye we in that foule kennel. (C4v)

The *OED* does not provide a satisfying definition for "chenell," averring that it is a variant spelling of channel. In short, it likely describes a hard, grooved surface where prisoners were forced to lie at night. It certainly took fortitude to withstand the hard conditions of the lower levels of prison[29]; disease, rather than starvation, was the most likely cause of death.

Though a prisoner may be learning and contemplating all that he or she can while in jail, ultimately their thoughts must be on survival. As Taylor's poem notes, necessary fortitude is also the means through which all "crosses stoutly are subdude." Here, the speaker swerves from the optimistic tone of the previous lines to suggest that the strength of will required will, at most, help keep you alive and will not allow room for any other problems, so all-consuming is prison life. Essentially, Taylor's speaker infers that one

[29] Though I use a spatial metaphor here to describe the poorest aspects of the design of the prison, the "lower levels" of incarceration were often not any lower than the ground floor. In his chapters on the Counters and Newgate, Pendry examines the extant buildings and cross-references descriptions from both popular works (like Speed's *The Counter Scuffle* [1628]) and the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen to compare descriptions of planned repairs to the buildings with any pictorial representations that the popular literature may have offered. In all three cases, the Counters and Newgate used rooms below street-level for storage. The wards that prisoners could pay money for, which in turn had better accommodations, were on the upper levels. Even the "Hole" at Wood Street Counter was not underground, but on the ground floor.

will be so busy trying to manage living that they will not have time for any other trials or afflictions that they must bear in the sense of taking up one's cross. Prison admits no other trials to bear but itself. Metonymically, Taylor may also suggest that one will lose their religion because of the things one must do to stay alive in jail. If this this the kind of learning that goes on, if this is the sense of a "School of virtue," then it is a very harsh and cynical lesson to learn.

In a work that is unironic, Thomas Savile also mentions that prison is like a university for learning. His 1605 work, *The Prisoners Conference*, is a dialogue between a knight and a gentleman. The Gentleman seems to be older and wiser about matters relating to debt, spirituality, and incarceration. The Knight represents the growing class of debt-laden gallants about London. Savile believes in the benefit of his work, insinuating that through reading it, "every evill humor is purged."[30] The need for early moderns to understand the function of prison, especially for debt, is clear. Jean Howard remarks, "A stay in debtor's prison was often the turning point in a story of downward mobility" (*Theater* 82). However earnest and forthright Savile intends his tract to be, it still fails to acknowledge the complexity of imprisonment as a means of social control. In an outline appended to the beginning of the dialogue, Savile writes that "God hath ordaind but two sorts of men, *Spiritualis* and *Carnalis homo*, religious and propbane" (A5r). This simplistic division of men into two types is indicative of the shortcomings of this work as a path to understanding the experience of imprisonment, which remains curious since Savile himself was once in jail. He indirectly claims to be grateful to the

[30] Thomas Savile. *The Prisoners Conference: Handled by Way of Dialogue, between a Knight and a Gentleman, Being Abriged of Their Liberty. The Contents Whereof You Shal Find before the Booke*. 1605. Published in facsimile by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Da Capo Press, 1972, sig. A2r.

creditor that put him there for the experience. The *Conference* reinforces this when the Gentleman explains that one must not avoid paying one's debts by staying in jail. For Savile's Gentleman, the uses of prison seem altogether too idealistic. When the Knight suggests that imprisonment is a disgrace, the Gentleman responds that it is no disgrace at all, and that further,

> I take it but as a school of discipline, wherein men be gently moved by restraint, either to acknowledge and give satisfaction (if they endure right fully) or to rejoyce, that according to the example of the most worthiest of al times they do endure wrongs to beget in them selves experience of their patience, Silence, and meekenes. (B2r)

So, if their imprisonment is just, then men will be gently moved to acknowledge and give satisfaction; if it is an unjust captivity, then it is equally good because they will suffer Messianically. This describes an ineffective scholastic experience. Presumably, if one is imprisoned for just reasons, then one knows that and may hope to do restitution or repayment of whatever debt, to creditor or society, that he or she may owe. However, if one is not justly imprisoned, then it would not necessarily teach them to be patient, silent, and meek. Like the false dialectic of human types, Savile's apology for jails speaks to the benefit of the system because, in his construction, the system can never be wrong. Either a prisoner is guilty and should "acknowledge and give satisfaction," or they are not, and they should learn to suffer in a Christ-like manner, which is also good for society. As I note previously, the reality is much different and incarceration ruined even those justly imprisoned through a system that was incapable of meeting the needs of the populace and ineffective at adapting to the cultural shift that a more robust, far-reaching, and

tumultuous market economy represented. As this chapter turns to an analysis of the drama, this conclusion carries over into the representations of carceral space and invites the same examinations of the efficacy of social institutions and the role these spaces play in establishing sovereign authority. I claim that prison spaces became a part of the sovereign exception as expressions of sovereignty shifted from god-king verticality to horizontally immanent social integration, moving the workings of authority out of the public eye but maintaining functionality through the very visible public edifices of the jails.

"Bring out my footstool": Marlowe's Cage as Mobile Sovereignty

Christopher Marlowe, too, experienced incarceration firsthand. To wit, "In 1589, he spent some two weeks in prison following a London street fight that ended with one man dead."[31] He was also arrested in the Low Countries in January 1592 but was back in London four months later (Erne 32). He died, infamously, as the result of an affray in a tavern in 1593. The circumstances of his demise provide fodder for an engaging, if not always factual, story of Marlowe's relationship to the crown, to the church, and to exercises of sovereign authority. Thomas Kyd accused him of being an atheist, but, as Erne points out, this was not necessarily true, nor did being an atheist mean what it does in the modern sense. Biographers struggle with the assertions that Marlowe was an atheist because that semblance may have been part of an elaborate act of self-fashioning that he used to entrap other religious deviants. Marlowe was at Cambridge in the late 1580s and so it seems entirely reasonable to construe that he took part in contentious theological

[31] Lukas Erne. "Biography, Mythography, and Criticism: The Life and Works of Christopher Marlowe." *Modern Philology*, vol. 103, no. 1, Aug. 2005, pp. 28–50, 31-32. See also William Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury*, Faber, 1988, especially pp 83-84.

debates. Kyd's accusations rest upon a document found in Kyd's rooms that he claimed Marlowe wrote. Authorities claimed that the document was atheistic, but Erne avers of its theology, "We would now call [it] Unitarianism" (36). His awareness of a multiplicity of theological doctrines and his ability to move within Catholic countries complicate, rather than simplify, the picture of Marlowe's life as a state agent. He courted danger and incarceration as a secret informer for the crown. He was in jail at least twice. In this conflagration of details, Marlowe's life meaningfully parallels representations of carceral spaces in early modern drama, especially in the multiplicity of expressions that make both difficult to explain through any single philosophy or ideology.

Though there are few certainties about the details of Marlowe's life, his drama expresses a proximity to the machinations of sovereign and religious authorities that raises questions about the influence of political power upon social space. Once again, Erne cautions critics away from reading too much of Marlowe's biography into his plays (40). However, there are two things to consider. First, a letter from the Privy Council to the authorities of Cabridge University clarifies that Marlowe's absence from university was because, "He had done her Majesty good service and deserved to be rewarded for his faithful dealing" (Erne 31). The Council suggests that there was some secrecy around these deeds and directly links Marlowe's actions to Elizabeth's knowledge of them when they add, "It was not her Majesty's pleasure that anyone employed as he had been in matters touching the benefit of his country should be defamed by those that are ignorant in the affairs he went about" (ibid.). Second, since Marlowe's life is notoriously difficult to pin down, this fluxion becomes a key component of the way his texts include extravagant characters and represent social space onstage, with a special focus on his use

of carceral spaces. He might have been an atheist or a homosexual. He might have been put in prison for these allegations; or he might have been executed because he was a forger of coin.[32] None of these things actually happened, but the possibilities invite readers of Marlowe's work to contemplate his relationship to sovereign authority and what use the prison space would have in each of these cases as a juridical, religious, or social method of control.

The polyvalence of meaning writ within the violation of spaces of incarceration has a unique and bloody exemplar in Marlowe's play *1 Tamburlaine* (1587). I begin with this play to illustrate the point that looking closely at the way carceral spaces signified on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage is an essential move toward understanding the cultural shifts that the intermixing of social space and royal sovereignty brought to the lived experiences of early modern English people. In particular, the *Tamburlaine* plays represent an unabashed representation of the use of force as a political tool. Crucially, Tamburlaine's status as a non-Christian conqueror problematizes the notion of divine right in addition to his humble origins as a shepherd. The play precludes the most heated debates about divine right; however, "Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* appears to be responding to the antagonism toward divine-right constructions of monarchy expressed in sixteenth-century religious tracts."[33] Tamburlaine wins kingdoms and his bride through force. This fact bifurcates the issue in this chapter. Marlowe's play circumspectly denies the legitimacy of vertical god-king sovereignty in favor of rule through force. However, the

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[32] Roy Kendall, "Richard Baines and Christopher Marlowe's Milieu," *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1994, pp. 507–52; and R. B. Wernham, "Christopher Marlowe at Flushing in 1592," *The English Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 359, 1976, pp. 344–45. Marlowe was twice accused of forgery. Though forgery is relatively tame compared to Tamburlaine's excesses, there is a clear anti-authoritarian strain evident in these accusations (of which Marlowe was not convicted).

[33] C. K. Preedy. "(De)Valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine*, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and *Edward II.*" *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 54, no. 2, Spring 2014, pp. 259–277, 263.

drama of *Part 1* depicts Tamburlaine's embodied sovereignty as dependent upon some aspect external to himself to establish his sovereign exception. Thus, the mobile jail cell that appears onstage from 4.2 until the end of the play comes to represent the necessary social space for Tamburlaine's embodiment of sovereignty.[34] The picture Marlowe's drama paints of the possibilities for political cohesion behind a sovereign is bleak, as Watkins notes, "It provides little, if any, affirmation of his [Marlowe's] own society's religious ideals of justice" (164). The play is a clear exemplar of how the social space of the jail cell functions as a necessary appendage to sovereign power, especially when the purported origin of that authority is not through divine right, but immanent force.

On his quest to be the ruler of all Africa and Asia, Tamburlaine wars with Bajazeth, the emperor of Turkey. Initially, Bajazeth's hubris would rival Tamburlaine's own; he orders a messenger to tell Tamburlaine that he is "the Turkish emperor, / Dread lord of Afric, Europe and Asia, / Great king and conqueror of Graecia, / The ocean, Terrene, and the coal-black sea, / The high and highest monarch of the world" (3.1.22-26).[35] The two sides fight at Bithynia and Tamburlaine defeats Bajazeth. To make a show of his power, Tamburlaine refuses to ransom Bajazeth: "What, think'st thou Tamburlaine esteems thy gold?" (3.3.262). At the beginning of 4.2, Tamburlaine brings Bajazeth out in a cage with Zabina following. For the duration of the character's life on stage, Bajazeth is either in this cage or trod upon by Tamburlaine, who calls him his "footstool" (4.2.1).

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[34] Leila Watkins, "Justice 'Is' a Mirage: Failures of Religious Order in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Plays," *Comparative Drama*, vol. 46, no. 2, 2012, pp. 163–85. Perhaps, too, there is an indication that the mobile jail cell as an ever-visual threat helps create the popularity that many critics see as Tamburlaine's defining characteristic of his forcefulness. They acknowledge that he did not suffer a military defeat and he never submitted to human or divine judgment for his crimes (Watkins 164). For more on Tamburlaine as a figure of republican popular sovereignty, see Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Republican Authorship: Lucan, Liberty, and the Sublime*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, especially pp. 96-97.

[35] Christopher Marlowe. *Tamburlaine*. Edited by J. W. Harper, A. & C. Black; W.W. Norton, 1984. Further references will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line number.

Though differing from the notion of the prison or jail as a fixed site as part of the city, the mobility of Bajazeth's enclosure is notable in that it becomes ever-present, much akin to the way that passing by one of the counters and another of the London jails might have been for the early modern playgoer. Further, as Tamburlaine continues his project of conquering Africa, Asia, and Europe, the moving jail cell becomes the visual symbol of his sovereignty, a place created by the violence of his actions. Bajazeth's cell is the dark metonymic extension of Tamburlaine's growing power and authority. It does not legitimate the power Tamburlaine gains, but it is a strong component of what makes Tamburlaine's status as a sovereign possible. Represented on stage, this is a twice-effective tool that has the ability either to reify the general's growing authority, or to serve as the vehicle of a critique of that power.

The violence Tamburlaine and his generals inflict upon Bajazeth grows worse by degrees as they taunt him, use him for a stepping stool, throw food and water at him, and threaten not to feed him. This last aspect recalls what we know of the conditions of the poorest prisoners in both the jails and the debtors' prisons, known as the counters, who could not afford the cost of food and had to rely on charity to be fed (Pendry 93-94, Dobb 98). During a feast shortly after his victory, Tamburlaine wheels Bajazeth's cage out into the banquet and taunts him while everyone eats:

> TAMBURLAINE: And now Bajazeth, hast thou any stomach?
>
> BAJAZETH: Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could
>
> Willingly feed upon they blood-red heart.
>
> TAMBURLAINE: Nay, thine own is easier to come by, pluck out that,
>
> And 'twill serve thee and thy wife. (4.4.10-14)

The verbal barbs continue when Tamburlaine asks, "Sirrah, why fall you not to? Are you so daintily brought up, / you cannot eat your own flesh? …here, eat sir, take it from my sword's point, / or I'll thrust it to thy heart. *He takes it and stamps upon it*" (4.4.36-41 and sd). As a prisoner, Bajazeth risks starving, much like many of Marlowe's contemporaries who were in jail for debt or other crimes and who ended up in the Hole. According to Pendry, "The Hole was the lowest ward of all, where the destitute or near-destitute contrived to live on charity" (94); he adds, "Except to the grave, the prisoner in the Counter could sink no lower than the Hole…and from an acquaintance with it we may form some conception of why the needy gallant of Elizabethan London was said to go muffled by Cheapside" (99). According to Robert Speed, the Hole was also known colloquially as Hell.[36] Zabina laments her husband's carceral state, likening it to godless place, "Then is there left no Mahomet, no God, / No fiend, no fortune, nor no hope of end / To our infamous monstrous slaveries?" (5.2.175-177). The couple's repeated invocations of God and hell[37] reinforce the connection to the destitute prisoners of London's jails; there seems to be no help for them when they can only rely on Tamburlaine's charity.

The violence of the play reaches its zenith when Bajazeth and Zabina kill themselves onstage. Once he convinces his wife to leave and bring him some water, Bajazeth remarks caustically, "Abridge thy baneful days, / And beat thy brains out of thy conquered head: / Since other means are all forbidden me…*He brains himself against the*

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[36] Speed, Robert. *The Counter Scuffle Whereunto Is Added, the Counter-Ratt. Written by R.S.* William Stansby, 1635, sig. E3v.

[37] Bajazeth repeatedly alludes to images of hell; he invokes, "Avernus' pool," "legions of devils," (4.4.18, 38) "the black Cocytus lake," and "Cimmerian Styx" (5.2.154, 170). Zabina also adds "the blasted banks of Erebus" (5.2.180).

cage" (5.2.222-224; 240 sd). Zabina returns and describes the dire scene, "What do mine eyes behold, my husband dead? / His skull all riven in twain, his brains dashed out? / The brains of Bajazeth, my lord and sovereign?" (5.2.241-243). She then "*runs against the cage and brains herself*" (254 sd). Not only do two deaths occur in quick succession, but they are visceral, violent deaths. Zabina repeats the fact that Bajazeth's brains were "dashed out." This must have necessitated some very interesting props to stage convincingly. However, the play very thoroughly links the violence perpetrated onstage to the cage that was Bajazeth's imprisonment. It is the instrument of his and Zabina's deaths. It is also the instrument of his release from his servile condition. Marlowe writes the stage death of these characters deliberately as a function of the method of incarceration. This is not an outward condemnation of jails or prisons, but a subtler use of the space to shade and complicate Tamburlaine's regal ambition. The little prison cell, which I presume to be Tamburlaine's own invention to humiliate a rival king, is an integral part of Tamburlaine's sovereignty, an abject necessity to his glory.[38] The first part of *Tamburlaine* dramatizes many rulers of nations losing battles to Tamburlaine, ultimately having to stoop or bow to his might and authority. Thus, when he makes Bajazeth a literal footstool, Tamburlaine transmutes the jail cell into the foundation of his kingly authority; it is the thing upon which he stands. The humiliation of the Turkish emperor in his little jail makes literal the site of Tamburlaine's claim to authority. The cage's mobility is central to the public display of that power; Marlowe inverts social practice by bringing the space of incarceration into openly agonistic settings. Though

[38] For more on the abject as a theoretical concept, see Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, translated by Leon S. Roudiez, Columbia University Press, 1982.

surrounded by followers in the banquet scene, the presence of Bajazeth in the cage is Tamburlaine's dare to those present to defy him.

The way this plays places violence at the locus of the cage strengthens the link between that space and Tamburlaine's brutal conquest of the world. J.W. Harper demarcates Tamburlaine's hubris as a component of his authority,

> Thus, although *Tamburlaine* presents a bold ethic of freedom—freedom from degree, freedom from fortune, freedom from divine retribution for sin—which is surprising and exciting in its historical context, it presents this ethic objectively and analytically, showing the ultimate slavery of a man free in Tamburlaine's sense to his limitless ambitions and idealized image of himself. (xxvi)

Tamburlaine's manifestation of sovereignty free from divine right is ultimately contingent upon having that jail cell present for Bajazeth and Zabina to brain themselves upon in part one of the play. Their violent deaths, so absolutely linked to the cage and thus tangentially to the Hell or Hole of London prisons, force the viewer to consider the social use of the space of prisons and how they contribute to an understanding of the civic and monarchical authority, especially that authority's use of force. The play ends with Tamburlaine and Zenocrate standing over the dead bodies of Bajazeth and Zabina; this is a powerful visual symbol of the way the drama materializes Tamburlaine's power and authority.

"To the Tower, the Fleet, or where thou wilt": *Edward II* and Weak Political Theology

Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* makes much out of the mobility of the jail cell. Similarly, *Edward II* (1592) relies on the understanding that the court is mobile and moves with the

monarch. In this way, one cannot uncouple derivations of Edward's sovereignty from understandings of the play's social spaces. As one critic suggests, "The court is not merely the geographic or cultural location of the setting of the play, but a significant and symbolic point of focus, politically and strategically important."[39] The status of the sovereign and the cultural effects of political theology are themes with which Marlowe's plays grapple. As I claim above, his work for the stage presages sharper debates over the religious authority that makes up royal sovereignty. Benjamin Parris claims that *The Jew of Malta* (1589) subtly pushes against the notion of the god-king type of sovereign wherein the protagonist represents a possibility of some other method of governance.[40] Parris indicates that "Marlowe also makes his Jewish antihero into an anticipatory figure for an emancipation from political theology that is yet to come" (67). In the three years that separate first performances of *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*, no clear alternative to political theology presented itself. However, Marlowe infuses a greater potential in the immanent social spaces and apparatuses to dislodge the repetition of succession and be the kind of governance "that is yet to come." *Edward II* threatens the potency of the vertical conception of sovereignty through the possibility of non-linear succession in the rise of Gaveston's status and his influence upon the king. Indeed, even in Edward III's swift reassertion of royal authority at the play's end, Marlowe leaves room to question the effectiveness of this iteration of the transfer of royal power. Drawing upon the final

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[39] Peter Sillitoe. "'Where Is the Court but Here?': Undetermined Elite Space and Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Literature Compass*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 1–15, 3.

[40] Benjamin Parris. "Seizures of Sleep in Early Modern Literature." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 58, no. 1, Winter 2018, pp. 51–76. Parris's argument situates itself within a philosophical discussion of the effect of sleep upon bodily autonomy and proposes that a dormant, yet powerful, form of biopower could perhaps disrupt structures of sovereignty. Most germane to this discussion is the way that Parris situates Marlowe's attitude toward political theology and how he indexes similar themes in Marlowe's plays beyond *The Jew of Malta*.

spectacle of Edward II's hearse onstage, Thomas P. Anderson maintains that the play "engages these debates by undermining the force of sovereign authority fundamental to the concept of the king's two bodies, supplementing sovereign authority with a prosthesis that is at the same time a reminder of sovereignty's denuded force."[41] Instead of relying on the prop of a dead body, this chapter contends that there is an encroaching shift in philosophies of governance that points toward the use of social institutions like prison spaces to perform the function of exception. Edward learns early on that he cannot share his sovereignty (or his sovereign exception) with Gaveston; but, if this were the only problem, Gaveston's demise would have solved it. As Edward's travail in prison shows, he clings obstinately to his faith that a divinely granted kingship will save him. It does not, though Marlowe's play briefly allows Mortimer to access the immanent apparatus of carceral space that creates an exception that grants the sovereign a public exhibition of private retribution.

Christopher Marlowe's tragedy allows some pathos for Edward's brother, Kent. After his initial rejection of his brother, Kent sees Mortimer Junior's duplicity and resolves to support his king and his brother. Ultimately, Mortimer Junior overrules young Edward III and orders the beheading of Kent. The complications lie in the confluence of family duties and sovereign obeisance. Kent is not the only example of how sovereign duty might manifest in this play, but he is instructive as a character who embodies onstage the matrix of spatial, carceral, and sovereign ideologies. This is eminently clear midway through the fifth act when Kent attempts to intervene and free Edward from the

[41] Thomas P. Anderson. "Surpassing the King's Two Bodies: The Politics of Staging the Royal Effigy in Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2014, pp. 585–611, 586. Counterpoising the dead effigy with tragic and useless sovereignty, see Angus McDonald, "Vanities of Sovereignty," *Theory & Event*, vol. 16, no. 4, Oct. 2013, *Project MUSE* muse.jhu.edu/article/530496.

soldiers guarding him at Mortimer's command. He fails, the soldiers seize him, and Gurney commands them to "covey him to the court" (5.3.58).[42] Kent responds sagely, "Where is the court but here? Here is the king, / And I will visit him" (5.3.59-60). His rhetorical question animates a discussion about the way this play understands the use of space and demarcates Lefebvre's violence of the sovereign space.

This moment when Kent confronts the soldiers and begs to know where the court is if not with the sovereign has a very precise meaning for this chapter. The political power of the court relies not only on the sovereignty of the man, but on its ability to except certain persons, wherein lies the importance of the prison. Marlowe writes this in to the first scene of the play when Edward and Gaveston, reveling in each other's presence, encounter the Bishop of Coventry, whom Edward names, "The only cause of his [Gaveston's] exile" (1.1.178). The two men physically accost the Bishop and though Gaveston would see him executed, Edward's pleas to the contrary bring Gaveston an understanding of the power of sovereignty. Once given the man by Edward, Gaveston says, "He shall to prison, and there die in bolts;" Edward replies, "Ay, to the Tower, the Fleet, or where thou wilt" (1.1.195-196). Crucially, it is Gaveston, not Edward, who understands the broader use of the prison as a way of circumscribing sovereign authority. Edward, unlike Henry Bolingbroke, cannot make the fullest use of the prison cell to maintain his sovereignty through a state of exception. Further evidence of this is his cavalier sense of place when it comes to assigning the proper prison space in which to house the Bishop. There is not meaningless ambiguity between these two prisons. To take the Bishop to the Tower (which is what Edward eventually orders) marks him as a

[42] Christopher Marlowe. *Edward the Second*. Edited by Charles R. Forker, Manchester University Press, 1994. Further references will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line number.

political prisoner and as treasonous. The Fleet, though used with increasing frequency for debtors, was still a prison for felons (Basset 384; Pendry 94; Griffiths 223). Whether the Bishop's fate improves because of his conveyance to the Tower is impossible to speculate. The proximate spatial relationship of these spaces of incarceration to London playgoers is clear and thus so is their influence as part of a practice of sovereignty and as part of the composite of sovereign space. The Fleet occupied a space just west of the city wall of London, close to Newgate and Lud's gate. Audience members coming from Westminster may have passed the Fleet on their way into the city of London. Earlier in this chapter, I briefly detailed some of the historical representations of the London prisons at the time; in this, the threat that imprisonment imposes remains palpable, especially at this early stage of *Edward II*.[43]

When the play finally reaches the moment where Kent wonders, "Where is the court but here?" any possibility for Edward's continued sovereignty is nearly extinguished. Edward is under guard on his way to Berkeley Castle where he will ultimately die. Yet, as king, he nominally retains sovereign power. This conflation is much like Richard II's; the new order of sovereignty comes not from the verticality of God's command through man-as-king, but through a broader ideological application of spaces of incarceration as vehicles for states of exception. Edward's reluctance to imprison any of the barons is his fatal weakness and indicates his inability to shift sovereignty to fit the cultural moment.

[43] Though the Crown used the Tower for highborn prisoners and those accused of treason, it may not be the clear symbol of sovereign exception that this early scene of Marlowe's play indicates. For more on the Tower, see Deiter, especially 54-77. Deiter construes the Tower as a monarch's way of knowing the temperament of the populace, hence its adversarial iconic status. For example, when Edward refuses to commit Mortimer Junior to the tower, he says, "I dare not, for the people love him well" (2.2.234).

In his final scenes, Edward reaches no weighty conclusions about the end of his life and sovereignty, unlike Richard II, as I will show below. These two monarchs employ similar language, but it seems that Edward does not have the capacity to understand how his death is necessary to the new monarch's sovereign power. Pitiful Edward makes one last attempt to bribe the assassin Lightborn, giving him a jewel in the hopes that he will not kill him. He pleas,

> Let this gift change thy mind and save thy soul.
>
> Know that I am a king. O, at that name,
>
> I feel a hell of grief. Where is my crown?
>
> Gone, gone! And do I remain alive? (5.5.86-90)

Edward's command in the second line above is an epistemological quandary. He wills that Lightborn should know and recognize his being-king, his sovereignty. However, incarcerated and about to die, Edward is not a king, not in any effective manner. He makes the crown the synecdochic symbol of his political power; thus, when it is gone, the fact that he continues to live is unfathomable. The sad weight of this realization may also portend a satiric function to the rhetorical statement, "Know that I am a king." Edward is also tired. This simple fact, adduced from the text where he falls asleep a mere ten lines after the quote above, also makes it difficult for him to perceive the functioning of sovereignty in this moment. In the details of his imprisonment, Marlowe adheres extremely closely to the account given from Holinshed. The chronicler writes,

> They [Edward's keepers] lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber over a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinch thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of a tough

> nature, continued still in life, so as it seemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purgining either up or downe avoided the force of such poison as had beene ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.[44]

Edward is alive, though living in a hellish confinement. These abject conditions and the inability to comprehend the political thrust of the situation are all a part of the transfigured sovereignty that rejects Edward's divine anointing and embraces the social and political use of the prison cell as an abject appendage that becomes necessary for rule. This is especially so in the quick progression of events that end this play. During his confinement and death, his son, Edward III, is ostensibly king, but Mortimer Junior rules him, making decisions and giving orders. Through his very position earlier in the play, Mortimer represents the consequence of Edward's reluctance to use the jail as the tool to cement his sovereign power. Mortimer Junior demonstrates this again when he orders Kent's execution. Kent's desire to rectify his earlier absconding of the king and his fondness for his nephew make him a powerful foe. Arguably, it is his decision to have Kent executed that awakens young Edward III's own sense of sovereignty.

Mortimer Junior's decline is swift. Edward III somehow intercepts the purposefully ambiguous letter directing his father's murder that Mortimer gave to Lightborn, who then gave it to Matrevis. To execute Mortimer for the murder of Edward II is a quick and logical choice, given the situation that young Edward faces. He demonstrates a keener sense of sovereign rule when he must decide what to do with his

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[44] Raphael Holinshed, et al. *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. 3. London, 1587, p. 341.

mother, who has taken Mortimer as a lover. Urged very lightly by a character known only as "Second Lord," Edward III once again uses the prison cell for his sovereign end. He says,

> Mother, you are suspected for his death,
>
> And therefore we commit you to the Tower
>
> Till further trial may be made thereof;
>
> If you be guilty, though I be your son,
>
> Think not to find me slack or pitiful. (5.6.77-81)

In this proclamation, Edward III makes use of the space of incarceration in much the way to which an early modern audience would have been accustomed. Prisons, even the Tower, were often meant to be holding cells for those suspected of crimes. They were usually held until trial, where their guilt or innocence was determined and, if necessary, a sentence was carried out.[45] More palpably, Edward III makes the prison a vehicle for his continued sovereignty. For the audience, the shock of the elder Edward's death has not even begun to wear off, yet they must again confront the imprisonment of another character. Whatever sense the early modern audience had about the way that this play questions and affirms different kinds of authority, the proximity of the space of prison cells to the action of the play must have borne some real significance. The drama ends with Edward III holding Mortimer Junior's severed head and Edward II's funeral hearse onstage. This is a visually arresting image, with no doubt that this is one of Marlowe's characteristic strengths as a playwright. It recalls my discussion of *1Tamburlaine* above,

[45] There are likely notable exceptions to this, and though they are important, they do not necessarily constitute a breach of the custom that would redefine the purpose and use of a jail cell. Some political prisoners were kept in the Tower for years. Imprisonment, as many like Dobb, Pendry, and Spierenburg, among others, have noted, was not yet used as a form of punishment in the manner of contemporary times.

reminiscent of the final scene with the cage on wheels and Tamburlaine standing astride the dead bodies of Bajazeth and Zabina. In each of these endings, Marlowe's plays remind the audience that sovereignty is not solely in the hands of the monarch but is a consequence of the social arrangement upon which the legitimacy of the prison as an abject appendage of political power rests. The empty cage and dead bodies of *Tamburlaine* and the severed head and hearse of *Edward II* are the visual semiotic markers of the motions that monarchical political sovereignty must make to maintain the logic of sovereign power. In essence, to preserve sovereignty, the monarch must find a way to shift the inside to somewhere outside; he or she must except, where possible, whatever is within the circumference of the legal order of rule. That is, the sovereign must shift it to some external sense of legal order. Edward II sought to except his own self, the royal body, as part of his sovereign method. As I have shown, Marlowe's play reflects a changing political climate that does not support this kind of vertical sovereignty. As newly crowned Edward III shows, the space of the prison becomes the appendage for exception. Sovereign life is possible when the space of incarceration functions to abject the threats to political power. The logic of sovereignty necessitates this kind of exception and as such, Isabella experiences this exteriorizing effect. The rise of the space of the prison or jail cell (nineteen distinct facilities!) is a social consequence that deeply intertwines within the matrix of political and economic developments unique to the late 16th century. This is similar to the contentious changes wrought upon domestic space of the first chapter of this dissertation and to the city walls of the next chapter. The way that space functions as an expression of social change, cohesion, and expression implies that these plays were both monitoring development and testing representation.

"Sovereignty is Nothing": Two Bodies to One Location

The jail cell as a space of incarceration is the element in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (1595) that transforms the notion of sovereignty from a God/king analogy, represented vertically, to a spatio-temporal expression of England's burgeoning capitalism, a relationship of immanence, according to Hardt and Negri (and thus, horizontal). These spatial considerations are important for a play that has a rich history as Shakespeare's most lucid attempt to define sovereignty in the early modern English theater. This becomes clear as Richard II, through the course of the drama, struggles to depict the source of his power as an absolute, vertical mandate from God. However, as his eventual deposition suggests, royal power no longer functions in this way and needs a new definition. Ernst Kantorowicz established the persuasive "two bodies" approach to an understanding of royal sovereignty.[46] As more recent criticism suggests, the status of *Richard II* as a legal fiction needs a more complicated explication than Kantorowicz's two-body political theology. As I do above, Philip Lorenz draws further upon recent philosophers like Schmitt, Agamben, and Negri, to define sovereignty in the face of the cultural and economic shift in which Shakespeare's theater participates. However, Lorenz omits the most salient aspect of the spatialization of the idea of sovereignty; like Kantorowicz, he pays little attention to the scenes after Richard's deposition that take place in the prison cell. In a similarly myopic move, Mark Bayer remarks upon the

[46] Critics since Kantorowicz have produced a nuanced critique of his effectiveness; see especially David Norbrook, "The Emperor's New Body? *Richard II*, Ernst Kantorowicz, and the Politics of Shakespeare Criticism," *Textual Practice* vol. 10 no. 2, 1996, pp. 325-357; Lorna Hutson, "Imagining Justice: Kantorowicz and Shakespeare," *Representations* vol. 106, Spring 2009, pp. 118-142, and "'Not the King's Two Bodies': Reading the Body Politic in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* Parts 1 and 2," in *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Lorna Hutson and Victoria Kahn, Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 166-198; Victoria Kahn, "Political Theology and Fiction in *The King's Two Bodies*," *Representations* vol. 106, Spring 2009, pp. 77-101; and Joseph Campana, op. cit.

historical comparisons between Elizabethan and Jacobean governance, claiming that *Richard II* takes an anti-Stuart stance by symbolizing James I's absolutism in the play's titular character. Bayer posits that during Elizabeth's reign, "A secular ethos [of] material advantage replaces a highly symbolic, divinely-instituted order reliant upon religious doctrine for ideological supremacy."[47] Though this argument is attentive to the nuance of the dialectical spectrum of subversion and containment, it roots its claims in Elizabeth's pragmatism and James's absolutism. It gives short shrift to the social, and thus spatial, factors that contributed to a changing understanding of sovereign governance, wherein I speculate that Elizabeth and James would evince more similarities than differences.[48]

I cite the carceral space as an appendage of sovereign power, not a challenge to it. As the sovereign creates and participates in political life, the use of social space to make places of incarceration helps simultaneously clarify and obfuscate the sovereign's political exception, making his or her rule one that need not rely upon rapidly changing notions of theological devotion and religious ceremony. Jennifer Low points out that the ritual of the duel that opens *Richard II* as a justice seeking ritual challenges Richard such that it thwarts his ability to manage the conflict through his linguistic capability. This is a decisive moment because, as she points out, "Richard II understands power as a unidirectional trajectory," and he "fails to anticipate the free-floating aggression that

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[47] Mark Bayer. "Is a Crown Just a Fancy Hat?: Sovereignty in *Richard II*." *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, vol. 28, no. 1, Summer 2002, pp. 129–152, 130.

[48] Henry E. Jacobs's, "Prophecy and Ideology in Shakespeare's *Richard II*," *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 51, no. 1, Jan. 1986, pp. 3–17, uses a similar comparative method, this time between Medieval and Renaissance conceptions of political action. The lingering power of prophecy in *Richard II* admits to hints that Shakespeare's play is not yet ready to give up political-theological notions of sovereign power. This argument, too, also elides a discussion of social and economic contexts surrounding the stage that might supplement a deeper reading of prophetic language in the play.

erupts when he aborts the judicial duel."[49] Rather than working as an appendage, the duel constitutes a challenge to Richard's sovereignty because it seeks to dispense holy justice. As I reference above in a discussion of Marlowe's plays, the failures of sovereignty rarely seem to mete out a spectator's sense of justice. Though both Richard's sovereignty and the Bolingbroke-Mowbray duel are ostensibly rooted in divine concepts of justice, the sovereign cannot enact or condone the results of the duel, no matter the outcome. Justice for Bolingbroke would prove Mowbray to be Richard's agent and Henry a threat to the crown (Low 273). Richard cannot, as the play proves, fix this problem through words.[50]

The dramatization of Richard in prison is rich with explicatable detail and provides a path to understanding the way that the concept of sovereignty survives Richard's downfall and Bolingbroke's ascension to the monarchy. Specifically, the jail cell is the space wherein the violence done establishes Henry IV's modern concept of sovereignty as implicated and imbued within the cultural spaces and institutions that make the prison cell possible. Macrocosmically, this section establishes dramatic texts as effective representations of spaces of incarceration as the civic tools that define logics of political power. In his account of the theological-political philosophy of Richard's monarchy, Kantorowicz rests the centrality of his argument on the god-man status of the king (26). Surely this is what Richard struggles with when he returns from Ireland to find

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[49] Jennifer Low. "'Those Proud Titles Thou Has Won': Sovereignty, Power, and Combat in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy." *Comparative Drama*, vol. 34, no. 3, Fall 2000, pp. 269–90, 272.

[50] Geoffrey Bennington, "Dust," *Oxford Literary Review*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2012, pp. 25–49, makes a strong move to point out the aesthetic ability of Richard as poet in determining his sovereign failure. Richard cannot quite secure himself even through "fair sequence and succession" (2.1.199). In an inspiring rhetorical move, he makes out Richard to be an unstable copy of himself (in a "Two Bodies" way). Again though, this discussion avoids the soliloquy that Richard performs in the jail cell wherein he comes to a kind of understanding about his place within the sovereign order and his productive nothingness (as I show below).

that he has no army and that his closest advisors have perished. This, coupled with the rising popularity of Bolingbroke, causes King Richard to muse darkly

> Of comfort no man speak!
> Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs
> …
> For God's sake let us sit upon the ground
> And tell sad stories of the death of kings!
> How some have been deposed, some slain in war,
> Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed,
> Some poisoned by their wives, some sleeping killed—
> All murdered; for within the hollow crown
> That rounds the mortal temples of a king
> Keeps death his court (3.2.144-145, 155-162)[51]

The clear theme of death becomes a specter that Richard cannot escape. In this moment, to be king means to die. Kantorowicz makes this an illustrative moment for the notion of the king's two bodies. The King (or monarch) does not really die, but Richard, the man, will die. He argues that Richard finally begins to confront that theological truth that is the destiny of the god-king, inveighing, "It has dawned upon Richard that his vicariate of the God Christ might imply also a vicariate of the man Jesus, and that he, the royal 'deputy elected by the Lord,' might have to follow his divine Master also in his human humiliation and take the cross" (Kantorowicz 30). There is so much corporeality to it all; Richard works through this speech to an embodiment of his human self, thus seeming to

[51] William Shakespeare. *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*. Edited by Frances E. Dolan, Penguin Books, 2000. Further references will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line number.

conclude the example of the two-bodies notion of sovereignty nicely. However, there is something more here. In becoming the body of Richard, the king, the man attempts to work his exemption, again recalling what Agamben calls the "paradox of sovereignty" (15). All bodies are subject to death, but Richard would, in this moment, except his from this requirement. Since the fact of his being King cannot make this exception true, there must be another way to understand the issue of sovereignty.

An approach to this explanation comes in the way Richard describes the king's ornamentation, the "hollow crown." He calls the symbol of monarchical sovereignty hollow, containing nothing. One half of the sovereign binary is empty; thus, it relies on the other half to give it substance and meaning. It is not that theology fails at this moment; rather, Richard's words reveal him beginning to realize that a messianic status alone does not convey sovereignty. Almost despairing, he admits as much,

> Throw away respect,
> Tradition, form, and ceremonious duty;
> For you have but mistook me all this while.
> I live with bread like you, feel want, taste grief,
> Need friends. Subjected thus,
> How can you say to me I am a king? (3.2.172-177)

The chilling monosyllabic last line reverberates with significance. The King is nothing without the king, and here, on the Welsh coast, Richard cannot conjure authority by inhabiting either body. The paradox of sovereignty works differently now; in seeking his exception, Richard also must seek to un-king himself. "How can you say to me I am a king?" must be a question directed as much at himself as at his followers. This scene ends

with a rhyming couplet, "Discharge my followers. Let them hence away, / From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day" (3.2.217-218) that acknowledges Richard at the end of his conception of vertical sovereignty. Unsurprisingly, the subsequent deposition happens rapidly.

Of the deposition scene, I have little to add to what Kantorowicz and others have made claims about. To aid my arguments movement toward the spatialized conception of sovereignty and its horizontal configuration, I quote from the Bishop of Carlisle. In this passage, Bolingbroke has just stated his intention to ascend the throne. Carlisle objects,

> What subject can give sentence on his king?
> And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?
> Thieves are not judged but they are by to hear,
> Although apparent guilt be seen in them;
> And shall the figure of God's majesty,
> His captain, steward, deputy elect,
> Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
> And he himself not present? O, forfend it God (4.1.121-129).

This is the beginning of Kantorowicz's third and final scene that crowns his interpretation of *Richard II*. He claims that Carlisle must speak because "[Richard] is incapable of expounding his kingship himself. Another person will speak for him and interpret the image of God-established royalty" (Kantorowicz 34). The quote above is a small sample from a long and eloquent speech. It is this speech, perhaps, that allows Henry to find favor for Carlisle and saves the Bishop from execution. Yet, setting aside Kantorowicz's

high hopes for this speech, Carlisle fails to re-establish the vertical God-king relationship of Richard's sovereignty. Perhaps, as Richard does a few scenes earlier, Carlisle also senses the limits of this kind of God-to-king analogy and its inevitable failure. In the nine lines above, Carlisle's most formidable exhortation is to aver that Richard is not a thief and therefore deserves to be present if he is to be judged.[52] In the list of qualities that follows, the most poignant of them is the last, that Richard is "planted many years." Carlisle binds Richard to the earth, to a mortality that cannot support the kind of God-king sovereignty undergirded by medieval tradition and biblical sanction (Kantorowicz 34). The bishop's speech seems to be a last-ditch effort to support an older style of sovereignty. Richard was "anointed," smeared with oil, connected to the visceral connotations of such an earthly act; therefore, he is king. That Richard is still deposed speaks resoundingly of the futility of this way of thinking. Bolingbroke ushers in a new, more socially connected kind of sovereignty that relies on the space of the jail cell for its effect.

Richard's incarceration is the site of the transformation of sovereignty from the vertical relationship of God to man to the horizontal relationship of spatio-temporal culture and capital, or in other words, the seamless continuity of human will in the face of political need. Sovereignty will manifest for Bolingbroke, as King Henry IV, in the use of social institutions like the jail cell and the consumer market to constitute the mandate for and rationale of Henry's power as a king in a less direct yet more ideologically powerful mode. Though it is a moment that invokes much pathos, Richard's words in jail establish a new kind of state of exception that becomes a crucial vehicle for the King's foundation

[52] Interestingly, Kantorowicz excises the lines about thieves being present for their hearing, even if they appear guilty.

of sovereign authority. It signals a shift in focus from the man to the state as an entity that is less arbitrary and more in accordance with natural law.[53]

Alone onstage for the first time, Richard struggles to understand the space that he is in.[54] He muses his solitude thus,

> I have been studying how I may compare
>
> This prison where I live unto the world;
>
> And, for because the world is populous,
>
> And here is not a creature but myself,
>
> I cannot do it. Yet I'll hammer it out. (5.5.1-5)

The spectacle of Richard alone onstage affirms the notion of exception as part of sovereignty. He tries to connect himself to the "populous" world, but he cannot. He tries to populate a world, but the result is only a "generation of still-breeding thoughts" (5.5.8), things constantly in motion but having no real substance. This would be an apt metaphor for the kind of person the man in prison becomes, agitated but inconsequential. Richard is auxiliary now, alone, an abject appendage of King Henry's monarchy; he owns sovereignty no longer and is that excepted thing that helps the English state to function.

Commendably, Richard works out his comparison with the world and only does so by acknowledging what he once was and why he lost his authority so quickly. At this

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[53] Otto Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500-1800*, translated by Ernest Barker, Beacon Press, 1957, especially §15 and §17. This is not a term that means Henry's sovereignty is more natural than Richard's, but that this example, situated in the prison cell, represents a shift from Richard as enforcer of the law to Henry overseeing the commonwealth's compliance because, according to Gierke, "A ruling power is instituted…[as] a common concern" (71).

[54] Crucially, Northumberland takes Richard to Pontefract Castle (spelled Pomfret in the text 5.1.52) instead of the Tower. The tower is a more conspicuous place to house political and highborn prisoners in the manner of custom. Bolingbroke's countermand that moves Richard's incarceration is another conspicuous aspect of the change of sovereignty's expression. It also bodes ill that Pomfret is out of the public eye, a necessary subversion that reconstitutes the prison cell as a site of exception.

moment of his most self-aware, Richard inlays the final piece of the puzzle of sovereignty as it relates to issues of space and authority. He contrives an understanding of the way that relations of power manifest through the violence of sovereign space. He says,

> Thus play I in one person many people,
> And none contented. Sometimes am I king:
> Then treasons make me wish myself a beggar,
> And so I am. Then crushing penury
> Persuades me I was better when a king;
> Then am I kinged again; and by and by
> Think that I am unkinged by Bolingbroke,
> And straight am nothing. But whate'er I be,
> Nor I, nor any man that but man is,
> With nothing shall be pleased till he be eased
> With being nothing. (5.5.31-41)

There is a clear, though perhaps unintentional nod, to the workings of the London Counters here, when Richard wishes himself to be a "beggar" until he suffers "crushing penury." Even in this final soliloquy, the language of incarceration is never far away. This proximity is a vital aspect of the shift that Richard presages from the God-king sovereignty to the immanence of Henry's sovereignty through excepted cultural spaces. As the speech acknowledges, once deposed, Richard is "nothing." The final iteration of the word nothing certainly means death. But the other two uses of the word inscribe a productive lack—nothing is not meant to be no things, empty; it is rather the space of

potential, of whatever must be possible for the common acceptance of Henry's right to rule. As one critic avers, "What lies there [in the heart of kings], Shakespeare suggests, is in fact nothing—emptiness…Sovereignty *is* nothing" (Lorenz 56-57). Perhaps more accurately, sovereignty depends on the nothingness of the person incarcerated. Henry depends upon the space of the jail cell as a locus of dark potential. It is where the violence done upon the undesirable or replaceable parts of society exists to manifest the natural order of Henry's monarchy.[55] Death is a towering part of the productive "nothing."

Richard astutely kens that all people are part of this arrangement for it is indeed a thing spatially oriented and reified through the scene's setting in prison. The new order of things will end only in death, which comes for Richard all too soon. Even Henry knows that Richard's death through the excepted space is necessary, opining, "They love not poison that do poison need, / Nor do I thee. Though I did wish him dead, / I hate the murderer, love him murder'ed" (5.6.38-40). Henry may not love the deed, but he needs it, and he knows it. His immediate (and ultimately unfulfilled) promise to make a pilgrimage to the holy land belies his knowledge of the new kind of sovereignty, relying on outward social penance rather than kingly decree. In prison, the cultural space separates Richard from the view of the public since he represents the dark necessity of Henry's immanent sovereignty. Twenty lines from the end of the play, Exton brings Richard's coffin onstage. What may register as Henry's surprise with a viewing audience is the notion that presenting Richard's dead body threatens to undo the new-built sovereignty. The abject necessity made visible could be a weapon used against the monarch. Instead, Henry

[55] This is what Prince Hal struggles with in *1* and *2 Henry IV*. His close association with Falstaff and others on the fringe of incarceration affects how he considers the origin of his royal status.

deftly turns the situation into a moment of mourning, an acknowledgement of that other kind of nothing, death, that shields the public eye from the kind of nothing that is his sovereign authority.

As I emphasize above, the proximity of the many jails in London's environs to the playgoers' everyday lives is acute. In fact, it is the spatial proximity that helps us to understand the social element of England's new sovereignty. The state of exception no longer belongs to the man (the King), but rather manifests as the prison space, a grouping of the unwanted members of society that, once excepted, allows Henry to rule according to the will of a commonwealth that understands the role that these spaces of incarceration play in defining a coercion to compliance with the monarch. Dekker, Taylor, and others wrote about the violent and inhumane conditions of the prisons; in addition, the very large number of people that were sent to debtors' prisons makes it clear that this particular entity emerged as a function of state power. It is helpful to consider Richard's situation in conjunction with this assertion, "The prison, that darkest region in the apparatus of justice, is the place where the power to punish, which no longer dares to manifest itself openly, silently organizes a field of objectivity in which punishment…will be inscribed among the discourses of knowledge" (Foucault 256). Even as King Henry commands Northumberland to shunt Richard aside, he acts in concert with a dark region of justice. It is this sense in which sovereignty becomes dependent on the proximity of jails as states of exception and the harsh economic factors that ensure an injurious cycle of debt, incarceration, and finally exception through nothingness.

From Transformation to Substitution: *Measure for Measure* and Sovereignty's Theatricalized Legitimacy

The previous discussions of plays in this chapter focus on the transformation from one expression of sovereignty to another. *Edward II* broadened the complexity of this transformation by integrating examples of social space as a path toward sovereign expressions of power. Edward fails in this motion only because his peerage has a greater understanding of the way that social spaces work, allowing them to outmaneuver the king. Edward focused too intently on the idea of his being an absolute sovereign to save him and Gaveston. As Marlowe's play exemplifies, being or presenting as the sovereign is not the effective path to power and state governance. *Richard II* showed the limits of being a god-king and an ultimate failure for a model of sovereignty that relies on a monarch's exception from the order of law as a quasi-deity.

In this final section on *Measure for Measure* (1603), Shakespeare's "problem" play provides us with a path to understanding the creation of a legitimate system of sovereign governance that (surprisingly, I think) does not rely upon a theological model. *Measure for Measure* ushers in a modern notion of the way in which those transformations that I mentioned can take place through the mobilization of many different, but important, social spaces, namely prison spaces, the court, and the marketplace. Though this play is ostensibly a comedy (with the comedic ending's requisite marriage pairings), it treats with the weighty issues that weave throughout discussions of early modern political thought and theoretical constructions of sovereignty. I do not intend to rely upon the categorization of *Measure for Measure* as a "problem" play as an analytical point; however, I think it speaks colloquially to the melding of serious issues with a comedic form in a way that instigates more minute analysis. As I remark upon below, there seems to be a problem with Isabella's lack of

voice at the end of the play, so the nomination of "problem" play is useful in this sense, too.

The theater is the cultural medium that can accommodate the transformations and substitutions that *Measure for Measure* dramatizes with the effect of bringing greater scrutiny to the shift away from political-theological sovereignty to a more immanent, socially integrated sovereign juridical exercise. Shakespeare's play guides the spectator along a narrative that turns away from the highly personalized act of transformation to a more socially involved sovereignty through substitution. In the political theology of the early modern period, transformation happened to the anointed sovereign making him or her God's conduit for rule and law. *Measure for Measure* stands out generically in this chapter; however, freed from the (very loose) constrictions of historical depiction, the play shows a different manifestation of sovereignty that deemphasizes the theological underpinnings and draws upon the space of the jail cell to integrate the Duke's sovereignty within a more immanent expression of social control. Two of the leading thinkers about theological political sovereignty in this play, Deborah Shuger and Philip Lorenz, make room for the indeterminate expressions of sovereignty and show how the contemporary attitude toward religious authority was beginning the shift that would last through the Enlightenment period. Other critics also begin to carve out a space for imbued social control through the institutions in close proximity to the daily lives of early modern theatergoers. For instance, Patrick Fadley argues that governance and the notion of "mysteries of state…were, from the outset, ambiguously poised between techniques that were mundane but secreted, on the one hand, and powers whose origins were

presumed to be from God (or 'the gods'), on the other."[56] Juila Reinhard Lupton also argues, "The elements of distance, reserve, and awe that attach respect to the sublime continue to harbor a political-theological charge."[57] Like Fadley's mysteries of state, there is an aspect of governance that rulers would elevate to preserve the essence of their special mandate and chosen status. *Measure for Measure* is unique in this context for demystifying the Duke's process for the viewer of the play. Notably, the illusion holds for the characters, producing meaningful interactions that challenge one's response to the play. This awareness opens a space between staged representation and staged reality, which is also a point of contention for the problematic aspects of the play's ending, especially concerning Isabella's lack of speech. Essentially, the sovereignty of the Duke can obscure Isabella's truth, requiring a pardon for the woman who is the most blameless character in the play. The question becomes, when she speaks, is Isabella acting rebellious or trying to function within the administration? One critic infers, "If the first, Isabella tries to break through convention in order to speak freely. If the latter, she follows rules, of the kind that grammar school boys like Shakespeare learned."[58] These discussions bring back around the function of the sovereign and the way that social institutions, by their proximity to the lived experience of the people, cause the populace to accept political rule or to act against it.

The turn away from the god-king sovereignty of political theology to sovereign control through the interwoven social institutions is, at heart, a substitution. Social spaces

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[56] Patrick Fadely. "'Unknown Sovereignty': *Measure for Measure* and the Mysteries of State." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4, Fall 2018, pp. 1–25, 21.
[57] Julia Reinhard Lupton. "After Sovereignty/After Virtue." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 58, no. 1, Winter 2018, pp. 205–217, 212.
[58] Elizabeth Frazer. *Shakespeare and the Political Way*. Oxford University Press, 2020, p. 50.

begin to stand in for the monarch as a symbolic system of sovereign power with the space of incarceration serving as the mode of sovereign exception that is so critical to building legitimized political governance. For this play, substitution is usually a straightforward phenomenon: Angelo for the Duke as head of state, Isabella's maidenhead for Claudio's life, Ragozine's head for Claudio's, and many others.[59] More pointedly, substitution is a kind of re-presentation; it is a way of making substance out of the no-thing-ness of sovereignty. The force of sovereignty relies on the potential of the nothingness, as Henry IV realizes when Richard's dead body is on stage.

In *Measure for Measure*, the Duke must find a space between authority and the presentation of that authority. As Meyler deciphers it, "*Measure for Measure* suggests that it is precisely in the space between the sovereign and the laws that the possibility of revolution emerges, a possibility ultimately stemmed by the sovereign pardon."[60] This is where the substitutions of the play make use of the space of the prison to open the space of re-presentation—by becoming Friar Lodovico, the Duke can present his authority again using the potential inherent in the space between, akin to Agamben's positioning of the political body and juridical order, being neither without nor within such spaces. In private conference with Friar Thomas, the Duke explains,

> Sith 'twas my fault to give the people scope,
>
> 'Twould be my tyranny to strike and gall them
>
> For what I bid them do: for we bid this be done,

---

[59] For a literary critical survey of substitutions in this play, see Nancy S. Leonard, "Substitution in Shakespeare's Problem Comedies," *ELR*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1979, pp. 281-301; Alexander Leggatt, "Substitution in *Measure for Measure*," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 3, 1988, pp. 342-359; and William Empson, "Sense in *Measure for Measure*," *The Structure of Complex Words*, New Directions, 1951, pp. 270-288.

[60] Bernadette Meyler. *Theaters of Pardoning*. Cornell University Press, 2019, p. 72.

When evil deeds have their permissive pass,

And not the punishment. Therefore indeed, my father,

I have on Angelo impos'd the office;

Who may in th'ambush of my name strike home,

And yet my nature never in the fight

To do in slander…

Therefore, I prithee,

Supply me with the habit, and instruct me

How I may formally in person bear

Like a true friar. (1.3.35-48)[61]

There are two important descriptions of substitution in this speech. In the first, when he says, "I have on Angelo impos'd the office," the Duke substitutes Angelo for himself and re-presents his authority. His awareness that a change of course on his part that would come directly from his office would be "tyranny," a common outcome of failed attempts to establish sovereign control.[62] This substitution is useful for the Duke because it allows him to utilize the space between authority and its presentation. By the end of the play, the Duke can become the sovereign entity by disguising himself and being absent. He re-

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[61] William Shakespeare. *Measure for Measure* in *The Norton Shakespeare*. Edited by Stephen Jay Greenblatt et al., First edition, W.W. Norton, 1997. Further references will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line number.

[62] Debora K. Shuger. *Political Theologies in Shakespeare's England: The Sacred and the State in Measure for Measure*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. Tyranny and sovereignty are not the same thing; however, they are closely related in that the former seems to follow upon attempts to assert the latter. A ruler who resides too much in the state of exception might be a tyrant for allowing themselves to be ruled by their desires. In *Edward II*, the nobles hint at tyranny when Lancaster wonders of Edward and Gaveston, "Will they tyrannize upon the Church?" (1.2.3). Reading desire as explicitly sexual, Shuger sums it up, "A ruler's private vice inevitably leads to public and political corruption, which is why, from Suetonius' *Twelve Caesars* to Marlowe's *Edward III* [sic] and Shakespeare's *Richard II*, sexual immorality remains the hallmark of the tyrant" (38). The Duke cannily finds the space between the state of exception that would make him immune from fault and enforcement of the law, which allows him to keep his "nature never in the fight."

presents himself through the guise or personhood of Angelo, thus, "In th'ambush of my name strike home, / And yet my nature never in the fight" (1.3.41-42). This is a trick of representation, as if through the law in the image of the sovereign the Duke might be more effective than by inhabiting the body of the sovereign himself. This compounds with the second description of substitution, that of bearing the habit "like a true friar" (1.3.48). Lorenz makes much of the simile here (67-69), and it is a key distinction to make; the Duke seeks proximity but not exact likeness when inhabiting the guise of a friar. The comparative weight that the simile brings to the linguistic construction is like a mirror. There is the thing and the reflection of the thing, looking exact but not being exactly that. Sovereignty relies on this distinction of the thing and its similar looking but not exact re-presentation. To put it another way,

> *Measure for Measure* is also, perhaps, Shakespeare's most penetrating analysis of the function of what King James had referred to as the 'similitudes' in the conceptualization and performance of sovereignty. The reasons for which it will come to focus on the space between the 'like' and the 'true,' between representation and reality, in relation to sovereignty, with such intensity, are already indicated in the play's opening lines. (Lorenz 68)

The linguistic power of the simile brings the Duke's re-presentation into being—it opens the space between, which King James and Shakespeare are at pains to examine through slightly different avenues. In the case of *Measure for Measure*, it is not the creation of the law that the Duke is able to enact or bring about with this re-presentation, but rather that he sets in motion a practice of law that responds to the moment and continually repositions itself as from without. The substance of the law is remade from without, from

the no-thing-ness of sovereignty; in this way, the Duke attempts to ensure its effectiveness as he is substituting re-presentational sovereignty for the former concept of the theological-political verticality of sovereign power. Consider, as an example in opposition, the way that Angelo's tyrannical behavior is ineffective because the substance of his desire is firmly rooted within the present problem that the law must adjudicate. Angelo fits Shuger's definition of the concupiscent tyrant, which in turn reifies the inadequacy of his performance of sovereignty.

Shakespeare portrays a need for the Duke's subterfuge as a response to Angelo's style of sovereignty. As substitute ruler, Angelo polices sexual activity in a manner that demarcates him as separate from the bad rulers of the plays under previous discussion. Angelo's reactionary methods make him analogous to more Puritan ways of thinking. Puritanical political theology has its origins in a work called *De regno Christi* (1550) by Martin Bucer that, among other things, draws extensively upon Plato's *Laws*. Bucer, who was a professor of divinity at Cambridge, dedicated the work to Edward VI with what appears to be the aim of replacing "common law with the law of God, and thus turn[ing] the realm of England into the *regnum Christi*" (Shuger 21). Bucer's model of law is like that of *Richard II* and, to an extent, *Edward II*, from my analyses above. The impact of *De regno* relies upon special men who are different than ordinary men and who "understand the good as located above and without the self" (Shuger 22). These are men who "are suitable to be put over other men in order to rule them…whence they are called gods in the Scriptures."[63] As with our very contemporary understanding of Puritanical values, *De regno* argues that the law should prosecute sexual misconduct to a very severe

[63] Martin Bucer. *De Regno Christi* in *Melanchthon and Bucer*, edited & translated by Wilhelm Pauck, Westminster Press, 1969, pp. 155–394, 363.

degree. This is where Bucer's work owes a debt to Plato's *Laws* and to Cicero's *De legibus*. In summation, the problem with sexual proclivity is that it happens out of a desire for pleasure and the pursuit of private pleasure takes away from the pursuit of public good. Therefore, only procreative sex through marriage is acceptable because it contributes to the good of the commonwealth and is not solely for the fulfillment of an individual's desire (Shuger 18-20). Herein Angelo sees his mandate as one who must promote the good of Vienna at all costs and thus leads to an egregious overcorrection.

Shakespeare gives the play some explicit language through which one might deduce the attitude surrounding the enforcement of laws governing sexual behavior. In the second scene, Claudio and the Provost are making their way to the prison; because it is a public thoroughfare, they intrude upon an interaction already in progress. Pompey breaks off his conversation with Mistress Overdone to attend to the legal drama playing out in this little procession. Claudio laments his public shame at being paraded through the streets and the Provost assures him that it was at Angelo's "special charge." Claudio sagely intuits, "Thus can the demi-god, Authority, / Make us pay down for our offence by weight" (1.2.100-101). Indeed, Claudio's sarcasm is palpable. He knows that in former times, when the Duke was the nominal ruler of Vienna, he would not have been prosecuted for impregnating Julietta. However, under Angelo's legal interpretation, Claudio becomes an example to the rest of the city, compounding the need for his forced public passage to the prison. To infer that Angelo is a "demi-god" is an important indicator of the health (or lack of, here) of the sovereign system of law; namely, sovereignty, or the one who practices it, is in a precarious position. As the arc of this chapter demonstrates, the god-king model of sovereignty leads to disruption, tragedy, and

accusations of misrule. For Shakespeare's character to focus on a specifically sexual infraction as the way to gauge the health of sovereign law encodes a particularly salient aspect of how the play understands the concept of sovereignty. The world of *Measure for Measure* has not yet made the transformation from the vestiges of that vertical god-king notion of sovereignty to the substitution driven re-presentational sovereignty.

The generative possibilities of the play appear when Shakespeare's text presents the jail as a site of multiple uses. As a part of the Duke's administration, the play performs the vagaries of the prison space as an attempt to come to terms with the growth of such a social institution that was becoming more ubiquitous in the 17th century. An examination of the use of the prison space is important to explore how this play suggests a transformation of sovereignty and the role that the jail as a social institution comes to play within this change. *Measure for Measure* affords the Duke in his disguise almost entirely free access of the prison and those people inside it. As a reflection of the historical period, this may have raised a few early modern eyebrows. The government did not require people incarcerated for debt and other misdemeanors or minor crimes a constant presence in jail. Ideally, especially for those in debt, being able to leave jail during the day meant one could work or ostensibly find some way to make a living. As I mention above, this freedom came at a cost and not everyone could afford such a privilege. However, for felons (and others known as "close prisoners"),[64] the law did not

[64] Dobb specifies of close prisoners, "Almost always these were political prisoners thought too dangerous to enjoy the normal privileges of freedom within the prison" (100). This seems very similar to the type of prisoners housed in Vienna's jail: Claudio and Barnardine are to be executed for their crimes, and Ragozine is, "A most notorious pirate" (4.3.70). Dobb is uncharacteristically quiet on the matter of spiritual conference and how available this might be to prisoners in London's jails. The Duke repeatedly claims to desire conference with prisoners and visitors so that he may tend to their souls and he arguably does so. But his interactions also have a political calculus that would render them suspect, even if we did not know that this Friar was really the Duke in disguise.

permit such freedom to come and go or receive visitors. In the rare cases that prison wardens allowed visitors, "The Keeper or a trustworthy representative was usually supposed to be present to prevent treasonable conversation" (Dobb 100). The restrictions went even further to specify, "The conference is to bee in a language that the keeper should bee able to understand, as had beene ordered sometime heretofore in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth."[65] In the play, the Provost stands in for the Keeper, the one who should be present during all the Duke's conversations within the prison. Conspicuously, it is the Provost who provides the Duke with so much lenity.[66] In a pregnant scene, the Duke finishes counselling Claudio when Isabella arrives to speak with her brother. Upon her entry, the following exchange takes place,

> DUKE: Provost, a word with you.
>
> PROVOST: As many as you please.
>
> DUKE: Bring me to hear them speak where I may be concealed.
>
> [Duke and Provost retire.] (3.1.49-51)

No matter what choice a company or director makes for staging this scene, it is clear that the Duke can hear the conversation between Isabella and Claudio. The language leads the reader to assume that the Duke and the Provost move out of the direct sight of Isabella, but within earshot of the dialogue she has with her brother. This action underpins a significant violation, one that is more conceptual than visceral. On the part of the Duke, he is eavesdropping on his subjects in a moment that Isabella and Claudio

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[65] *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1618-1619*. Vol. 36, Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890, p. 309.

[66] Fadley points to the importance of the Provost especially, noting that it is he who helps maintain an air of mystery about the Duke's actions, which in turn help make the Duke's sovereignty manifest (21). By providing the ease of access and bending of the rules, the Provost maintains the law while granting the sovereign his exception in order to give substance to the law.

assume is private. Similarly, the Provost also commits a violation of his duties as superintendent of the jail; he is remiss in either letting the Duke overhear the conversation or not being present with the prisoner while he has a visitor. Though he does not link to this textual moment specifically, this is perhaps what Fadley has in mind when he asserts, "Yet, in order to produce and maintain this appearance of mystical power…dexterous ministers must step in to supplement the sovereign's power--in the process coming into possession of some uncomfortable and potentially compromising information, not least the memo that the sovereign's preternatural power is not all it is cracked up to be" (21). Rather than denigrating the sovereign's power, this moment is the conceptual actualization of the shift to immanent social institutions as part of the sovereign's ability to maintain the polis through a new execution of sovereign exception. It is one moment where a new manifestation of sovereign power beckons the viewer to grapple with this and further possibilities.

The space of the jail cell is what allows the Duke to make the literal and figurative substitution that establishes a sovereignty dependent upon social institutions and a making of the private, public. In this, there is another kind of substitution, which switches the play's Puritanical insistence on sexual behavior as something to benefit the state to something of a more private nature. The play's last scene facilitates the transition of the space of the prison into a public institution when the knave Lucio reveals Friar Lodowick to be the Duke. In this literal unhooding, the play symbolizes the inability of the church to respond forcefully to the actions that constitute the dramatic tension; as a friar, the Duke cannot ultimately change anything, but as the head of state, change is possible. This reads as a clear intent to undo previous theological-political formulations of sovereignty.

Further, the location of the last scene also implies the new, public nature of the rectifications that take place. This is neither the jail cell nor the Duke's court, but a very public place that could be by the city gate.[67] As the scene explains or untwines the play's many substitutions, the nature of the jail cell conversations that the Duke had with Claudio and Isabella encapsulates the use of the prison as a part of the system of sovereign governance. The public of Vienna (in addition to the playgoers of London) can see the entire spectacle explicated; this is akin to a pageantry of inauguration wherein the Duke's staged arrival into the city is like the royal processions upon coronation.

In an ironic coincidence, it is Isabel who helps signal the Duke's public display of sovereignty most explicitly. Once he has sent Angelo and Mariana to be married, the Duke addresses Isabel to acknowledge that he is still "Attorney'd at your service" (5.1.377). She expresses genuine surprise upon learning that the Friar is now Vienna's Duke, saying, "O, give me pardon, / That I, your vassal, have employ'd and pain'd / Your unknown sovereignty" (377-379). The significance is not only in her naming his sovereignty, but in the adjective by which she calls it: "unknown." Isabella calls the Duke's sovereignty unknown, anonymous; this is far from the theological-political notion of a vertical sovereignty wherein great men make decisions for all beneath them. In this way, the Duke exercises a sovereign political will that makes use of social institutions to rectify the wrongs of his past rule and of his substitute's missteps. In moments of optimism, one may argue that the Duke's secrecy and his use of the space of the jail constitute a new era of personal and political freedom, one that would signal that the

[67] On the significance of city gates and the possibility of ushering in a new system of governance across political borders, see Chapter 3 "'Hearts more proof than shields': City Walls and Shakespeare's Politic Feelings."

Duke understand the needs of his people and the proper function of spaces of incarceration. By making the use of these socio-political institutions transparent, the Duke ensures that there will be no tyrannous usurpation of potentially dangerous modes of social control. However, a more pragmatic view of this situation would argue that the Duke is an opportunist that struck at the right moment. He brings a good correction to Vienna in a moment of need, but the play remains a problem play for several reasons. Angelo is not necessarily happily married off at the conclusion, and perhaps more importantly, the play gives very few words to Isabella after she names the Duke sovereign. Many critics highlight the absence of any speech in response to the Duke's proposal of marriage from a woman who was very ready to enter a convent (Frazer 62; Shuger 35; Meyler 35). Effectively, I agree with Shuger that we cannot succinctly or tidily emend all the problems at the end of this play; however, Isabella's relative silence especially after nominating the Duke as a sovereign does not inspire full confidence in his ability to manage socially dependent legitimized sovereign governance. The play shows the way to this, but it does not populate its world with characters that have the insight or strength to make this happen.

Indeed, there is a tempting digression into sexual politics available here, especially since *Measure for Measure's* central problem is of a sexual nature. Shuger, Lorenz, and to a degree Lupton, all take this up to great analytical benefit. Most of what they write about is outside the scope of this chapter's investigation. I give this quick synopsis so that I may use the idea of acting for the individual and acting for the community as the impetus to conclude my discussion on sovereignty and as the important intersectional point between James I's philosophy of law and Shakespeare's play.

Specifically, "similitudes" (Sommerville 179) reads like James attempting to figure out what the essence of the Duke's actions makes possible for the future and sustained political efficacy of English monarchical sovereignty. Through this intersection, and by understanding the play's various substitutions, I can conclude that spaces of incarceration play a key role in defining and interpreting modern notions of sovereignty because of the way they allow the propagation of a system of law that still allows the necessary sovereign exceptions by turning private punishment into public practice. In addition, it becomes one wherein those exceptions come not for the ruling figure but for an element of the social landscape that serves to absolve law from tyrannous consequence and uphold the polis (as in Agamben's notion of such) as a lasting entity.

Writing about the confluence of the sacred and the state in this play, Shuger claims, "The dramatic logic of the play hinges on the connection between private and public morality" (34). This strikes me as true, though perhaps we disagree on the degree of importance. The connection between private and public morality is just Shakespeare's chosen symptom of a problem of governance. The fact that this problem play leaves so many questions and issues unresolved leads me to believe that there is no singularly essential set of legal problems to address specifically for the concept of modern secular sovereignty to attain. However, Shuger does infer something rather essential to the transformational movements of sovereignty in this play, which is the notion of making public a sexual act that would normally be private. Rather than being a tool of morality, the jail cell becomes a tool of the state; it becomes the kind of institution that exists as a public edifice to private (or personal) punishment. By shifting the focus away from morality, the social construct of the prison represents the corrective as a public practice

and public use of space, one which relies less on personal or communal policing of transgressions. A network of social practices that, optimistically, work toward both the public and private good transforms and substitutes for the need of the monarch to adjudicate in a singularly theocratic manner. [68] *Measure for Measure* does not encourage such an optimistic outcome, yet it beckons the viewer or reader to consider the situation more pragmatically.

James I is himself a literal substitution in 1604. The coincidence of his ascension and the play's composition and performance in the same year is worth noting, especially because of James's attitude toward the similitudes. This is clearly a play that is signaling a need for a new or revised understanding of sovereignty that could align with "the binary structure of ideas and practices defining two opposed visions of Christian polity" (Shuger 2). With the effects of the Reformation still spreading throughout Europe, the English monarchy becomes a ripe subject for Shakespeare and his fellow playwrights, especially in the uncertainty that came with post-Elizabethan life. Chapter three, "City Walls, Borders, Boundaries: Shakespeare's Affective Political Engagement," collects the notion that these carceral spaces are a part of the matrix that defines English political authority but adds to them the notion of borders as an emotional component of a citizen's experience of civic identity and political involvement. The connection between these two chapters strengthens this dissertation's contention that spaces affected the lived experience of early modern people, but also functioned symbolically as representations of

[68] This conforms with Bodin's argument against sovereigns sitting in judgment; Jean Bodin. *Of the Lawes and Customes of a Common-Wealth: Learnedly Discoursing of the Power of Soveraignety and Magestracy*. Translated by Richard Knolles, Printed by A.I. and are to bee sold at the signe of the Bell in Saint Paul's Church-yard, 1606. He writes, "Yea unto mee it seemeth not onely not necessarie, but not profitable unto the subjects, the prince himself to bee unto them the minister of justice" (502). See also Meyler's chapter, "Emplotting Politics: James I and the 'Powder Treason,'" pp. 75-110.

affective engagement that influenced action and practice. Borders and city walls discursively reify playgoers' attitudes and practices in spatial ways that plays by Shakespeare and Heywood explore through a range of contexts that include martial feelings, civic versus royal authority, and national allegiance. As the effects of royal authority seeped beyond sovereign spaces like jail cells, they found another symbolic register in the borders of the city and, ultimately the nation, through which early modern English people purposively navigated.

Beyond the sexual politics of *Measure for Measure*, the thorough use and setting of the scenes in jail cells should resonate strongly with audiences in the 21st century as indicative of an issue that drives action in the play and perhaps change in society. Even now, when incarceration rates in America are extremely high, it is incumbent upon us to reflect upon the uses of institutions like prisons and jail cells and the attendant complications like cash bail and three-strikes laws. We call this a problem play. The problem is not only Shakespeare's, but our own, too.

CHAPTER 3

CITY WALLS, BORDERS, BOUNDARIES: SHAKESPEARE'S AFFECTIVE POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

"Helen, the mother of Constantine the Great, was the first that inwalled this city, about the year of Christ 306," writes John Stow in *A Survey of London* (1603), on the early attempts to protect London with a wall.[1] His account is somewhat amusing, as it seems the native Britons had a challenging time keeping out unwanted tribes. When the Romans quitted their governance of Britain in 399, the Scots and Picts ran rampant, causing the Britons to supplicate to Rome for protection. Upon driving the Scots and Picts out, the Romans advised the building of a new wall; again, Stow recounts, "The Britons wanting masons built that wall, not of stone as they were advised, but made it of turf, and that so slender, that it served little or nothing at all for their defense" (7). Despite these inauspicious beginnings, the wall surrounding the city of London slowly came into existence. The maintenance and repair of the wall seems to have been the province of the monarch until the latter part of the reign of Edward IV, when the responsibility fell to various guilds around the city to take up projects to improve the wall (Stow 11-12). This last fact especially is of particular importance in this chapter on Shakespeare and Heywood's staging of city walls and borders in *Coriolanus* (1608) and *1Edward IV* (1599). As I assume the continued participation of the city's guildhalls in wall repair and maintenance, I posit that there would have been a strong connection between theatergoers of the day and their affective relationship to parts of the wall surrounding London.

[1] John Stow. *The Survey of London*. J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, 1960, p. 7.

For the early modern dramatist and for the contemporary reader/viewer of the play, the staging of city walls carries a deliberate and meaningful consequence for the notion of spatial production and theatrical semiotics.[2] I turn to Henri Lefebvre to provide the foundation for the theory of the production of space, notably the idea that while space can be used and consumed, it is also a means of production.[3] Similarly, as a material aspect of the staging of the play, city walls signify in ways that will allows me to gesture toward the complex matrix of meanings that make up what I call affective political engagement.[4] The two plays under scrutiny in this chapter dramatize the violation of the space of city walls. In Heywood's play, the bastard Falconbridge tries to gain entry to the city to free Henry VI from the Tower and violates the London city walls outside Aldgate and Bishopsgate. I use the term violation of space to mean the unwanted incursion, disruption, or violence in or upon the space in question. The language of Falconbridge's lieutenants indicates their intent to do all manner of violence both upon the wall itself and upon the city once they are inside. In Shakespeare's text, the wall or borders violated are Corioles in the first act by Caius Martius, Tullus Aufidius's home in the fourth act by Caius Martius, and the Volscian camp in the fifth act by Volumnia, Virgilia, and Young Martius. Martius breeching the walls of Corioles fits this description of violation neatly; when his mother, wife, and son come to the Volscian camp, the sense of violation maps less on to the denotation of the word, but the connotation makes clear how the incursion

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[2] Erika T. Lin, *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 7-9.
[3] Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, 1991, p. 85.
[4] Lin is especially useful here; I deliberately choose the verb gesture since part of her method of understanding the way the stage space can signify depends on how the viewer sees the space. It is a process "where the signifier does not resemble the signified but rather gestures toward it" (47). I think many of the characters' actions in this play do not necessarily resemble feelings but do gesture toward them.

is entirely dependent on the kind of liminal, interdisciplinary space that a city wall represents.

"Purpose to robbe ryfell and despoile the Citee of London": Heywood's *1Edward IV* and Affective Proximity

This chapter accentuates the importance of the spectators' awareness of their proximity to the wall surrounding London and their knowledge of the gates that they might pass through when travelling to the theater. The play, *Coriolanus*, and the location, the Blackfriars, surely suggest and elicit some affective involvement, especially considering the corn riots that open Shakespeare's drama. However, for Heywood, these two crucial details, the play *1Edward IV* and the location of the Boar's Head playhouse, were of utter and intentional importance for the point of creating a work of art that strongly imbues a sense of political feeling and sharply focuses cultural attention on the use and ordering of space. In his introduction to the Revels Plays edition, Richard Rowland offers the claim of Heywood's authorship of *1Edward IV* due to fact that it was so very London-centric.[5] It is not just the claim of historical realism (without assigning that term anachronistically) that motivates the following critical comments about Heywood's dramatic language, but the notion that the playgoers must have had familiarity with the chorographic significations of a play that was set in London of 130 years prior. Indeed, as we shall see, Heywood's slight changes to the historical record (much like Shakespeare's changes to Plutarch's history) bring to bear an intentional

[5] Thomas Heywood. *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*. Edited by Richard H. Rowland, Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 2. Further references to the play will be parenthetical by scene and line number. The play was very likely co-written by Heywood and one or more authors. Anthony Munday and Michael Drayton are the two possibilities that Rowland offers. Interestingly, it may have been a desire to be part of founding a new, third company of actors in London that caused Heywood, Munday, and Drayton to defect from other projects and companies to create what became known as Derby's Men, made up largely from defections from Worcester's Men.

characterizing of the London spaces as markers of audience involvement and, hence, affective interaction. Comparing the historical appeal Falconbridge makes to the Lord Mayor to the language of the play yields a fruitful example of how the playwright deftly impresses a critique of the use of (and violation of) space upon a celebration of civic engagement and local triumph to reify the importance of city walls and the protection offered by these borders. In a way, this recalls the *Civitas Londini* (1600) by John Norden, the map that prioritized the mayoral procession and the coats of arms of the

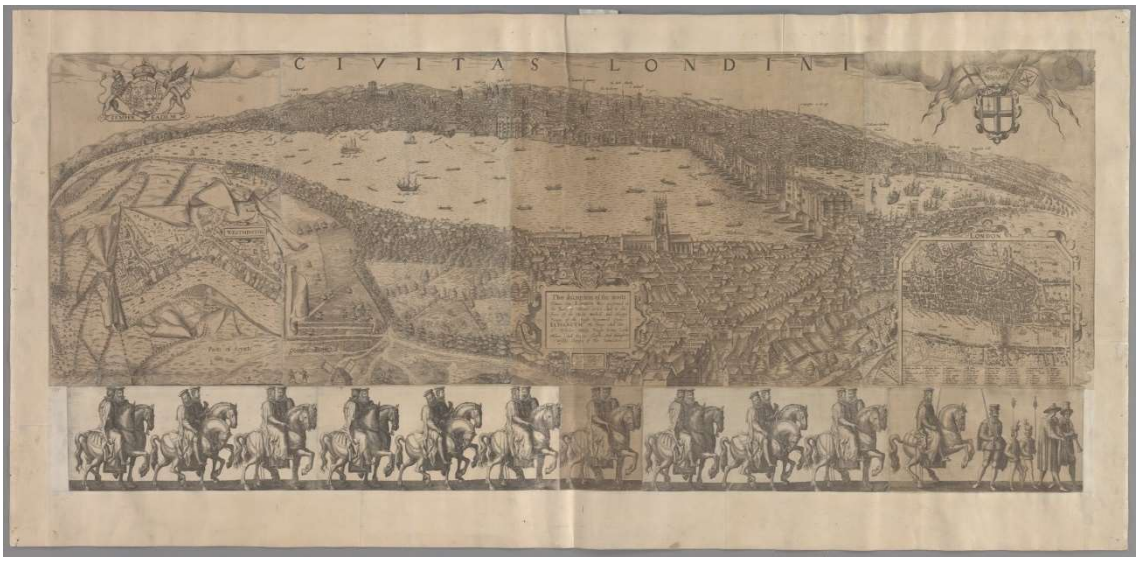

Figure 1— *Civitas Londini* by John Norden

London trade guilds over the royal emblems or spaces (Westminster appears as though surgically unearthed from a field, as though it is an unwanted or strange appendage; see Figure 1). Both the map and the dramatic text indicate the change in the cultural attitude toward questions about the use of space more broadly and the way city walls define and complicate difference among the nation's citizens. The play's provenance as a product of the Boar's Head theater is equally productive as it sits just outside the wall at Aldgate, which proved a contentious site itself (more on this below). As an introduction to the discussion of the representation of city walls and borders, the close reading of Heywood's

1Edward IV literalizes the aspects of the city wall as a key setting for the audience's apprehension of involvement in the affective politics of the play. Similarly, the violation enacted upon the metaphoric wall and the very real stage further complicates the burgeoning question of what it means to be English and specifically a Londoner. Finally, we see that the discussion bears continued scrutiny, even into our present day and our present questions of nationality and the permeability of a country's borders.

The contentious beginnings of the Boar's Head theater bear mention as part of the contextual situation that expanded the number of recognized playing companies in London as well as being the vehicle for producing a play that garnered recognition and popularity in its own time (there were six quarto printings). The first company to use the Boar's Head was Derby's Men, a successful touring group that finally found a home in the northeast area of London. The transformation of the Boar's Head Inn from a smaller innyard to an open-air theater that featured a covered stage and covered galleries (*1 and 2Edward IV* 3). This conversion and the "higher status that playing had acquired"[6] made the Boar's Head a location ripe to produce something unique; however, the space was still a kind of liminal one and its continued existence was uncertain. I posit that this, initially, may have been an appealing characteristic of writing for that specific location, as Rowland claims Heywood (and his collaborators) did deliberately. He writes, "The importance and specificity of location in early modern playwriting…can be dated, with precision and confidence, to the period between the registration (on 7 July 1598) of the text which inspired the new direction, John Stow's *Survey of London*, and the premiere at the Boar's Head playhouse in Whitechapel in the closing months of 1599 of the two-part

[6] Andrew Gurr. *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*. 4th ed, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 120.

play *Edward IV*."[7] Rowland's claim is not solely that of a fervent Heywood advocate; however, it lacks an appreciation for the kind of marginal situation that the playwright found himself in when writing a play for this theater. In addition to the injunctions leveled against Derby's Men to stop playing to preserve the duopoly of playing companies already formally licensed by the city, the inn/theater's owner and an "occupying force of seven men" invaded the Boar's Head, disrupted the beginning of a performance, ultimately making off with the receipts from the gate (*1 and 2Edward IV* 4). Success for the Boar's Head was not an imminent conclusion, yet the thrill of operating on the margins must have proved to be some allure for Heywood. His stroke of brilliance was to turn the uncertainty over the new theater's permanence of place into the motivating emotional force that draws the audience into the play and becomes that aspect of involvement that determines affective participation in the play. Though we cannot know with certainty, it may have been the relative uncertainty that led Heywood and his collaborators to use such grounded, London based landmarks as settings of the play's action.

The first six scenes of the play are active ones. They delight in their pace and range of dramatic movement between King Edward IV, who is too far away from the city to be present at its defense, and the London gentlemen who brave the rebellious Falconbridge and his group. Falconbridge is intent on releasing King Henry VI from the Tower as the rightful king. The play text roughly follows the sequence of events that history records, though there are some notable exceptions and omissions. A brief

[7] Richard Rowland. *Thomas Heywood's Theatre, 1599-1639: Locations, Translations, and Conflict*. Ashgate, 2010, p. 24.

summation of these provides us with crucial insight into the rhetorical goals of Heywood's play and allows us to make some claims about the political feeling that he would have wanted to cultivate or perhaps manipulate. First, the location of Falconbridge's attack upon the city is generally consistent with the actual events. The Recorder points out to the Mayor,

> Rather, me seemeth they will come by land,
> And either make assault at London Bridge,
> Or else at Aldgate—both which entrances,
> Were good they should be strongly fortified. (3.73-76)

It bears repeating that Aldgate was the city gate closest to the Boar's Head Theater and thus demarcates a site with contentious history and possibly affective investment by those who pass through it or those who maintained it. On 14 May 1471, Fauconberg did lead his army against the city: "A further attack was made on London Bridge and men were sent to assault Cripplegate and Aldgate. The fiercest fighting was on the bridge at the tower guarding the drawbridge…and at Aldgate."[8] The play does not dramatize the fighting on the bridge. Perhaps this is purely a staging issue. With the two doors for entering the tiring house and the upper arras to serve as the top of the wall, it may have been much easier for the Boar's Head space to serve as a city wall, rather than a bridge. Instead, a messenger delivers the news to the Lord Mayor that the rebels come "From Essexward; and therefore 'tis his mind / You guard both Aldgate well, and Bishopsgate" (3.91-92). Though Heywood is not at pains to remain true to the historical record, he nevertheless reifies Aldgate as a crucial point at which the Lord Mayor and the citizenry

[8] C. F. Richmond. "Fauconberg's Kentish Rising of May 1471." *The English Historical Review*, vol. 85, no. 337, 1970, pp. 673–692, 679.

must act to defend against the rebellious invasion. The gate's proximity to the theater undergirds the argument that there is an affective political valence to the gate being so close and well-known by the theater's patrons (see Figure 2).

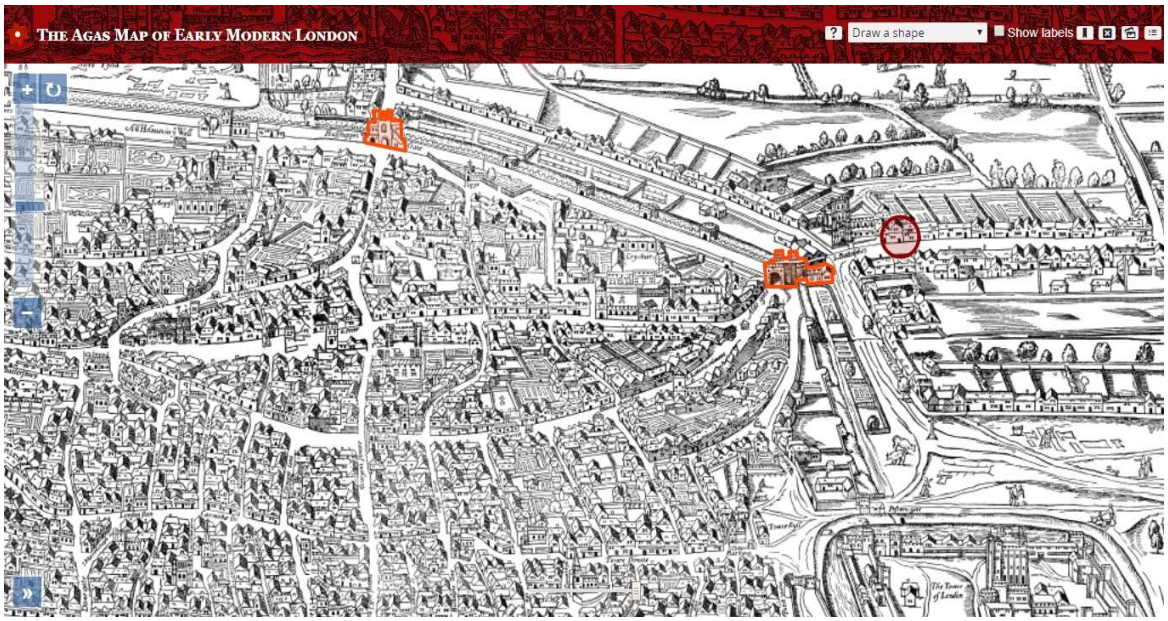

Figure 2— Agas Map of Early Modern London (detail): Outlined items are Cripplegate, which is further north and west, and Aldgate; the circle denotes the Boars's Head. The Tower of London is visible in the bottom right corner.

"The Apprehension of Involvement": History, Theory, and Violation

I draw attention to the physical proximity of the city wall to the playhouses and to the historical events during the writing and performance of the drama to complicate an argument about the political readings of the plays. In this chapter, I wish to re-position the plays as examples that stage the violation of city walls not just for political exigency, but also as emotional or feeling gestures that converge around city walls as part of a matrix of symbolic signifiers. I want to trace the way in which the city wall works as an emotional tie for the spectator and to show how Shakespeare and Heywood use that emotional tie to make complex arguments about space, political power, and civic pride. This chapter strives to make clear the way violations of space are the impetus of the

transaction that indicates an audience member's involvement and apprehension of the emotional valence of the text. The walls of the play on stage, whether they are visible or not, are the walls of London in *1Edward IV* and Rome and London in *Coriolanus* simultaneously. In the brief moments of history that I trace, I show that there existed a connection between the citizen audience of the play and the London wall that cements the foundation for an emotional response to the symbolic walls of the play.

One of the key components of this connection is the way in which the gates of the walls conferred or conveyed a sense of identity to the citizens of London. I would not overstate the fact that Blackfriars was so close to the city wall; Shakespeare would have known that the theater he was writing for rests just within the city walls. Heywood, too, as I demonstrate above, made use of the proximity of Aldgate. Patrons of the Blackfriars would more than likely have had to pass through Aldersgate to get to the playhouse when coming from the north. Similarly, if we assume a slightly more affluent clientele for the indoor playhouse, the patrons might not have had to pass through any of the gates in the London city wall to get to Blackfriars. Nevertheless, I aver that they would have been quite conscious of their position as those within the city wall. Consider the curious case of the opening of William Baldwin's short novel, *Beware the Cat* (1570), called the first English novel.[9] With almost no context, the narrative begins enumerating the names of several of the gates of London and the origins of those names. Baldwin's narrator, Master Streamer, effuses,

[9] William Baldwin. *Beware the Cat: The First English Novel*. Edited by William A. Ringler and Michael Flachmann, Huntington Library, 1988. The editors point out that there were no extant sustained fictitious narratives written before Baldwin's book. Longer narratives existed as translations and there are some earlier jest books; however, Ringler and Flachmann make a persuasive case for *Beware the Cat* as the first English novel. See pp. xiii-xiv. References are by page and line number.

> The town wall that is called Aldersgate (either of one Aldrich, or else of Elders, that is to say ancient men of the city which among them builded it—as bishops did Bishopsgate…as Moorgate took the name of the field without it, which hath been a very moor…or else as Ludgate taketh the name of Lud who builded it…[Aluredus] and his wife Algay builded Aldgate, which thereof taketh the name as Cripplegate doth of a cripple, who begged so much in his life, as put to the silver weather cock which he stole from Paul's steeple, after his death builded it). (9.4-23)

In this instance, before discussing the adventures of several talking cats, Master Streamer talks about the names of the gates and the associations that he draws according to their names. In most instances, he aligns the gate to the identity of the builder; however, as with Moorgate, there is a connection to the geography of the surrounding place or a notable personage, as with Cripplegate. Importantly, this text illustrates the easy sway of the denotation of names and how closely connected the physical entity of the gate can be to the stories this person tells about the gates' identities. Ludgate can be quickly and easily associated with Lud and, in turn, with whatever other stories or ideas connect to Lud. Even the story of Cripplegate as named after one who begged without the gate is not complete without the addition of the detail that he stole the weathercock from St. Paul's. The strong emphasis that Master Streamer puts on the association of gate names with the builders is a marker of the close civic identity that I argue is an important function for the way that walls signify in the plays under discussion in this chapter.

Amusingly, these origin stories for the names of the gates are not actually true. In the notes to *Beware the Cat*, Ringler and Flachmann point to Stow's *Survey* as a

corrective for the factual errors that Master Streamer presents in his genealogy of the gate names. Stow counters, "Aldersgate, so called not of Aldrich or of Elders…as some have fabled it, in a book, called *Beware of the Cat*, but for the very antiquity of the gate itself, as being one of the first four gates of the city" (33). The fact that Stow directly references Baldwin's text is a testament to the power of the names and the stories associated with them. Clearly, there was a lasting effect that Stow believed needed correction, since *Beware the Cat* was published in 1570 and Stow's *Survey* did not appear until 1598. Though Baldwin's names and their histories are a fanciful narrative, the notion that there is a deep power to the connection that the names represent is no less apparent. This is the power that I would draw upon to argue for a reading of both the play and the history to make a statement about the ideology that governed and defined Shakespeare and Heywood's audiences. As Stow's text demonstrates, early moderns thought very practically about walls; however, as Baldwin shows, walls and their gates become fertile sites for storytelling and playful signification. I believe that these are two related and potent modes of thought.

This chapter uses the terms affective relationship and politic feelings to indicate a methodological understanding of similar things. These are not identical notions, though they share many congruencies. A great part of the difficulty is to avoid assigning anachronistic characteristics of feelings or emotions to the people that make up the early modern theatrical audience. For Shakespeare and the early modern audience, Galenic humoral theory maintained a strong influence upon the determination of emotional responses as consequences of bodily reactions. However, in *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare*, Steven Mullaney argues against the validity of a Galenic

theory as an etiology of emotion, remarking that humors influenced temperament, not emotion.[10] Mullaney understands emotions as mental states by reading feelings (or affective relations) as both social and material things. For him, the phenomenology of emotions in the 16th and 17th centuries points to the transactional and enacted nature of emotions: "The apprehension of involvement, the social element of an emotion, is also the moment of embodiment" (Mullaney 22). Further, Arab et. al. write that the biological explanation of emotions cannot offer the only way to explain the impact of affect upon the social formation of an audience; they conclude, "Affect's generation and circulation through social networks suggest that it can be a shared or collective experience."[11] Bailey and DiGangi further reify this idea when they write, "Questions of affect might be productively articulated with early modern understandings of bodies, passions, and social relations."[12] These descriptions of affect provide a foundation for the framework of the "assemblages" that Drew Daniel constructs to demonstrate the conception and transmission of melancholy.[13] By drawing out the connection between bodies and semiotics, between the physical and the utterance of emotion, Daniel affirms the necessary embodiment of a cultural phenomenon that generates physical effects while spreading outward through cultural participation (9-10).[14]

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[10] Steven Mullaney. *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare*. The University of Chicago Press, 2015, pp. 21 and 190n.
[11] Ronda Arab, Michelle M. Dowd, and Adam Zucker, editors. *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theater*. Routledge, 2015, p. 5.
[12] Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi, editors. *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecologies, and Form*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, p. 5.
[13] Drew Daniel. *The Melancholy Assemblage: Affect and Epistemology in the English Renaissance*. Fordham University Press, 2013, p. 7.
[14] Daniel uses another metaphor to describe emotional transmission, writing, "An affective bond-which-is-also-a-gap emerges," and, "The more witnesses, the greater number of bonds and exterior relations joined together to consolidate the assemblage" (3, 26). This coheres nicely with the way that Arab et. al. and Mullaney emphasize the cultural aspect of the proliferation and construction of emotion as it applies to a theatrical experience. Arab, Dowd, and Zucker define affect "as created within economies of or circulations

I share Mullaney's skepticism of the criticism that would allow one to subsume the emotions under the passions or temperaments to explicate and produce a reading of Galenic theory that accurately reflects the lived social experience of how an audience member might feel when watching a play. As an audience member, the words or actions of a play cause one to form an affective relationship with any number of theatrical semiotic signifiers, whether it is the character, the place or setting, the ideas, or the actual experience of being in the theater (and more likely some combination of these things). The nuance and subtlety of these things range far beyond the starkly defined humors and their relative heat and cold or wetness and dryness. As such, the plays create affective significance in an audience's experience through spatial violation, both real and fictional. This becomes the politic feelings that assemble the matrix of human emotion, politics, and social practice that result from the playgoing experience.

The act of reading, generally, and the viewing of drama, particularly, are types of interactions that rely on investments in time, attention, and feeling. Drama, whether read or seen, will reciprocate the investment with something akin to accrued interest. I posit this fiscal metaphor because it helps give a place to feelings and emotions within the whole of the literary/dramatic enterprise. As part of the (many) exchanges taking place in early modern theater, those of feelings or emotions become more palpable as a part of a transaction. This is what makes the idea of the social and material nature of emotions so apt for theater. A spectator will embody an emotional response while watching a play because she is inherently involved. The sociality of the theater combined with its transactional nature (both feelingly and economically) make drama a singularly valuable

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between human bodies, non-human bodies, and material things, mediated by social, cultural, and economic systems and practices" (4).

vehicle for the study of feelings or emotions. Herein, I fold this idea into the complex interdisciplinary space of the plays' city walls and borders, along with the violations of such spaces. Excitingly, the plays suggest an emotional connection to the space at key moments of violation through the language of Caius Martius, Volumnia, and Tullus Aufidius in *Coriolanus*, and Matthew Shore and Falconbridge in *1Edward IV*. I will show how this couples with the affective relationship that many in the audience had with the London city wall to suggest that these plays unfold a complex relationship between the politics that govern the city and the way in which the populace maintained an emotional connection with city walls, borders, and authority figures. I begin by drawing out a discussion of Thomas Heywood's *1Edward IV* to enrich and complicate the ways in which both dramatists make use of history to deploy affective relationships and politic feelings. Heywood's play presents a fertile case for imagining how a dramatist used or ignored the historical sources and what effects these choices have on the way the play materializes space. In this case, significant omissions allow the dramatist to prioritize the actions of the London civic authority and certain members of the populace that were not part of the gentry. By subverting historical chronicle, Heywood's plot attributes significant agency to the Lord Mayor and his followers as part of the city's defense against the violation of a rebellious faction. The defense of the city is not only important as a symbol for civic pride, but it allows for a subtle shift in the perception of royal power and induces questions regarding where the city, as an important space, resides in the cultural imagination. This reassessment of London as a signifying space has direct consequences for how the citizens of London, and the playgoers especially, understood their affective relationship and political feelings about the metropolis.

The 1607 riots in the Midlands affected all social levels of theatergoers. Crucially, the details of the unrest are part of a larger narrative about the changing nature of the attitude towards space, the economic uses of space, and the cultural absorption of these changes. Like the London defenders of the 1471 uprising, poor and rich had roles in the Midland riots, which marks both Shakespeare's and Heywood's plays as ingenious cultural vehicles for examining the changing signification of the use of social space. Gordon McMullan points to the decade previous as the impetus that precipitated the riots, "Fifteen ninety-six and ninety-seven had seen the worst harvest in the midlands in living memory."[15] Though there was some recovery, it was sparse and not all the years in between saw crop yields that would have been able to make up for the disastrous dearth. In his *Annales* (1631), John Stow relates the aims of the rioters to be, "The prevention of further depopulation, the encrease and continuance of tillage to relieve their wives and children, and chiefely because it had beene credibly reported unto them by many, that of very late yeeres, there were three hundred and forty Townes decayed and depopulated."[16] Depopulation of the towns was a direct result of the enclosures propagated by the landowners, many of whom were absentee landlords, a state of being that was in direct opposition to many centuries of custom.[17]

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[15] Gordon McMullan. *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1994, p. 40.

[16] John Stow, et al. *Annales, or, A Generall Chronicle of England. Begun by John Stow: Continued and Augmented with Matters Forraigne and Domestique, Ancient and Moderne, unto the End of This Present Yeere, 1631.* Printed by John Beale, Bernard Alsop, Thomas Fawcett, and Augustine Mathewes, 1631, p. 890.

[17] L.A. Parker, "The Agrarian Revolution at Cotesbach 1501-1612," *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 24, 1948, pp. 41-77. Parker notes, specifically, John Quarles, a London merchant who "destroyed the old order before he finished with it" (57). Garrett A. Sullivan. *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*. Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 19.

If enclosure and depopulation were the main, visible consequences of the economic and political aspects of the changing attitudes towards space, then they must also have been a touchstone for the emotional responses of those involved in the Midland unrest. In other words, the riot was a consequence of real problems and the close, emotional ties that the people had to the problems associated with the shifting agrarian economic practices. McMullan concurs: "The authorities appeared content to acknowledge the fault of the enclosing gentry and to concede that, though rebellion itself was unacceptable, the rebels had genuine grievances and that the rebellion was caused primarily by fear of famine" (47-48). In a more historically contemporary reaction to the events at Northamptonshire, Dr. Robert Wilkinson preached a sermon after the cessation of the riots. In the congregation for the sermon were the Earl of Exeter, the Earl of Huntingdon, and other members of the gentry who would have fought against the rioting tenants (McMullan 48). In the context of literary criticism, this sermon provides a persuasive example of how to think about a feeling audience with an affective relation to the subject matter. These affective relations apply beyond economic disparities, a fact that makes Dr. Wilkinson's sermon richer in its nuance. Like the commercial playhouses, the church was a place where many people from many different economic situations could meld together. Dr. Wilkinson's sermon intelligently acknowledges the audience before whom it preaches, acting to "negotiate between the authorities and the protesters."[18] Thus, a need for mediation of the conflict implies that there were still lingering emotion ties to the subject matter. Indeed, whether one is facing famine or riot,

[18] Annabel M. Patterson. *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice*. B. Blackwell, 1990, p. 141.

there is certainly an affective link to the situation, one that we can read through the language of Dr. Wilkinson's sermon.

Annabel Patterson and Gordon McMullan laud the literary merits of the oration preached on the 21st of June 1607. Wilkinson's deft use of pronouns and clever soteriological constructions show how he engages with the task of conciliating the two parties. He was the chaplain to Exeter (McMullan 48), yet his words concerning the duties of landowners are stern. Nevertheless, upon publication, the title page of the sermon features an engraving of a wheat sheaf, possibly a reminder to rich and poor alike that the central concern is the food of men's bodies, not just their souls. For the sufferance of the rioters, Wilkinson calls their plight, "Poverty without patience," and remarks that this "hath much disordered vs."[19] To be impoverished without patience would seem to be a sin against the care of god in this context. Essentially, Wilkinson says that God will provide; the opening epigram of the printed sermon is a verse from Matthew 4.4: "It is written, Man shall not live by bread onely, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." This would seem to be some empty counsel, though, since, as previously stated, the citizenry was still reeling from the disastrous dearth of a few years before. Apparently, there were no miracles being performed in the shire of Northampton. I do not think that Wilkinson meant to preach that righteous starvation is the way to endure the hardships of bad land management practices. Rather, the thrust of his argument seems to hinge upon the combination of not living by bread alone and the engendering of disorder. Living according to God's providence should not

[19] Robert Wilkinson. *A Sermon Preached at North-Hampton the 21. of Iune Last Past, before the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and the Rest of the Commissioners There Assembled Upon Occasion of the Late Rebellion and Riots in Those Parts Committed.* Printed by George Eld for John Flasket, 1607, sig. B2v.

occur alongside the disorder that history records as riots in the Midlands. He inveighs, "Commonly wee are thus affected to the outward means, that if at any time they faile us, we are ready to curse, and finally to renounce them" (D3v). For Wilkinson, without the godly component of bread, there is only the worship of bread itself; when that bread fails, riot and disorder erupt. We might recall the opening words of *Coriolanus*, by the First Citizen, "You are all resolved rather to die than to famish?"[20] Then, within five lines, the Citizen says of Caius Martius, "Let us kill him, and we'll have corn at our own price" (1.1.10-11). The danger of disorder is the swift recourse to violence.

Wilkinson preaches not just to those who participated in the riot. A consummate orator who knew his audience well, he also speaks with some fair admonition to the more noble classes who should have prevented such an incursion against the King's peace. He castigates them, "In this depopulation…whatsoever is done to the wasting of mankind for the benefit of a few in the kind, is against the providence of God, too" (Wilkinson D1r). He later likens the landowners to Adam and Eve who God charged not only to multiply, but "fill the earth;" he analogizes the commoners who are that offspring with "the image of God, with the precious seed of the divine generation." Further, he warns against ignoring those who have less "by joyning house to house, and land to land to bee alone upon the earth" (ibid.). Though initially the quote speaks most directly to the situation of depopulation and enclosure, the latter aspects give fuller context to the way in which Wilkinson frames his spiritual advice to the landowners. In a way, he defines a violation of space in the actions of the various peers that led to the aggregation of land and the exclusion of the common people from arable fields.

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[20] William Shakespeare. *Coriolanus*. Edited by Jonathan V. Crewe, Penguin Books, 1999. 1.1.4-5. Further references will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line number.

On the issue of inclusiveness, the extent to which an early modern audience would have known about the sermon (probably small) to the way they felt about the Midlands riots (somewhat palpably) is not possible to know for certain. Nevertheless, in one of the first accounts to recognize the influence of the historical action on the composition of the play, E.C. Pettet remarks, "However insignificant this revolt may appear from the remote distance of three hundred and fifty years, it is reasonable to suppose that many Englishmen of the time were profoundly disturbed by it."[21] Settling in to see a play at Blackfriars might have been a way to pass a pleasant afternoon, but Shakespeare's drama must have reached across the stage and stirred an affective connection with the audience, even if they only had a passing knowledge of what occurred, at most, a few years earlier.

To reflect properly the emotional energy of the early modern audience is a fraught and perilous task; however, the aid of an unexpected rhetorical mode can help elucidate the complex and discordant emotional vectors that possibly swirl about in the playhouse of the audience and in the mind of the reader. Ranked by George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* as "the worst abuse or vice in rhetoric,"[22] amphiboly (in the Greek) or ambiguitas (in the Latin) shows itself to be immensely helpful when considering emotional currents that we might not know about with any certainty. Our modern usage keeps the term ambiguity in a similar sense, but there is more at stake here for the dramatic use of this rhetorical device, so I will use the less familiar term of amphiboly to describe the shifting and slippery language that Shakespeare sometimes uses to elicit and

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[21] E. C. Pettet. "*Coriolanus* and the Midlands Insurrection of 1607." *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 3, 1950, pp. 34–42, 34.
[22] Steven Mullaney. "Lying Like Truth: Riddle, Representation and Treason in Renaissance England." *ELH*, vol. 47, no. 1, 1980, pp. 32–47, 36.

express emotional valence. It is far more than the dramatist being ambiguous; there is too much "maybe" left in that term, leaving a feeling of either/or instead. Rather, from a logical disposition, amphiboly delivers with a "both/and" kind of conjunction. The term expresses the weight of the interpretation that the text demands of its audience. Similarly, its relative unfamiliarity will help distinguish the term's importance. In my discussion of the scene where Caius Martius breaches the walls of Corioles, I will show in greater detail how this rhetorical vice allows an audience to immerse empathically into the action of the play and how it complicates any firm definition of reaction or disposition, especially with its relation to treasonous language (Mullaney, "Lying Like Truth" 35), of which I write more on below. This lack of certainty is a crucial aspect of the matrix of emotional possibilities that I wish to consider as the component parts of affective relationships or politic feelings.

The main plays under critical scrutiny in this chapter share historical similarities that prove to be fertile points of contextualization. Heywood's historical play is based on an uprising and rebellious attack upon the London city walls. Shakespeare's Roman tragedy was very likely written during or right after a peasant rebellion in the Midlands and explicitly references one of the popularly stated causes of this violence. I draw attention to these two facts to justify the notion of violation that has been a thematic undercurrent of this dissertation. Necessarily, violation is a loose term; however, though these two plays stage historical moments of violence differently, they rely on the action of disruption from the norm that violence represents. One may argue that there would be no plot without dramatic upheaval or conflict, and certainly, violence is a kind of conflict that energizes drama. Nevertheless, violence, as I represent in this dissertation, has a

particular resonance with these two plays, especially in the way in which they stage city walls. Violence can be overt or subtle, but the kinds of violence around city walls makes these plays cultural texts that have something to say about the way a contemporary audience might think (or be led to think) about the use of space and how these spaces relate to the power structures within the city or the nation. Heywood's walls are literally the walls of London, the very ones that the audience might pass on their way to work, to home, or as some aspect of their daily lives. Shakespeare's walls are no less the walls of London, even though they signify as the walls or Corioles or Rome. In both cases, the playwrights demand of the viewer or reader that we think about the space of the walls, their use, and what that kind of border or demarcation means to a society that travels within and without these spaces. That we might continue to associate violence with walls indicating borders between nations makes the study of the violations of the space of walls in these plays especially meaningful, reinforcing the vitality of these old texts as social signifiers.

"Put the sword into the Arms of London": Defending London's Walls as Affective Political Action

On the purported excuse for the invasion of London and Falconbridge's stated desire to rescue Henry from the Tower, there exists an interesting historical record that the play does not do well to dramatize. In this instance, I believe Heywood labors to make the rebels more villainous than they might have seemed to the Londoners of 1471. Additionally, he elides the possibility that help for Falconbridge might have come from within the city. One historian inveighs on the issue of the urban poor, "There would be men willing enough to join such an enterprise from within the city, as the *Arrivall*

declares, 'which would have bene right glade of a comon robery, to th'entent they might largely have put theyr hands in riche mens coffres'" (Richmond 680). Heywood's play tells us nothing of these very poor men and women, only remarking upon the deeds of those of the merchant class. This may be an instance of the author recognizing his audience as those of the class with money to spend on entertainment. However, there would undoubtedly have been people in the audience who would have considered the rebellion to be a time of opportunity for economic advancement. This fact is complicated by a passage from John Bruce's *Historie of the Arrival of Edward IV* (1838), wherein he writes, "By which medelinge of gentlemen, and lords servauntes, with the citizens, in every parte, the citizens were greatly encoragyd to set sharply upon them with one hoole entent, where elles it had be lykely they shuld nat have willed to have done so moche thereto as was donne."[23] This thinly veiled omission puts the focus on the heroism of the Mayor, Matthew Shore, and the others of the Mayor's party as an example of the prominent citizens doing their patriotic duty for the good of the city. Considering this omission, Heywood's portrayal of the situation is incomplete; however, the context firmly centers upon civic pride in these first few scenes, relegating the royal role for the time being.

1Edward IV makes Falconbridge out to be more venally motivated than his historical counterpart Fauconberg was, perhaps aligning the character more strongly with Heywoods's lightly critical attitude towards Edward. [24] In a letter dated 8 May 1471, the

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[23] John Bruce. *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recouerye of His Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. MCCCC-LXXI*. Printed for the Camden society by J. B. Nichols and son, 1838, pp. 36-37.

[24] Though it is not my intent to take up many later scenes of the play, Heywood does level some criticism of the crown by associating Edward with Falconbridge in that both men lustily desire Jane Shore. Falconbridge's language is base and almost shocking in its frankness; he says, "Shore, listen me. Thy wife

rebel leader wrote to the City of London, stating his desire was only to seek out Edward the Usurper, and that he wished to pass through London peacefully,

> I am enfourmed howe the partie of the usurper of our saide liege lordes Crownne hath made you to understande that I with the kynges people shulde purpose to robbe ryfell and despoile the Citee of London if I came therein…to abrigge the peynfull labour and to shorte the wey of the kinges people hertly sette and disposed ayenst the saide usurper desire and praye you courteisly to passe through the Citee in oure wey And we shall neither take vitaille ne ware withouten payment be ye therof certayne.[25]

The city leaders replied, in short, that they did not believe any of the claims Fauconberg made in his letter and that they would not permit him and his rabble entrance to the city. Heywood's Falconbridge is noble in his beginnings, but his venality and desire to control the printing of money override whatever noble ambitions he begins with. In one of the first exchanges with his lieutenants, Falconbridge claims, "We do not rise like Tyler, Cade, and Straw, / Bluebeard, and other of that rascal rout, / Basely like tinkers, or such muddy slaves, / For mending measures, or the price of corn" (2.27-30). Such a claim is mellifluous, but it lacks any real substance. Falconbridge makes a show of claiming that he is not like the popular rebels of old, names that were firmly associated with commoners making trouble in the realm of England. Politically, he tries to distance himself from such low-brow action; however, at the end of his speech, the audience is not

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is mine, that's flat. / This night, in thine own house, she sleeps with me" (4.46-47). Edward woos with more subtlety, visiting Jane at the Shore's gold shop and pretending to be a customer.

[25] Reginald R. Sharpe. *London and the Kingdom; a History Derived Mainly from the Archives at Guildhall in the Custody of the Corporation of the City of London*, vol 3. Longmans, Green & Co, 1894, pp. 387-388.

sure of what or whom Falconbridge's uprising is like. Any pretense to the nobility of his cause degenerates almost immediately in the furor that he aims to stir among his men. He cries out

> We will be masters of the Mint ourselves,
>
> And set our own stamp on the golden coin.
>
> We'll shoe our neighing coursers with no worse
>
> Than the purest silver that is sold in Cheap.
>
> At Leadenhall we'll sell pearls by the peck,
>
> As now the mealmen use to sell their meal.
>
> In Westminster we'll keep a solemn court,
>
> And build it bigger to receive our men.
>
> Cry Falconbridge, my hearts, and liberty! (2.49-57)

His desire to set his own stamp on the coin of the realm is indicative, in part, of his vanity, as well as his true political desire. He compounds this when he claims that he will use Cheapside silver to make horseshoes, which sounds ridiculous from a practical standpoint, though it does solidify, as one critic explains, Falconbridge's desire "to abolish the artificial, financial value that the government has imposed on the coinage and treat precious metals as use-value alone."[26] In our context, the civic patriots of London are the ones in the play and the audience that recognize the danger in toying with financial value and the subsequent disorder. In picking out Cheapside and Leadenhall as the exact places that he intends to enact his rebellious work, Falconbridge crystalizes the violation of those spaces as one with direct ties to abstract constructions of value and

[26] David Hawkes. "Thomas Gresham's Law, Jane Shore's Mercy: Value and Class in the Plays of Thomas Heywood." *ELH*, vol. 77, no. 1, 2010, pp. 25–44, 36.

nobility. The walls of the city are a theoretical bulwark to protect against such fluctuations of value that this rebellion would bring, thus making such violation of them more politically and social significant to the point of audience apprehension. Falconbridge's incursion represents more than just the political desire to free Henry from the tower, but a nation-threatening upending of currency values and the worth of raw materials (Hawkes 37). Heywood keeps with the historical record by portraying a city united to keep Falconbridge out; Shore reports, "Besides, from every hall / There is at least two hundred men in arms" (3.6-7). The word from Richmond is thus, "There were good reasons why the citizens should have reacted so strenuously on this occasion. One was that they wished to avoid the disorder which, despite Fauconberg's assurances to the contrary, would have occurred on some scale had the soldiers, seamen and commoners of Kent been admitted" (679-680).

Falconbridge's gross desire for profit and wealth becomes a political statement that Heywood's audience acutely felt. In their mind, they surely denigrated Falconbridge and his plan to sell pearls as though they were like meal, a fact that would have exacerbated public remembrance of the periods of dearth England experienced in the decade during which this play was written. In this case, he would entirely upend use-value, from something that provides sustenance to that which is merely decorative. If Falconbridge seems more aristocratic with his plans for violation, his lieutenants are more corporeally minded with their plans. Spicing, in a rousing pep talk, claims they will "take the tankards from the conduit cocks, / To fill with Hippocras, and drink carouse!" (2.69-70). Smoke continues the imagery, boasting, "As a troop of hungry travelers, / That

fix their eyes upon a furnished feast…Wipe, slaves, your eyes, / And whet your stomachs for the good malt pies" (81-86). Chub's near-song is best of all,

> No sooner in London will we be,
> But the bakers for you, the brewers for me.
> Birchin Lane shall suit us, the Costermongers fruit us;
> The poulters send us fowl,
> And butchers meat, without control;
> And ever when we sup or dine,
> The vinters freely bring us in wine.
> If anybody ask who shall pay,
> Cut off his head, and send him away. (89-97)

All three men look ahead with gusto to the drinking they will do, with little regard for the gold or silver that concerns Falconbridge. Perhaps the most telling line belongs to Chub, when he says that they will do all this, "without control." So much of the theme of violation in this dissertation has to do with the ability to control desire, the self, or the space. A sense of boundary and limitation do not apply in Chub's fantasy, and thus his fantasy is carnivalesque. To eat and drink without control is a type of violation that any audience member would easily see. Heywood's play brings the locus of that violation upon the city wall, the object that would stand for keeping the bad things out and the good things in. Even more intricately, the play describes the nature of those who stand within and without the walls, marking them as either friends or foes to both civic and national pride. By denoting specifically London locales, Heywood achieves a degree of political affect that might be difficult in a play about England at large, or by a foreign

country substituted symbolically. When the play materializes the action of the rebels trying to break through the gates, this moment is a touchstone for the affective potential and semiotic signification of the gate as a point of civic pride in repulsing such a greedy and fiscally irresponsible rebellion. The sense of value apparent at this moment reflects the notion that one may rise through actions of a nobler character than one's station, not through venality and uncontrolled gluttony. Before he upends the moral valence of this idea later in the play, Heywood presents the Mayor and his company as the exemplars of civic pride and virtue.

The Mayor and his companions meet Falconbridge for the first time when they enter the stage, possibly on the other side of a makeshift door, or possibly when they enter above and speak down at Falconbridge. The play text Q1 version is unclear where blocking might put them upon their entrance to scene 4. Rowland's text makes no specific distinction except that he has the Mayor and his associates climb above at the end of the exchange so that they might be above for the next scene at the commencement of the fighting. I do not see any need for them to meet Falconbridge on the level of the stage, and I submit that they would be equally, if not more effective on a visual semiotic level, were they to meet Falconbridge's verbal blows from atop the wall, thus from the arras above the stage. In this encounter, Shore remarks upon the Mayor's sword in a significant way that elucidates the bond of political affect that Heywood's play creates with the audience and how, like Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, the play fixes upon the space of city walls as an integral part of the changing nature of the social perception and use of space. Falconbridge claims, "I tell thee, traitor, then thou bearst thy sword / Against thy true, undoubted king" (4.28-29). Matthew Shore replies for the Mayor, "Nay then, I tell

thee, bastard Falconbridge, / My Lord Mayor bears his sword in his defense, / That put the sword into the Arms of London, / Made the lord mayors for ever after knights: / Richard—deposed by Henry Bullingbrook— / From whom the House of York doth claim their right" (4.30-36). The mayor's sword becomes a symbol of his loyalty to the king, as well as an indicator of the social position he holds as mayor. However, since Edward IV is a conspicuous absence, the symbolic power of the sword translates synecdochically to the civic importance of the mayor's role in defense of the city. The sword becomes the citizenry of London that would be present to drive the rebels away (recall Shore's claim of two hundred per guild hall). Additionally, the sword becomes the key object that aligns the Mayor and London to a side in the War of the Roses. Such a bold reply to Falconbridge demonstrates Shore and the Mayor's nobility in defending the city that the rebels would so vilely misuse. Like many other aspects of the London-centric locales of this play, this action, and the connection of the sword to the defense, paints a view of the changing aspects of social uses of space. Lacking the monarch, the Mayor becomes the key figure of resistance and the personal embodiment of the safety of the city. However, it is Shore who speaks for the Mayor and makes the synecdoche of the sword reality. The mayor actively consults with his associates and undertakes all action for the safety of the city. Through the dialogue of the play, the mayor and his men reify the importance of the civic as opposed to the national or the monarchic. In an amusing textual note, Rowland's edition of the play cites this moment as having an intentionally similar resonance in history. He writes, "Shore is alluding to the legend that Richard II, in gratitude for Mayor William Walworth's crushing of Wat Tyler's revolt, awarded automatic knighthoods to all mayors thereafter, and had a red dagger, representing Walworth's crucial stabbing of

the rebel leader, incorporated into the City's Coat of Arms" (*1 and 2Edward IV* 102n30). In the same note, Rowland shows that this story is not true; however, he claims that it had a significant hold on public mythologizing of the mayors and the Coat of Arms, citing as evidence a pageant by Anthony Munday (a possible co-author of this play) called *Chrysanaleia: The golden fishing* (1616) and Heywood's own *2 If You Know Not Me* (1605) (ibid.). This hold upon the public narrative of the civic role and power of the mayoral title plays a critical role in sifting through the contextual vectors of burgeoning attitudes towards the social uses of space. When Shore calls upon the mayor's sword and upon the Coat of Arms of the city, his words have the effect of instilling pride in the civic belonging of the theater audience. Many of the events in the play take place extremely close to the Boar's Head; that proximity intermingles with the way the sword represents the eventually victorious citizens and their own defense of the space around the city walls. The result of this admixture contains a subtle re-prioritization of civic authority over monarchic authority. If an audience's increased sense of public belonging, as in the making of a theatrical public,[27] can characterize this effect, then this play may have invited the spectators to think critically about the spaces they lived and worked in and the institutions that carried authority over those spaces. This moment works as clear entreaty to the apprehension of involvement. Much language before this moment would recall London and its citizens; but this moment with the sword may be the first time the audience members felt truly involved. Their participation as spectators and their own

[27] Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph P. Ward, editors, *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, Routledge, 2013, especially, Steven Mullaney, "What's Hamlet to Habermas? Spatial Literacy, Theatrical Publication, and the Publics of Early Modern Public Stage," pp. 17-40 and Paul Yachnin, "The Reformation of Space in Shakespeare's Playhouse" pp 262-280.

definitive embodiments might motivate their feelings about the play and the political consequences they witnessed.

"Hearts more proof than shields": Affective Politics in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*

It must have been a tense atmosphere for the opening scene of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* inside the roofed theater of Blackfriars in 1609. The scene is an armed company of "mutinous Citizens" (1.1.0 sd) clamoring for cheap corn. The First Citizen says, "You are all resolved rather to die than to famish?" (1.1.4-5). A tenor of threat is in the air from the opening lines. The recent rioting in the Midlands and the years of dearth that were part of the cause of the civil unrest cannot have escaped the minds of the spectators viewing the play for the first time. I wonder (and speculate that they also might have asked) if any of those present would have felt safer knowing they were inside the city walls. Though the London city wall would not have been visible from inside the theater, patrons surely sensed its proximity to the west-end performance space. Alone, the city wall or the anti-enclosure violence may not suggest much significance for scholars of drama. However, under the aegis of the play *Coriolanus*, these two things take on a mantle heavily laden with meaning and social import. The political valence for which the play is justly celebrated bleeds into an ongoing debate about the emerging notions of the cultural use of space.[28]

In part, this explains the phrase, "politic feelings," from my chapter title. When the violation of space induces an affective significance for the audience, a kind of blended feeling emerges that cannot entirely distinguish itself from the political context

[28] On *Coriolanus* and politics, Annabel Patterson alleges, "Political theory is its *raison d'etre*, and if we try to set it aside nothing of interest, of plot or character, remains" (120). I find that this contention grossly understates the play's potential as a cultural work of art.

of the play. A wealth of criticism aiming to understand the political contexts of Shakespeare and his main source author, Plutarch, supports this interest in the affective political engagement inspired by the text. In the case of the parallels that the play draws between Martius and King James, Shannon Miller avers that Shakespeare's drama is "a textual negotiation of the political tensions of the period" and further, "Such parallels between noted traits of James and the actions of Shakespeare's Coriolanus are achieved through alterations to the Plutarchan source."[29] Drawing a connection between Martius and James sets in relief the national sentiment regarding the unifying of England and Scotland. Alex Garganigo contends that James is central to understanding *Coriolanus* and Menenius's fable of the belly because: "James made his body the centerpiece of his argument for Union."[30] That Garganigo understands the fable of the belly to come not from Plutarch, but from John Russell's *Treatise of the Happie and Blissed Union Betwixt the Tua Ancienne Realmes of Scotland and Ingland* (1604), shows that Shakespeare amended his source to maximize the affective impact that a retelling of the belly fable would have upon an audience aware of James's political actions. Further, the critical view that Shakespeare's knowledge of Machiavelli's texts *The Prince* (1532), *The Discourses* (1531), and *The Art of War* (1521) influenced his treatment of Plutarch gives nuance to the ways in which Shakespeare effected a sway upon audiences' emotional reactions. Patrick Ashby surmises, "I take the view that Shakespeare's interest in 'Machiavellian' ideas prompted him to misrepresent his Plutarchan source in order to examine the paradoxical effects of idealistic inflexibility, and to indicate the moral

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[29] Shannon Miller. "Topicality and Subversion in William Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 32, no. 2, 1992, pp. 287–310, 288, 291.
[30] Alex Garganigo. "*Coriolanus*, the Union Controversy, and Access to the Royal Person." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2002, pp. 335–359, 336.

challenges posed by conceptual indeterminacy."[31] These examples underscore the important connection between politics and affect and they lend credence to the idea that Shakespeare created a drama that manipulated the Plutarchan story to limn affective political engagement for his audience.[32]

Further evidence, if not of intent, then of complicit contextualization, that Shakespeare meant to use the Midland riots as an affective source material for *Coriolanus* comes in the form of the narrative changes that he made to the story, received from the source text of Plutarch. According to Pettet, "The reason given for the first uprising, before the Volscian war, was the oppression of usurers, who were supported and favoured by the government" (36). After the Volscian war, the trouble was with dearth and the problem of usurers vanished. This notable rearrangement suggests that Shakespeare was aware of the kind of cultural references that would boost attendance at his plays while speaking to the most current issues of the nation. Plutarch's text treats other issues surrounding Caius Martius's rise to consul, including the resettlement of surplus population and the existence of sedition in the Roman population; however, Pettet remarks that these are omitted for "dramatic simplification" (ibid.). Shakespeare's omission of these details does not simplify the play. Rather, they seem to show up in unexpected ways when we examine the play as a vehicle for the theorization about the use of space in the face of the kind of civil unrest that the Midland riots were. I will analyze the following language more fully below; however, I would like to point out the

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[31] Patrick Ashby. "The Changing Faces of Virtue: Plutarch, Machiavelli and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*." *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Jan. 2016, pp. 1–21, 2-3.

[32] For more on political contexts, see Ann C. Christensen, "The Return of the Domestic in *Coriolanus*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 37, no. 2, 1997, pp. 295–316; A. Crunelle, "*Coriolanus*: The Smiling Belly and the Parliament Fart," *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews*, vol. 22, no. 3, Summer 2009, pp. 11–16; and John M. Wallace, "The Senecan Context of *Coriolanus*," *Modern Philology*, vol. 90, no. 4, May 1993, pp. 465–78.

moment when Martius urges his soldiers to fight and threatens them should they show any sign of backing down. He claims, "He that retires, I'll take him for a Volsce, / And he shall feel mine edge" (1.4.28-29). This is a unique way of dealing with the sedition of Rome, which in Plutarch's narrative, the solution was to extend the war with the Volsces. During this highly charged moment, Martius and his men meet the army at the gates of Corioles. The fight at the gate is a significant moment and even a thing so simple as running the right way can vitally signify allegiance and intent. Dramatic staging becomes the effective tool for understanding how we can read the signification of space into the theatric moment.

Usurping usury as the main source of unrest for the Roman populace does not indicate the complete absence of the issue of laws supporting high interest rates for borrowing. As several critics point out,[33] First Citizen submits a complaint to Menenius near the start of the play, descrying, "They ne'er cared for us yet: suffer us to famish, and their storehouses crammed with grain; make edicts for usury, to support usurers; repeal daily any wholesome act established against the rich, and provide more piercing statutes daily to chain up and restrain the poor" (1.1.77-82). These are reasonable and expected claims to make against the state in a time of dearth and famine. For Shakespeare, the sentiments of the 1607 riots must have been palpable in London; the evidence is in the widespread effect that this disturbance had. According to one historian, "The example of the Midland Rebels reverberated across the countryside, and encouraged their descendants to protest the new agricultural methods and the enclosure in severalty of

[33] Elyssa Y. Cheng, "Moral Economy and the Politics of Food Riots in *Coriolanus*," *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2, Sept. 2010, pp. 17–31; John W. Draper, "The Theme of *Timon of Athens*," *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1934, pp. 20–31; and Arthur Riss, "The Belly Politic: *Coriolanus* and the Revolt of Language," *ELH*, vol. 59, no. 1, 1992, pp. 53–75.

common pasture and waste."[34] This is not to say that the voice of First Citizen is necessarily speaking for those English commoners who felt hardship due to enclosure, but rather that Shakespeare was sensitive to the ways in which he could enhance the appeal and relevance of his play by displacing usury with famine and dearth.[35]

More subtly, *Coriolanus* deals with the root of First Citizen's complaint, that laws are made to support high interest rates in moneylending, by showing from whence the problem stems. The whole tirade against a negligent government essentializes the problems of famine, usury, and legal support as creations of a greedy ruling class. For Leah Marcus, this play becomes the power struggle of the civic inhabitants of Rome with their Patrician ruling class, a mirror of London localities struggling with an expanding monarchical reach.[36] The danger (or excitement) is in the way in which it reflects London in the early years of Stuart rule. She writes, "It is the Rome of the early republican period, a Rome which is, like early Jacobean London, expanding out to incorporate the suburban areas around it…dominated by fierce civic pride and clamor for the preservation of local autonomy" (Marcus 202-203). Like Marcus, I recognize the way in which this drama strains the relationship of the citizens and the patricians and uses the space of the city to do so. However, unlike Marcus's astute reading of the play, I wish to complicate the political resonance of the affective dynamics of the drama. Her reading shows the politics

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[34] Roger B. Manning. *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640*. Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 83.

[35] Manning also connects the memory of the very large Midlands Riot to subsequent disturbances, "Sympathetic demonstrations emulating the Midland Rebels of 1607 undoubtedly explain the high incidence of enclosure riots during the period from 1607 to 1609" (83). In arguments over the exact dating of when Shakespeare wrote the play, critics point to 1607 because of the specific incident; however, it would seem that there were many riots manifesting throughout England that might have inspired the opening of the play, or spurred Shakespeare to recall what he knew of the 1607 riot.

[36] Leah S. Marcus. *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*. University of California Press, 1988.

of the city played out on the stage with the result being "the enactment of tragedy—the self-imposed fall of a noble general—[which] does not so much flout the laws and customs of the city as display their increasing power" (211). I do not see the play reflecting the increased power of the customs and laws of a city; rather, I understand the play to cultivate and experiment with different affective relationships to certain geographic or chorographic markers that then externalize the civic attachment to the city. In effect, the citizens feel certain ways about the city because of how they act when confronting the city walls or borders and how they understand those walls and borders to be social constructions with a particular use value. I suspect that Shakespeare would not have wanted to align a character in his play so obviously close to the monarch or to a city that was litigating abuses of local authority. In this distance between Rome and London, *Coriolanus* must give life to other ways of examining the city and its citizens.

It is this sense of perspective between Rome and London that gives the play its affective dynamics, which I read through their political and martial contexts. By creating distance through dramatic semiotic signifiers like the city walls and the less tangible walls of the Volscian camp, the characters and the audience must view the actions of the play as exchanges across space and ideology. I want to show the "inherently transactional" (Mullaney *Reformation* 53) nature of emotions by pointing to a connection between ancient Rome and London that will illustrate the strength of the affective perspective carried by actors and audience. As part of a continuation of the Humanist re-formation of educational goals, Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster* (1570) seeks to trade in on the kind of exchange that characterizes the paragon of culture in ancient times. He posits, "When Italy and Rome have been, to the great good of us that now live, the best

breeders and bringers-up of the worthiest men, not only for wise speaking, but also for well-doing, in all civil affairs."[37] Wise speaking and well-doing were the marks of that great civilization and Ascham would teach young 16th century English children to do those same things. Helpfully, he builds up what Cathy Shrank designates as, "The intellectual and emotional connection between ancient Rome and early modern England ("us that now live"); he also demonstrates the necessary relationship between linguistic competence ("wise speaking") and participation in civil affairs."[38] Though she does not term it so, Shrank uncovers one way that the affective exchange can function, and does function, in this play.[39] The emotional connection between Rome and London happens as one of those moments when the audience intuits their involvement and the social transaction of emotion embodies that feeling within them (Mullaney *Reformation* 22). I would like to underscore the importance of the myth of Britain's founding by Brutus and the way that this presents a part of the affective connection that the play draws upon in order to create its own emotional exchanges. To put it concretely, the walls of Rome and the walls of London represent the emotional perspectives whose transaction, or movement between, the characters trade upon and transmit to the audience to create emotional affiliation.

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[37] Roger Ascham. *The Schoolmaster*. 1570. Edited by Lawrence V. Ryan, Cornell University Press, 1967, p. 60.
[38] Cathy Shrank. "Civility and the City in *Coriolanus*." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2003, pp. 406–23, 410-411.
[39] Shrank's concern here is with what she calls the "indecorous speech" of Caius Martius. By not speaking well, he cannot participate in the civic affairs of Rome, hence the inevitable banishment from the city. I think this tells only part of the story, especially since Martius's speech is not always indecorous. The emotional valence of his banishment relies upon how the play materializes Martius's and other characters' attachment to the spaces of the play, how it sets up that exchange of feelings embodied in the thoughts and emotions of the characters and audience.

What follows is my explication of three moments when a violation of city walls or boundaries happens at affectively generative points in the play. Briefly, they are in the first act when Martius attacks and enters Corioles alone, in the fourth act when Martius sneaks into Aufidius's house in Antium, and in the fifth act when Volumnia, Virgilia, and Young Martius enter the Volscian camp to plead for Rome. All three are instances of the violation of walls or boundaries that carry political valence. Though the incursion upon Aufidius's house is not quite the same as a city wall, Martius's action is no less political, his violation of the space, in a sense, being more upon the city (that bears the dwellings of his enemies), than on the house or domestic space. The violence in the language in each case beckons the audience to consider the connections to the walls and borders being transgressed. As I have tried to show, this is the foundation for the affective connection that participates in a political dynamic, giving a stage presence to politic feelings.

With characteristic quick pace, Shakespeare writes the battle scene at the wall of Corioles in such manner as to incite the audience to emote, perhaps even to feel a swell of excitement at seeing the action from the Romans' point of view. The First Senator from Corioles sets up the ground to explicitly invoke the walls of the city. He cries out from the balcony to Martius and the Romans below,

> Hark! our drums
> Are bringing forth our youth. We'll break our walls
> Rather than they shall pound us up. Our gates,
> Which yet seem shut, we have but pinned with rushes;
> They'll open of themselves.

Alarum afar off. Hark you, far off!

There is Aufidius. List what work he makes

Amongst your cloven army. (1.4.15-21)

The battle is set to begin. The walls which the Romans would storm (Lartius calls for "Ladders, ho!" [22]), are the central focus here, thanks to First Senator. They house the gates that will soon pour the youth of Corioles forth. In the Senator's construction, those gates that would seem to hold the Romans back actually have another function, that of keeping the Corioleans within. It is a typical martial taunting for him to say that his enemies are safer outside of the walls because they hold back the army within. Yet, the gates are weakly fastened, only with rushes are they made closed. This is the site of contention over a wall that would seem to be permeable, except this is not, for the moment, characterized as a weakness. This speech primes Shakespeare's audience for an affective political engagement with walls because the First Senator does two things: first, as stated above, he remarks that the walls shall not contain the army of Corioles; second, he reminds Martius that Aufidius is making short work of the other part of the Roman army. First Senator tries to capitalize on the notion that he has outthought the Roman general. He speaks as though to confirm that the government of Corioles has done a better job leading the people, that they have been the better politicians. His words underscore this when he claims that Corioles would "break our walls / Rather than they shall pound us up." The wall means less to the First Senator because it can be so permeable. The danger to the Romans is both within and without the wall, therefore, for the First Senator, the wall is not an important site of contest; instead, it will only be the site of Martius's defeat. The political body of Corioles need not be tied to the wall and

the possible defenses it might provide because they are the better political leaders, having prepared for the battle in a way that Martius did not expect. From the audience's perspective, the wall of Corioles, at this moment, is not an important signifier of place; it serves more to show a kind of unity of political ability within the city. This is an important counterpoint to the walls of Rome and will be a key detail in the explication to follow when Martius storms Corioles alone. However, in the present moment of the play, the result of the political affect associated with the wall in question is that the audience feels the devaluing of the significance of the wall and an alignment to the kind of government that can govern, as it were, without walls. This is an important distinction to bring up early, for the play will complicate the idea of walls and borders, what they mean, and their political uses. Critics have struggled with this as a way to read the play; Lisa Hopkins infers, "The walls of Rome are certainly important in *Coriolanus*, but perhaps not in the ways we would expect, for *Coriolanus* is an oddity. It is a Roman play, but has no obvious political agenda."[40] I would concur with Hopkins—were this the only example of how the characters in the play talk about walls—that I did not expect a wall to, of necessity, be invisible or easily permeable when the politicians are doing an adequate job. I would not characterize the play as an oddity; more precisely, it is a play much in keeping with Shakespeare's career-long interest in the machinations of the Roman republic and its links to English politics. On an entirely surface level, this alone posits the political agenda of this play, though it should guide a deeper debate about the

[40] Lisa Hopkins. *Renaissance Drama on the Edge*. Ashgate, 2014, p. 12. Hopkins is illustrative of the way in which walls confound critics; I do not quite agree that it has no obvious political agenda. Kuzner would argue that the play's political agenda, or utility, is in the way Martius seeks not autonomy, but undoing (179-180), in opposition to Hopkins. James Kuzner. "Unbuilding the City: *Coriolanus* and the Birth of Republican Rome." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2007, pp. 174–99. I think the agenda is in the affective relations the play materializes in which walls play a crucial role.

meanings of this agenda. I believe that *Coriolanus* offers a way of thinking about the beginning of a republican government while maintaining a necessary artistic distance from actual events or people (specifically the monarch) to allow the drama to signify as a text that trades on producing political affect. As I have shown, city walls are a key to transmitting this kind of affect to an audience.

Caius Martius brings to bear the clinching locus of affect and politics upon the city wall when he makes use of the rhetorical mode of amphiboly. I briefly touched upon this above to clarify the term and to embed the usage of this rhetorical tool as an important aspect of the play's evocation of emotion during the moment when Martius breeches the walls of Corioles. His full skill of oration is on display as he tries to inflame his troops,

> They fear us not, but issue forth their city.
> Now put your shields before your hearts, and fight
> With hearts more proof than shields. Advance, brave Titus.
> They do disdain us much beyond our thoughts,
> Which makes me sweat with wrath. Come on, my fellows.
> He that retires, I'll take him for a Volsce,
> And he shall feel mine edge. (1.4.23-29)

This speech and the action of violation that quickly follows it mark the tone of the play and become the pivotal moments for establishing political affect. The key is the amphibolic meanings of "proof." The *OED* cites this very quote as an example of the first adjectival definition of proof, "Of tried or proven strength or quality; (originally *esp.* of armour) of tested power of resistance. *fig.* and in extended use: impenetrable, impervious,

invulnerable, resistant (now the usual sense)," ("proof, adj1.a").[41] This is the clear, expected definition of proof in this instance. Martius wants his soldiers to fight with heart, something that is difficult to define precisely; however, when placed in opposition or comparison to the soldiers' shields, the supposed proof of their hearts becomes a thing more tangible. They become, in this sense, like a wall built against the tide of Volscians, impenetrable, impervious, and resistant. For the audience's ears, this is one of the ways the play makes an emotional connection, by linking the Roman soldiers' hearts to their (hopeful) prowess as fighters. It helps fuel the metaphor that would make the soldiers' shields less necessary because they would be fighting so rigorously that they would have little need of shields to defend themselves. Whether an audience member backs the Romans, the Volscians, or even if he or she is a neutral spectator, there is a conspicuous connection to a feeling action here. By having the heart to complete the undertaking, Martius involves his soldiers in his own emotion and, consequently, so too does the audience feel this involvement. This is the moment of the embodied emotion; as Mullaney reminds us, this is the social nature of how the text transmits emotional affect. Thomas Heywood captured this moment in a similar manner. He writes, "What English blood, seeing the person of any bold English man presented and doth not hugge his fame and hunnye at his valor…offers to him in his hart all prosperous performance…that it hath power to new mold the harts of the spectators and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt."[42] Even Heywood believed in the power of the actor to move

[41]This definition also recalls a line from *2Henry VI*, where King Henry exclaims, "What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!" (3.2.232). Though Martius may seem to lack the moral aspect of Henry's metaphor of the heart as armor, his love for Rome is akin to a demonstration of devotion.
[42] Thomas Heywood. *An Apology for Actors Containing Three Briefe Treatises. 1 Their Antiquity. 2 Their Ancient Dignity. 3 The True vse of Their Quality.* Nicholas Okes, 1612, sig. B4r.

the feelings of the audience in some manner. Though not as technical as Mullaney, Heywood's terms show that there is a measure of involvement when seeing actors on the stage; I think it is no coincidence that Heywood writes about the heart being the vessel through which the audience apprehends involvement. When Martius demands that his soldiers show their hearts to be "more proof than shields," we can reasonably identify that there is a moment of social exchange of emotion taking place and that the adjectival meaning of proof generates this feeling.

Unsurprisingly, it is more complicated than this. The multivalent significations of "proof" show that there is a deeper level to the political substance of this moment in the play. Proof is also a noun, of which many of the senses were in use well before Shakespeare wrote the play. Upon examination, there are many different meanings of proof that could take the place of the adjective form as well. There is the first definition, "Something that proves a statement; evidence or argument establishing a fact or the truth of anything, or belief in the certainty of something," ("proof n1a"), which would seem to fit especially well in this case as Martius is attempting to establish the fact of his soldiers' hearts as capable of meeting the challenge, implying his belief of that thing. Perhaps the second definition fits more aptly, wherein the *OED* defines it as "the action of evidence in convincing the mind" ("proof n2"). This iteration would make the heart evidence to the mind, of Martius or the spectators, of something more than a shield; it is an index that points to something deeper connecting the soldiers to their duty.[43] We might even point to another definition of proof, which states, "The action or an act of testing or making

[43] There is an implication of a type of Cartesian duality here, with the heart being the thing that convinces the mind of strength or validity. Though Martius does not appear to be making an ontological argument here, there is a weird twist to this definition that lends itself to this kind of reading.

trial of something; the condition of being tested" ("proof n7a"). This connotation builds upon the emotional involvement of the soldiers as they would make trial of whether their hearts are more tested in battle than their shields. I do not mean to be tedious, but this listing could continue. However, the many different definitions are not necessarily the critical point of this exercise. What matters here is the way in which the word proof functions as an amphiboly that forces the audience to reckon with the meaning of proof and the way in which it causes that audience to form a connection to the walls onstage. This happens because of the many ways that proof draws different connections between Martius and his men, which in turn become part of the fabric of the audience's apprehension of involvement. These actions take place in the spatial vicinity of the city walls, leading inevitably toward the inclusion of the spatial semiotics into the spectators' visual reading of the action. The locus of city walls in this key scene (as well as the ones I discuss below) provides Shakespeare with the opportunity to draw upon the signification of the city walls as contemporary historical markers for an early modern audience. As I mentioned above, the city walls provide fodder for critical thinking about boundaries and borders for readers in the following centuries. Through this complex matrix, the amphibole of proof presses an attentive audience to think further about how Martius and the play construct affective meaning while allowing the author to build upon the political valence inherent in the military actions onstage.

Coriolanus quickens affective involvement through the association of amphiboly with Martius's character as well. Earlier, I quoted George Puttenham on the rhetorical term and his virulent distaste for such ambiguity. Putting the amphibolic word in Martius's mouth is a choice that the playwright makes to facilitate a mode of affective

engagement between Martius and the audience. Not only does the kind of opacity that comes with amphiboly make Martius a difficult character to understand in terms of his motivations, but he also becomes concurrently untrustworthy and prescient. This is, as Mullaney summarizes, because "Puttenham relates amphibology not to sophistry…but to a pre-Socratic past that is oracular as well as pagan" ("Lying Like Truth" 36). Martius, in his oracular mode, would be a figure both wondered at and feared. In the play, he is already both, so the title of oracle seems to fit, though in this instance, he seems not to be prognosticating. This will change in the fiery speech in the Forum upon his banishment in 3.3 and then, a scene later, when he says, "I shall be loved when I am lacked" (4.1.15). Martius's shiftiness drives much of the distaste a reader may feel for him. We might respect his military record and his devotion to the idea of the state of Rome, but he is altogether difficult to determine when he would exhort his fellow soldiers while simultaneously threatening to cut them should they retreat.

For the early modern audience, Martius's amphiboly would be more recognizably troubling in that it was associated with treasonous remarks. We may recall the witches' prophecy in *Macbeth* and how the characters reacted to the indeterminacy. I would even invite us to recall Cordelia's amphibolic "nothing" in response to her father's query of what she might say to outstrip her sisters' offers and protestations of love. In this case, Lear reads Cordelia's answer as a treasonous dictate of filial rejection, whatever the actual truth of the statement may be. This is a particularly troubling quality of amphiboly, especially in a country experiencing the growth and development of a national language. Mullaney extrapolates, "Nor are they simply relics of bygone days, for amphibologies return willfully to trouble both the still developing national language and the security of

the state itself" ("Lying Like Truth" 36). No stranger to this rhetorical device, Shakespeare gives us a character that troubles through his very words, even before we consider his actions. With hindsight, we know that many will call Martius a traitor; even through his vehement denial, we will still question just how true this accusation is. Yet, the difficulty of the "proof" remains even after Martius leaves Rome. Perhaps he goes seeking some other test or trial; maybe, a heart more proof than a shield needs more convincing of his mind rather than testing of his sword. In any case, the uncertainty that Shakespeare develops here pulls a spectator in; it invites the kind of involvement that constitutes the social appropriation of emotion and the transmission of feeling from stage to spectator. That Martius may be treasonous only gives further texture to the political context of these feelings.

"Pouring war / Into the bowels of ungrateful Rome": Martius in Antium

Caius Martius's entry to Antium does not carry the same kind of frenetic pace that his incursion of Corioles generates. Indeed, he enters the stage "in mean apparel, disguised and muffled" (4.4.0 sd). For this reason, among others that I will note below, the sense of violation is likewise muffled, subdued, but still simmering below the appearance of things. In the 2011 film version, actor and director Ralph Fiennes makes the dramaturgic choice to have the titular character grow a beard, in stark contrast to the entirely clean-shaven face and head of the Martius of Rome.[44] Caius Martius enters Antium on foot, clothes disheveled, and looks around at the seaside town. The buildings are non-Roman, and his dress clearly marks him as out of place. In this reading of the play, the film production makes it clear that the normal order of things is not as it was.

[44] Ralph Fiennes, director. *Coriolanus*. Anchor Bay Entertainment, 2011.

Martius's beard is in full defiance of the militaristic codes that the viewer would expect, based on the hyper-martial setting, war scenes, and fatigues that almost all the men in the play wear. Martius's writes violation plainly upon his face.

In the play text, Martius signals his awareness of the spatial violation from the first line of the scene. In a rare moment of solitude on stage, he muses,

> A goodly city is this Antium. City,
> 'Tis I that made thy widows. Many an heir
> Of these fair edifices fore my wars
> Have I heard groan and drop. Then know me not,
> Lest that thy wives with spits and boys with stones
> In puny battle slay me. (4.4.1-6)

Addressing the city, Martius acknowledges that it may not view his deeds in war favorably, especially when he is in the heart of the territory of his former enemies. He caps this by willing the city not to recognize him, though there is a measure of situational irony in his invocation against death in "puny battle." When he does meet his end, Tullus Aufidius calls Martius "boy," and the conflict is no great war wherein he might perform deeds heroic; but rather, he dies in an ambush, infantilized and alone. This type of battle, one that the character cannot foresee for himself, echoes the subtle undercurrent of violation introduced here by Martius's solitary musing. Additionally, we must consider the fact that Martius really does want recognition, perhaps not by the wives and children in the streets, but ultimately from the men, and from Tullus Aufidius, specifically. This would confirm his martial prowess, by being the man who was an "eagle in a dovecote"

(5.6.113), and intriguingly, he cannot refrain from trying to give himself away before the proper moment of reveal when he has this brief exchange with one of the servant men,

> THRID SERVINGMAN: Where dwell'st thou?
>
> CORIOLANUS: Under the canopy…
>
> THIRD SERVINGMAN: Where's that?
>
> CORIOLANUS: I' th' city of kites and crows. (4.5.40-45)

Further, the trope of the avian metaphor allows Martius one last jab at his bitter rival before joining with him, wherein he replies to the serving man's incredulous response to the above exchange by calling Tullus Aufidius a daw. The language of birds of prey and the behaviors of fowl in general do some work that almost gives away the identity of Martius before the more dramatically appropriate moment. By telling the servant that he dwells in the city of kites and crows, he is aligning himself with those prey birds that hunt and attack (language that he employs in the final scene of the play, as quoted above) while offsetting his conception of self by affirming once more that he thinks Tullus Aufidius to be a silly thing, a daw (now called a jackdaw). In sum, Martius seems aware of the kind of the perception of violation that his presence in Antium invokes in all parties (the fictional Volsces, the early modern audience, and the reader). The tension of the scene builds with the half confessions that hint at Martius's undisguised identity.

In this very specific instance of a violation of space, we are dealing with walls and boundaries that are not physically present on stage.[45] Shakespeare labors to distinguish

[45] One might stage the city walls of Antium as well as Tullus Aufidius's house, however, I do not assume that the early modern stage would have been large enough, nor would there have been need. The actor playing Martius might have been able to encounter the various serving men as they entered and exited through the tiring house door in the rear of the stage to make it appear that he was in the rear of a large house.

the type of connections that the surrounding characters have to the space they inhabit through the language of the servers that enter and exit rapidly in the scene following Martius's arrival in Antium. In this way, the play gives voice to Martius's own sense of being an outsider, one who has usurped or incurred upon a space where he is, at least, not welcome, and at most, subject to execution. As I interrogate the language of the scene further, I will show how the cultural significations of walls and boundaries coupled with emotional connections emerge in the spatial semiotics of the stage. Above all, I wish to highlight the linguistic keys that exemplify how the play provides an instance of a violation of space to understand a conception of the cultural significance of what walls and borders represent.

Martius moves from outside of the borders of Antium to the inside, perhaps even to the very heart of the enemy's territory when he enters the house of Tullus Aufidius. Though much of the language I quote above exemplifies how he feels a sense of unwelcome,[46] Martius is at his most straightforward when he says, "A goodly house. The feast smells well, but I / Appear not like a guest" (4.5.5-6). As is so often the importance of the trope for the dramatic medium, how Martius looks determines who he is and how he feels. His awareness of the violation of space that his Antium incursion represents allows the audience to understand the gravity of the emotional force that humans imbue

[46] One might also consider how Martius is here an alien, outsider, or other, though these are all weighted terms that have their own subsets of significations. In a way, Martius is like an immigrant in Antium, though not really an alien one. As Hopkins reminds us, "The Romans and the Volsces already talk the same language, worship the same gods and eat the same food, and both have a political structure involving senators; total assimilation can then hardly be far away" (15). For contextualization of Martius's alien status, see Lloyd Edward Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama*, Cambridge University Press, 2009; Emma Smith, "'So Much English by the Mother': Gender, Foreigners, and the Mother Tongue in William Haughton's *Englishman for My Money*," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, vol. 13, 2001, pp. 165–81; and Alan Stewart, "'Euery Soyle to Mee Is Naturall': Figuring Denization in William Haughton's *English-Men for My Money*" *Renaissance Drama*, vol. 35, 2006, pp. 55–81. My sincere thanks to Catherine Elliott Tisdale for pointing these out to me.

in particular spaces. Nevertheless, it is not only Martius's awareness of place, but the concurrent disavowal of Rome that his journey enfolds that brings the affective politics into relief. As Martius moves closer to his encounter with Tullus Aufidius, the dynamics of the space change as well. The audience sees the serving men working (at least nominally busily), there is talk and preparation for a feast, and at the reveal, Aufidius's language echoes that of a man speaking of his spouse. Throughout, the language of plenty and the behavior of the serving men of Antium provide stark contrasts to the characterization of the Roman citizens and their appeal for food in a time of dearth. In this development especially, the political affect illuminates the way the play brings into focus the cultural attitudes towards spaces and the inherent emotional embodiment of them.

The violated space in this scene differs in its substance from the scene that takes place before the walls of Corioles. In this instance, the subtle cues that the drama gives the audience accumulate to form a distinct setting with a violation that stands as a particular affective product. Though Martius does not stand before any physical wall, his awareness of the strangeness of the situation and his sustained disruption of the serving men's labor draws an audience member to deduce a violation or misappropriation of the space. At the core of this is the moment when Martius reveals himself to Aufidius; however, Shakespeare writes a scene that does more than confirm one man's identity. It cements how uncharacteristic Martius's decision is and how greatly it is at odds with the play's previous political current. Additionally, in chapter one of this dissertation, I wrote about the way in which domestic space was a common feature of plays that dramatized violations of space. In miniature, act 4 scene 5 of *Coriolanus* participates in the

conversation surrounding the violation of the household space. Just as my first chapter concluded, there are moments of tension between men and women and the roles the respective genders play. *Coriolanus* presents a different dynamic, where Martius and Tullus Aufidius play the roles of husband and wife in the struggle for the domus. The interplay begins with Martius saying he was "Whooped out of Rome. Now this extremity / Hath brought me to thy hearth" (4.5.82-83). In submissiveness, he makes his gesture a physical one, "[I] Present / My throat to thee and to thy ancient malice…And cannot live but to thy shame unless / It be to do thee service" (4.5.99-100, 104-105). Driven to the hearth of his enemy, Martius goads Aufidius still, daring him to cut his throat or to use him. In a somewhat reduced way, Martius presents his body to Aufidius for him to do as he pleases. To kill Martius with a knife is a kind of penetration (an act one might anticipate on a wedding night); Tullus Aufidius does not disappoint the viewers. His reply is rather stunning,[47]

> O Martius, Martius! ...
>
> Let me twine
>
> Mine arms about thy body, whereagainst
>
> My grained ash an hundred times hath broke
>
> And scarred the moon with splinters (105-113)
>
> …
>
> Know thou first,

[47] I saw a filmed stage performance of the play in which the actor playing Martius sat in a chair at Aufidius's hearth and the actor playing Aufidius was very literally crawling all over the other man, his hands gratuitously roaming the other's body. See Elijah Moshinsky, director. *Coriolanus*. Ambrose Video Publishing, 2000. I thought it a smart choice; it was evocative and discomfiting simultaneously. Perhaps for these very reasons, a 2009 production by the Actors' Shakespeare Project of the play cut these lines entirely. Without the language to form the homo-social and homo-sexual bond between these two characters, the play lost some of its luster.

I loved the maid I married; never man

Sighed truer breath. But that I see thee here,

Thou noble thing, more dances my rapt heart

Than when I first my wedded mistress saw

Bestride my threshold. (117-122)

The sexual tension of this passage is palpable, and many critics have done much work to unpack the meanings, overt and subvert, of the erotically charged language (Kuzner 193-199).[48] Rather than understanding this relationship to be pathological or problematic, or, as Kuzner does, to see it as liberating to the point of "dissolve[ing] personal boundaries…reduc[ing] themselves to surfaces" (197), I see this as an underutilized strategy of placing both men in domestic roles wherein they will play out (or fight out) the struggle for dominance in a power relationship. In this vein, I believe it is reductive to posit that Martius takes on a feminized role, though Aufidius's language would place him in such a one. Thus, here is the tension and the struggle. As he speaks these lines, the audience must wonder if these two men can fight together if one is meant to be subservient. As I hope chapter one shows, the notion that the woman was always subject to the man's judgment, even in matters of the home, gets complicated in the plays of the era. *Coriolanus* is novel in that it creates, in miniature, a domestic quarrel over a gendered power struggle. Hopkins almost captures this when she writes, "Having returned from combat to the domestic sphere, he then travels back to the place of war, albeit in a quasi-domestic capacity as a guest and dependent of Aufidius, and exposes the

[48] Daniel Juan Gil's "Before Intimacy: Modernity and Emotion in the Early Modern Discourse of Sexuality," *ELH* 69 (2002): 861-867, 862; and Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics*, University of Chicago Press, 1991.

vulnerability of his home not on an emotional plane but on a military one" (15). I think that there is a very clear domestic setting in place for this encounter between Martius and Aufidius; one of the servants even describes Aufidius's treatment of Martius thus, "Our general himself makes a mistress of him; sanctifies himself with's hand, and turns up the white o' th' eye to his discourse" (4.5.203-205). It is here that the audience draws deeper into the emotional investment that constitutes the politically affective content of the play. No matter the individual viewer's feelings about Martius's decision, he or she is involved and the violation of the domestic space of Aufidius's hearth is the vehicle for attaining such affective involvement. It is another kind of wall that Martius breaches, but it is the violation of this space that brings to bear the interrogation of the use of boundaries that enemies keep between each other and that domestic partners (of whatever gender) erect as they contrive to maintain a delicate balance of power and affection.

In the early pages of this chapter, I wrote about the guildhalls' responsibility for maintenance and upkeep of the London city wall. It is the sense of community that I would like to invoke here, at the close of this section, to enhance the picture of the complex matrix of political and emotional connections represented by Martius's breaching of Aufidius's walls. This strange scene presents the initial stages of the growth of an unexpected community. The complex, obsessive, and often sexual nature of the ties that bind Martius and Tullus Aufidius provide a rough foundation for the kind of community that a wall helps define, whether that is by exclusion or inclusion. Of note, the wall itself acts as a kind of definition or test; the liminal nature of the space of a city wall also becomes a potential site of judgment and assay. As the action of the play progresses, the audience notes the previously violated space of the wall; they must

wonder what kind of a wall, and by extension, what kind of city, that an alliance between these two leonine warriors would create. Perhaps we may impute this impulse to the patricians of Rome, who, upon hearing of the alliance, make a desperate attempt to stop the "lonely dragon" (4.1.30) they once turned away.

"Most dangerously you have with him prevailed": The End of Walls

This final section on *Coriolanus* begins with a bit of an amphiboly that usefully encapsulates the disquieting feeling of peace that characterizes the last few scenes of the play. In the argument above, I have focused on the way that Shakespeare's deployment of walls in this play connects to the very real unrest that was a consequence of the grain riots in the years preceding the performance. This text fits into the larger cultural landscape as a mode of reflecting the steady reorganization and redefinition of the use of space, both public and private, in the years beginning the seventeenth century. Specifically, this play creates and invites the apprehension of politically motivated affect, a kind of feeling about the working of governance, through the violation of city wall spaces, which have palpable political import. I script this brief summation to introduce the way in which this study now takes on the last of the violated wall spaces, the incursion of Volumnia, Virgilia, and Young Marcus into the Volscian camp, outside of Rome. This violation pairs with the ambiguity of the notion of an "end" of walls. In the sense of termination or finality, there is no more need for the defensive or militaristic wall because Volumnia and Martius make peace with the Volsces. We may recall the closeness that Hopkins infers about the Romans and Volsces (15) and gather that the amount of shared cultural practices may revoke the need for any walls, thus marking the end of walls as they become things of the past. However, in its less obvious or expected

usage, end means the point, purpose, or use of the wall. This dissertation is heavily interested in the notion of boundaries and how humans choose to define these. From the microcosmic domestic spaces to the macrocosmic city walls, there is an intense need to examine how the creation of these boundaries indicate the way in which people define them. This takes on special importance when we look at the violation of these walls or borders. Though there is little violence to the entrance of Volumnia, Virgilia, and Young Martius's into the Volscian camp, this is an incursion that leads Martius to conclude that his mother has "prevailed" "most dangerously" (5.3.188). The difficulty in reading this scene (though it is a pleasant one) is the necessity to draw conclusions that go beyond the scope of Martius's character and specifically his relationship with his mother. In what follows, I will trace through pertinent lines of speech and attempt to extrapolate how this is an invocation for the political affect Shakespeare uses to make sense of this breach of a wall or boundary.

The long speeches of 5.3, made mostly by Volumnia, attempt to give definition to the reason for the familial incursion in such a way that might persuade Martius to break off the impending attack on Rome; he says to Aufidius, "We will before the walls of Rome tomorrow / Set down our host" (5.3.1-2). Walls are on the mind, of Martius, Aufidius, the Volsces, and the audience as well. The offstage physical proximity underscores the less tangible wall that Volumnia, Virgilia, and Young Martius must overcome. As we near the end of the scene, the audience begins to understand that Martius's decision to make peace with the Volsces has more to do with the purpose of walls and their use as things of definition and division. Though I cautioned against making conclusions based solely on Martius's character, the plea that finally wins him

over is one that points to the difficulty he has defining himself within the world of the play. This also serves a secondary, but no less important, purpose of illuminating the magnitude of his wife's words and what she represents as one who must make her life within the strict walls and boundaries that define her role as a wife and a woman in Rome's militaristic patriarchal society.

Volumnia begins to frame the request to her son with an affective appeal to the sense of Rome as a place to which she cultivates attachment,

> For how can we,
> Alas, how can we for our country pray,
> Whereto we are bound, together with thy victory,
> Whereto we are bound? Alack, or we must lose
> The country, our dear nurse, or else thy person,
> Our comfort in the country. We must find
> An evident calamity, though we had
> Our wish which side should win. For either thou
> Must as a foreign recreant be led
> With manacles through our streets, or else
> Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin,
> And bear the palm for having bravely shed
> Thy wife and children's blood. (5.3.106-118)

This is a deft rhetorical action; Volumnia uses lineal anaphora to cement her connection to both Rome and to Martius. The preposition "whereto" strongly signifies the place related nature of the question. In her conception, the country and Martius's victory are

both places to which she is bound, therefore, they are both places that need definition and delimitation. I read this as a moment of apprehension for the audience when their involvement in the emotional valence of the scene creates a blending of affect and politics. Volumnia is especially provocative by implying that this outcome arrives with a loss of at least one kind of space. The theatrical medium makes excellent use of this spatial metaphor in its semiotic representation of London through the Rome of the stage. She ties her suffering to Rome; though an audience may not necessarily empathize, Volumnia's words still force them to reckon with the walled aspect of the London performance. This is, perhaps, a moment of national consciousness for the early modern theatergoer. The destruction of the "country," whereto the audience is bound, surely calls upon the awareness of the changing nature of the social, political, and economic uses of space.

Caius Martius can achieve victory only through the loss of place in some way, Volumnia suggests. In this loss of space comes the re-definition of Martius's person. He would be a "foreign recreant;" tellingly, this expression is less effective. Repeatedly, Martius desires some measure of outsider status; he famously exhorts, "There is a world elsewhere" (3.3.136), or as a strained attempt to live in a post-Rome world, he claims, "I go alone, / Like to a lonely dragon" (4.1.29-30). Martius is solidly foreign to the audience as his time with Aufidius and the Volsces shows. Nevertheless, this is clear evidence of Volumnia's politic feelings, the blend of the affective social ties with her son and both of their political affiliations. There is even a measure of heterodoxy or mistake with her term "foreign recreant." If Martius is a recreant, he must have abdicated his role and his allegiances; he is faithful to Rome no more. How can one fitting this description not be

foreign to the Roman state?[49] He is either foreign, and thus has not effectually renounced any fealty to Rome, or he is recreant, and breaks the oath of his indigenous tie to Rome. The richness of this sequence is the character's ability to be both and Volumnia's naming it as such. The characters' and spectators' politic feelings are not bound to be absolute—a truth that complicates the interpretation of the play.

At a break between the two long speeches that she gives, Volumnia risks losing Martius to the disinterest he has shown to Cominius and Menenius. She forces upon him a recognition of the automatic connections to family, which doubles when Young Martius (on stage with his father for the first time) speaks. Volumnia reminds the senior Martius of "thy mother's womb / That brought thee to this world" (5.3.124-125). Young Martius's defiance must also smack of Martius's need to resist this entreaty, "A shall not tread on me! / I'll run away till I am bigger, but then I'll fight" (5.3.127-128), perhaps a sentiment shared by his father in this very moment. Both lines enforce a thing automatic that Martius would rather make for himself. In the way that he seeks to tear down the walls of Rome to make a new name for himself,[50] he would also deny the old definitions and the connections that these deterministic relationships enforce. He claims, "I have sat too long" (5.3.131), which Volumnia reads as a threat that he will abandon their audience and end the conversation. This is a moment where Martius does not yet grasp the way his attachment to walls or his usurpation of those walls and borders has defined him. The

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[49] Richard Van Oort, *Shakespeare's Big Men: Tragedy and the Problem of Resentment*, University of Toronto Press, 2016, especially pp. 162-165. In this moment, Volumnia would have Martius be both things, foreign and not-foreign, recreant and not-recreant. This recalls the theme of anthropological resentment. In the Big Man's quest for centrality, the protagonist must become all things and risks becoming none of the things, hence the concurrent resentment from those who are not "big men."

[50] Recall Cominius's report of his meeting with Martius, "'Coriolanus' / He would not answer to, forbade all names. / He was a kind of nothing, titleless, / Till he had forged himself a name o' the fire / Of burning Rome" (5.1.11-15).

invitation to remember his mother and his son calls him across the border of a permeable boundary that needs no violence or subterfuge to be accessed. This is not an act that will allow him to create. Traditionally, these ties do the work to define the man. Indeed, even in his alliance with Aufidius, he does not join so much as he makes his own way; he is no part of the community of Volsces until he is the pinnacle of such. Aufidius's Lieutenant wonders at his charisma, "I do not know what witchcraft's in him, but / Your soldiers use him as the grace 'fore meat, / Their talk at table, and their thanks at end; / And you are dark'ned in this action, sir" (4.7.2-5). Martius is messianic to Aufidius's men, which is not like saying he joined them, but that his immersion was a revelation wherein they carried him out or beyond, just as in his conquering of Corioles, which made him Coriolanus, a name beyond Caius Martius. Contrarily, Volumnia's plea is at risk because she invokes a turning inward directionally when urging association with Young Martius. Martius acts as though he would break through all walls and be undone, the boundless solipsism he develops as the narrative progresses is a biconditional definition of the violence done around walls in this play.

Volumnia's two long speeches culminate with the detail that finally breaks Martius's will to holdout. She says, in what must be a tone of exasperation and exhaustion, tinged with resignation,

> Come, let us go.
> This fellow had a Volscian to his mother;
> His wife is in Corioles, and this child
> Like him by chance. (5.3.177-180)

According to Alexander Leggatt, this is "the barb that finally sticks."[51] Though he contends that Martius can no longer play the part once Volumnia confronts him with the dishonesty of that part, I think the crucial aspect of these lines is not so much in the part, but what Martius has urged through his actions to define his role. Volumnia exposes the exterior or outward associations as being accidental rather than deliberate. It is almost as if she says to Martius that the name he would forge in Rome's fires would come to him anyway or not at all, regardless of what he wills. The three familial connections that Volumnia paints above are not deliberate and Martius takes them for being happenstance; by convening with Aufidius, he would be born of another country, thus another mother. He loves war so much more than his wife that it is fitting for her to point to his victory in Corioles, yet, it could have been any of his many victories that she named. If Young Martius looks like him, it is by chance, which affirms the lack of certitude about any of the connections that Martius has forged in his solipsistic, self-destructive path from potential consul of Rome to the spiritual leader of his former great adversaries. In the presence of his family and amongst the enemy who he has allied with, Martius finally sees that he has lived life outside of boundaries for too long. His desire to rage against and simultaneously define the walls and borders of his life is unsustainable.

As the counterpoint to Martius's failure to understand and erect proper metaphorical walls, Shakespeare gives us Virgilia. Where her husband would tear down and overleap walls to suit his personal desires and political or martial needs, Virgilia expertly maneuvers within the many walls that necessarily define her as the wife of this man and as a woman in the militaristic state of Rome. Her single interjection in the

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[51] Alexander Leggatt. *Shakespeare's Political Drama: The History Plays and the Roman Plays*. Routledge, 1989, p. 208.

middle of Volumnia's long speeches is the precise answer to Martius's dilemma, the one he cannot see. She says, after Volumnia's invocation of the womb that brought Martius into the world, "Ay, and mine, / That brought you forth this boy, to keep your name / Living to time" (5.3.125-127). Volumnia urges the remembrance of the name Coriolanus and how the conquering of Rome would taint it. Virgilia makes an important distinction, reminding Martius that his son will keep his name "living to time." She presses the notion that the connections we forge and the boundaries we keep live on in vibrancy, rather than in a type of memento mori. Her power in this moment is remarkable, with one critic arguing, "Her insistent femininity and protection of the domestic sphere represent Shakespeare's particular critique against Rome's hypermasculine ideology."[52] She will not go out of doors until Martius returns from Corioles, early in the play. Against Valeria and Volumnia's imprecations, she sets her boundary and establishes her character as the picture of consistency. One scholar reminds us that her fortitude is not initially clear, "The first impression of weakness fades as we sense an inner strength of will. Utterly at odds with Coriolanus' life as a warrior, she presents an image of that private integrity he has tried, and failed, to live by" (Leggatt 208). Even Martius would seem to confound the audience, to wit, "Though Coriolanus calls Virgilia 'my gracious silence' (2.1.172), it is less to signify wifely subjection than the feminine complement to his marital austerity" (Langis 19). This same critic makes a further point, "The understated personal and civic tragedy of *Coriolanus* lies in that despite Coriolanus's expressions of love, Virgilia, like her epic forbear, Dido, is ultimately powerless against the imperatives of his hypervirtue" (Langis 20). There is much to connect Virgilia and Dido, but I think that fate plays a

[52] Unhae Langis. "*Coriolanus*: Inordinate Passions and Powers in Personal and Political Governance." *Comparative Drama*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2010, pp. 1–27, 19.

bigger role in the heroine of Virgil's epic. Though the same "hypervirtue" may drive Aeneas and Martius, Martius has more choice, more agency to align with his wife. Like Leggatt, the tragedy is more in keeping with his inability to maintain private integrity. Though he shuns public recognition of such, he must make it for himself and seemingly report it for himself as well. None can express the virtue of Martius unless it is himself. He is at war with himself from without and from within. The play materializes walls and boundaries to allow Martius to act on a macrocosmic scale this internal strife. He is unwilling, or unable, to learn anything from Virgilia's example.

Martius's death is the brief coda to this section. He predicts correctly that his mother has "most dangerously…with him prevailed" (5.3.188). Following textual clues, Martius rejoins Tullus Aufidius in Corioles (AUF: "Dost thou think / I'll grace thee with that robbery, thy stol'n name / 'Coriolanus' in Corioles?" [5.6.87-89]). Aufidius unmans him entirely. He calls him "boy" and "traitor," words anathematic to Martius's ears and sense of self. The irony is fitting; Martius dies in Corioles, the place where he won his name in the play's first act. Unlike Virgilia, he has not managed to tread the borders and boundaries with skill. His death is remarkable in terms of the walls in the play because he entered the city freely. The violation of the space of city walls becomes a lesson in civic polity, for the London of 1610 and for the reader now. According to Leah Marcus, the play "enacts a civic victory like the expansion of London authority; it does so by casting out a symbolic representative of the artificial constraints imposed on the city from above" (209-210). This is, I think, a bit idealistic. Martius is more unique than simply a "representative" of the artifice of civic and royal power structures. He may eventually represent those things, but as I show earlier in this chapter, the ever-shifting attitude

toward the use of space and the popular relationship to that does not need a Martius-like figure to demonize or to scapegoat. Rather, the play dwells upon the universality of the issue by investing time and stage space to a character that is at war with both sides of the question. Martius cannot live within Rome's walls and he cannot live without them. The play cultivates political affect by allowing the struggle to be personal while still carrying political and civic consequences. Marcus's historicizing of the political gains London achieved against the stricter authority of the crown is useful, but city centric. We know that many people came to the theater from outside of the London walls. Even if the more affluent theatergoers of Blackfriars did not necessarily pass among the city walls, they were aware of the unrest ranging far across the country. The success of the play, then and now, is how it calls us to consider what walls we must negotiate and how inextricable our personal feelings are from the explication of those walls.

Each play in this chapter celebrates the victory of a more modern conception of the civic landscape. Rome is London and London is London, and in each play, the city is victorious. However, this point seems hollow to me if we discount the injection of the personal. Shakespeare's play makes the spectator wrestle with a figure that inspires many conflicting emotional reactions. Heywood's play deftly incorporates London into the struggle to preserve an emergent form of governance. Indeed, incorporates is a key word here, in that these plays bring to bear the bodies of the spectators as active agents in the thematic concerns of the violation of space and the changing nature of the sociality of space as both a concrete thing and an idea. Neither play can claim to be the very moment of the shift in English culture that marked a definitive beginning to the decline of royal authority and the rise of civic-based government. But these plays remain great

achievements for all the reasons that theater still lives and vibrates within our culture now. It is incumbent upon us not to stop thinking about walls, civic, national, or neighborly, and borders, and the things that they represent as signifiers of the ways we understand social space. It should make us emotional; it means we are involved.

The third chapter draws purposefully upon the bodies of the plays' spectators to make claims about their affective engagement with the space of borders and city walls. My next chapter envelopes more fully the notion of a spectating body at a play; titled, "'Faults of misuse': Metatheatre's Representational Logic of Spatial Violation," chapter four analyzes plays that exhibit clear metadramatic characteristics to think about how the theater's playing space simultaneously formed and was formed by representational logic. This biconditional structure enabled audience members to reflect upon their role as theatergoers and to consider the use and misuse of space as an aesthetic and economic concern in which they had a financial and social stake. Spaces of dramatic action uniquely define material, contained spaces while also representing expansive aesthetic and imaginative capacities. The next chapter analyzes how drama forms and encourages an understanding of the logic of representation through metatheatrical spaces, which is a crucial aspect of a playing space's ability to transmit meaning effectively. This in turn recirculates as a part of this dissertation's methodology. The stage is a fitting marker as the final space of this study, though it is by no means the endpoint of the inquiry.

CHAPTER 4

"FAULTS OF MISUSE": METATHEATRE'S REPRESENTATIONAL LOGIC OF SPATIAL VIOLATION

This chapter represents the final portion of the arc that this dissertation delineates through violations of space. The first three chapters focused on identifiable spaces while tracing an expanding path through spaces of daily life beginning with the home, moving to jail cells, and followed by city walls. It is appropriate to finish this progression by examining the space of the stage as a contained yet expansive space; it is a contained space because stages, actual places of performance, are in specific geographic locations around London with culturally driven reasons determining these sites of artistic materialism. However, the stage is also expansive, imaginatively representing myriad locations, real and fictitious. This is not contained solely to spatial representation; the stage can represent imagined political truths, romanticized pastoral or chivalric codes of honor and behavior, exoticized cultural interaction, and so much more. As this work strives to make sense of the ways that early modern English people understood their lives and the role that theater played in explaining, diverting, or reacting to this quotidian movement, it is appropriate that this final segment delve into the less concrete, more Protean institution that existed in proximity to so many people in early modern England. The public theater's power as a cultural establishment derives from the expansive cross-section of individuals that visited the theaters and helped make them economically viable enterprises for the better part of six decades. Theaters are places that represent the lived, spatial experiences of the audiences, producing space and simultaneously depicting and challenging the contemporary methods of understanding such space. In the rapidly

changing political, civic, and cultural landscapes of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, the theater did not explicitly set out to dictate audience members' experience of their spatial lives. However, through the embedded nature of the theater within the cultural matrix, drama inevitably participated in the formation of a logic of representation; essentially, through dramatic practice they materialized an understanding of how to negotiate the spatial semiotics of theatrical representation. For the purposes of this chapter, I want to reflect upon the ways that metadramatic plays reveal a vital perspective on the formation of this logic of representation, especially through the layering of spaces that uniquely occurs in metadrama. As in the previous chapters, spatial violation becomes the lens through which I examine the plays in this chapter. Here, I ask how plays staging another dramatic space within or alongside the representational space of the play act like spatial violations and I consider what consequences these violations have. Metadrama is a violation of space when it thrusts another representational logic onto the stage and forces spectators to reckon with the intrusion. An audience member may expect a play to be self-referential, but when it introduces metatheatrical tropes, it creates a complex matrix of logics and possibilities that allow the medium to demonstrate self-reflexive awareness of its own processes. The theater reveals itself through the dramatic action of becoming. If the playgoer extrapolates this action and applies it to his or her understanding of the dramatic use of space, the attendant economic, political, and social importance of theatrical spaces within England grows. This is especially so as the theater is a key conduit for arbitrating the rapidly changing uses and understandings of many kinds of space. Following the thread of this inquiry, I aim to show how the theater

discloses a response to the complex changes in use and value of social space through the simultaneity of metatheatrical representation.

This chapter's primary texts include a very brief examination of select moments from Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* (1579) and Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612) in addition to Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607), Peele's *The Old Wives Tale* (1590), and Brome's *The Antipodes* (1638). The goal of this collaboration of materials aims to show the development of a representational logic through metadrama alongside the continuing transformation of the theater as a space that was both a producer and a product of this developing logic. As audiences attended these plays, the theater regaled them with new ways to navigate and inhabit the economic, political, and cultural spaces of their lives. The prose pieces exemplify the resonance of the theatrical space dialectic and an attempt to formulate ideological consensus around the use of material and economic space. The dramas by Beaumont, Peele, and Brome specifically engage with plots and techniques that are consciously aware of their performativity and spatial semiotics. They deploy this awareness to bolster the growth of the stage as a cultural establishment that communicated and fomented an accrual of cultural capital out of an enhanced familiarity with representational logic.[1]

These plays range across decades of performance (1590 to 1638), which strongly indicates an evolving effort to situate the lived spatial experience within a

[1] The term cultural capital comes from Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, 1984. Essentially, Bourdieu holds that cultural capital is "revealed in the nature of the cultural goods consumed, and in the way they are consumed" (13). I will reference Bourdieu's wide-ranging study below, but there are others who tackle the issue: see Mark Bayer, *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London*, University of Iowa Press, 2011, especially pp. 12-14. For an example of Bourdieu in early modern dramatic criticism, see Adam Zucker, "The Social Logic of Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*," *Renaissance Drama*, vol. 33, pp. 37–62. On using Bourdieu in critical theory, see Kocku von Stuckrad, *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities*, Brill, 2010, especially pp. 56-59.

representational logic that was attentive to the important cultural, political, economic, and monarchical changes of the country. Indeed, I posit that it is vital to revisit such concerns against the backdrop of the shifting spatial landscape. Unsurprisingly, in their use of meta-dramatic tropes, these plays share similar concerns about the point of storytelling and how violations of stage space shape the ideological resonance of the substance of the plays, their transmission, and the way each shaped and was shaped by a representational logic. Even in the earliest instance, the plays under examination in this chapter seem aware of, and responsive to, the idea that the audience for plays grew into the burgeoning theatrical space as a transactional conduit and taskscape.[2] As the early moderns took part in the activities surrounding and defining theatrical spaces of exchange and performance, they practiced moving through different aspects of the lived, representational spaces of their lives, cultivating logical coherence.[3] Jean Howard helps orient this approach to the theater's effect upon social life and the understanding of representational space, asserting

> Attendants at the theater were not participants in a religious event or social ritual, but paying customers and spectators positioned to judge, as well as applaud, the fictions played out before them. As spectators became spectators rather than participants, judges rather than actors, the chances increased for seeing dramatic representations *as* representations, and not as mirrors of truth.[4]

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[2] The term "taskscape" comes from Tim Ingold's *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill*, Routledge, 2000. Taskscapes are defined as environments comprised of human action; he writes, "The taskscape is an array of related activities. And as with the landscape, it is qualitative and heterogeneous: we can ask of a taskscape, as of a landscape, what it is like, but not how much of it there is. In short, the taskscape is to labour what the landscape is to land" (195).

[3] The concept of lived space or representational space is similar in Lefebvre's construction. He claims it is the "passively experienced" space where the imagination is most active (39). This is an important claim because it allows me to maintain that this kind of movement and action (Ingold's taskscape) is not necessarily intentional and agential.

[4] Jean E. Howard. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, p. 14.

Implicit in this contention is that audience members evolve over time and that the theater is a key part of (but not wholly responsible for) the practices that influence patrons' understanding of social space. The notion of becoming is a key concept for this chapter as it subtends my claims about representational logic and the violation of theatrical space. The theater shaped and responded to the cultural trends defining the use of space; it provided an opportunity for audiences to redetermine representational logic as part of the lived experience of the marketplace. Though not named as such, specifically, these plays unfold possible ways of understanding the world through deciphering the representational logic of the stage.[5]

"The abuse of such places": Gosson's Antitheatrical Claims and Heywood's Defense

Stephen Gosson was the first and most accomplished of the antitheatricalists;[6] his invectives against drama and the public theaters pay special attention to the spatiality of the theater as a place that encouraged dangerous transgression and societal ills. Gosson and his contemporaries feared, generally, the changes that public theaters brought to previously fixed notions of social class, economic opportunity, gender politics, and religious devotion.[7] Most antitheatrical tracts repeat invectives that sound tired and trite from our historically far removed position; however, Gosson's very real objections to the

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[5] There is a clear link to audience demand for plays that comprise models of interpretation. This is not wholly within the scope of this dissertation. However, David J. Baker, *On Demand*, Stanford University Press, 2010, explores how different factors motivate patrons, authors, and company directors. Persuasively, he argues, "Growing demand in England outstripped the discourse…that the English had to depict and explain it" (xvi). This helps to explain how plays manifested their role as shapers of representational logic.
[6] Arthur F. Kinney. *Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson*. Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974, pp. 1-2.
[7] For a cogent and thorough treatment of these ills, see Jean Howard's chapter, "Sathans Synagogue," in *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England*, Routledge, 1994, pp. 22-46. In one poignant remark, she explains, "The theater was the place where such transgressions were literally institutionalized" (34).

theater give perspective to the power that place can wield.[8] When Howard writes, "[Gosson] too is keenly alert to the disruptive potential embedded in the very activity of going to a play" (*The Stage* 75), she centralizes the spatial arrangement that demonstrates the theater's power of place. Taken further, Gosson misapprehends the logic of representation essential to dramatic production and directs much of his animosity towards the theater's status as a burgeoning transactional space among the matrix of exchanges that leads Lupton to call the theater a taskscape.[9] With the theater as the center of this connective action, Gosson links his understanding of social problems to the symbolic ideology manifested in the aesthetic and cultural representations of theatrical semiotics. His reaction is one that opposes the growth of new technologies of space and culture; as Thomas Sorge claims, theater was part of a "transitional period…a process which to a large degree entails calling into question the older order of sign and thing."[10] In composing his invective, Gosson makes theater the locus of the conduit, the taskscape,

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[8] I would echo the caution of Kent R. Lehnhof, who notes, "When we tell ourselves the antitheatricalists are irrational, we tend to read them ungenerously, which causes us to misconstrue their meaning" (234) in "Antitheatricality and Irrationality: An Alternative View," *Criticism*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2016, pp. 231–250. I do not think Gosson is irrational. For more on Gosson's cogent arguments against the theater, see Kent R. Lehnhof, "Profeminism in Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 48, no. 1, Winter 2008, pp. 23–43; Rachael Ball, "'Beautiful Serpents' and 'Cathedras of Pestilence': Antitheatrical Traditions, Gendered Decline, and Political Crisis in Early Modern Spain and England," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 46, no. 3, Fall 2015, pp. 541–563; Efterpi Mitsi, "Myth and Metamorphosis in Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*," *English: Journal of the English Association*, vol. 60, no. 229, July 2011, pp. 108–23; and Jonas A. Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice*, University of California Press, 1981.
[9] Julia Reinhard Lupton. *Shakespeare Dwelling: Designs for the Theater of Life*. University of Chicago Press, 2018, p. 5.
[10] Thomas Sorge, "The Failure of Orthodoxy in *Coriolanus*," *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology*, edited by Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O'Connor, Taylor & Francis Group, 2005, pp. 225–241, 238. Sorge marks the shift from a more Medieval concept of the blind acceptance of the signification of signs to a Renaissance model that allows for more nuance. He explains, "The historically new habit of examining the validity of conventional signs such as the image of the body politic by comparing them with the things they are referred to is part of the intellectual equipment seventeenth-century Englishmen needed in order to pursue their interests" (238). Without the necessary remove of complex allegorical artifice and representational logic, plays depicting kings and heads of state can appear to be dangerous by emblematizing those figures. For a contemporary point of inflection, see Michael Cooper, "*Julius Caesar*, an Assassination Echoes Across the Centuries," *The New York Times*, New York edition, 13 June 2017, pp. A1, A23.

and the marketplace. *Schoole of Abuse* recognizes the richness that this confluence of factors brings, but the work fails to provide the grounds to stop the questioning of older models of representation as new ones manifested on the public stages, surpassing them in variety and import.

One of the recurrent criticisms in *The Schoole of Abuse* is the inappropriateness of the theater as a place for women. Women should not go to the theater because they will learn to banter with wantons too well,[11] because in Rome, Romulus built a theater for his soldiers and invited only prostitutes (B3v), because women could be seen and this would be "sufficient cause to speake ill of them & think worse" (B4r), and because attendance at the theater could very likely be an excuse to meet for illicit sex (C2r). All these prohibitions against going to the theater hearken back to the first chapter of this dissertation where I investigate the way that stage representations of the home suggest that domestic spaces afford women some greater leeway in terms of the male/female power dynamic in addition to inferring that the theater was a place where boundaries could be safely pushed, whether they brought social change or not. [12] In inveighing against women, Gosson is very directly marking his criticisms as problems of representational space. The theater becomes the place where women might take on the

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[11] Stephen Gosson. *The Shoole of Abuse: Conteining a Plesaunt Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and Such like Caterpillers of a Commonwelth*. Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Da Capo Press, 1972, sig. A5r [facsimile reprint].

[12] Interestingly, in Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Shakespeare Dwelling: Designs for the Theater of Life*, University of Chicago Press, 2018, the author likens the theater to a dwelling; it is a collection of people and things that are akin to the assemblages that make up Ingold's taskscapes. "Action orients us to each other as speaking subjects" (7), she claims, and in this action, I argue that women are an essential component when composing the full picture of theater as a dwelling, a taskscape, or a place guided by representational logic. Gosson is wrong to bar women from the theater because his view fails to grasp the complexity that the theatrical space invites regarding the orientation of unique subjects through actions of exchange, reception, acculturation, and representation. Moreover, by expanding the definition of what a dwelling can be, Lupton pushes back against gendered conceptions of space that erroneously align domestic spaces solely with women and places of exchange, like the theater, solely with men.

characteristics of men and learn things that he deems unbecoming. Consider the way he frames the problem by recounting the character of Sempronia from Sallust's *Conspiracy of Cataline*:

> Salust in describing the nurture of Sempronia, commendeth her witte in that shee coulde frame her selfe to all companies, to talke discretly with wyse men and vaynely with wantons, takyng a quip ere it came to grounde, and returning it back without a faulte. She was taught (saith he) both Greek and Latine, she could versifie, sing, and daunce, better then became an honest woman. (A4v-A5r).

Here, Gosson comingles the legacy of Humanist learning by drawing upon classical authors for authority, and by rejecting those principles to confound his interpretation's representational logic. Gosson implies that he is aware of the way that the theater could imbue in its patrons the ability to speak wisely with a broad spectrum of people and to teach them to be witty. The problem here is that Sempronia can do all these things better than "[becomes] an honest woman." Gosson generalizes the problem as a threat to women localized around the space of the theater.

In the example that follows, Gosson recounts how Romulus built a theater "as a horse faire for hores, made Triumphes, & set out playes to gather the fayre women togither, that every one of his souldiers might take where he liked" (B3v). He goes on, "It should seeme that the abuse of such places was so great, that for any chaste liver to haunt them was a black swan, & a white crowe" (B4r). The space of the theater is central to Gosson's critique of the ills that the cultural institution posed for early modern citizens. Not only does he claim that association with the environs of the theater opens a woman to shame, but more pointedly, the space of the theater represents reprehensible behavior,

and its very existence allows for licentiousness and lewdness. Gosson's claim draws out the representational logic to assign causation to the theater as a place that encourages such behavior. It is not the case that such things could happen anywhere and they happen to occur at the theater; rather, Gosson understands the unique character of the theater's participation in the economic and social production of space to foster the kind of bad morals that make the theater's artistic pursuit undesirable. Indeed, he conflates economic and artistic metaphor to call the theater a "market of bawdrie" (C2r). With increased freedom of movement away from the dwelling place and a heightened sense of economic independence, Gosson decries the danger to women that theater represents. The invective against the theater is not just a "fault of misuse" (Kinney 30), but a misconstrual of the representational logic that allows the theater to realize fully the matrix of social, economic, and political spaces that make up the taskscape that is the theater's existence.

Writing in defense of the stage and contrapuntally to such authors like Gosson, Heywood's 1612 *An Apology for Actors* remains striking for its energetic confirmation of theater as an integral part of London and England's cultural legitimacy. This brief analysis will examine moments in Heywood's text that, in the context of this chapter, exemplify theatrical spaces and their practices. These examples further a sense of the representational power of the theater buildings themselves. When Heywood shifts from a disquisition of classical examples of theater to a localized, English example, he creates an incorrect historical record of the use of the Palace at St. John's. I characterize this move as a kind of spatial violation wherein Heywood has misappropriated a theatrical space and attributed a false historical record with the aim of establishing a representational logic that aligns with a more favorable view of theatrical spatial practice.

Thirty-three years separate the publication of Gosson's first antitheatrical tract and Heywood's *Apology*. In that intervening time, many acts of government sought to curb the liberalities of the theater and its performers, though not as harshly as Gosson and his ilk would have preferred. To wit, an order of the Privy Council on 22 June 1600 strove to "restrain the excessive number of playhouses and the immoderate use of stage plays in and about the City."[13] In 1603, there was a proclamation that forbade entertainment on Sundays (Chambers 335). Early in his reign, James I enacted a continuance of the Act for Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars, several times iterated by Queen Elizabeth (Chambers 336-337). Nevertheless, in the face of these political maneuverings, Heywood strove to be a beacon of optimism for the practitioners and patrons of theater alike. His selection of historical referents and his advocacy for the dignity of actors combine to shape his idealistic view of a polis that honors the artistic contributions of the theater. He is most explicit about the good that theater can do in three distinct ways; first, he writes, "Playing is an ornament to the city."[14] The second way concerns the English language that "is now by this secondary means of playing, continually refined" (240, F3r). In the third respect, "Plays have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, [and] instructed such as cannot read in the discovery of all our English chronicles" (241, F3r). From these generalities, I focus on the first, the ornamentation of the city, to show how Heywood exhibits representations of theatrical space as a

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[13] E. K. Chambers. *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4, The Clarendon Press, 1974, p. 329.
[14] Tanya Pollard. *An Apology for Actors (1612)* in *Shakespeare's Theater: A Sourcebook*, Blackwell Publishing, 2004, pp. 213-254, 240. Some of Heywood's text does not make Pollard's editorial cut. Therefore, I also consult Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors Containing Three Briefe Treatises. 1 Their Antiquity. 2 Their Ancient Dignity. 3 The True vse of Their Quality. Written by Thomas Heywood,* Nicholas Okes, 1612. All parenthetical references will note Heywood's 1612 text and Pollard's text, if applicable, for ease of reference.

fundamental lens through which to view the shifting economic, political, and cultural landscape. His spatial violation through the misappropriated history of St. John's further reifies this reading of Heywood's aim of using the theater to promote his vision of ornamentation, refinement, and edification.

In anticipation of the turn to English theaters, Heywood gives a sprawling account of the many theaters in Europe, which centers upon the edifices built during the Roman empire. Successive rulers strove to outdo each other in size and grandeur or with special features, like that of Caius Curio, who "erected a famous theater of timber, in so strange a form that on two several stages, two sundry plays might be acted at once" (231, D2v). Perhaps the grandest was the Campo Martio, erected for Julius Caesar. Heywood's description is poetic; he rhapsodizes,

> For the bases, columns, pillars, and pyramids were all of hewed marble, the coverings of the stage, which we call the heavens (where upon any occasion their gods defended) were geometrically supported by a giant-like Atlas, whom the poets, for his astrology, feign to bear heaven on his shoulders, in which an artificial sun and moon of extraordinary aspect and brightness had their diurnal and nocturnal motions; so had the stars their true and celestial course; so had the spheres, which in their continual motion made a most sweet and ravishing harmony…In brief, in that little compass were comprehended the perfect model of the firmament, the whole frame of the heavens, with all grounds of astronomical conjecture. (231-232, D2v-D3r)

Heywood refers to this incredible theater to solemnize the beauty of the architecture and to indicate how the construction of the stage can contain the whole world, even the sun,

moon, and stars, within the performance frame. In this section of the *Apology*, Heywood focuses on theatrical constructions that are strange and sublime to cement the power of the theatrical space as a representational space. His descriptions imply that theater can do the seemingly impossible (two plays acted at once) and be the all-encompassing escape to another world (as through the lavish Roman theater). These varied representations are not just the appropriate signifiers of a prosperous nation, they are the means that bring into focus the changing nature of the English landscape and the continually shifting uses of space at the confluence of the economic, political, and cultural influences. Caius Curio's double stage is a novelty; it may imply attempts to double revenue or to attempt artistic feats of drama that would not make sense in a traditional theater. The resplendence of the Campo Martio reinforces internal significations of drama's prosperity and its accessibility to the wider public. The Roman theater's size and opulence suggest value in the use of the space and in its position as a part of the matrix that binds art, politics, and economics. I extrapolate this idea to contend that witnessing spatial violations on the stage marked the important interventions wherein audiences and readers might question the disruption of space when it so solidly stamps itself as a part of the landscape of early modern life. The buildings Heywood lists signify so much in their Roman context and he argues that the English equivalents (though not in size or eccentricity) should do the same.

Heywood's citation of an English theater comes at the end of a sprawling list of European theatrical spaces and it would seem contextually to affirm the nobility of playing as an occupation by glossing the presence of Edward IV at the rehearsals at the Palace at St. John's. The intent is clear; Edward's presence during the rehearsal and perfection of the plays acts as a tacit acceptance and adds a veneer of royal dignity to the

proceedings. Heywood claims, "When Edward the fourth would shew himselfe in publicke state to the view of the people, hee repaired to his Palace at S. Johnes, where he accustomed to see the Citty Actors" (E1v). Herein lies the problem that threatens Heywood's nostalgic construction of theater's place as one formerly patronized by royalty. The Palace at St. John's was the location of the Revels Office, but it was never a theatrical space, especially not in Edward IV's day. Nor did there exist a company of "Citty Actors" that Edward might have seen perform. Anita Gilman Sherman details these puzzling miscues to argue that,

> Heywood imagines a historical scene of royal patronage that provides an invented precedent for a set of relations that he misses and thereby hopes to encourage. Through a process of what Mary Carruthers calls "overlay and remapping," Heywood engages in a form of forgetting that involves expunging old, untidy memories by putting newer, nicer ones in their place.[15]

When Heywood misrepresents the historical record of St. John's, he perpetuates a spatial violation similar to those discussed throughout this dissertation. *An Apology* embodies Heywood's attempt to generate legitimacy for actors, playing companies, and the theatrical spaces essential for performing plays. As with my reading of plays, I use this moment of spatial violation to mark an important intervention that invites the reader to reassess the cultural context of the space and the use of the Palace at St. John's. Sherman incorporates this moment into a narrative about memory, reading it as an attempt to shape

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[15] Anita Gilman Sherman. "Forms of Oblivion: Losing the Revels Office at St. John's." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2011, pp. 75–105, 82. See also Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, especially p. 54. Sherman discusses the historical and monarchical contexts that may explain Heywood's reasoning. Though interesting, I focus on the way this is a kind of spatial violation through misuse and misappropriation of history.

the future by rewriting the past. I argue that this spatial violation allows Heywood to write convincingly to establish a representational logic that favors theater and its attendant cultural contexts. By "remembering" that Edward IV saw plays at St. John's and, in doing so, participated in the formation of a robust and friendly theater culture, Heywood aims to shift the representation of the space of St. John's to one that accommodates his pro-theater purposes. Thus, of the space that Heywood's contemporaries would have known as the seat of the Office of the Revels, the apologist builds a representative chain of associations that convey dignity, respect, and royalty upon the acting profession. The building of St. John's Palace becomes the representative signification of such practice, invented though it may be. Along with the resplendent descriptions of theaters built and used during the Roman Empire and of the Palace at St. John's, Heywood's descriptions center the import of acting upon the very places of its performance. He makes theatrical space the crucial component of the representational logic of his history. Though his text is far-reaching in its ideas, Heywood's *Apology* achieves nothing if it does not warm the skeptic's attitude toward the place that stands as the edifice, the temple of acting. To burnish the reputation of actors and to establish the permanence of his profession, Heywood worked to establish a representational logic of the things most recognizable as symbols of acting, the public theaters.

"In some things rarer": Building a Hybrid Consciousness in Peele's *Old Wives Tale*

In accord with the other plays under scrutiny in this chapter, *The Old Wives Tale* uses metadramatic tropes to materialize violations of stage space that mediate the spectators' interpretation of the play's representational logic. Unlike the other plays, the *Tale* early on makes very explicit the fictive nature of the story and highlights the

reception of storytelling as an avenue of critical judgment integral to interpretive assessment. This is a result of the blend of the play's sources in folklore and the medium of drama as a serious, adult enterprise. Indeed, through spatial violations caused by the metadramatic tropes, Peele's play beckons the spectator to understand the play as both a fiction and a method of transmitting a narrative. The outcome is a different way of thinking about a play as an audience comes to terms with the representational logic. Mary Ellen Lamb points out such a development, explaining, "Negotiations between the perspectives of a learned culture on the one hand, and on the other, an oral culture reveal the shaping presence of a hybrid consciousness."[16] Peele relies on the dialectic tensions—between folklore and drama, oral tradition and formalized learning, childhood and adulthood, and most importantly, drama and metadrama—for the success of the play.

Early editions of the play focused on problems of authorship attribution in addition to tracing the various folkloric sources of the characters and the literary influences of the play.[17] Other early critical articles expanded the field of concern, covering inquiries such as which playing company performed the work, if it was ever intended for the public theaters at all, or if it was just an abbreviated version of some longer work.[18] These critics seemed especially to wrestle with the question of legitimacy

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[16] Lamb, Mary Ellen. "Old Wives' Tales, George Peele, and Narrative Abjection." *Critical Survey*, vol. 14, no. 1, Jan. 2002, pp. 28–43, 33.

[17] For these, see the following editions: F. S. Hook, editor, "The Dramatic Works: *The Old Wives Tale*," in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, vol. 3, Yale University Press, 1970; and D. H. Horne, editor. "The Life and Minor Works of George Peele," in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, vol. 1, Yale University Press, 1952.

[18] See M. C. Bradbrook, "Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*: A Play of Enchantment," *English Studies*, vol. 43, 1962, pp. 323–30; Gwenan Jones, "The Intention of Peele's *Old Wives Tale*," *Aberystwyth Studies*, vol. 8, 1925, pp. 79-93; Harold Jenkins, "Peele's *Old Wives Tale*," *Modern Language Review*, vol. 34, 1934, pp. 177-185; S. Musgrove, "Peele's *Old Wives Tale*: An Afterpiece?" *Journal of the Australasian Universities Modern Language Association*, vol. 23, 1965, pp. 86–95; and Susan T. Viguers, "The Hearth and the Cell: Art in *The Old Wives Tale*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1981, pp. 209–21.

of the work as a text worth reading or a play worth performing. Some, like Jenkins and Bradbrook, thought the play to be too short to be a serious one and therefore believed that it must have been printed as an excerpt. Writing about the folkloric themes, John Crow thoroughly dismisses the play as worthy of serious consideration, castigating, "I can see no possible way of explaining anything except on the assumption that this play is utterly and completely unsophisticated."[19] This language is typical of the tenor of disdain that some have for this play. Even Gummere does not defend the play's merits, though he does attempt to reconcile the play with the comedic genre by noting that Peele created a "special sense of humour."[20] Ultimately, it seems that most of the 20th century critics did not know what to do with a play like *The Old Wives Tale* and their confusion infuses their articles and editions with skepticism and dismissiveness. They wrote, if sparingly, about the play but more often relegated it to a quirky footnote of Elizabethan drama. Patricia Binnie's edition for the Revels Plays proves to be an exception to this trend, containing excellent information on print variants, a far-ranging critical history, and thorough citation of secondary sources for study.[21] Nevertheless, George Peele's play was treated much as it was named, as an old wife's tale with some entertainment value but with little of weight to offer.

The first two decades of the 21st century have seen remarkable renewed interest in *The Old Wives Tale*. Early modern scholars produced articles and book chapters, highlighting Peele's play prominently, that reflect the expanded range of inquiries and

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[19] John Crow, "Folklore in Elizabethan Drama," *Folklore*, vol. 58, no. 3, 1947, pp. 297–311, 305.
[20] F. B. Gummere, "George Peele: Critical Essay," in *Representative English Comedies: With Introductory Essays and Notes, an Historical View of Our Earlier Comedy, and Other Monographs by Various Writers*, edited by Charles Mills Gayley and Alwin Thaler, The Macmillan Company, 1903, p. 338.
[21] George Peele. *The Old Wives Tale*. Edited by Patricia Binnie, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980. All subsequent references to the play will be given parenthetically by line number.

especially the greater importance and revitalization of women's work in early modern culture.[22] This chapter takes advantage of the critical intersection of increased attention to women's roles, especially that of narrative dissemination, and the dramatization of theatrical space and its attendant violations to illustrate the role of metadrama in the formation of representational logic. Specifically, Peele's play introduces irruptive violations of the performance space accompanied by commentary from Madge, the eponymous old wife. These augmentations to Madge's storytelling serve a dual purpose of reifying folkloric tropes through the practice of women's taletelling and self-consciously materializing a type of storytelling that indicates a hybridization of conscious attention to different modes of representation. Throughout the play, the audience member confronts moments when he or she is conscious of being told a tale, of that tale being acted out onstage, then witnessing an interruption or violation of that action by the tale teller. In this, the earliest historical example of drama in this chapter, Peele muddies the distinction between participant and judging spectator. The characters of Madge, Fantastic, and Frolic are exemplars of metadramatic characters that blur a clear delineation between action and commentary that engages the spectators by forcing them to imagine both participating in the often-childlike act of listening at story-time and processing dramatic representations that occur onstage during the performance. Consequently, *The Old Wives Tale* is the impetus text of this chapter's argument for the

[22] The breadth of these "newer" inquiries is exciting. Mary Ellen Lamb's article, quoted above, is one of the first and best. For other examples, see Frank Ardolino, "The Protestant Context of George Peele's 'Pleasant Conceited' *Old Wives Tale*," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, vol. 18, 2005, pp. 146–165; Mark Morton, "Bread and Meat for God's Sake," *Gastronomica*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2004, pp. 6–7 (a reference to a sandwich, but still interesting); Philip D. Collington, "'A Mad-Cap Ruffian and a Swearing Jack': Braggart Courtship from *Miles Gloriosus* to *The Taming of the Shrew*," *Early Theatre*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2016, pp. 81–112; and Judith Woolf, "Milkmaid Bears and Savage Mates: The Cultural Exploitation of Real and Fictive White Bears from the Elizabethan Period to the Present," *Anthrozoos*, vol. 32, no. 3, June 2019, pp. 305–318.

power of metatheatrical plays to challenge an audience's reception of the representational logic of plays as it is shaped by the spatial violations unique to metadrama.

I situate my argument among the many critical analyses of Peele's play as one that recognizes the shortcomings of earlier, especially 20th century, criticism. An extremely large aspect of the confusion or dismissal of the play results from the erasure or non-acknowledgment of women's work of storytelling, specifically uneducated older women. My purpose is not to resuscitate Peele's play as an example of proto-feminist drama; rather, I aim to show how, with the use of a more inclusive critical lens of social space and cultural production, *The Old Wives Tale* retains a vibrant place in the early modern dramatic canon because of its inclusion of a character like Madge who helps to show what kind of entertainment drama can offer when it takes up the subject of those seemingly simple, unadorned, and forgotten old wife's tales. In this, Lamb's article is of crucial influence. One of the most instructive points is Lamb's elucidation of the structured binaries separating boys' lives from young men's' lives and how the tales from childhood competed with the approved learning of formalized schooling. Lamb notes, "For those who interpreted the tensions between these cultures as destructive, competing allegiances represented threats to the integrity of selfhood; and a clear-cut choice between the two was necessary" (30). At its most optimistic, Peele's play offers an example of drama that can bridge these two distinct cultures, reminding boys and men alike that the pleasure of hearing taletelling from the figure of an older woman like a nursemaid or godmother produces entertainment worth the price of admission. Further, it situates the folk-oriented tropes and story sources as worthy of a place in the new vehicle of cultural

transmission, the public theaters, familiarizing audiences with spatial violations through recognizable tropes.

The Old Wives Tale begins with a frame story of three apprentices wandering through the woods, lost. They chance upon Clunch, a smith, who brings them home to his cottage and wife, Madge. Since there is not enough space for all of them to have beds, Clunch and one of the apprentices go up to share the bed and the other two apprentices, Fantastic and Frolic, remain to hear Madge tell a tale. Fantastic remarks, "I'faith, gammer, a tale of an hour long were as good as an hour's sleep" (89). Like a story at bedtime, the apprentices request the kind of lulling way of passing time that connects them to their childhood diversions. Notably, the sense of an hour's tale being like an hour's sleep incubates the dream-like quality of the play's action, helping to blur the boundaries between child-like tales and serious drama. The narrative within the frame is diffuse and difficult to summarize. Two brothers search for their abducted sister. They meet with an old man, Erestus, who also turns into a bear at night. Further along, the story treats us to Huanebango, a braggart and faux-intellectual who speaks Latin, but to ridiculous effect, and his companion, the clown Corebus. He, too, is searching for a beautiful lost princess. The princess, Delia, sister to the two brothers, was stolen away by the sorcerer Sacrapant, who can turn himself into a dragon. The brothers find Delia, but Sacrapant uses Furies to thwart their rescue attempt. Here, the story introduces the audience to Eumenides, the Wandering Knight and Delia's love. He receives advice from the old man, Erestus, that enables him to complete the quest of rescuing Delia. Along the way, Huanebango and Corebus also end up married, Corebus to an ugly woman he cannot see because Sacrapant blinds him, and Huanebango to a shrew because he is too

deaf and ridiculous to hear her incessant complaints. Eumenides performs an act of kindness along his quest of paying for a man's burial with the last of his money. This man, Jack, rises as a spirit and helps Eumenides defeat Sacrapant. They extinguish the sorcerer's magic and unite Delia with her brothers. Thus, the tale is ended, and it is almost daylight. Madge agrees to cook the apprentices' breakfast before they are on their way, and the play ends.

Madge's tale begins haltingly, which Peele crafts for the effect of calling upon its orality. She begins,

> Once upon a time there was a king or a lord or a duke that had a fair daughter, the fairest that ever was; as white as snow and as red as blood; and once upon a time his daughter was stolen away, and he sent all his men to seek out his daughter, and he sent so long that he sent all his men out of his land. (113-118)

The interspersed repetitions, especially of "Once upon a time," serve to convey the knowledge with certainty that this is the kind of tale from folklore, from childhood, and from a place that is perhaps outside of the theater. Rather than purely lulling one into a sense of calm or being an easily ignored buzz in the background, this play embeds a tale that calls upon the spectators to an awareness of its use of the trope. As the play/tale progresses, the audience will shape their own "hybrid consciousness" as part of the work of interpreting representational logic because Peele's play calls upon its auditors to be not merely passive recipients but active adjudicators. The very first instance of this call comes a few lines later, when the appearance of the two brothers on the stage interrupts Madge's narrative. She explains, "She (he, I would say) turned a proper young man to a bear in the night and a man in the day, and keeps by a cross that parts three several ways,

and he made his lady run mad. Gods me bones! who comes here?" (128-132). The two brothers are part of her spoken back story, but Madge mentions them many lines earlier and seems to forget about them. The fact that she misgenders Sacrapant then corrects herself couples with the liberal use of the conjunction "and" to create long sentences; this comingling makes Madge sound clumsy, which ensures that the primacy of drama is clear. Although Peele intersperses bits of classical learning throughout the play, he cannot or will not eradicate the folkloric and thus, uneducated — and by extension of the narrator, feminine — aspects of his play. The tale Madge tells engenders the appearance of the two brothers and the metatheatrical trope of narrating the action of the stage for the audience justifies the tale and transports the folklore onto the stage. Elements of classical learning begin to coexist onstage with Madge and the young apprentices, forming a conscious hybridity: Eumenides is a Greek name referring to the furies and the figure of Sacrapant comes from Apuleius's *Golden Ass*. Further, as one folklorist avers, "This is not a fairy-tale for a child, but adult fantasy compounded of romantic allusions comprehensible to an Elizabethan audience familiar with Apuleius and Ariosto."[23] I would append that it would also be comprehensible to an audience that had heard bedtime stories steeped in the oral culture of English folkloric traditions. With both elements, that of classical learning and oral culture onstage at once, Lamb elucidates the power dynamic, writing, "The folk elements of *Old Wives Tale* surround and absorb the classical referents" (36). This absorption delineates the play's representational logic and sets the stage for the violations of dramatic space that metadramatic characters commit.

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[23] Margaret Dean-Smith. "The Ominous Wood." *The Witch Figure: Folklore Essays by a Group of Scholars in England Honouring the 75th Birthday of Katharine M. Briggs*, edited by Venetia Newall, Routledge, 1973, pp. 42–71, 54.

Madge's surprise that the two brothers should enter the stage that acts as the playing ground of imagination does not exclude her tradition from the importance of the play, but rather helps materialize spatial violation through her own comic reaction. This is where the metadramatic is at its most visible and effective; when the action of Madge's story makes the transition to its status as main play and the old wife and apprentices become the commentary, the irruption of one space upon another materializes violated space and necessitates a reappraisal of the representational logic.

The frame story characters make several other interruptions of the dramatic action of Madge's tale. At l. 253, Frolic seeks to affirm the identity of the character who just exited. Madge answers quickly but then says, "But soft, who comes here? O, these are the harvest-men; ten to one they sing a song of mowing" (257-259). Verily, the Harvestmen enter and sing a song. When Fantastic wonders a few lines later who the person coming onstage is, Madge replies, "O, this is one that is going to the conjurer. Let him alone; hear what he says" (266-267). In each instance, Madge plays the respectful spectator, giving answer to Frolic and Fantastic, but seeming to insist on the primacy of the dramatic action to move the story along. However, this view does not fully take account of the agency that Peele's play gives to Madge. About 300 lines later, Fantastic interjects during a scene change to make a comment about the dead man who re-appears as a spirit to help Eumenides. Madge's reply and the apprentices' conversation appear below:

> MADGE: O, this Jack was a marvellous fellow. He was but a poor man, but very well beloved. You shall see anon what this Jack will come to.
>
> *Enter the* Harvest-men *singing, with women in their hands.*
>
> FROLIC: Soft, who have we here? our amorous harvesters.

FANTASTIC: Ay, ay; let us sit still and let them alone. (556-560)

First, from Madge's line, her last sentence to "see anon" what will happen is like a directorial admonishment. Importantly, Madge and the apprentices are the only people onstage when she speaks this line, which is a crucial fact that blurs the distinction between metadramatic action and the main play. As such, her words direct the audience where to look for meaning next as they construct the spatial logic of the main drama's representation. Thus, the play is still Madge's tale to tell, though in a more complex and less straightforward aspect than the title implies. She has not spoken for many lines and, after a brief interlude here, will not speak again until the end of the play. In this and other examples, Peele reminds the reader or spectator of the oral origins of Madge's transmission of the narrative, which makes the spatial logic of the frame story and main drama intelligible through the hybridity that characterizes the play's representations of space. Moreover, Madge's interjections, which mark spatial violations, are not for the actors as much as they are for the audience of the play. They represent the interrupted flow of narrative caused by the coexistence of oral tale and dramatic presentation in addition to another liminal concomitance between old wife's tale and classical text. Though there has been much dramatic upheaval since the two brothers startled Madge with their appearance ("Gods me bones! who comes here? [131]), the storyteller treats the attentive audience member to some reassuring words and advises them of what to look for next as an act of forming the "hybrid consciousness." Further, the apprentices begin to parrot her speech patterns, which is evident in the quote above. Frolic points out that the harvesters are back. Fantastic, much like Madge did 300 lines earlier, affirms Frolic's point and says, "Let us sit still and let them alone" (560). Though this may seem like

pointed deference to the acting as the prime mover of the drama, this reveals an acquiescence to the hybrid nature of the representational logic. That Frolic takes up the same language, exhorting his fellow apprentice to "let [the actors] alone," signifies beyond the rote repetition characteristic of tale telling. The audience must determine a logic of dramatic representation through the spatial violations that mark *The Old Wives Tale's* metadramatic action and formation of hybrid consciousness.

Madge flourishes in her role in another way as well. Lamb astutely points out that this play orbits the shift from boyhood to manhood and the kinds of learning that accompany these stages of development. As the figure of the old wife, Madge is in danger of abjection, of excision through a necessary forgetfulness, though not of outright rejection (Lamb 38).[24] Yet the play does not avoid the folkloric spaces or characteristics that come from tales told by the women who rule the early life of young boys, especially as Peele's play sets much of the action in a space over which Madge presides. As these elements gently hybridize with the other instances of classical learning and education, Madge becomes a hybrid figure in her own right. As the scene from the block quote above continues, Frolic wonders at the entrance of Huanebango, a Spanish braggart (Bradbrook 325, Collington 94-96). Madge answers, "O, this is a choleric gentleman! All you that love your lives, keep out of the smell of his two-handed sword. Now goes he to the conjurer" (566-568). This is the second time that Madge introduces him; however, rather than being merely ritualistic (Binnie 17) or redundant (Hook 347), Madge augments her previous description of him as one going "to the conjurer" and expands her role as one who bridges the kinds of learning from one developmental stage to the next,

[24] Julia Kristeva. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Translated by Leon S. Roudiez, Columbia University Press, 1982, p. 4.

across the liminal threshold caused by metadramatic representation. The second introduction amounts to practical advice about the type of character Huanebango is. This is not just the light and inconsequential stuff of fairy tales and children's stories; it is life advice for the young man about to enter a larger and more adult world. Further, through the example of Huanebango as a parsimonious, bragging, and misquoting (of Latin) fool, Madge's advice serves to compliment the lesson of how not to behave as a man. Huanebango presents the "inversion of Eumenides qualities" (Collington 96). He is unable to defeat Sacrapant with his two-handed sword which prompts further editorialization from Madge, "So with that they kissed and spoiled the edge of as good a two-hand sword as ever God put life in" (584-585). For all his martial boasting, Huanebango cannot save Delia and is not the proper figure of emulation.[25] In this moment, Madge's spatial violations seek to carve out a place for the blended knowledge of Lamb's "hybrid consciousness" that comes from her subject position as old wife and both keeper and teller of the tale. Lamb notes further, "The uses of old wives' tales in these works by canonical authors suggests the continuing power of this experience, rendered all the more powerful by the cultural pressures to forget it" (39). Madge is not the kind of figure to ignore and, as the foremost audience member of her own story, she retains an agency that demands recognition of the validity and use of her voice. Peele's inclusion of a character like Madge may have been motivated by convention and trope; nevertheless, like Kristeva's abject, one cannot part from her and what she represents. The boyish attention that the apprentices pay Madge's story is a component of the adult

[25] Collington acknowledges that one of Huanebango's successes is his marriage to Zantippa (95). However, even calling this a success (and thereby marking it as some positive for young apprentices to emulate) is a misnomer. Deaf, Huanebango cannot hear her final imprecation, "Lob be your comfort, and cuckold be your destiny!" (713). He is a fool to the end, married to a wife that will certainly cuckold him.

judgment of the representational logic of performance, carefully embedded within each other in *Old Wives Tale*.

To say that this play is difficult to follow and has superfluous fantasy elements of sorcerers and man-bears is to deny the complexity of the metadramatic narrative that unfolds as a stylized guide to furthering a hybrid awareness of different levels of plot. A great part of Peele's ingenuity in this play is using the metadramatic tropes and the violations of the stage space by extra-dramatic characters as dramatic markers that help a reader or spectator parse the representational logic as part of a broader project aimed at understanding the shifting use and representation of spaces in social, political, and economic life. In a more canonical view, Peele's inclusion of old wives' tales as fodder for a play marks the seriousness with which drama should take that subject and, importantly, the labor of the old wife tale teller that the play represents. Lamb argues that, "Continuing appreciation for these tales provided a space of resistance" (30). While it is not within the purview of this dissertation to argue about taste in the selection of dramatic repertory, Peele's play lands amid an important moment of the shaping of the dramatic corpus. Very likely, *Old Wives Tale* is not Peele's outcry for a space of resistance; nevertheless, it serves an important function as a locus of folkloric and oral tradition manifested in dramatic form. In part, this comingling of an older tradition and an emergent art form mirrors the contentious nature of the use and production of space as the English economy and population grew. Especially as it applies to the public theaters of London and their taskscapes, this play dramatizes the need for a nuanced way of understanding the shifting spatial frames. *Old Wives Tale* guides the viewer as the play happens and thus, demarcates through spatial violation the moments where an audience

member must pay closest attention to the spatial logic of the play. Finally, Lamb invokes some pathos in her reading of Madge, writing, "While her style was admittedly unrefined, Madge's hospitality to needy boys was outstanding. As any ten year old boy will tell you, what is really important is not silly declensions of 'meus, mea, meum', but the breakfast Madge provides before the pages depart" (38). I would broaden the scope to argue that a character like Madge nourishes us all with her metadramatic interjections. She is a voice for inclusivity and hybridity, both of person and of plot. Her presence calls upon the great range of subject matter available to the public theaters and is the marker of the theater's engagement with the logic of space and a continuously evolving spatial landscape.

"I will wink": Collapsing the Representational Logic of Space in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*

Beaumont's *Knight* fascinates because it gives the reader of early modern drama a very clear example of a play that stages a violation of the space of the stage by bringing the stage into the space of the audience. As I note in the introductory section, this constitutes a practice of metatheatre, wherein the relationship between the play and its self-conscious representation of staging is part of its semiotic strategy. It is not my intention to label individual instances of the *meta-locus* and *meta-platea*; however, the terms usefully promote and enable the movement between the two plots and serve to spatialize the less tangible aspects of the representational logic at work in the play. If, as I argue, this play collapses the spatial and inter-character distinctions common to works of dramatic art (the logic of representation), then I also argue that it does so knowingly and with a clear purpose to the violations of space. As a continuation of the discussion I began with *The Old Wives Tale*, Beaumont's play elides the question of what kinds of

drama are possible and asks what representation means and how dramatic texts manipulate representational frameworks to sustain use and purpose. The trope of metatheatre is one way that that the artistic institution of theater examined its function as a part of the city's cultural space. Further, the comedic energy of this play resides in the interplay between the two plots because, as Howard's quote above recalls, audience members were moving away from participation to pure spectatorship. Hence, a play that invites them to reconsider how attending the theater still could incite participation unequivocally frames the violation of the staged space as a contested site of use, art, and dramatic aesthetics. The Citizen and his Wife's intrusions are even more noticeable because of the assumption that one is not supposed to interrupt the performance,[26] yet because they do so, *Knight* becomes a play that tests the question of what the theater is for, what use is this artistic institution.

While the play mediates two competing fictional worlds, publication of the play attempted to mediate the real world's reception of the fictional world of the play. In the first quarto printing, there is a dedicatory epistle from the printer to Robert Keysar, manager of the company Children of Blackfriars, thanking him for saving the play from oblivion. In the second Quarto, the printer omits this epistle in favor of a note to the readers. These paratextual details are important to create context. Walter Burre published Q1 in 1613 and Nicholas Okes published Q2 in 1635.[27] In his introduction to the Revels

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[26] I base this assumption in part upon the idea of cultural competence. As George and Nell's understanding of representational logic intersects with their competence, it is reflected in their economic practices. Bourdieu asserts that this reflects the cultural differences embodied by these citizen audience members, and it reflects the "differences not only in the competences acquired but also in the manner of applying them" (66).

[27] All dates and names are helpfully detailed by Zitner in Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, edited by Sheldon P. Zitner, Manchester University Press, 2004, especially pp. 1-8. References to the play will be from this edition, done parenthetically by scene and line number.

Plays Edition, Sheldon P. Zitner notes that the play failed in the theater initially (1). These details portray a play that was, in its early textual life, wrestling with the same questions I pose in the previous paragraph. Burre writes, "This unfortunate child [the play]…was by his parents (perhaps because he was so unlike his brethren) exposed to the wide world, who for want of judgment, or not understanding the privy mark of irony about it…utterly rejected it" (Zitner 51). Later, Burre hopes that the play will spawn a "younger brother, who shall revenge his quarrel, and challenge the world either of fond and merely literal interpretation or illiterate misprision" (Zitner 52). The note in Q2 takes a different tack, acknowledging, "The world is so nice in these our times that for apparel there is no fashion…for plays, no invention but that which now runneth an invective way, touching some particular person, or else it is condemned before it is throughly understood" (Zitner 53). In each of these, the reader detects a tone of slight frustration and possibly disbelief that the statement must be made. Burre's note points to the problem of a playgoing public that only understand the play through "literal interpretation or illiterate misprision." Taking *Knight* literally would be exhausting, and one would be inclined throughout a performance either to mislike Rafe and his masters the Citizens, or to think that the interrupted performance was not very good to begin with. Seeing the play literally is to treat the actors as mirrors of truth, which is a fault of misuse when interpreting representation. Similarly, the Q2 note marks a failure to understand representation (or perhaps it is given as a warning against such a failure). In each, these paratextual additions serve to strengthen the context of my argument in that they point to disgust at an audience's failure to understand the representational logic. Since the play was reprinted for a second quarto because of its popularity in revival (Zitner 5), the

second admonishment does not point directly at an audience's failure to understand, but to help contextualize the play in its 1635 iteration. Nevertheless, both showcase the problems of representation and highlight the way this play relies upon a complex interweaving of the representational logic. Essentially, this play materializes a violation of the staged space so that the role of spectator shines in relief, generating questions that approach more precise thought about what it means to attend a play and what social role that action fulfills.

It is incorrect to call the Citizen, George, and his Wife, Nell, the perfect spectators of this play, not least because their actions force the audience to contend with another representational logic. However, they are immensely useful as characterological markers of the spatial violations that metadrama materializes to begin the process of collapsed representational logic. As Joshua Smith points out, "The Citizen and his spouse…are actually exemplary representatives of an audience and are quite well-versed in the conventions of theatrical practice."[28] Indeed, there are several instances wherein they overtly direct the action of the play, calling for actors (usually just one actor, their apprentice Rafe) to enter or exit the stage, arranging entertainment, and (to an extent) paying the actors. To the reader or audience member, the Citizen and Wife operate with a distinct logic of interpretation and representation. Previous criticism divides the play up in to two separate plays (the intended *London Merchant* and Rafe's chivalric *Knight of the Burning Pestle*),[29] three plays, with the addition of Citizen and Wife's actions

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[28] Joshua S. Smith. "Reading Between the Acts: Satire and the Interludes in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*." *Studies in Philology*, vol. 109, no. 4, 2012, pp. 474–495, 476.
[29] See Lucy Munro, "*The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Generic Experimentation," in *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, edited by Garret A. Sullivan, et al., Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 189-199; Lee Bliss, *Francis Beaumont*, Twayne Publishers, 1987; and Alexander Leggatt, "The Audience as Patron: *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*," in *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early*

constituting another,[30] and in one case, four plays by creating an additional drama out of the interaction between the intended and supplemental play.[31] This progression is increasingly complicated and does not serve Beaumont's play as well as it should. I align more truly with arguments like Leonard's and Smith's; Leonard details the way in which *Knight* exemplifies an extension of Weimann's principles of *locus* and *platea* into what he calls a *meta-locus* and *meta-platea*.[32] Smith grants *Knight* the wholistic quality of being one play with many interludes, wherein he construes an understanding of Citizen and Wife's characters' actions (477). I propose that *Knight* operates multiple representational logics within two distinct spaces, that of the performance space and the audience space (subsumed into the performance by Beaumont). This, thereby, collapses traditional performance practices if one represents them as *locus* and *platea*. Though Leonard's extension of Weimann's theory is an elegant and informative thought, I shy away from the linear model he produces and instead imagine a circular representation of the continuum that flows between audience, *locus*, *platea*, and their meta- iterations. This prevents a problem of hierarchies (which is the primary plot?) and represents an audience member's perspective more faithfully. I believe that this method allows me to explicate a play that is in some ways about chivalric romance, in other ways about the London merchant class, but is most of all about what it is like to go to the theater and what that means for a spectator who participates in such a social practice.

Modern England, edited by Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 295-315.

[30] Andrew Gurr, editor. "Introduction." *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Francis Beaumont, University of California Press, 1968, pp. 1–10, 4.

[31] David A. Samuelson. "The Order in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*." *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 9, 1979, pp. 302–318, 306.

[32] Nathaniel C. Leonard, "All 'Metatheatre' Is Not Created Equal: *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the Navigation of the Spectrum of Dramatic Representation," *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 36, no. 1, Spring 2018, pp. 49–67.

Among the many interactions the play stages between each space's different representational logics, there are two significant classifications that illustrate how the play marks the link between representational logic and spatial violation; they are money exchange and quality of the dramatic product. George and his Nell offer to pay money for various purposes that I discuss below. When these moments happen, the collapse of representational logic through spatial violation is total and at its most meaningful. Similarly, when the Citizen and his Wife argue about Rafe's place in the production and one or other of the players argues back (usually a character known only as "A Boy that dances and sings" [55]), the representational logic of *The London Merchant* and that of *Knight* occur simultaneously, each contributing to the conversation about the respective qualities of each play, inciting the audience to consider their own judgment of the total playgoing experience. Unlike the restrained intrusions that Madge makes in Peele's *Old Wives Tale*, George and Nell interrupt the action or make simultaneous commentary nearly constantly. Smith focuses his article on the Interlude scenes where most of the dialogue comes from Citizen and Wife. Leonard examines "overt moment[s] of competition between the two narratives" (56). This chapter section looks across the play to note the moments when the Citizen is giving money or induced to pay for something as well as when the Boy gently argues with Wife and Citizen about the quality of the performance should Rafe's plot be allowed to run its mysterious course. Beaumont's play presents a unique way of understanding the audience in action as spectators of a play and brings attention to moments of spatial violation as entry points to discursive logical formation. Through this practice, spectators and readers alike begin the process of

forming a representational logic that accounts for the ways that the two stage spaces signify simultaneously.

George earns his "exemplary" status as theater patron not only for he and his wife's knowledge of theatrical practice, but also because he spends his money freely, a trait very likely welcomed by most actors in a playing company. The Citizen's ease of spending compiles significant critical tangents of many different kinds, including a reading of social class, the differences between indoor and outdoor theaters, and the place of economic exchange. My focus will be on how his spending illuminates a convergence of simultaneous representational logics, especially since George seems unaware of their existence. Of course, George and Nell must have paid to enter the theater; the play's first production in 1607 at the Blackfriars (Zitner 11) adds a critical layer to this very simple procedural detail.[33] Whether or not people like the Citizen and his Wife would have been regular audience fixtures at an indoor theater is a matter of some debate (Smith 478),[34] but generally their presence would not raise many questions. Indeed, George's liberality and possession of at least one apprentice prove him to be man that belongs to the comfortable merchant class. Unsurprisingly, he spends his money rather conspicuously in this play. In the Induction scene, he wants music,

> CITIZEN: What stately music have you? You have shawms?
>
> PROLOGUE: Shawms? No.
>
> CITIZEN: No? I'm a thief if my mind did not give me so. Rafe plays a stately part and he must needs have shawms. I'll be at the charge of them myself, rather than we'll be without them.

[33] Joshua S. Smith takes on the issues of theaters and social class, see especially 477-480.
[34] Andrew Gurr. *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*. 3rd ed., Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 77.

PROLOGUE: So you are like to be.

CITIZEN: Why, and so I will be. There's two shillings. Let's have the waits of Southwark. They are as rare fellows as any are in England, and that will fetch them all o'er the water with a vengeance, as if they were mad. (IND 1.98-108)

A little more than halfway through the play, Nell is discontented and thirsty, so she asks George to buy her something to drink, "Give me such words that am a gentlewoman born! Hang him, hoary rascal! Get me some drink, George, I am almost molten with fretting; now beshrew his knave's heart for it!" (3.558-561). As the third Interlude begins, George returns to the stage and his Wife says, "This old fornicating fellow will not out of my mind yet.—Gentlemen, I'll begin to you all, and I desire more of your acquaintance, with all my heart. [*Drinks*.]—Fill the gentlemen some beer, George." (INT 3.3-6). Zitner's textual note informs the reader that bottled ale was sold at the theaters and that Nell's "I'll begin to" means that she will drink a toast to the Gentleman, presumably the city gallants, that sit onstage with her and George. In these two examples, the citizen spectators use money to pay for enhancements to their experience of going to the playhouse. Though it may seem outwardly that these examples have little to do with bringing the two different representations of the play together, George's desire for music and Nell's yearning for beer come from the convergence of the two representations presented onstage. The Citizen wants music for Rafe's part so he asks a member of the cast of the other play what the venue can provide, an act that serves to demarcate the collapsing representational logic of each play. Though the cast of *The London Merchant* does not have shawms, George pays the Prologue and music occurs during the

performance. At this moment, the audience experiences the simultaneity of representational logic, understanding that music is not part of *The London Merchant* (nor generally part of performances at Blackfriars)[35] and that music will be a part of *Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Though he does not get what he pays for,[36] Citizen's want of music speaks to his understanding of theatrical practice. George and Nell take the experience of going to the theater to be a real extension of their expectations, not a passive reception of that theater's practice. Therefore, when George mistakes the playing company to be the type to have musicians, he errs in a way that shows his misconstrual of representation. Beaumont writes this moment in such a way as to suggest that by spending money, Citizen and his Wife may be able to get what they want, though the play shows that they do not get exactly what they want (fiddlers instead of shawms). The larger lesson here about the power of money to provide for one's whimsical desires is that it does not always work; the theatrical setting of *Knight* cleverly subverts some portion of George and Nell's logic of representation. Brought into a single frame that competes for their attention, *Knight* and *The London Merchant* instigate George's interruption and signal a spatial violation that indexes the collapsed representational logic because of metatheatrical tropes. Additionally, it is the theater, not the audience, that determines when music is necessary and when it is not based on the type of play. This episode marks the generalization that George and Nell forcibly intrude the logic of *Knight* upon the logic of *London Merchant* and the result is that the play tells us something about the way

[35] Andrew Gurr. *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*. 4th ed, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 192.
[36] The "waits" that George hires never come to play at the theater; in the second Interlude, he expresses displeasure with the music, remarking, "Ay, Nell, but this is scurvy music. I gave the whoreson gallows money, and I think he has not got me the waits of Southwark" (INT 2.5-7). Prologue has, in fact, not brought shawms, and has perhaps gulled George out of his two shillings.

theatrical space signifies. Interestingly, the actors do not throw the Citizen and his Wife out of doors for their contrary desires. Perhaps this is due to George's spending money; more pragmatically, this incident indicates how audience participation is an example of spatial violations that signify the collapse of two frames of reference, forcing one to rethink representational logic.

When George buys Nell beer and she proposes a toast to the Gentlemen, she is addressing the same faceless group that the Boy addresses when apologizing for the changes to the intended play. Her express reason for wanting something to drink is that she is "almost molten with fretting," which is due to her displeasure at the treatment of Mrs. Merrythought by her husband, Old Merrythought. This is significant because, with the collapse of representational logic, Nell's desire and George's spending allow the play to show their misunderstanding of how to be an audience member as confounds the spatial logic through economic exchange in a fictional world. Paying to see a play is a strange kind of interaction. After all, what are George and Nell purchasing with the price of admission if not an experience? In addition to buying beer for his wife and perhaps for other onstage gallants, George's spending shows the limits of his influence in a particular space and how that gets complicated by the intersection of logic and space in the metadrama. Beaumont draws upon this for dramatic tension when he portrays the Wife and Citizen as both the source of the comedic energy that comes with misunderstanding representation and as manipulators of another representational logic that produces Rafe's play. Nell's comments, and especially her address to the Gentlemen, with whom she desires further acquaintance anon, reveal her assumptions about the logical structure of *The London Merchant*. Her affective display, "Marry, with a vengeance!" and "I am

almost molten with fretting" (3.554, 559-560), illustrate her interpretation of Old Merrythought's character. Rather than seeing him as a comic buffoon, she directs a passionate response to her interpreted mistreatment of Mrs. Merrythought. Yet, Nell's reaction suggests that she understands the action of the drama to be real, she misconstrues *The London Merchant's* logic of representation. While her defense of a fellow woman is admirable, it causes her to cry for vengeance and gets her so hot that she needs a drink to placate herself. Nell affirms this when she says, right before toasting the Gallants, "This old fornicating fellow will not out of my mind yet" (INT 3.3-4). As this becomes her prompt to George to buy her a drink, Beaumont's play once again merges the spending of money with the Citizen's attempt to influence the representation logic of the fictional world of the play. The result, independent of George and Nell's success or failure, demonstrates the theater as a site where spatial violations invite a rethinking of representational logic through economic practices.

The longer that *Knight of the Burning Pestle* goes on, the more one gets a sense that Beaumont's play is willing to sanction a good deal of the strange behavior in which the Citizen and his Wife engage. This tracks back to the comedic energy derived from the tension between the coincident dramatic spaces and representational logics. George and Nell mistake the characterological representations of *The London Merchant* as real while failing to make the reverse leap when Rafe, their real apprentice, represents the character of the Knight of the Burning Pestle. This describes the second classification of collapse of representational logic, dramatized by the Citizens' conversations with the Boy about the quality of the play. In one instance, George tries to use his directorial expertise to bring Rafe on at the wrong moment:

CITIZEN: Let Rafe come in and fight with Jasper.

WIFE: Ay, and beat him well; he's an unhappy boy.

BOY: Sir, you must pardon us; the plot of our play lies contrary, and 'twill hazard the spoiling of our play.

CITIZEN: Plot me no plots. I'll ha' Rafe come out. I'll make your house too hot for you else.

BOY: Why, sir, he shall; but if anything fall out of order, the gentlemen must pardon us.

CITIZEN: Go your ways, goodman boy. (2.269-277)

In another instance, George is clearly trying the Boy's patience,

CITIZEN: Boy, come hither; send away Rafe and this whoreson giant quickly.

BOY: In good faith, sir, we cannot. You'll utterly spoil our play and make it to be hissed, and it cost money. You will not suffer us to go on with our plot. — I pray, gentlemen, rule him.

CITIZEN: Let him come now and despatch this, and I'll trouble you no more. (3.294-301)

The Gentlemen are conspicuously silent, here and throughout the play. Despite George's promise, his directorial emendations do trouble the Boy again, this time in the fourth Interlude. He says,

CITIZEN: Let Rafe come out on May Day in the morning and speak upon a conduit, with all his scarfs about him, and his feathers and his rings and his knacks.

BOY: Why, sir, you do not think of our plot; what will become of that, then?

CITIZEN: Why, sir, I care not what become on't. I'll have him come out, or I'll fetch him out myself. I'll have something done in honour of the City. Besides, he hath been long enough upon adventures. Bring him out quickly, or if I come in amongst you—

BOY: Well, sir, he shall come out. But if our play miscarry, sir, you are like to pay for't. (INT 4.9-20)

In each of these textual examples, George and Nell do not evince an understanding of the actors as persons representing characters. By extension, they also do not recognize that their apprentice Rafe is meant to represent a character.[37] In the first example, Nell wants Rafe, not the Knight of the Burning Pestle, to beat Jasper. By asking for this, she ignores the fact that Rafe's plot and Jasper's plot do not naturally meld without the kind of intervention she seeks. She desires the real Rafe to beat up the real boy playing the role of Jasper. This defines the moment when the two representational logics come together in collapse, both spatially with Nell in the audience and Rafe onstage, and it marks a meaningful site of contention.[38] In such an instance of collapsed logic, the Boy worries about the quality of their play as George and his Wife continue their sustained involvement in the production. When the Citizen dismisses the Boy's concern, "Plot me no plots," he effaces one of the basic assumptions of dramatic logic, that a play runs

[37] This would have played out amusingly, I believe, since the company performing it, The Children of the Queen's Revels, was essentially a group of young boy apprentice actors. See Matthew Kendrick. *At Work in the Early Modern English Theater: Valuing Labor*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015, especially pp. 73-92. He explains, "The Blackfriars was thus informed, in direct and indirect ways, by a deep-rooted culture of apprenticeship" (75).

[38] A few lines later, Rafe and Jasper meet, but not at a point where the representational logics are collapsed. Jasper handily disarms Rafe and is the clear victor on that field of battle. Leonard explains, "Jasper's embodiment of the virtues that are associated with the hero of a city comedy, like being quick witted, trump Rafe's knightly prowess because their confrontation occurs within the locus of 'The London Merchant,' not Rafe's narrative" (57).

according to a plot.[39] Unsurprisingly, the Boy answers in the subjunctive, hoping that the actors will be pardoned for whatever disruption occurs due to George's negating of a central tenet of dramatic art.

In each successive interaction with the Citizen and his Wife, the Boy is concerned about the plot, which shows his recognition of the collapse of representational logic. Though he does not ultimately derail George and Nell's attempt to shift the play, he is more aware of his role as a character in a story and as such, beholden to other spectators, not just the Citizen couple. In this regard, the Boy speaks for playwrights and the institution of the theater generally. *Knight* is not just a play that experiments with the hypothetical problem of audience members that demand too much from a playing company (to the point of demanding a different play entirely). Rather, it is a play that represents multiple signifying spaces to instigate questions about the artistic medium through violations and irruptions of stage space. The play is poised to show how the violations that George and Nell perpetrate entangle in a dense matrix of contextual factors determined by the theater's representation of the use of space. The Citizens' desire to see a play like *Knight of the Burning Pestle* rather than a play like *The London Merchant* comprises the impetus of violation, but Beaumont's drama draws out the consequences for the theater should its role and use be so flagrantly questioned or ignored. George and Nell represent consuming, money spending patrons of theater, albeit with an underdeveloped sense of practice that is aptly described by Bourdieu as cultural competence. *Knight* materializes the contention between the theater as an arbiter of the artistic experience of seeing a play and the less cultured but paying Citizens. The success

[39] Beaumont may be a proto-Modernist in devising a play that does not necessarily go according to a plot. But there is still representational logic that the audience must either follow or flout.

of the play is in the deft, half-assents that the players make to George and Nell rather than in putting on a complete and entertaining version of *The London Merchant*. It turns the moments of collapsed representational logic into sites of contention wherein the play might work out proper cultural understandings through attention to theatrical representations of social and economic space. For this reason, *Knight* is not overly critical of George and Nell, especially not when they are spending money, though it does invite a curious audience or reader to examine the social practice of spectatorship as an evolving idea rather than a staid concept.

Ultimately, Beaumont's fictional playing company has little to do with George and Nell. Fewer than 100 lines from the end of the play, George is vexed; he worries, "I do not like this. Peace, boys; hear me, one of you! Everybody's part is come to an end but Rafe's and he's left out" (5.276-278). The Boy replies (perhaps with a sigh of relief), "'Tis long of yourself, sir; we have nothing to do with his part" (5.279-280). Here, too, the representational logics collapse. The moment shows how at the plots' culmination, Beaumont's play is less interested in resolving stories or assigning deterministic designations to characters. It attends more importantly to exhibiting the stage's own power to represent spatial violations through metadrama and how this representation contributes to a more thorough definition of the theater as a market of culture within a broader London economic and social space.[40] Essentially, the Boy says that, by the end of the play, Citizen, you must figure things out on your own. The historical context from the beginning of this section implies that audiences did not, initially, figure things out;

[40] According to Bourdieu, the theater is a site "in which the competences deemed necessary at a given time are constituted by usage itself, and, simultaneously, as sites in which the *price* of those competences is determined, i.e., as markets which, by their positive or negative sanctions, evaluate performance, reinforcing what is acceptable, discouraging what is not" (85).

however, a printing of Q2 and performance revivals indicate demand for the play and perhaps a clearer understanding of the play's ability to observe and manage the use and value of theatrical and artistic institutional practices.

In the epilogue, Nell says, "I refer it to your own discretions whether you will applaud him or no; for I will wink, and whilst you shall do what you will" (Ep. 8-10). The meaning of her wink[41] will aid in the transition to the final section on Brome's *The Antipodes*. Nell may be beckoning the Gentlemen, whom she has just addressed, perhaps in play lasciviousness. The surface meaning indicates that she does not care if they should applaud because she will not be paying attention. Yet another reading of this moment is that Nell closes her eyes to the Gentlemen audience members' actions when she should be paying the most attention. This play, as a secondary concern, exposes the Citizens' lack of cultural competence as a spatial issue. Should Nell and her husband willfully blind themselves to a proper show of appreciation for the players, they are willfully ignoring an experience wherein they might build up their cultural capital and demonstrate more competence. As this chapter moves further along in history, the moment of Nell's "wink" becomes a moment of decision for an audience member. The question becomes whether to embrace the experience of spatial violations and their attendant opportunities for working through representational logics, or to "wink" and miss the import of simultaneously signifying spaces entirely.

"His proper centre": Balancing Representational Logic in Brome's *The Antipodes*

[41] Depending on one's knowledge of television history, one might also be reminded of the late 60's show, *I Dream of Jeannie*, where the titular character grants wishes magically with a wink and a nod. Perhaps Nell's "wink" also creates something out of thin air. I read the wink as a missed opportunity, but it might also be generative, depending on an audience's interpretation of the moment. Yet again, the "wink" could be a way to acknowledge the moment of collapsed representational logics.

The wink at the end of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is a deeply understated gesture that acknowledges the limitations of the theatergoer's ability to recognize the complicated spatial logics at work. This reflects the metadramatic form and the self-reflexivity of presenting a character playing an audience member watching a play. The question of a proper method to convey such difficulties carries over into my discussion of Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*, in part because this play, which is replete with assertions of control, involves the play-within-a-play structure that produces the self-aware spatial violations as attempts to manipulate dramatic space and social interactions. The setup of the metatheatrical conceit is simpler than in *Knight* and more recognizable as a product of earlier metadramatic depictions. However, this simplicity is a key feature of Brome's play, whereby it produces the meaningful energy through the intrusion of a stage upon the stage space. In his introduction to the play, Anthony Parr remarks, "[The play] provides the most ingenious answer to the difficulty of representing a journey, by making the implausible leap over space and time not a challenge to our credulity but an explicit device which we will Peregrine to accept"[42] Despite being collected with other travel plays and a large amount of criticism that focuses on the fictional journey that Letoy concocts for Peregrine, *The Antipodes* is a play that is about dramatic possibilities. If, as Parr asserts, the play makes the impossibility of travel into a simple technique, it is because this movement enables the self-reflexive possibility for meaning making through metatheatre and the confluence of spaces.

[42] Richard Brome. "The Antipodes." *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, edited by Anthony Parr, Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 35. All references to the play will be parenthetical by act, scene, and line number. References to Parr's paratextual material will be parenthetical by page number of this edition.

In several instances, critics portray travel as a necessary therapeutic measure so that the play may correct the social ills present at its beginning.[43] "The result of the play-within-the-play is to restore social order and provide a happy outcome,"[44] is a characteristic assessment about Brome's use of metatheatre. Upon initial reading, this statement seems true; however, I think the play, and the use of metatheatrical techniques, is more complex than what this quote conveys. Travel in *The Antipodes* is ironic; Peregrine is misnamed for he has gone nowhere. The anti-London is not on the other side of the world, it is in Salisbury Court. The play deliberately mis-names people and mis-places settings to signify the overt spatial violations.[45] Surrounded by so much misappropriation and spatial violation, the play curbs an idealized, happy outcome that pleases everyone. The result produces characters in the play who, like Letoy, are aware (or grow into awareness) of the limitations of travel. Brome balances this overarching pragmatism by using metadrama to create what I call a knowing-fiction. This is an understated rendering of the truth wherein Letoy and Brome subtly wink to the audience or reader, asserting the power of layered representational logics to organize theatrical spaces and signify positive social change. The contradictions that exist in the play carry

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[43] Julie Sanders, "The Politics of Escapism: Fantasies of Travel and Power in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*," in *Writing and Fantasy*, edited by Ceri Sullivan, Longman, 1999, pp. 137–50; and Miles Taylor, "The Permeable World: Travel and Carnival in *The Antipodes*," *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3, Fall 2007, pp. 438–54.

[44] Audrey Birkett, "Actors, Audiences and Authors: The Competition for Control in Brome's *The Antipodes*," in *Divining Thoughts: Future Directions in Shakespeare Studies*, edited by Pete Orford et al., Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2007, pp. 53–68, 67.

[45] Brome's drama seems especially aware of the irony when one considers the genesis of its performance and publication history. It was intended for William Beeston and the Cockpit but through contractual disputes and theater closures, the play was performed at Salisbury Court in 1638. Apparently dissatisfied with the performance, Brome published the play in 1640 and appended a postscript after the Epilogue wherein he says, "All should be inserted…as it was at first intended for the Cockpit stage, in the right of my most deserving friend Mr. William Beeston, unto whom it properly appertained" (Parr 218). Even the play experienced peregrinations.

over into real life. Rather than writing a purely fictitious travel narrative, Brome crafts a play that deliberately represents a staged travel, a knowing-fiction of which one of the crucial qualities is its self-awareness of the deceit. McInnis proves insightful when he contends, "The psychological insights of Jonsonian comedy (not just its framework) thus afforded travel drama the opportunity and the technique for a self-reflexive, satirical critique of itself—a chance to reflect on the psychology of travel;"[46] however, *The Antipodes* satirizes the vogue for travel narratives, but it is not a satire throughout, especially not a self-reflexive one. The metadramatic trope allows Brome's work to demonstrate the ability of spatial representation to signify social practice and to localize the effects as specific to London's theatrical culture. The attendant violation of the stage space by the intrusion of another performance stage pragmatically serves to create the knowing-fiction of the action and highlights the irony of depicting an anti-London within London itself.

This section on *The Antipodes* returns to Howard's explanation of the transformation of participants to spectators, to the process of shifting from observers of reality to intuiting dramatic representations. Brome's play innovated within the comedic genre to satirize the fad of travel narratives and to produce a play of manners that shows how connected he was to the theater's continuously evolving attempts to portray and make sense of the fluctuating uses of space. Importantly, *The Antipodes* uses the metatheatrical trope as the connective agent. The result is a play that allows the audience members to observe a functional dramatic space while simultaneously immersing themselves in the dramatic framework. If Howard is correct in saying that "spectators

[46] David McInnis, "Therapeutic Travel in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2012, pp. 447-469, 449.

became spectators rather than participants" (14), then Brome dramatizes characters watching a social ritual so that the audience may see what it means to be a spectator more clearly. By eliding the issue of travel and bringing the action to a stage that is onstage, Brome centralizes the issue of theater's place as a public forum for and an arbiter of the changing notions of the social, economic, and cultural uses of space.

Letoy is *The Antipodes* central figure for all the action. Though it is Peregrine who needs to end his obsession with travel narratives to find his way into the marriage bed and Joyless who needs to cure his jealousy and act less like his name, Letoy is at the center of all the action. Nor is he afraid to remind us, as he does in the fifth act, that all the machinations to cure Joyless's jealousy, resolve Peregrine's marital troubles, and reveal Diana to be his daughter are his actions. He repeats twice, "I am still Letoy" (5.2.223, 227), and says once, "As I am true Letoy" (235) to explain his reasons and to qualify his expectation that Joyless will be good to Diana. Though this may seem rather solipsistic, Brome also gives Letoy lines that speak to the powerful draw that acting has and why the theater is so beloved. One speech is worth quoting at length,

> These lads can act the emperors' lives all over,
> And Shakespeare's chronicled histories, to boot.
> And were that Caesar or that English earl
> That loved a play and player so well now living,
> I would not be outvied in my delights.
> …
> I love the quality
> Of playing: ay, I love a play with all

My heart, a good one; and a player that is

A good one, too, withal. As for the poets,

No men love them, I think, and therefore

I write all my plays myself, and make no doubt

Some of the court will follow

Me in that, too. Let my fine lords

Talk o' their horse tricks, and their jockeys that

Can out-talk them. Let the gallants boast

Their May-games, play-games, and their mistresses;

I love a play in my plain clothes—ay,

And laugh upon the actors in their brave ones. (1.2.67-84)

This is an intense and moving oration that reveals the joy Letoy takes in his theatrical practice. His character becomes the touchstone of the power of the theater to inhabit the fullness of its influence. In these lines, Letoy is at his most explicit about his understanding and reverence for the use of dramatic representation. Brome, writing amidst plague and theater closures, uses these lines to identify the lasting significance of the theater's role in shaping and responding to the economic and political forces that were changing the early moderns' lived experience of space. Letoy also exalts the system of patronage by daring that he would rival "that English earl" in his enjoyment of the theater's delights. He links dramatic entertainment to the traditional May-day festival, which has the effect of imbuing the theater's spatial representations with deep historical roots that are significantly English in origin.[47] Letoy, a lord, expresses his love for "a play

[47] Parr also notes that "Traditional festivities had an important political dimension after Charles I reissued the *Book of Sports* in 1633 and insisted that rural custom be sustained by the nobility and gentry" (236n82).

in my plain clothes," which obfuscates the class differences of theater audiences. This is disingenuous to some degree since Salisbury Court was an indoor theater. Still, Letoy's words convey a comforting sense of warm admiration for a venerable and ancient, thoroughly English, pastime.

The speech is most complicated when he claims of poets that "No men love them," and that he does all the writing himself. Parr explains that this probably refers to Brome's trouble with securing payment and a venue (see note 45 above). Alternatively, it is possible to see this as vanity in Letoy,[48] but there is a moment later in the play when Peregrine observes the denizens of Anti-London, including a poet who peddles his wares. Diana remarks upon this jarring situation, to which Letoy replies, "Yes, poetry is good ware in / The Antipodes, though there be some ill payers, / As well as here; but law there rights the poets" (3.31-33). As the meta-drama is the vehicle for representation of things in the real world, here Letoy would make of poetry a thing worth buying and selling. If, as in the first act, he claims that no one likes poets, here, in the third act, he links that to the fact that few in London are willing to pay for it. Anti-London is more radical not for the valuation of poets, but that the law restores rights (and likely payments) to the poets.

The elegant simplicity of Brome's drama generates comedic energy at the confluence of actor/spectators and Peregrine's unwitting participation in the meta-drama. As Letoy prepares to put on a show for his guests, the Doctor reveals the trick that makes this play so effective. He outlines,

> The young distracted

[48] Some critics do read it this way. Birkett sees this as an exemplar of his desire for extraordinary control (60-62). Julie Sanders echoes this reading, claiming, "Letoy's play reveals his monomania for power in controlling the acting company" (144).

Gentlewoman, too, that's sick of her virginity,

Yet knows not what it is, and Blaze and's wife

Shall all be your guests tonight, and not alone

Spectators, but (as we will carry it) actors

To fill your comic scenes with double mirth. (2.1.39-44)

The Doctor clarifies Letoy's plan to have the main characters participate in the closet drama that all the audience at Salisbury Court gets to see. This is also a moment when the play makes the clear distinction to the audience and readers that it will be presenting spectators of a play within the larger narrative of *The Antipodes*. By making witting actors of characters previously meant to be spectators, Letoy accentuates the malleability of performance and further exemplarizes the theater's role as a manipulator of spatial representations for the purposes of shifting social actions. Actor/spectators who understand Letoy's conceit generate the knowing-fiction that helps sustain the play's commentary on Caroline London through the vehicle of Anti-London. The power of theatrical space's representational logic to participate in shaping the discourse of social practice distills itself clearly when those participating in the knowing-fiction encounter Peregrine, who distinctly does not know. For example, Peregrine comes to believe that he is a reformer king of Anti-London and wishes to knight Byplay for his justice and generosity. He calls for a sword to do the office,

PEREGRINE: [*Throws down Letoy's sword.*] I'll none o' this;

Give me that princely weapon. [*Points at sword of office*.]

LETOY: Give it him.

SWORDBEARER: [*Aside to Letoy*] It is a property, you know, my lord,

No blade, but a rich scabbard with a lath in't.

LETOY: So is the sword of justice, for ought he knows.

PEREGRINE: It is enchanted. (3.515-520)

The sword-bearer knows that what Peregrine wants is a stage property; so do Letoy and, very likely, the other members of the meta-drama. Nonetheless, Letoy directs the man to give Peregrine the "sword" so that he may continue to knight Byplay. Peregrine tries to unsheathe the sword and exclaims that it is "enchanted." This is a key word for this interaction, especially as it relates to the quote from the Doctor above. The sword is not really enchanted, but the meta-drama allows *The Antipodes* to create a knowing-fiction that uses spatial violations to help shape the audience's understanding of representational logic as they observe a character like Peregrine meander through Anti-London, which looks quite similar to their London, only with some striking reversals. Additionally, the knowing-fiction dictates that the topsy-turvy aspects of Anti-London are skewed reflections of the real world; by unencumbering the audience from having to erect the mental images of travel and a sea voyage, Brome's play circumvents doing the work of travel by presenting the knowing-fictions of the metadramatic spatial violations. In this, then, even the ordinary can become enchanted for a time.

The proof is partially in the transformation of Peregrine. At the end of act four, the Doctor finally convinces Peregrine that his wife, Martha, is a fit consort for his kingship in Anti-London. He dismisses Peregrine who is offstage for a great length of time. When the young man reappears onstage, he is changed, ready to learn from Letoy and others, saying, "I am what you are pleased to make me; but / Withal so ignorant of mine own condition" (5.2.307-308). How does Peregrine finally come to be so receptive?

Letoy unfolds his artifice near the end of act four. Speaking to Joyless and Diana, he avers,

> As a man
> Infected by some foul disease is drawn
> By physic into an anatomy,
> Before flesh fit for health can grow to rear him,
> So is a madman made a fool, before
> Art can take hold of him to wind him up
> Into his proper centre, or the medium
> From which he flew beyond himself. (4.499-506)

This explanation is about the way that transformation can happen both for the characters in the play and for the spectators who understand how the knowing-fiction signifies through metadramatic spatial violations. Peregrine represents the idealism of Letoy's knowing-fictions in the possibility of his transformation from madman to just a fool and ultimately to being "cured." The effect of staging scenes of Anti-London on Peregrine has made his question what might happen to him if he were able to travel as much as his obsession with travel narratives would dictate. That the play presents the antipodean realm satirically further strengthens Brome's idealism about the efficacy of theater when it musters spatially complex modes of representation and violations of space to reflect and reify changing social dynamics. The witting audience who is in on the knowing-fiction will also see that what Letoy shows is not an Anti-London, but London through another lens that is right outside the theater's doors. However, just as he does in the earlier speech from 1.2, Letoy opens the door to the self-conscious way dramatic arts can

do the work of bearing the spectator across the threshold into a new form. Peregrine may be formed anew saying, "I am what you are pleased to make me" (5.2.307), and he is only the representation of the character; but, for Brome and Letoy, it might also be possible for the audience member. Letoy effuses, "I love the quality / Of playing" (1.2.73-74). His expression is notable because he speaks not of plays or actors themselves (though he will), but that he loves the quality, character, or state of potential that playing, the dramatic art, brings. This embodies the play's self-aware artifice, and it fuels the idea that "Art can take hold."

The second part of Letoy's quote above is about balance and finding equilibrium between the significations of spatial violations and the idealism of the knowing-fiction of the metadramatic form. To be wound up in a "proper centre" is a metaphor for a spring, which when wound properly is neither too tight nor too loose, ready to act appropriately and without lack or excess. Idealism in *The Antipodes* says that there is a lesson to be learned about liking something too much (travel narratives) or too little (one's wife). This also applies to "playing" in the manner that Letoy means it. The "medium / From which he flew beyond himself" is that sense of equilibrium Peregrine must find to be a productive and producing member of society.[49] Further, Brome may be punning on the word medium to mean also, "An intermediate agency, instrument, or channel; a means; *esp.* a means or channel of communication or expression" (*OED* n. 4a). The theater, to Letoy, is a way to express himself and, more importantly, his cultural agency. Here again, Brome's play risks appearing to be elitist, though one might kindly accept that it demands

[49] Ostensibly, Peregrine becomes both things, with Martha adding that she too will soon be a producing person, "After a few such nights more!" (5.2.374). Though the play does not guarantee this outcome, the lighthearted tone in the closing lines suggests that all is well.

professionalism of the theater, the actors, and the patron (Letoy will not be "outvied" as a patron). Letoy speaks as though he is aware that without some restraint, he, too, might get carried beyond the "medium," whether that means exceeding a sense of balance or being carried away with loving the theater too much.

Violation might threaten to undo what has been artistically made. The spring might be wound too tightly, or the medium may prove elusive or obscure. Potential failure balanced with the realities of the London theatrical marketplace reveals *The Antipodes* use of an idealistic approach to create a play that delimits representational logic according to metadramatic spatial concerns. Herein is the rationale for the knowing-fiction of the world of the play. The comedy of Brome's play relies upon both the coincidence of representational logics of meta-play and frame-play and in the way Peregrine represents an opportunity for spectators to participate in the knowing-fiction. Through these means, *The Antipodes* helps demystify the stage's influence as a producer and a product of the fluid changes that impact spatial practice and a person's lived experience of space. The theater participates in the larger English economy to which it is subject, but it also influences that economy in some ways, too. It is not trivial to point out that theatrical practice responds to market changes. Brome satisfied a cultural demand for plays of manners[50] by crafting this drama about a mock-travel play that exemplified virtuous domestic relationships. In this, Brome's play participates in a heuristic of representational logic as a response to and formation of Protean spatial attitudes and experiences.

[50] Michael Hattaway, editor. *The New Inn* by Ben Jonson, 1629, Manchester University Press, 1984, p. 3.

Attending the theater is entertainment, but it does not exclude simultaneous participation in the outside world. This permeable boundary is the one that early modern antitheatricalists feared would be abused by playgoers who would make of the theater a site of immoral action and uncouth living. They worried especially because audience members (according to Gosson and his ilk) were not capable of intuiting the representational logic of drama. However, as the market for plays grew and changed, the theater produced self-aware performances that participated in the approbation of the representational logic and the reification of significations of spatial practice. Through this metatheatre, plays became the site where spatial violations shaped the inflection points and indexed opportunities to question broader understandings of the logic of space and its attendant representations. The most entertaining of these kinds of plays (through a long historical lens) strive to test the limit of what theater can do, how it participates in an economic matrix, and how the theater's reflection of the taskscape of early modern London shaped understandings of space. *The Old Wives Tale* makes a case for what kinds of stories belong in the theater and avers that how we pay attention to the representational logic of narrative is as important as the story itself. *Knight of the Burning Pestle* allowed two citizen theatergoers to dip into the role of directing a play, with comedic consequences. Importantly, Beaumont's play uses the framework of the play-within-a-play to meditate upon the question of how plays can simultaneously act as the site of contestation and promoter of cultural competence. Brome's *The Antipodes* demonstrates a balance between spatial violations and simultaneous representational logics. Through its metadrama, the play invites witting spectators to participate in the knowing-fiction that permeates the world of the play. The attention to such questions may have served the

early moderns well as they navigated the markets, the dwellings, and the taskscapes that orbited the theater and were a large part of the representations of quotidian life and space. Across the great distance of time, the theater continues to adapt to cultural trends and acts as the site for arbitrating productions of social space and understandings of representational logic.

CODA: STEPPING INSIDE THE HUMAN

At the 2021 meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, in a panel titled "Shakespeare and Intellectual History," Patrick Gray delivered a talk called, "Shakespeare After the New Materialism." In this presentation, Gray warned that scholars of Shakespeare and textual critics cannot continue to see the book solely as a textual object. In essence, the play text is not just a stand-alone thing being purely a means to an end. For a critic to have any efficacy and for the continuation of Shakespeare's significance, one must consider how books transmit meaning and take part in the creation of meta-narratives that connect Shakespeare's time with our own. The weight of Gray's argument presses upon each chapter of this dissertation. I argue that space is not just a thing in and of itself, but part of a greater matrix of social, political, religious, economic, and aesthetic contexts. I have attempted to convey the idea that space is part of an inclusive argument that does not make one particular space exclusive as a way of knowing and understanding human actions and human ideologies. My pursuit of space as a key feature of early modern drama tries to communicate how audiences then and now understand our shared humanity. To make space an object without an origin or ties to culturally related contexts, as Gray argues critical Theorists tried to do in the 1970s and 1980s, is to make space something other than a human construction.[1] Gray astutely points out, "As human beings, we cannot actually step outside the human."[2]

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[1] Michel Foucault. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, Cornell University Press, 1977, pp. 139-164. Gray is particularly critical of his attempt to disconnect the body from history.
[2] Patrick Gray. "Shakespeare After the New Materialism." Shakespeare and Intellectual History, Shakespeare Association of America, 03 March 2021, panel presentation.

Negotiating Space situates the world of the theater as both the medium of culturally important ideas and the product of that culture's conditioned formations of space. This intersection fruitfully combines to create theatrical representations of space, which materialized the political, theological, and economic forces in the form of plays that shaped the daily lives of the theater's patrons. I take a consciously spatialized critical approach to the plays to connect the texts and their represented spaces to a larger historical narrative that contemporary readers and thinkers can access and interrogate. It seems of limited efficacy were I to write about domestic spaces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without connecting them to resonant notions of gender politics as they have evolved over the ensuing centuries. Similarly, I believe there is value in continuing to think about theatrical representations of carceral spaces to help understand the power of sovereign authority in Shakespeare's time and our own time. I see a sustained commitment to space as part of the key work of negotiating affective political engagement, both at national borders and upon the stage. This study expands the critical archive surrounding early modern drama to include interdisciplinary investments in the spatial concerns of geography, history, economics, politics, and representation. It shows how the production of space, and the simultaneous effects that space produces upon people, reveals affiliations to constructions of narrative and ideological discourses that often lack critical attention and a broader integration into the field.

In this dissertation, I have endeavored to argue that plays in the early modern period taught their spectators to stand or sit with the spaces represented as part of their lived and shared experience of social space. This means that relations of power, social practice, and intersubjective connection are all part of the matrix of space that the theater

uses to create meaning through representation. One of my central claims in this study frames the presentation of violence, misuse, misappropriation, and abstraction as the mechanism through which readers can understand the shifting role of space in the social, political, and economic lives of early modern theatergoers. The need to negotiate violated space initiates the important work of reading deeply into the endemic and obscure practices and ideologies that shaped the lives of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The plays were not always explicit in the ways that they presented the consequences of their use of space; however, they self-reflexively materialized an environment that was responsive in its potential to explore possibilities, both radical and conservative. I pursue a transhistorical inquiry into spatial ideas because the spaces of the plays are key parts of the meta-narrative of human action that Shakespeare and his contemporaries constructed. As such, it is imperative that contemporary critical readers refuse to read from a remove, as though from above and aloft from the proceedings; they should avoid the kind of reading wherein they might attempt to "step outside the human," obfuscating the labor and the emplaced disposition of the performers. One of the goals of this dissertation has been to bring the spaces of the early modern past into conversation with the present to affirm the necessity of Shakespeare studies as a method of interrogating meaning.

My project foreshadows the enormous potential that critical attention to constructions of space in early modern drama can afford. As the field of Shakespeare studies continues to grow and to adapt to the needs of a twenty-first century readership, space will play a key role in the construction of a more inclusive, more thoughtful, and more responsive Humanities. I envision connecting the themes of this project to eco-critical discourses about the constructed quality of the environment and the way humans

treat the natural spaces alongside which they live. In the search for origins to our human actions, thinking about social space through a premodern critical race studies lens will be an imperative combination for the work that critics of drama must do to "offer more analytically inclusive depictions of how race and whiteness matter."[3] Attending to the biconditional way that space constructs environment and how environment constructs space reminds us of the value in pursuing questions about the socially intertwined contexts that make up a multiplicity of theatrical publics.

Drama is the ideal art form to represent the mutability and flexibility of space and the attendant consequences. The needs of our world go far beyond the quantitative sciences; they need the human voice as well. Every instance of watching a play is an invitation to step inside the human. I hope this study reinforces the important work that thinking about space does for Shakespeare scholars as we step inside the human once more. I believe that this kind of empathy is a part of the scaffold that will help us build a better, more thoughtful, and more inclusive world

[3] David Sterling Brown. "'Hood Feminism': Whiteness and Segregated (Premodern) Scholarly Discourse in the Post-Postracial Era." *Literature Compass*, 2020, pp. 1–15, doi:10.1111/lic3.12608.

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