Expressions of Grief on the Early Modern Stage

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the ways mourning was performed on the early modern stage. "Expressions of Grief on the Early Modern Stage" re-evaluates widely accepted accounts of theatrical and literary mourning, intervening in two major debates. The first is the extent to which theatrical mourning is an expression of mourning for a Catholic past, a familiar account that is complicated by asking what happens when mourning is future-oriented, rehearsing for a death still to come. The second intervention disrupts the notion of a linear progression from stoical, anti-grief attitudes to increasing sympathy for mourners by revealing a variety of responses to staged mourning across this time period.

I identified seventy-eight plays from 1580-1642 that feature extended or notable scenes of mourning, and created a database to track accompanying gestures, associated playing companies, playhouses, and playwrights, and dates of composition and performance (when known). The thesis focuses on four aspects of the dramaturgy of mourning that emerged from this research: mourning as pre-emptive or strategic; mourning displaced by revenge; mourning performed as explicitly false; and, throughout, the way mourning deploys the vertical axis of the stage structure and the actor's body. The following chapters examine mourning through the specific gestures of prostration and kneeling, through motion (the rising and falling in the history plays as revenge takes the place of mourning), and the metadramatic bracketing of mourning in fake funerals. Examining specific gestures and the use of the stage space, reveals the way mourning was performed both "out of joint" – that is, out of the expected time sequence – and "out of place", using verticality in unexpected ways, lowering the body to take control of the gaze and the dramatic moment; framing '*above*' as strategically advantageous while the confined theatrical space forces the actors to descend.

Analysing prostration scenes in George Peele's *David and Bethsabe* and in *Titus Andronicus* reveals additional substantiation for Peele's role as a collaborator with Shakespeare. Looking at the three parts of *Henry VI* through the thematic lens of mourning contributes to the debate over the order of composition, offering tentative support for the 1-2-3 sequence. Tracking fake funerals over this time period revealed a sharp increase in this device after 1603, which the final chapter suggests is related to anxieties over public performances of mourning after Elizabeth I's death and one of the worst plague years on record.

Performances of theatrical mourning thus occur displaced in time, pre-emptive requests for a death not to happen rather than the belated wish to bring the dead back to life. Mourning in the theatre occurs out of place: testing class-based mourning scripts; moving up and down the vertical axis of the stage; performing a transitory state of emotion through transitory gestures; deploying submissive poses that turn out to hold surprising theatrical and strategic power.

For Grandma, who taught me how to mourn,
but above all, to always aim high.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

In old-spelling quotations I have silently adapted i/j, v/u, and the long s, except for the titles of works in the footnotes and bibliography. The first time the title of a book or journal article is cited in this thesis the work is cited in full in the footnotes and subsequently cited in short form, e.g. 'Bevington, *Action*'. Where place of publication is clear (e.g. Oxford University Press, Manchester University Press), I have omitted it in the footnote citation. I have also omitted URLs for online entries if the source is searchable by title or author. Unless otherwise specified, Shakespeare's plays are all cited from the Oxford *Complete Works* (2005), and Middleton's from the Oxford *Collected Works* (2007).

EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELH	*English Literary History*
ELR	*English Literary Renaissance*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
NQ	*Notes and Queries*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
RSC	Royal Shakespeare Company
SEL	*Studies in English Literature*
SQ	*Shakespeare Quarterly*
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
UP	University Press

Introduction

Sad solemn musick.
Clovis: Stand close here, wee'l observe the Mourners.[1]

How was mourning performed on the early modern stage?

Recreating or recovering past staging practices presents significant challenges. The rebuilding of the Globe Theatre in London in the 1990s with the stated goal of creating 'as accurate a reconstruction of the 1599 Globe as was possible' galvanised a critical reexamination of the extent to which such a goal could succeed, given the paucity of evidence about those original conditions of production.[2] In certain respects, we have even less hard evidence for practices of performance than for the buildings of the theatres themselves: hardly anything remains that could be considered direct reporting on performances. Jonas Barish's 1994 article questions the notion of 'authenticity' – defined as 'an attempt to re-create what the play might have looked like to its first audiences' – precisely on these grounds, listing at the outset all the things we do not know about these experiences.[3] His list culminates: 'We know nothing about what nuances of intonation, accent, pitch, or expressive silence [the actors] may have brought to their recitation, the degree to which they may have altered their voices for purposes of mimicry, or accompanied their vocalizing with physical gestures'.[4] While direct accounts from early performances are admittedly few, fragmented, and mediated, we do know something about the physical gestures that accompanied this performance. This thesis set out to address one particularly fruitful category of performance: the performance of mourning. The bulk of the evidence comes (with necessary caveats) from the playtexts themselves: stage directions and directions or narrated action incorporated in the dialogue.

I thus began my research with the plays, creating a database of 78 early modern plays featuring extended or notable scenes of staged mourning. This approach allowed me to sort the

[1] William Hemings, *The Fatal Contract* (London, 1653), sig. E3r.
[2] 'Rebuilding the Globe', *Shakespeare's Globe Online* (London: The Shakespeare Globe Trust, 2014).
[3] 'Is There "Authenticity" in Theatrical Performance?' *MLR* 89.4 (1994), pp. 817-831; 817.
[4] Ibid. Janette Dillon queries the primacy of the new 'orthodoxy of performance', asking for a recognition of the distortions the 'fantasy' of an 'encounter with the Jacobean stage' produces ('Is There a Performance in this Text?' *SQ* 45.1 (1994), pp. 74-86; 74, 86).

mourning plays by date, company, author or mourning theme. A number of different and fruitful trajectories emerged: a shift to more comic and detached treatments of mourning after 1610 (particularly in Middleton's city comedies); a departure from the martial urge to revenge as a substitute for mourning; the persistence but decreasing frequency of elaborate mourning set pieces; mourners presented as creating communities of co-mourners in earlier plays (*David and Bethsabe*, *Richard III*, *Sir Thomas More*) and as lonely and anti-social figures after 1600 (*Hamlet*, *Hoffman*, *Lear*); female mourners more frequently appearing as figures to be wooed; an upsurge and subsequent turn away from metatheatrical anxieties surrounding the performance of mourning; and finally, a surprising confluence of plays centrally concerned with both mourning and notions of verticality. From these contours, my thesis took shape, focusing on four aspects of the dramaturgy of mourning: gestural rehearsal and repetition of grief through pre-emptive or strategic mourning; revenge as a failed substitute for mourning; faked funerals; and, throughout, the deployment of the vertical axis of both stage (as structure) and body.

This thesis raises and subsequently answers (or finds unanswerable) key questions about the way mourning was performed on the early modern stage. Which physical gestures expressed mourning? How was that expression of mourning complicated by alternative uses of the same gesture – for example, the myriad purposes of kneeling onstage? What do the playwrights of this period have to say about the relationship and inevitable tension between carrying out the work of mourning and taking revenge? How does staged mourning address the haunting issues surrounding sincerity and authenticity that inevitably arise with an emotion that requires social performance? I argue that mourning was performed largely "out of joint" – that is, out of the expected time sequence – and in a way that drew attention to the horizontal levels and vertical space of the stage. The chapters examine mourning through gesture (prostration, kneeling), motion (rising and falling as revenge replaces mourning), and finally, through the metadramatic device of the fake funeral. In addition to re-evaluating widely accepted accounts of the literary treatment of mourning as following a linear trajectory from stoicism to sympathy, my

thesis contributes to the Peele authorship question concerning *Titus Andronicus*, and offers tentative support for the 1-2-3 order of composition of the three parts of *Henry VI*.

The terms 'mourning' and 'grief' require definition. I follow Lucinda Becker (among others) in differentiating between the 'private affliction' of grief and the 'externalized activity' of mourning.[5] The title of my thesis – 'Expressions of Grief on the Early Modern Stage' – locates grief as an inward emotion to be somehow expressed: through words, through crying, wringing of hands, tearing of hair, wearing black. John Bulwer's *Chirologia* repeats 'expression' in this sense multiple times:

> TO WRING THE HANDS is a naturall expression of *excessive griefe,* used by those who *condole, bewaile,* and *lament.* Of which Gesture that elegant Expositour of Nature hath assign'd this reason. Sorrow which diminisheth the body it affects, provokes by wringing of the minde, teares, the sad expressions of the eyes; which are produced and caused by the contraction of the spirits of the Braine, which contraction doth straine together the moisture of the Braine, constraining thereby teares into the eyes; from which compression of the Braine proceeds the HARD WRINGING OF THE HANDS, which is a Gesture of expression of moysture.[6]

Bulwer's description is useful here on two counts: first, it conveys this sense of something going on inside that is expressed outside; second, the straining of 'the moisture of the Braine' alerts us to the ways emotions are fettered by cultural and historical contexts. Studying the affective experiences of past cultures must be tempered with the recognition of the ways such experiences are shaped by the historical contexts, the cultural possibilities for expressing such emotions, and also by the different understandings of the associated physiological processes.

Humoral theory has received much critical attention in explaining these physiological processes.[7] This scientific discourse ascribed the dangers of melancholy to the difficulty of purging the cold, dry humors caused by black bile. Robert Burton's

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[5] *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 138.
[6] *Chirologia, or, The Natural Language of the Hand* (London, 1644), p. 28. On using Bulwer's gestures as evidence for acting style, see Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London: Routledge, 1982), esp. pp. 76-8; Matthew Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Bruce R. Smith, *Phenomenal Shakespeare* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010).
[7] See Gail Kern Paster et. al, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (University of Chicago Press, 1990). For a humoral basis to early modern acting, see Joseph R. Roach, 'Changeling Proteus: Rhetoric and the Passions in the Seventeenth Century' in *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), pp. 23-57.

Anatomy of Melancholy explains: 'the gathering of much melancholy blood about the heart...makes it tremble and pine away, with a great paine'.[8] Levinus Lemnius's *The Touchstone of Complexions* (translated into English in 1576) regards melancholy as the worst possible complexion because its qualities of coldness and dryness are the very opposite of the life-sustaining qualities of heat and moisture.[9] Burton writes of an 'epidemic' of melancholia in his time, but melancholy and mourning are not the same thing.[10] William Perkins differentiates between painful sorrow and melancholy by using David as an example:

> Many are of the opinion that this sorrow for sinne is nothing els but a melancholike passion: but in trueth the thing is farre otherwise, as may appeare in the example of David: who by all conjectures was least troubled with melancholie, and yet never any tasted more deeply of the sorrowe and feeling of Gods anger for sinne than he did, as the booke of Psalms declareth. Sorrow for sinne my bee where health reason, senses, memorie and all are sound: but Melancholike passions are where the bodie is unsound, and the reason, senses, memorie, dulled and troubled.[11]

Here is a clear distinction between rightful moments of deep sorrow (in David's case, especially righteous in the form of repentance) and the unhealthy, persistent melancholy. Freud's take on 'Mourning and Melancholy' posits melancholy as a state of continuous, pathological mourning. I return to Freud below, but here wish to distinguish mourning as the regular reaction to the loss of a loved one versus melancholy as less specific, more persistent, and more frequently characterised by lower self-regard.

Reading the Early Modern Passions investigates the historicity of the broad category 'inwardness', claiming, 'early modern psychology only partially shares the priority we place on inwardness, alongside very different conceptions of emotions as physical, environmental, and external phenomena'.[12] While acknowledging these differing conceptions, I do assume a certain inwardness in my understanding of early modern

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[8] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), sig. I2r.
[9] Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London, 1576), p. 135.
[10] 'Being then as it is a disease so grievous, so common, I know not how to do a more general service, and spend my time better, then to prescribe meanes how to prevent and cure so universall a malady, and Epidemicall disease, that so often crucifies the body and mind' (Burton, p. 70).
[11] William Perkins, *A Treatise Tending Unto a Declaration, Whether a Man Be in the Estate of Damnation or in the Estate of Grace* (London, 1597), p. 159, qtd. in Michael Bristol, 'Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and the Publication of Melancholy' in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 193-211; 200.
[12] Gail Kern Paster, *Reading*, p. 15.

subjectivity.[13] Against critics who have argued that the 'interiority' of character is illusory or merely 'gestural' or that interiority is an imposition of the modern reader, Katharine Maus's *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance* makes a compelling case regarding the Renaissance preoccupation with subjective interiority.[14] Maus asks, 'why, although the distinction between interior and exterior may seem tediously commonsensical, should it so rarely seem to 'go without saying' in sixteenth and early-seventeenth century England?'.[15] She connects the problem of inexpressibility with the vitality of the theatre, arguing that subjectivity is a category arising from this very distinction between inwardness and outward show, 'the difference between an unexpressed interior and a theatricalized exterior'.[16] These distinctions come under especial scrutiny regarding the performance of grief, from Hamlet's 'that within which passes show' to Richard's contrast of 'grief...all within' and 'external manners of laments' (4.1.94-5).[17] My final chapter investigates the anxieties of authenticity in performing mourning in particular. For now, I highlight two of my theoretical assumptions concerning selfhood: firstly, that we can speak meaningfully of concepts of interiority and inwardness for early moderns; secondly, the humoral body transporting this interiority is involved in a reciprocal and porous relationship with the world.[18]

This Introduction proceeds from the inside out, starting by evaluating mourning as a psychological process with substitutive dynamics. While the primary focus of this thesis is not theological, the contours of the Reformation religious debates provide important

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[13] Many critics point to Sonnet 45 in Spenser's *Amoretti*, the qualification 'and in my self, my inward selfe I meane' as evidence the speaker is using the word 'self' in a new way, but Elizabeth Fowler alerts us to the 'social persons' emergent in Chaucer, Langland and Skelton, as well as Spenser (*Literary Character: The Human Figure in Early English Writing* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003). Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* is a touchstone text when dealing with early modern selfhood (University of Chicago Press, 1980). Joel Fineman's *The Subjectivity Effect in Western Literary Tradition: Essays Toward the Release of Shakespeare's Will* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991) and Linda Charnes' *Notorious Identity: Materializing the Subject in Shakespeare* (Harvard UP, 1995) also provide invaluable contextualisation.

[14] Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (University of Chicago Press, 1995); Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 31-7; Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 48.

[15] Maus (1995), p. 14.

[16] Ibid., p. 2.

[17] All references to Shakespeare's plays are to *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, 2nd ed., eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford UP, 2005).

[18] This last assertion draws on Gail Kern Paster's *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Discipline of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993).

context both to situate this study against previous scholarship on early modern grief and mourning, and also to understand the non-binary approach this project takes. Mourning is then considered more broadly as a cultural performance, as a theatrical experience with particular focus on gesture, and specifically as performed on the early modern stage. I close with a fuller explanation of verticality and how this concept functions in the theatre.

The Work Of Mourning

> 'Don't say mourning. It's too psychoanalytic. I'm not mourning. I'm suffering.'
>
> – Roland Barthes, *Mourning Diary*[19]

To work on mourning is to discover lines of influence running to and from Freud's 'work of mourning', particularly the model described in 'Mourning and Melancholia'. After a loss, the mourner must work through a process of relinquishing emotional ties to the lost object, a process Freud describes as 'extraordinarily painful' and 'carried out bit by bit'.[20] The Freudian work of mourning is complete when the survivor has detached from the lost one, the ego 'persuaded by the sum of the narcissistic satisfactions it derives from being alive to sever its attachment to the object that has been abolished'.[21] Successful mourning severs the affection from the lost object. The ego is able to attach to a new object, accepting a substitute for what has been lost. Grief is overcome by finding solace from this replacement – although in a later letter Freud adds, 'No matter what fills the gap, even if it be filled completely, it nevertheless remains something else'.[22] While Freud gave this

[19] Roland Barthes, *Mourning Diary,* ed. Nathalie Léger, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), p. 73.
[20] Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', *Complete Psychological Works*, trans. James Strachey, vol. 14 (London: Hogarth Press, 1963), p. 245.
[21] Ibid., p. 255.
[22] *Letters*, ed. Ernst Freud, trans. Tania Stern and James Stern (New York: Basic Books, 1960), p. 386.

dynamic of compensatory substitute clinically-inflected and influential articulation, compensatory or consolatory substitution has a long history in literature and cultural practices.

The elegy is one literary practice that sets out specifically to respond to death. Peter Sacks shows how the elegy itself serves this function of consoling substitution. Mourners must perform a substitutive turn or act of troping, like Apollo's turn from Daphne to the laurel wreath – 'a sign he invents as a consoling substitute for her'.[23] Sacks takes another example of 'successful mourning' from Ovid in the story of Pan pursuing Syrinx. When Syrinx begs the river nymphs for help, she is transformed into hollow water reeds. Pan's disappointed sigh after thinking he has caught her produces a haunting, plaintive sound from the reeds he holds instead. Pan's remark, 'This way of communing with you is still left to me' (1.689-721) and his subsequent cutting of the reeds to create pipes are instructive. For Sacks, the pursued object transforms to a natural form – like Daphne's laurel tree – that 'must be altered further to yield a consoling sign or instrument', an alteration which moves from nature to artifice through 'cutting off and a refashioning' – like the wreath Apollo creates.[24] While Pan and Apollo are successful, there are many examples in the *Metamorphoses* of those who fail to invent or accept an adequate figure for what they have lost: Cycnus, Pyramus and Thisbe, Niobe, and Orpheus.[25] In these stories, grief consumes and erases: suicide for Pyramus and Thisbe; Niobe's disabling turn to marble; Cycnus's attempted suicide and transformation into a swan causing his mother to dissolve in her tears and become a lake; Orpheus forsaking all other women, his decapitated head still singing mourning after death. In contrast, Apollo and Pan create substitutes, form new attachments. This model for reading elegy reveals the way the elegist submits to language itself, the elegy becoming the consoling substitute for the lost loved one.[26] Poetic creation consoles by allowing the object of mourning to transcend death via literary immortality.

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[23] Peter Sacks, *The English Elegy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985), pp. 4-5)
[24] Ibid., p. 6.
[25] Ibid., p. 6. Sacks includes Egeria in this list. Egeria transforms into a spring after Numa's death, but given the symbolism of the spring as inspiration generally, and wisdom and prophecy in Egeria's case, I see her transformation as productive rather than a failure.
[26] Ibid., p. xiii.

Ben Jonson's 1603 elegy for his son, Benjamin, is a definitive example for Sacks: 'Rest in soft peace, and asked, say here doth lie / Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry' – the son's identity merged with Jonson's poem (9-10).[27] Mourning itself is transformed into creative output.

Notably, in all these examples, the underlying violence to the lost objects is sublimated in service to the aesthetic project. Daphne, Syrinx, and Benjamin Jonson all have pieces cut off which become part of their pursuer/mourner's creative output. The pipes that were to be henceforth known as syrinx are now known as panpipes. Apollo cuts off and appropriates Daphne's branches into his own cultural symbol as the laurel wreath. Jonson's 'here doth lye / BEN. JONSON his best piece of *poetrie*' allows a triple-merging of the father, his namesake son/pun, and poetry. The focus shifts to Jonson as creator of both poem and son. Recognising this dynamic means recognising the way poetic creation immortalises only a distorted piece of the lost one, revealing the risks of using the dead. Derrida warns about the danger of narcissism in mourning: 'an homage in the form of personal testimony, which always tends towards reappropriation and always risks giving in to an indecent way of saying "we," or worse, "me"'.[28] Poems written to elegise and praise the subject simultaneously showcase the writing of poet.[29]

I take from the Freudian model the sense of the 'work of mourning' as a process as well as the possibility for objects to function as stand-ins or replacements. However, the ways in which those objects preserve a link to the lost beloved contradicts the goal of severance. Returning to Jonson's elegy, his attempt to find consolation through poetic creation fails. His final lines: 'For whose sake, hence-forth, all his vowes be such, / As what he loves may never like too much' indicate a refusal to allow himself to be attached again, in direct contradiction to Freud's reattachment endpoint (11-12). That Jonson turns to quote Martial's epigram – 'Whatever thou lovest, pray that it may not please thee too much' – does not support the notion of Jonson's performance through language functioning as

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[27] Sacks (1985), p. 122. Ben Jonson, 'On My First Sonne', *Ben Jonson,* eds. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, vol. 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-52), p. 41.
[28] Jacques Derrida, *The Work of Mourning*, eds. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Nass (University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 255.
[29] This dynamic is not limited to elegy, of course: longstanding criticism of Shakespeare's Sonnet 18 looks at the way the 'eternal lines' take the place of the beloved as the object of praise (line 12).

consolation.[30] Rather, he abdicates the role of creator in becoming Martial's mouthpiece. Here, despite the poet's attempt to transform the lost object into aesthetic gain (evidenced by the very existence of the poem), is an overwhelming impression of a father struggling both with loss and with letting go. There is no neat substitution, no transformation to consolation, and yet the poem does important work in – and of – mourning by expressing this struggle.

After a plane crash involving numerous nationalities, lists of the personal effects recovered from the wreckage allowed family members to claim the property of their loved ones. One biro with a chewed end produced nineteen claims.[31] Clearly the pen functioned here as a stand-in, the poignant connection to the lost body in the bite marks. The survivor's desire to hold on to this object is a desire to hold on to a fragment connecting them to their lost partner, sibling, parent, child, or friend – in certain respects, a stand-in, a consciously recognised synecdoche. Teeth imprints serve as reminders of a characteristic – pen-chewing – that, like death, feels deeply idiosyncratic – picturing one particular individual absent-mindedly chewing while working, reading, pondering – despite the obvious ubiquity. This challenge – how to memorialise an individual in the face of the universal and natural phenomenon of death – faces mourners and those writing about mourning.

How do we answer Claudius's callous yet factual reasoning as he admonishes Hamlet's excessive grief: '[Y]ou must know your father lost a father; / That father lost, lost his…' (1.2.89-90). Shakespeare repeats this sentiment of death as commonplace in *Julius Caesar*:

> Of all the wonders that I have heard,
> It seems to me most strange that men should fear;
> Seeing death, a necessary end,
> Will come when it will come. (2.2.34-7)

[30] Martial, *Epigrams,* trans. C. A. Ker, vol. 1 (London: Loeb Classics, 1919; 1968), 6.29.
[31] Lucy Easthope, 'Returning Property After Death and Disaster' in *Making Sense of Death, Dying and Bereavement: An Anthology*, eds. Sarah Earle et. al. (Milton Keynes: Open University Publishing, 2008), pp. 180-82; 182.

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, two Queens echo this idea and each other: 'Heavens lend / A thousand differing ways to one sure end' followed by 'This world's a city full of straying streets, / And death's the market-place, where each one meets' (1.13-16). Shakespeare makes use of the *memento mori* trope here, but with less indifference than the quotations taken out of context might indicate. The rational 'comfort' of Claudius's lines changes tone when we consider that it is spoken by the murderer of the father Hamlet mourns. Caesar's speech is shrouded in irony as his, 'Cowards die many times before their deaths; / The valiant taste of death but once' rings less like courage and more of bravado as he rejects his wife's wise counsel to go forth and taste of many deaths (2.2.32-3). The Queens speak their lines after a funeral scene for their husbands. This 'treble ceremony' dominates the first act, the queens begging 'give us the bones / Of our dead kings, that we may chapel them' in the opening scene, and holding the funeral in the last scene (1.4.8, 1.1.49-50).[32] Death is 'one sure end', but memorialising these three kings is of crucial personal and national importance.

Dennis Kay describes both the sonnet and elegy as 'aggregative form[s], in which practitioners defined their individuality against their predecessors'.[33] So too with mourners, who may take comfort in available rituals that, by prescribing a pattern to follow, may appear in tension with uniqueness and individuality of the loss, but ultimately give grief a form through which to define that individuality. As David Kennedy observes, 'funeral elegy has depended…on the wearing or the invocation of a solemn uniform. The elegist borrows his uniform from his predecessors to convince us of his seriousness and depth of feeling…'.[34] This thesis analyses such uniforms – Hamlet's 'trappings and suits of woe' (1.2.86), Richard II's 'external manners of laments' – as more than 'shadows to the unseen grief' (4.1.295, 296), arguing that there is substance to these means of expressing grief on the stage: gestures, substitutive revenge, and examination through rehearsal.

[32] Chapter 2 discusses the kneeling and prostration the queens deploy in this scene.
[33] Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 4.
[34] David Kennedy, *Elegy* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 5.

Reforming Mourning

> In the time of popery, before the gospel came amongest us, we went to burials, with wepyng and wailing, as thoughe there wer no god: but sence the gospel came unto us, I have heard saye that in some places they go to the corses girnyng and fleeryng, as though they went to a beare-baiting: which thing is naughte, for lyke as to muche weeping is naught...we shold kepe a meure [measure/mean] in al things.[35]

This 1553 case for a moderation or 'mean' in mourning from Hugh Latimer reveals certain contours of the theological debate over mourning: excessive mourning associated derogatorily with Catholicism, a continuing debate over appropriate forms of mourning, and an emphasis on behavior at funerals in particular.[36] While the focus of this thesis is on the staging and theatrical experience of mourning, most treatments of early modern grief and mourning have approached the topic via the changes to mourning practices wrought by the Reformation.[37] Eamon Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars* elegises late-medieval Catholicism as an essentially communal religion with beautiful and powerful rituals. Duffy contends that the Reformation was 'a violent disruption, not the natural fulfillment, of most of what was vigorous in later medieval piety and religious practice'.[38] Purgatory has received special focus by many scholars as the object of the most far-reaching reform, notably the destruction of this imaginative space preserving the link between the living and the dead.[39] Keith Thomas expresses a concern (a common vein amongst Reformist critics) juxtaposing this link between the dead and the living with the indifference of the living to the dead: 'Whereas medieval Catholics had believed that God would let souls linger in Purgatory if no masses were said for them, Protestant doctrine meant that each

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[35] Hugh Latimer, *Certayn Godly Sermons, made upon the lords Prayer* (London, 1562), sig. 105v.
[36] G. W. Pigman also notes his concern with outward appearances as signs of feelings, rather than the feelings themselves (*Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* (Cambridge UP, 1985), p. 32).
[37] Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge UP, 1975); J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackmore, 1984); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971); Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
[38] Duffy, p. 4.
[39] Keith Thomas: '[T]he doctrine of Purgatory gave impressive reinforcement to the notion of society as a community uniting the dead and the living' (p. 603). Stephen Greenblatt: 'Purgatory forged a different kind of link between the living and the dead, or, rather, it enabled the dead to be not completely dead – not as utterly gone, finished, complete as those souls who resided forever in Hell or Heaven' (*Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton UP, 2001), p. 17).

generation could be indifferent to the spiritual fate of its predecessor'.[40] Intercessory masses and other forms of devotion to the dead have value not only in the wider cultural connections between living and dead, but also in providing a potentially comforting pattern to follow for individuals, giving mourners, as Stephen Greenblatt put it, 'something constructive to do with their feelings of grief'.[41]

Countering such negative characterisations of the Protestant project, Edward Muir outlines the Reformers' perspective:

> The Reformation, particularly in its early phases, can be seen as a forceful rejection of the ritual industry of death with all its expensive commitments to priestly intervention. Through his attack on the abusive selling of special indulgences that were advertised to release the dear departed from purgatory, Luther opened the way for a systematic re-examination of the role of ritual. As psychologically necessary as the rites of passage had been in assisting in the essential transformations of life, for many they had become more of a burden than a solace.[42]

This 'burden' evokes Marx's definition of history as a battle between living and dead: 'Men make their own history, but not of their own free will; not under circumstances with which they are directly confronted. The tradition of the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the minds of the living'.[43] If rites of passage are 'psychologically necessary', if we want to find a middle way between 'indifference' and 'crushing burden' it follows that something must take the place of the banished rituals. Louis Montrose places the public theatres as this 'substitute' for the 'rituals and ceremonial forms of pre-Reformation culture'.[44] Greenblatt has famously described Shakespeare's audience embracing the 'evacuated rituals' of the theatre as 'preferable to no rituals at all'.[45] Michael Neill specifies revenge

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[40] Thomas, p. 603.
[41] Greenblatt (2001), p. 102.
[42] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge UP, 1997), p. 58.
[43] Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', *Surveys From Exile: Political Writings* vol. 2, ed. David Fernbach, trans. Ben Fowkes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), p. 146. Philip Schwyzer discusses this passage regarding the balance of power between living and dead and the ways the 'old ghosts of Catholic England' 'helped Britain into being' (*Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge UP, 2004), pp. 98-99).
[44] Louis Montrose, 'The Purpose of Playing: Reflections on a Shakespearean Anthropology', *Helios* 7 (1980) pp. 51-74; 59.
[45] *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 126-7.

tragedies as 'a fantasy response to the sense of despairing impotence produced by the Protestant displacement of the dead'.[46]

This is an elegant and in many ways compelling narrative, offering us the practice of compensatory substitution underlying mourning as the answer to the loss of mourning rituals themselves. I would like to intervene at multiple points of this narrative: first, and crucially, with the idea that Catholic rituals were 'banished'. In very real ways, and indeed potentially traumatic ways for some undergoing this transition, the religious means for expressing grief did change. Edmund Grindal's 1570 letter elucidates both these angles: it reveals both the clear aim of Reformers to reduce remembrances for the dead, but also the fragmentary continuation of various memorial practices:

> I am informed that the greatest part of our gentlemen are not well affected to godly religion, and that among the people there are many remnants of the old. They keep holy days and fasts abrogated, they offer money, eggs, etc. at the burial of their dead: they pray on beads, etc.: so as this seemeth to be, as it were, another church, rather than a member of the rest.[47]

Here, specific 'remnants of the old' are being criticised but also still clearly being practiced. Clare Gittings' analysis of probate records reveals geographical and class differences in actual funeral practices, identifying areas where these Catholic practices persisted (as well as the notable finding for those in search of substitutes that post-Reformation funerals cost the same amount, but curtailed spending on sacred rituals in favor of eating and

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[46] Neill (1997), pp. 245-6. Although this view has gained considerable currency, there are notable exceptions: C. L. Barber agrees that the theatre appropriates the sacred, but goes on to argue that the failure of the theatre to fully stand in for Catholic rituals is what gives the tragedies pathos ('The Family in Shakespeare's Development: Tragedy and Sacredness' in *Representing Shakespeare: New Psychoanalytic Essays*, eds. Coppelia Kahn and Murray M. Schwartz (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1980) pp. 188-202; 196-7). In *Shakespeare's Tribe,* Jeffrey Knapp argues against the idea of evacuated or empty rituals and makes the case for the religious convictions implicit in Shakespeare's plays (University of Chicago Press, 2002). Glynne Wickham's *Early English Stages, 1300-1600* views the theatre as 'effectively divorced' from religion thanks to censorship (vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 1963), p. 19).

[47] qtd. in Clare Gittings, 'Urban Funerals in Late Medieval and Reformation England' in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600,* ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1992), p. 174. Thomas Rist also cites this passage in his introduction to *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England*, in which he usefully emphasises the more accurate 'ambition to reduce performed remembrances' in contrast to Thomas's 'abolition' terminology ((Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 17).

drinking).[48] Rist describes the post-Reformation understanding of memorial as 'contentiously un-concluded'.[49]

This usefully disrupts the sense of a settled Protestant nation in the late sixteenth century. The middle years of that century, 1530-1560, saw five official state religions.[50] England began Henry VIII's reign as a Catholic nation and ended with Henry's split from the Pope, but retained many of the Catholic rituals. Edward VI's short reign closed down the chantries and pushed the country into stricter Protestantism. Under Mary I, the country briefly went back to Catholicism, and Protestant martyrs burned at the stake. Elizabeth I reinstated the Protestant religion, initially willing to compromise on religious matters before being pushed into a more hardline approach in the later years of her reign. In the early 1590s, the period under scrutiny for much of this thesis, Elizabeth turned sixty years old with no heir. There was no guarantee that the next occupant of the English throne would be Protestant, an uncertainty that our concept of the continuous 'Protestant dynasty' obfuscates today.

The difference between mourning and nostalgia productively illuminates the unsettled attitudes to Catholicism generally, and the lost rituals for the dead specifically. For Philip Schwyzer, nostalgia was 'the quintessential mood of the Renaissance' and 'more particularly after the traumatic break with the customary past entailed by the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries'.[51] For something to be an object of nostalgia, the memory must have faded into a narrative of the past. Schwyzer describes the 'special terror of loss' in *King Lear* arising from the fact that the 'lost object is never allowed to recede into the past, where it might become a memory, an object of nostalgia. Rather, loss remains the eternal condition of the present…'.[52] According to this view, in contrast to loss in *Lear,* the 'traumatic break' of the Reformation has receded into the past, has become a memory, an

[48] Gittings (1992), p. 42.
[49] Rist, p. 6n. Rist points to the survival of funeral songs referring to 'Purgatory', as well as citing tracts admonishing continuing '*Popish Abuses*' (pp. 6-8).
[50] Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), p. 31.
[51] Schwyzer, pp. 10, 73.
[52] Ibid., p. 168.

object of nostalgia. Nostalgia looks like a version of healed mourning, where the loss can be recalled from memory.[53]

Post-Reformation attitudes towards curtailed or reduced rituals seem to exist instead in a less healed place than this version of nostalgia entails, although not one of constant and traumatic loss. Traces of the rituals remained, from continued religious practices to literary representations of mourning with Catholic inflections on the popular stage. Altars may have been stripped, but frescoes remained behind the whitewashing. Katharine Goodland makes a direct analogy between the two:

> Just as parishioners sitting in the nave of St. Mary's Priory must have been aware of the images lurking beneath the stark poetry of Reformed religion, so playgoers sitting in the 'blent air' of the Globe must have apprehended, either subliminally or consciously, the icons and rituals of Catholicism mingling with the poetry and pageantry of Protestantism.[54]

The phrasing of 'lurking' images and the 'mingling' of Catholic and Protestant elements captures an important sense of the persistence presence of Catholicism on the early modern stage, a presence that recedes and reemerges, sometimes absent, sometimes shadow, sometimes substance. Of the drama, Glynne Wickham observes, 'in the structure of the plays, in costume and in setting, Elizabethan and Jacobean Londoners could still spy the prototype beneath the veneer of change'.[55] Thus, practices of remembrance have not subsided into memory at the turn of the century. Rather, we see a fitful version of mourning, like the mourning in many of the plays examined in this thesis, a mourning for something not yet fully dead.

A second intervention in the Reformation-trauma-theatre-substitute narrative ensues, since theatre cannot function as true substitute for these rites that are not yet lost.

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[53] Marla Carlson describes the origins of the term: 'The derivation of 'nostalgia' from the Greek *nostos*, to return home, links nostalgia to sameness, suggesting a desire to return to already-known conditions of the past. Present uses of the word largely ignore or ironise the connection with pain (algia), but nostalgia was formerly understood as a medical condition triggered in soldiers or exiles by sensory reminders of home, susceptible of cure by returning. The sense of longing remains in contemporary usage, although the desired home is most often understood as retroactively imagined' ('Looking, Listening, and Remembering: Ways to Walk New York after 9/11', *Theatre Journal* 58.3 (2006), pp. 395-416; 404).

[54] Goodland (2005), p. 27. Goodland goes on to argue that 'the early modern stage became a kind of cultural Purgatory: a social space that preserves, interrogates, and transforms communal memory' (p. 28).

[55] Wickham, pp. 38-9.

Instead, theatre participates in this mourning "out of joint", entering into the conversation the present holds with the past, still in the process of building a narrative of this past that will eventually be viewed with and recreated anew by nostalgia – but not yet.

'Womanish weeping and mourning'[56]

Another familiar binary assigning mourning to women and anger to men demands elaboration. Sir Thomas More's advice to his son-in-law codes crying as both weak and womanly: 'what, we are men. / Resign wet passion to these weaker eyes, / Which proves their sex' (4.3.56-8).[57] The designation and derogation of mourning as weak and therefore feminine/feminine and therefore weak is a familiar Renaissance trope. Lear prefers 'noble anger' to 'women's weapons, water-drops' (2.4.276-7). Malcolm counsels Macduff, 'Dispute it like a man...let grief / convert to anger' rather than 'play the woman with [his] eyes' (4.3.229-9, 4.2.230). A simplified version of gendered responses to grief reads: 'women grieve with tears, but men transmute grief to rage and rage to vengeance').[58] The division has roots in classical tradition, with Plato dismissing passages in prose and poetry 'where eminent men weep and wail in mourning' since wise men leave mourning to women or baser men[59] and Plutarch classifies the mourning hierarchy: 'mourning is verily feminine, and weak, and ignoble, since women are more given to it than men, and barbarians more

[56] Stephen Gosson's full quotation: 'The beholding of troubles and miserable slaughters that are in Tragedies, drive us to immoderate sorrow, heavines, womanish weeping and mourning, whereby we become lovers of dumpes, and lamentation, both enemies to fortitude' (*Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (London, 1582), sig. C5v-C6r).
[57] Appendix 1, Original Text 3, 4-6 in Jowett's edition; 4.3.56-8 in Melchiori's edition, with 'them' inserted for 'it' in ln. 58. Jowett's Arden edition is cited hereafter unless otherwise indicated (Henry Chettle and Anthony Munday, with Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, and William Shakespeare, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett (London: Methuen, 2011).
[58] Marshall Grossman, '*Hamlet* and the Genders of Grief' in *Grief and Gender,* eds. Lynne Dickson Bruckner and Jennifer C. Vaught (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 183.
[59] Katharine A. Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 178.

than Greeks, and inferior men more than better men'.[60] Thomas Wilson, writing to the Duchess of Suffolk upon the death of her two sons, echoes Plutarch, assigning mourning to those of lower stations: 'women commonly, rather then men, rude people rather then godly folk, the unlearned, soner then the learned: foolishe folke, soner then wise men: children, rather then yong men'.[61] The leaky quality to tears makes them prime examples for Gail Kern Paster's account of the ways female bodies were figured as permeable and leaky, exhibiting a 'particular kind of uncontrol' (the inability to control/master the body) as 'a function of gender'.[62] The lack of control speaks to the weak, passive role of the mourner in contrast to the strong, active impulse to revenge. Katharine Goodland's *Female Mourning in Medieval and Renaissance English Drama* provides a more nuanced reading of female mourning as a spectral force and allows for female mourners as 'dangerous instigators of revenge'.[63] However, this approach still endorses the passive-active categorisation of mourning and revenge. My thesis complicates these neat distinctions, offering instances of active and strategic mourning, presenting revenge as an ultimately static loop rising only to fall, demonstrating the ways men are encouraged and required to mourn, and the ways female grief is theatrically powerful even when dismissed by other characters on stage.

A brief example illustrates this last point. Constance, would-be king-maker in her own right, makes a compelling case for the functions of grief, finding comfort in the ways her grief takes the place of her absent son:

> Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
> Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,
> Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
> Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
> Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form;
> Then, have I reason to be fond of grief?
> Fare you well: had you such a loss as I,
> I could give better comfort than you do. (*King John*, 3.4.93-100)

[60] qtd. in Fred B. Tromly, 'Grief, Authority and the Resistance to Consolation in Shakespeare' in *Speaking Grief in English Literary Culture: Shakespeare to Milton*, eds. David A. Kent and Margo Swiss. (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2002), p. 25.
[61] Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetoric* (London, 1553), fol. 42v.
[62] Gail Kern Paster (1993), p. 25. See also Gail Kern Paster, 'Leaky Vessels: The Incontinent Women of Jacobean City Comedy', *Renaissance Drama* 18 (1987), pp. 71-86; Margo Swiss and David A. Kent, eds., *Speaking Grief in English Literary Culture: Shakespeare to Milton* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2003).
[63] Goodland, p. 155.

There is a vivid sense here of the way she marks the lack of her son, an emotional poignancy in the details of empty clothes, the vacant bed. Herschel Baker dismisses Constance's lament, 'Philip's comment on this appalling woman's rhetoric…is one that every reader will endorse', but I agree with Kathryn Schwartz's evaluation that these 'overdetermined responses echo the play, in which characters repeatedly and futilely demand silence'.[64] The attempts to silence and dismiss Constance instead attest to the importance and power behind her mourning, a threat to be shut down.

Thus, while the trope of gendered responses to grief exists, it does not go unquestioned. In *Richard III*, the mourning women, not the men, 'are attuned to the reality of the larger historical process', forming resistance to Richard.[65] In response to Malcolm's urging, 'Dispute it like a man…let grief / convert to anger', Macduff insists on feeling his grief: 'I must also feel it as a man' (4.3.221). Of the Henriad, Martha Kurtz writes: 'tears are no longer a shameful badge of weakness, but a sign of humanity; the ability to suppress emotion no longer the mark of the hero, but the mark of the beast'.[66] The discourse of when and how mourning is appropriate, discussed at length in the following section, focuses the directives against excessive mourning and the unnaturalness of no mourning at both genders.

Means of Death[67]

The number of dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The Night of Time far surpasseth the Day, and who knows when was the Aequinox? Every hour adds unto that current Arithmetick, which scarce stands one moment… Since the Brother of Seath daily haunts us with dying *Memento's* and Time that grows old it self, bids us hope no long Duration: Diuturnity is a Dream and folly of expectation.
– Thomas Browne[68]

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[64] Herschel Baker, 'Introduction', *The Life and Death of King John* in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), pp. 765-68; 766 qtd. in Kathryn Schwartz 'A Tragedy of Good Intentions: Maternal Agency in *3 Henry VI* and *King John*', *Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003), pp.225-54; 242.
[65] John Jowett, 'Introduction', *Richard III* (Oxford UP, 2000), p. 60.
[66] Martha A. Kurtz, 'Tears and Masculinity in the History Play: Shakespeare's *Henry VI*' in *Grief and Gender* (2003), pp.163-176; 175.
[67] Laertes insists that his father's 'means of death, his obscure funeral…cry to be heard' (*Hamlet* 4.5.213).

'The meaning of life is that it stops.' – Kafka

Shakespeare escaped an early death, avoiding the plague outbreak that killed one of every seven inhabitants of Stratford-upon-Avon in the year of his birth. He survived another outbreak in 1592-3 that claimed 10,500 lives and the especially fatal year 1603, which saw 25,000 die from plague. Mortality rates besides plague deaths were high: one out of three children died by age ten; death rates fluctuated between 25-35 per 1,000 compared to modern rates of 8-12 per 1,000.[69] Death was not only more prevalent but more visible, from the grisly spectacles of public executions and carts carrying away plague victims to the deaths of family members at home. Walter Benjamin writes, 'Dying was once a public process in the life of the individual', describing the display of the deathbed, noting that there were no houses in which someone had not died.[70] David Cressy describes death as 'ominpresent in early modern England'; Phoebe Spinrad's earlier work notes the shift from medieval representations of the confrontation at the moment of death to the way sixteenth-century artists created 'a sense of pervasive death – the intangible threat lurking in every corner'. [71] In contrast to the modern separation of death from everyday experience, with nursing homes and hospitals corralling the dying away from the living, for early moderns, death really was all around.[72] The prevalence and public nature of death did not, as some have suggested, prevent people from experiencing intense grief.[73] Literary

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[68] Thomas Browne, *Hydriotaphia, Urn-Burial, or, A Discourse of the Sepulchral Urns* (London, 1669), sig. E2r.
[69] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford UP, 1997), p. 380.
[70] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 93.
[71] Cressy (1997), p. 380; Phoebe Spinrad, *The Summons of Death on the Medieval and Renaissance Stage* (Ohio State UP, 1987), p. 17.
[72] Ariès explains the separation of death from everyday experience as a result of an increasingly material culture, the decline of religious belief and the rise of individualism (*The Hour of Our Death*, trans Helen Weaver (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981)).
[73] Notably, Laurence Stone (*The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500*-1800 (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 117. Anne Laurence describes a 'process of withdrawal…which was essential to cultivate in an age when medical intervention was likely to precipitate rather than prevent fatalities' ('Godly Grief: Individual Responses to Death in Seventeenth-Century Britain' in *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement,* ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 62-76; 74).

representations of such grief, like Jonson's elegy, like the mourners on stage, and like the theological tracts wrestling with exactly how much grief was appropriate to express, attest to emotional experiences of loss.[74] Despite high infant mortality, children were still given funerals.[75]

Death has also become prevalent in literary criticism and social history, particularly over the last two decades. This thesis builds on this (relatively) recent flourishing of work on death and mourning. Although much of the recent work on the history of death pinpoints Philippe Ariès' seminal work, *The Hour of Our Death,* as the starting point for the interest in death in the closing years of the twentieth century, Ariès himself acknowledges his debt to Geoffrey Gorer's *Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain* (1965), which argued that the Western world did not deal with death as well as previous generations and other cultures, putting the dying into clinical contexts (hospices, hospitals), and thus making death invisible. Ariès explains the separation of death from everyday experience as a result of an increasingly material culture, the decline of religious belief and the rise of individualism. This last point is emphasised throughout Clare Gittings's excellent summary of English probate records, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, which also provides a valuable survey of the regional variations in burial practices. David Cressy's *Birth, Marriage, and Death* charts the debates over these major rituals in Tudor and Stuart England, and is immensely useful for the wealth of first-hand evidence. Ralph Houlbrooke's *Death, Religion, and the Family in England* covers similar ground but emphasises the history of religious change as the foundation of changing attitudes and behaviour.[76] While my approach here is not historicist in methodology,

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[74] Cressy cites diaries and letters from the mid-late seventeenth century, such as Bulstrode Whitelock's report of 'the saddest day of [his] life when his dear wife died', and two weeks later, his inability to 'remove his grief or stop his tears' (qtd. in Cressy, p. 394).
[75] Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 80. Stillborn babies were the only exception (p. 83).
[76] See also Andrea Brady, '"These Dear Relicks": Abiding Grief in Reformation England' in *The Reformation Unsettled: British Literature and the Question of Religious Identity, 1560-1660*, eds. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen and Richard Todd, vol. 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual* (1991); Susan Broomhall, *'A share of sorrows': Death in the Early Modern English Household* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds.,*The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge UP, 2000).

instead relying more heavily on the texts of the theatre, non-literary texts and examples frequently inform my analysis.

What were the changing attitudes regarding mourning in England at this time? My initial line of inquiry into such changes was prompted by G. W. Pigman's argument that a shift in sensibility regarding mourning (and corresponding shift in elegies) occurred over the sixteenth to early seventeenth century, moving from a rigoristic attitude towards grief to more permissive sympathy. Grief in the early 1500s is 'subversive of the rule of reason' and reveals 'irrationality, weakness, inadequate self-control, and impiety'.[77] Under such strictures, consolation functions to suppress grief. By the early 1600s, according to Pigman, 'total condemnation of mourning entirely disappears from the moral and theological tracts' and sympathy for the bereaved becomes more common.[78] Letters of consolation, which give the mourner reasons not to mourn, become letters of condolence confirming the need to mourn and expressing sympathy rather than angry chiding.[79] While this characterisation oversimplifies a progression toward compassion (for example, I disagree strongly with the notion that 'attitudes toward mourning are relaxing' after 1600 – about which more anon), Pigman's categories are nonetheless useful for identifying particular scripts available as responses to those in mourning.

Taking these two scripts – rigorist vs. compassionate – as the two extremes for possible responses to mourners, a spectrum of possibilities emerges. In contrast to a progression from one to the other, I find examples from different points along this spectrum without relation to time. At one extreme, Erasmus advises would-be consolers to shame the bereaved out of grief since those 'of noble mind suppress and conceal any great grief of the spirit'.[80] In a similar vein, Matthew Parker's 1551 sermon makes an explicit appeal to reason: 'it is both unseemly and wicked to use any howling or blubbering for him [the dead], unless we desire to be accounted…rather with a beastly nature then furnished

[77] Pigman, p. 2.
[78] Ibid., p. 2.
[79] Ibid., p. 12-13.
[80] qtd. in Pigman, p. 13.

with the use of reason'.[81] Thomas Wilson's 1553 *Art of Rhetoric* permits the bereaved a single day to master their grief.[82] Ben Jonson's later 'Of Death' (published 1612) neatly encapsulates the religious basis of this attitude: 'He that feares death, or mournes it, in the just, / Shewes of the resurrection little trust'.[83] Even in the mid-1500s, more sympathetic responses to mourning appear: John Calvin's 1551 commentary on 1 Thess. 4:13 remarks that it is 'one thing to bridle our grief to submit it to God and another to harden like a stone after throwing off human sensibility'.[84] John Jewel, some time before his death in 1571, explained that St. Paul did not forbid natural affection, since 'The father if he feele not the deathe of his sonne: or, the sonne if he feele not the death of his Father, and have not a deepe feeling of it, he is unnatural.'[85] In 1600, Christopher Sutton returns to the unfeeling stone metaphor: 'God hath neither made us stocks nor stones, nor given us hearts which should have no feeling, when occasions offered, or times beseeming require sorrowful affections.'[86] A sense of an Aristotelian mean in grief emerges, charting the way between blubbering beast and inhuman stone. Houlbrooke summarises the double attitude toward grief in early modern England: on the one hand, demanding a degree of control on the part of the individual since surrendering to one's feelings shows lack of faith, reason, and self-control while on the other, finding it unnatural not to feel grief at all, suggesting the individual was less than a full human being.[87] Shakespeare gives voice to this balance in *All's Well That Ends Well*: 'Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead, excessive grief the enemy to the living' (1.1.55-6). Both scripts for responding to mourners – the angry chiding away from grief, the more moderate sympathy – remain in the drama.[88] While I initially wondered if there was a linear story akin to Pigman's shift to be told about the plays over

[81] Matthew Parker, *A Funerall Sermon...preached at S. Maries in Cambridge, at the burial of...Martin Bucer* (London, 1587), sig. A7r.
[82] Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1553), fol. 45r.
[83] 8.36, lines 1-2.
[84] John Calvin, *Ioannis Calvini in omnes D. Pauli epistolas* (Geneva, 1551), p. 482, qtd. and trans. Pigman, p. 137.
[85] John Jewel, *An Exposition upon the Two Epistles of the Apostle Saint Paule to the Thessalonians* (London, 1583), p. 160.
[86] Christopher Sutton, *Disce mori: Learne to Die* (London, 1600), p. 270.
[87] Houlbrooke, p. 221.
[88] Malcolm counsels in *Macbeth* 'Give sorrow words: the grief that does not speak / Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break' (4.3.210).

the same time period, I quickly realised that not only were the two responses present before and after 1600, but that there were far more complex and varied dynamics at work in performances of mourning.

Projecting Grief

> Clown: [L]et me turne my selfe into a Ballad, and mourne for them.[89]

I turn now to performance, and to the particular ways that mourning as the performance of grief is intimately linked with theatricality. Rituals, prescribed gestures and costumes orchestrate the show of grief in everyday life, from the widow's weeds to the more recent option of immortalising the deceased by turning their ashes into diamonds or tattoo ink.[90] Grief is culturally displayed through the available rites and rituals of mourning, a private emotion manifested in public (even if the performance is simply 'I'm fine'). Joseph Roach writes of the performative and revealing nature of funerals:

> That is why performances in general and funerals in particular are so rich in revealing contradictions: because they make publicly visible through symbolic action both the tangible existence of social boundaries and, at the same time, the contingency of those boundaries on fictions of identity, their shoddy constructions out of inchoate otherness, and, consequently, their anxiety-inducing instability.[91]

Roach connects performances and funerals in terms of what they expose: here both the tangible social boundaries and their constructed and unstable nature. Channeling deep feelings of loss into the culturally available avenues for mourning thus reveals more than that culture's particular ways of commemorating the dead. The public performance

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[89] Anon., *The History of the Trial of Chivalry* (London, 1605), sig. E4r.
[90] Other modern *memento mori* options: filling an hourglass with the ashes; turning the cremains into pencils stamped with the deceased's name (240 pencils, to be precise); scattering ashes by embedding them in fireworks (Hunter S. Thompson's choice of departure); perhaps most morbidly, putting the ashes into bullets or shotgun shells. Potting soil to plant a tree, composting, blown and stained glass are also options.
[91] Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia UP, 1996), p. 39.

divulges social relationships ranging from more concrete observations regarding class and gender to the ways the self is constructed anew in view of others. Mourning is fascinating precisely in the negotiation of private made public, the degree to which this is possible, the ways the public performance turns back to affect the private (which is not necessarily 'originary' though most often coded and privileged as such). Caines claims 'memory is theatrical in its repeated restagings of the always uncertain past' – and mourning too repeatedly replays an uncertain past.[92]

While mourning is integrally theatrical, conversely, the theatre itself functions as a place of mourning. Absence and loss haunt the practice of performance, from Herbert Blau's death of the actor –'he who is performing can die there in front of your eyes; is in fact doing so. Of all the performing arts, the theater stinks most of mortality' – to Peggy Phelan's Lacanian take on theatre's disappearing act – 'Theatre continually marks the perpetual disappearance of its own enactment'.[93] Plays represent historical figures long dead, enact lost rituals, replay past battles and resurrect haunting heroes. In the space of the theatre, these enactments can create an extended community of mourners through performing mourning.

Susan Letzler Cole connects mourning ritual to tragedy, describing both as 'performance[s] of ambivalence on behalf of an absent presence'.[94] This phrase 'absent presence' also occurs in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* sonnet sequence in an apostrophe to the absent Stella: 'O absent presence, Stella is not here' (106.1). It is not clear whether Letzler Cole picked up the phrase from Sidney, or is making direct use of Derrida's 'absent signifier' (an absence or questionable presence), but the concept of absent presence along with the possibility of calling out to make the absent both more and less present has productively haunted my thesis from early in the research process. An absent presence is a space that was once filled, an absence that is more than a blank, that questions why it is

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[92] Rebecca Caines, 'Christian Boltanski and the Performance of Memory', *Afterimage* 31.1 (2004), pp. 4-5.
[93] Herbert Blau, *Take Up the Bodies: Theater at the Vanishing Point* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 83; Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 115.
[94] Susan Letzler Cole, *The Absent One: Mourning Ritual, Tragedy, and the Performance of Ambivalence* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1985), p. 1.

empty and where the presence has gone. Peggy Phelan's evocative 'Presence is theatre's promise as well as its doubt' allowed me to view absence as death's promise as well as its doubt.[95] As mourners, we are aware (sometimes terribly so) of that absence; doubt creeps in not only in early stages of shock and disbelief, but sneakily in the space after dreaming about her, a sudden urge to tell big news before realising she is (still) gone. Doubt shrouds the future with absence: what will the world look like without her? Who will I be in her absence?

Holding on to presence as theatre's promise, setting doubts momentarily aside, the clearest visual presence on the stage is the actor's body. Susan Stewart describes the way the body both encloses and discloses:

> The body presents the paradox of contained and container at once. Thus our attention is continually focused upon the boundaries or limits of the body; known from an exterior, the limits of the body as object; known from an interior, the limits of its physical extension into space.[96]

I find this view of the body as contained and container instructive for reading the body onstage. The notion here of triple perspective – the perspective of the observers/audience focusing on the exterior limits of the body, the perspective of the inhabitant/actor knowing the interior of the body, the perspective of the inhabitant also knowing the limits of the body through extension – helps to unpack the presence of the body as object, subject, and agent. This thesis is grounded in an analysis of gestures. Gesture might be loosely defined as extending the body into space. Brecht's term *Gestus* – often translated as 'gest' – is useful for getting at the wider meaning of gesture in performance. Michael Hattaway defines the word 'meaning 'gist' and 'gesture' – moments when the visual elements of the scene combine with the dialogue in a significant form that reveals the condition of life in the play'.[97] Elin Diamond's longer description illuminates more precisely the way potentially contradictory attitudes in both text and society are made visible:

> [The gest is] the moment in performance that makes visible the contradictory interactions of text, theater apparatus, and contemporary social struggle…"*Gestus*"

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[95] Phelan, p. 121.
[96] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), p. 104.
[97] Hattaway, p. 57.

> is 'terrifically suggestive and difficult to pin down. Words, gestures, actions, tableaux all qualify as gest if they enable the spectator to draw conclusions about the "social circumstances" shaping a character's attitudes. The gest should be understandable, but also dialectical, incomplete.[98]

I bring this understanding of gest to bear on specific moments in performance, examining the resonances of prostration, kneeling, and the rising to and falling from ubiquitous walls in *Henry VI*. My title, 'Expressions of Grief', refers to this notion of extending the body out into space to express something within, akin to the outwards motion of the Elizabethan notion of 'discharging a part'.

Thinking of the body as container also allows for an understanding of the potential performative power of 'contained' grief. Seneca's line 'Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent' (Small griefs can speak; great sorrows strike us dumb) appears frequently on the early modern stage. The Latin verb 'stupere', to be stunned, amazed, confounded is perhaps what Samuel Johnson was looking for as the proper response to grief when he criticized *Lycidas* by stating, 'Where there is leisure for fiction, there is little grief'.[99] Those stunned are silenced and to even begin to speak indicates the grief has lessened. Hippolito quotes the Latin directly to Antonio in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, after Antonio has discovered his wife's dead body: 'We have grief too, that yet walks without tongue: / Curae leves loquuntur, majores stupent' (1.4.22-23). In *Sir Thomas More*, More's son-in-law also quotes this line in Latin, possibly justifying More's stoicism (13.195). The Viceroy of Portugal in *The Spanish Tragedy* says, 'Feed our sorrows with some inward sighs, / For deepest cares break never into tears' (1.3.6-7), leading into a thirty-seven line lament in which he falls to the ground. He questions his own behaviour and provides a double answer: 'Why wail I then, where's hope of no redress? / Oh yes, complaining makes my grief seem less' (1.3.31-2), discovering in the process that expressing grief may make it seem less to others, but also comforts by making it seem less to the mourner. Euphrania in *The Broken Heart* insists, 'Could my tears speak, / My griefs were slight' (5.2.73-4). Later in the same play Calantha

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[98] Elin Diamond, 'Gestus and Signature in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*', *ELH* 56.3 (1989), pp. 519-41; 537n.
[99] Samuel Johnson, 'Milton' in *Lives of the English Poets,* vol. 1, ed. Roger Lonsdale (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), p. 253.

says, 'They are the silent griefs which cut the heart-strings' (5.3.75) before dying of grief in the final scene.

Concealing grief may indeed prove fatal. Shakespeare highlights the danger of this concealment in *Macbeth*, as Malcolm urges Macduff, 'Give sorrow words: the grief that does not speak / Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break' (4.3.209-10). In *The White Devil*, Isabella responds to her husband's mockery with, 'Unkindness, do thy office, poor heart break; / Those are killing griefs which dare not speak' (2.1.278-9). She dies in the following scene in a dumb show.[100]

The frequency of the aphorism attests to the familiarity of the concept, but examining these instances also reveals the ways in which the ideal of outward stoicism is questioned. The debate here centres on expressibility: is it dangerous to keep grief contained, as the onstage deaths from grief might indicate? Does showing grief lessen grief in a healing or purgative sense, projecting the grief outwards? Or does this release lessen the grief others assume is felt, as the deepest sorrows cannot be expressed by these surface means? The wisdom of containing grief is used for comic effect in *2 Return from Parnassus* – 'O *Courae leves loquuntur, ingantes stoupent*, it is an Aphorisme in Galen' – as the speaker thinks it means taking a suppository, a crude critique of the stopped-up nature of suppressed grief (2.1.519).[101] That it is quoted places the concept in a register of remove. On the (different) Senecan quotations in *Titus Andronicus*, Colin Burrow describes a double effect:

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[100] Thomas Middleton, *The Revenger's Tragedy,* ed. MacDonald P. Jackson, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works,* eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford UP, 2007), pp. 543-93; *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett (London: Methuen, 2011); Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* in *English Renaissance Drama*, eds. David Bevington, Lars Engle and Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York: Norton, 2002), pp. 3-74; John Ford, *The Broken Heart,* ed. Brian Morris (London: New Mermaids, 1965); John Webster, *The White Devil* in *English Renaissance Drama* (2002), pp. 1659-1748. See also Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*: 'True griefe is dumbe' ((London, 1600), sig. E3v) and Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, 4.4.54 (in *The Malcontent and Other Plays,* ed. Keith Sturgess (Oxford UP, 1997)). Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* uses the water metaphor: 't'is but shallow woe / That makes a noise, deep'st waters stillest goe' ((London, 1618), sig. D4v). Ann Pasternak Slater traces the phrase from Kyd through Austen, Dickinson, and Ezra Pound, explaining its persistence due to its 'inherent verisimilitude rather than the literary erudition' of the authors (*Shakespeare the Director* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), pp. 135-6).

[101] *2 Return of Parnassus* in *The Three Parnassus Plays,* ed. J. B. Leishman (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1949).

> It is not a simple example of Shakespeare – or Peele – trundling out a mangled Senecan hyperbolic *sententia*. The quotation comes from passion, from a desire characteristic of early Shakespearian tragic characters in general and of characters in *Titus* in particular to set themselves alongside the massive passions of the past and only partially lay claim to them. "I am Phaedra, wishing death on myself, on the world," the quotation says, while its performance perhaps ironizes that aspiration slightly by asking, "Are you really? Aren't you just (mis)quoting? And might you not be falling tragically short of that archetype of self-destructive passion?"[102]

Here Burrow refers to an ironising of specific passions. But the act of quotation more generally always holds within it the possibility of undercutting the content, making the quotation a nod to another's idea, holding it up for scrutiny as a concept. While the 'silent griefs' trope occurs frequently, this is not a repeated endorsement of the concept. It appears as quotation, a bracketed performance for others to interpret.

Verticality and Theatre

I have referred thus far to an as yet undefined notion of verticality, which underpins my findings regarding mourning. Mourning gests include not only gestures, but other visual elements of the scene. Lying down, kneeling down, rising and falling: all exhibit vertical motion. To close this Introduction and set the stage for the upcoming chapter, I turn to the topic of verticality in the theatre.

Bedford's opening line in *1 Henry VI*, 'Hung be the heavens with black!' gestures towards the 'heavens' of the playhouse. These words (accompanied by an upturned head or outstretched arm or not) draw the eye upwards, making spectators take into account the whole vertical space of the stage from below the boards up to the balcony space and the turrets. Cognitive neuroscientists have posited verticality as one of the few universal mental concepts, as Bruce McConachie summarises: 'Because humans walk upright and because many of the operations of our minds embody our physical orientation in the

[102] Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford UP, 2013), pp. 183-4.

world, people in all cultures carry a concept of "verticality" in their heads'.[103] Ground level forms a natural reference point in judging height, and this concept of verticality produces a conventional metaphorical mapping of verticality onto quantity: up is more; down is less. In English specifically, there are numerous metaphors of emotion based on the vertical axis: we speak of being in 'low' spirits; feeling 'down' or 'down in the dumps', 'run down', 'downhearted'; a heart may 'sink'; spirits 'droop'. Conversely, we can be 'uplifted'; in 'high' spirits; 'buoyant'; 'exalted'; cheered 'up'. Linguistic emotional metaphors using motion in Shakespeare, however, more commonly refer either to inner turbulence or imbalance without specific reference to vertical direction.[104] Sadness is most frequently expressed (through language) with metaphors of heaviness or lack of light (darkness or dullness).[105] Vertical linguistic metaphors instead predominantly refer to power and social class. I repeat 'linguistic' and 'language' deliberately here, because as the following chapters will show, the visual metaphors of vertical position tell an equally if not more important story.

Visual, linguistic, political, and emotional verticality are at work in the Flint Castle scene of *Richard II*, and the later deposition scene. Featuring both the rise and fall of fortunes, these scenes are an apt illustration of both mourning and political power mapped onto the vertical axis of the stage. At Flint Castle, Richard appears on the walls, described by Bolingbroke as a rising (and setting) sun:

> See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,
> As doth the blushing, discontent sun
> From out the fiery portal of the east
> When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
> To dim his glory and to stain the track
> Of his bright passage to the occident. (3.3.62-67)

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[103] *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 4. While this mental concept might be universal, its particular expression of course varies across cultures. Verticality stands out as not as obvious as the other likely human universals posited in McConachie's discussion: caring for kin, constructing social hierarchies, performing rituals (pp. 4-5).

[104] This is unsurprising if the sources of these emotions are bodily humours, the body a 'vessel of liquids' potentially perturbed. Exceptions include Helena's 'But this exceeding posting day and night / Must wear your spirits low' (5.1.1-2); the Bastard's 'But wherefore do you droop? Why look you sad?' (5.1.44); Romeo, who 'cannot bound a pitch above dull woe' (1.4.21).

[105] Examples abound, from Queen Isabel's 'I cannot but be sad – so heavy sad' (*RII* 2.2.30); the Duke describing Silvia as 'lumpish, heavy, melancholy' (*TG* 3.2.62); Hero to Margaret, '…my heart is exceedingly heavy' (*Much Ado* 3.4.23); Lorenzo's 'The motions of his spirit are as dull as night' (*Merchant* 5.1.87); Romeo's 'more dark and dark our woes' (3.5.36); Northumberland describing Morton as '[s]o dull, so dead in look, so woe-begone' (*2HIV* 1.1.71).

York's 'Yet looks he like a king' underscores this 'looking like' (as opposed to actually being) by calling the sight 'so fair a show' (3.3.68, 71). Richard demands more outward show along the vertical dimension by demanding obeisance in the form of kneeling:

> We are amazed; and thus long have we stood
> To watch the fearful bending of thy knee
> Because we thought ourself thy lawful king.
> And if we be, how dare thy joints forget
> To pay their awful duty to our presence? (3.3.72-76)

Northumberland asks Richard to 'come down' to the lower courtyard (the 'base-court'), and Richard's next speech obsesses over the word 'down':

> Down, down I come like glistering Phaethon,
> Wanting the manage of unruly jades.
> In the base-court – base-court, where kings grow base
> To come at traitors' calls, and do them grace.
> In the base-court. Come down – down court, down King,
> For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should sing. (3.3.178-183)

Richard is no longer figured as the sun, but the pretending son of the sun god. He alludes here to a myth that 'Renaissance writers occasionally politicized…by associating their kings with Phoebus and their rebels with his foolishly and disastrously usurping son', but positions himself as the usurper.[106] Watson also points out that 'some Elizabethan versions of the Phaethon myth specified an equation between the horses of the sun and the common people'.[107] This version would make Richard a sun god betrayed by base people, an interpretation bolstered by his use of 'jades' and clear, repeated resentment of the 'base-court'. The striking image is of the 'glistering Phaethon' falling from the sky, and the repeated '[d]own, down'. For Janette Dillon, Richard's 'descent from the walls to the base court…is the turning point of the play and a microcosmic visual enactment of its central concern. As a reversal of the tableau placing the monarch at the apex of the social order, familiar from the street pageantry of royal entries, it has all the more power to shock'.[108] Later in the play, Bolingbroke takes Richard's throne, affirming York's 'Ascend his throne' with 'In God's name, I'll ascend the regal throne', his rise to power underscored by a

[106] Robert N. Watson, 'Horsemanship in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy', *English Literary Renaissance* 13 (1983), pp. 274-300; 283.
[107] Ibid., p. 285.
[108] Janette Dillon, *Shakespeare and the Staging of English History*, (Oxford UP, 2012), p. 47.

physical ascent to the throne on the stage (4.1.111,113). As Bolingbroke ascends, Richard describes his own fortunes as the lowering bucket: 'The other down, unseen, and full of water / That bucket down and full of tears am I, / Drinking my griefs whilst you mount up on high' (4.1.186). A rise to power, a fall from grace; these scenes provide a striking blueprint for a discussion of verticality that touches on all three components: political power, emotions both enacted and described, and the use of the vertical axis of the stage space.

The structure of the theatre building itself organises space vertically. The trapdoor allowed entrances from *below*, the space literally under the world of the stage most often signifying the underworld. The gallery above the stage doors, sometimes referred as the 'upper space' and, less accurately, as a 'balcony', was used for action *aloft*, *above*, *at a window*, and *upon the walls*.[109] Gods and goddesses descended from and ascended to the 'heavens'.[110] Above that, according to the de Witt version of the Swan, there was a turret at the level of third gallery with a trumpeter shown at the side, and still further up, the flag showing the emblem of the theatre on top of the thatched roof.[111]

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[109] Richard Hosley, 'The Gallery Over the Stage in the Public Playhouses of Shakespeare's Time,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 8 (1957), pp. 15-31. Hosley uses *1 Henry VI* as part of his evidence that this space was used by actors, particularly in the way it satisfies the stage direction for a space that must be '*within…on the walls*' i.e., both above and recessed (p. 18).

[110] Henslowe records a payment for a descent device at the Rose: 'Itm pd for carpenters worke & mackinge the throne In the heuenes the 4 of June 1595' (*Henslowe's Diary,* ed. R. A. Foakes (Cambridge UP, 2002), p. 7). *Alphonsus King of Aragon* opens with Venus '*let downe from the top of the stage*'; the final stage direction gives some possible mechanisms of such staging: '*Exit Venus. Or if you can conveniently, let a chaire come downe from the top of the stage, and draw her up*' (Robert Greene, *The comicall historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (London, 1599), sig. A3r, I3r). Providence in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* similarly descends and ascends. Robert B. Graves points to the familiar examples in *Cymbeline*, '*Jupiter descends in Thunder and Lightning, sitting uppon an Eagle*' (F 3126-27) and Heywood's *The Silver Age*, '*Thunder, lightnings,* Jupiter *descends in his majesty, his Thunderbolt burning*' as evidence for the use of thunder and lighting in unison with descents to distract the audience's attention from the ropes and pulleys (*Lighting the Shakespearean Stage, 1567-1642* (Southern Illinois UP, 1999), p. 46).

[111] The sketch raises notorious problems, some of which are more easily addressed than others. (The question of why the trumpeter announcing the commencement of the play appears at the same time as the players, for example, answered by the likelihood that de Witt's sketch shows the function of various elements rather than a snapshot of one moment in time.) John Gleason's article provides a useful summary of the criticisms and background on de Witt ('The Dutch Humanist Origins of the de Witt Drawing of the Swan Theatre', *SQ* 32 (1981), pp. 324–38).

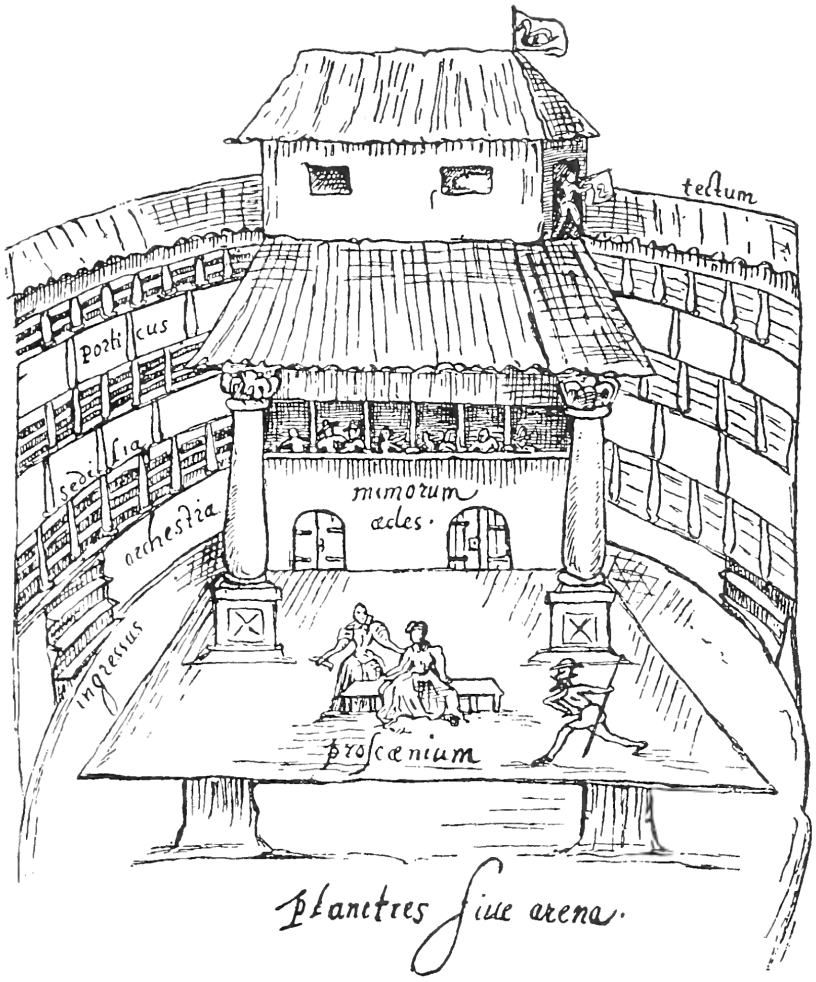

Fig. 2. Arend van Buchel after Johannes de Witt, The Swan Playhouse, London, c. 1595. Drawing in the Bibliotheek der Rijkuniversiteit, Utrecht, ms. 842 fol 132r.

While no sketch of the Rose theatre exists (where *1 Henry VI* and *Titus* were most likely performed according to Henslowe's diary), excavations of the site in 1988-9 provided physical evidence of the renovations paid for in 1592 (again according to Henslowe).[112] One key added feature relevant to the discussion here is the roof over the playing space, making the 'heavens' of Bedford's opening gesture also cheekily point out the newly installed playhouse feature.[113] Excavations also revealed a surprisingly shallow stage tapering

[112] See Chapter 3 for more detailed discussion of this entry. *Diary,* pp. 9-12.
[113] The summary of these alterations emphasises the focus on the stage: 'It is clear that a desire to enhance the attractions of the stage was the *raison d'être* of this work. The associated increase in seating capacity was not that great. The shape of the new building was dictated by the creation of a roof over the new stage, which necessitated the outwards thrust of the galleries in order to provide sight lines to the stage from the upper floors' (Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe – playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations 1988-90* (Museum of London Archaeology, 2009), p. 64). Archaeological evidence revealed a new and more substantial wall foundation directly behind the new stage, which 'suggests that it had to cater for a heavier stage

towards the front, about 18' 4" (5.6m) deep, 36' 9" (11.2m) wide at the back, and 26' 10" (8.2m) wide at the front.[114] The most recent Arden editor, Edward Burns, argues that for both *Titus Andronicus* and *1 Henry VI* the effect 'is of multi-focused action…mapped against an impressive permanent physical structure' noting that every scene until Mortimer and Richard's exchange at 2.5.34 'fills the stage, draws attention to imaginary spaces beyond it and exploits the vertical as well as the horizontal'.[115]

The temptation to read the stage in visually symbolic terms is clear: it is indeed an imaginary space ripe for interpretation, and other scholars have been tempted to map the stage in this manner. George Kernodle's analysis views the stage as capable of organising space like the dimensions of a painting, with the relationships between upper and lower suggesting visually symbolic locations found in medieval art, like the tower and castle.[116] For G. K. Hunter, the Elizabethan actor created 'realities' around him, 'relying on the simple primary qualities of *above*, *below*, and (no doubt) upstage and downstage.'[117] David Bevington rightly cautions against reading these visual symbols too literally, however, insisting that for Shakespeare, this is not a straightforward effect: '[Shakespeare] exploits the resonances of order and vertical hierarchy in his stage, but often as a devastatingly ironic backdrop to the action'.[118] I add to this backdrop the way specific gestures of mourning deploy both the vertical hierarchy of the stage as well as subverting the dynamics traditionally associated with the vertical motion of lowering the body.

In the case of mourning, verticality often works in unexpected ways: falling down or kneeling, both gestures which lower the body, also take control over the gaze of the audience. A posture that looks in tableau form like submission in fact holds theatrical power as it is carried out. Scaling the walls in *Henry VI* to a perceived position of advantage

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building and tiring house' (p. 57); a drip line in the new yard surface parallel to the new stage front indicates the additions of a roof or cover over the stage extending approximately 1.2m (p. 59).
[114] Christine Eccles, *The Rose Theatre* (London: Hern-Walker, 1990), p. 140-1.
[115] Edward Burns, 'Introduction', *King Henry VI, Part 1* (Arden, 2000), pp. 11-12.
[116] *The Theatre in History* (University of Arkansas Press, 1989), p. 320.
[117] 'Flatcaps and Bluecoats: Visual Signals on the Elizabethan Stage,' *Essays and Studies*, n.s. 33 (1980) pp. 16-47; 18.
[118] *Action Is Eloquence: Shakespeare's Language of Gesture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 15.

not only reveals the vulnerabilities of the position '*above*', but theatrical attention is grabbed by those leaping down.

In Chapter 1, I compare prostration in *David and Bethsabe* and *Titus Andronicus*, analysing the way the two central male figures make use of a gesture traditionally associated with abjection. The examination of mourning in the two plays also provides additional possibilities for Peele's role as collaborator with Shakespeare on *Titus.* In Chapter 2, I examine the ways different iterations of kneeling accrete intertextual meaning, each instance being potentially interpreted in light of previous visually similar motions. The transitional motion of kneeling maps onto a transitional space of mourning in *Sir Thomas More* and *Edward II*, two plays in which the mourning is literally preposterous – putting first what should come last by mourning those not yet dead. Chapter 3 takes on the upwards kinetic energy and extended presence '*above*' of the *Henry VI* cycle: mourning in these plays is repeatedly abandoned in favour of revenge, an action that both causes and tries to cure grief. Ironically, in this attempt to honour the dead through martial revenge, the dead are forgotten as the living climb to new political and literal heights. I use this thematic approach to shed critical light on the debate of the order of composition of the three parts. While not strictly a gesture or motion, the fake funerals of Chapter 4 qualify as a Brechtian gest, making visible the apparatus of performing mourning. This chapter functions as a coda to a thesis focused on the legible body by asking what happens when the body is not legible due to the mourning being faked. The sharp uptick in fake funerals and counterfeit deaths on stage following 1603 also speaks to cultural anxieties over how to perform mourning in the wake of Elizabeth I's very public funeral and one of the worst plague years on record.

Making Space and Taking Place

This thesis sheds new light on the question of how mourning was performed on the early modern stage. Unlike Tobias Döring's guiding question, 'When and how is mourning suitable?', I ask the question, 'How is mourning performed and examined as performance?'[119] The thesis does not approach mourning from the perspective of propriety, measuring reactions against limiting doctrines defining excess. Nor does it retread well-covered critical ground examining the implications of the religious reforms to practices of remembrance. Instead, I examine expressions of grief from within the plays themselves, with a sharper focus than previous accounts on the resources of the theatre and the techniques of staging. Each of my chapters begins with a stage direction, focusing initially on a single moment of action, expanding the discussion to address questions that arise from scenes of mourning in these plays, and ultimately returning to the theatre to demonstrate the ways these questions inform particular performances. While this methodology is not new, grounded as it is in the field of performance criticism, by applying it to mourning along with close formalist analysis of the texts, I am able to re-evaluate and disrupt long-standing assumptions about the literary treatment of grief following a linear trajectory from rigorism to sympathy. The thesis also offers new contributions to the Peele authorship question and the order of composition of the first tetralogy. Taking the plays as a starting point was immensely fruitful: from the plays, my thesis took shape. The concentration of plays in the 1590s and early 1600s that feature extended scenes of mourning meant my thesis focuses on the 1590s and early 1600s. Within this date range, I uncover anxieties about how to perform mourning; this contrasts with recent critical accounts that see a more relaxed approach to mourning after 1600. I explain the striking connection between mourning and the use of verticality in these plays, and the ways mourning is so frequently depicted "too soon" or otherwise displaced. Despair is

[119] While Döring's *Performances of Mourning in Shakespearean Theatre and Early Modern Culture* promises to take a 'performative approach', the book turns out to be deeply and valuably invested in the ways associated Catholic emotions were retrieved and religious rhetoric was questioned by performing mourning in the theatre ((Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 20). His chapters treat history plays as onstage acts of grief and commemoration, the physiological manifestations and gender differences in mourning, and the ways comedies parody mourning (specifically in the context of rejecting or retaining Catholic ritual).

traditionally past-oriented in contrast to the future orientation of hope, but many playwrights depict future-oriented mourning. In the following chapters, I examine mourning as an inherently unrealistic, wishful dynamic. When it happens in real life, mourning is belated, a wish for something not to have happened. Plays toy with this timing, presenting pre-emptive mourning to audiences who already know the ending, the wish for something not to happen made more poignant by this future-orientation along with our knowledge that it will happen. Plays toy with this lack of realism, revealing the limits to body legibility, asking what happens when traditional means of expressing grief are cut off, either literally or by faking mourning. Ascendant and descendant motions of emotion show characters with aspirations to higher places both in earthly, heavenly, and theatrical realms, and falls – falling down in sorrow, falls from power, falls and jumps to death. However, I emphasise the ways descent via prostration or kneeling can be aspirational, forms of worship, strategic posturing for future gain. Similarly, rising is not always aspirational, sometimes an escape from what lies below, or giving up on a request made from a lowered position.

Lying down on stage draws a line with the body. Kneeling and scaling the walls similarly draw attention to the margins of the theatrical space. Performances of mourning thus call attention to the boundaries and limits of the performance space and theatre practices, but in a way that, far from marginalising the performance, intensifies the emotional potency of the experience. My hope is to shift the conversation to the ways mourning takes action, powerfully and playfully.

CHAPTER 1

'*[D]owne and all the rest after him*': Prostrate Mourning in *David and Bethsabe* and *Titus Andronicus*

'Dying is one of the few things that can be done as easily as lying down.' – Woody Allen

In one of the most remarkable scenes of George Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, David enters with Ithay, Sadoc, Ahimaas, Jonathan, and others to mourn together.[1] The stage direction indicates, '*David barefoot, with some lo[o]se covering over his head, and all mourning*'.[2] He asks those present, 'Weepe with me then ye sonnes of Israel' and '*lies downe, and all the rest after him*' (991; 991sd). He continues, 'Lie downe with David, and with David mourne', and they join him prostrate on the stage (992). The scene is striking not only for the way David directs this communal mourning but also for the posture itself and the complications arising from performing in this position. However, this moment also links Peele's biblical play (c. 1591-93) to *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1592). Both feature the male protagonists lying down onstage for extended periods of time. Modern directors and editors have been reluctant to retain the actions indicated by the stage directions, either by drastically cutting the scene in *Titus* in performance, or by insisting that David must rise quickly even though lines from other characters indicate he is still prostrate. This editorial and directorial anxiety over prostration reveals aversion to a gesture traditionally read as extreme abjection.

I begin my thesis with *David and Bethsabe* because this play contains the crucial strands that form the thesis as whole: complex gestures of mourning, rehearsing mourning or pre-emptive mourning, the use of vertical stage and metaphorical space, and questionable or missing ceremonies. This chapter argues that prostration is a performance of pre-emptive mourning that, although it may look, sound, and even be described by those doing it as mourning, is more of an entreaty for mercy. Lying down in both these plays

[1] While Elmer Blistein writes that he was 'unable to find any evidence that *David and Bethsabe* was performed', Annaliese Connolly's recent article makes a convincing case for the play as part of the Admiral's Men Marlovian repertory (a conjecture revisited later in this chapter) ('Introduction', *David and Bethsabe* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1970), p. 143; 'Peele's *David and Bethsabe*: Reconsidering Biblical Drama of the Long 1590s', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 16 (2007), 9.1-20). The entry in *Henslowe's Diary* in October 1602 for 'poleyes & worckmanshipp for to hang absolome' may refer to Peele's play and a mechanism to hang Absalom by the hair (p. 217). The only other contemporary reference to performance is the title page commonplace 'As it hath been divers times plaied on the stage'.

[2] George Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, ed. Elmer Blistein (New Haven: Yale UP, 1970), 972sd. All references are from this edition.

indicates a deferral of acceptance of the death that would otherwise be mourned. Those around these central figures assume they are mourning, as perhaps might audience members, readers, and editors. In fact, they are prostrate because they have not yet accepted the inevitability of their losses. They still strive to claw (or crawl) their way back into a position of agency by attempting to strike a deal with human or divine powers. The gesture of prostration is freighted with potential abasement, but here, as well as considering the enormous theatrical power entailed in the action, I argue that prostration in these texts is also a form of worship.

While my initial investigation placed these two plays together for the striking scenes of prostration, using the Peele canon and the dramaturgy of *David and Bethsabe* allows for a fresh approach in addressing the thorny issue of co-authorship in *Titus Andronicus*.[3] This chapter adds the contexts of mourning and prostration in both plays to the authorship debate, providing additional support for Peele's collaborative role. I venture into new territory in considering prostration in these plays as strategic worship rather than abjection.[4] This gesture has hitherto been examined as worship largely within religious contexts, read as 'sorrow', 'shame' or embodying 'low fortunes' outside devotional confines.[5] Jill Levenson writes that 'Peele furnishes a new gesture of sorrow, prostration' in

[3] *David and Bethsabe* is one of the plays almost completely excluded from Brian Vickers' discussion in *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, where it receives less than a page ((Oxford UP, 2002), pp. 180-81). This alternative approach demonstrates the potential value of addressing authorship questions from a thematic angle.

[4] Michael Warren's short note on Albany's 'Fall and cease' in *Lear* lists nine occasions of the verb 'fall' in 'contexts of obvious reverence, submission, or prayer', but notes that most of these are 'subjects' behaviour before their lords' as opposed to the prostrate rulers and powerful figures I consider in this chapter ('*King Lear* V.iii.265: Albany's "Fall and Cease"', *SQ* 33.2 (1982), pp. 178-9; 178). Robert Henke writes about the ways early modern begging was a 'poor theater' with differing degrees of belief in the performance, considering the complex audience response to present day begging and the employment of 'long-established, formulaic, and exaggerated gestures (such as prostration)...and the strategic use of physical spaces like the church threshold' ('Sincerity, Fraud, and Audience Reception in the Performance of Early Modern Poverty', *Renaissance Drama* 36/37 (2010), pp. 159-78; 160). An exception is Gary Taylor's 'Divine [ ]sences', where he describes the kneeling and prostration of Arcite, Palamon, and Emilia in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* as 'worship' and 'prayer' but this article focuses on the Catholic elements to the altar, comparing Shakespeare's scene to the way Middleton's *A Game at Chess* 'empties out the very rituals Shakespeare's late plays validate' (*Shakespeare Survey* 54 (Cambridge UP, 2001), pp. 13-30; 22).

[5] For 'sorrow' see Jill Levenson, 'Romeo and Juliet before Shakespeare', *Studies in Philology* 81.3 (1984), pp. 325-47; 344, and Robert Y. Turner, 'Pathos and the "Gorboduc" Tradition, 1560-1590', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 25.2 (1962), pp. 97-120; 114. Ewan Fernie pairs it repeatedly with shame in a more figurative sense rather than examining the physical gesture: 'the spiritual shame and prostration he is already suffering' 'the general sense of debasement and prostration' (*Shame in Shakespeare*

order to create pathos, but this chapter shows the ways it was not new and not necessarily sorrow.[6] Robert Turner also terms it a 'new gesture of sorrow' in Peele's play, cataloguing it along with 'tears, sighs, wailing, and wringing of hands to express feeling'.[7] In *David and Bethsabe* and *Titus,* both plays from the early 1590s, the male protagonists do both lie down at points of great despair.[8] They seem to have reached their lowest points emotionally and physically, yet both retain a trace of hope. The gesture raises a number of questions, from the practicalities of staging to the shadows of literary, religious and dramatic precursors that accompany these prostrate figures. For both Titus and David, more excruciating events will occur, and their mourning is renewed and repeated. How can directors and actors portray a sense of ever-increasing grief after the most extreme physical expression of sorrow has been used? Is there any justification for reading an element of hope in what has traditionally been read as a gesture of extreme abjection? The short answer: yes. This hope exists in a rather narrow sense, a last ditch supplication to powers above, whether they be Roman tribunes or David's God, but nevertheless casts a different veil on the posture than raw abjection.

(London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 125, 96. Jonathan Bate describes it as 'embodying low fortunes' ('Introduction', *Titus Andronicus* (London: Arden, 2002), p. 86). See Don Seeman, 'Martyrdom, Emotion and the Work of Ritual in R. Mordecai Joseph Leiner's *Mei Ha-Shiloah*', *AJS Review* 27.2 (2003), pp.253-79; esp. pp. 269-79 for Talmudic commentary on prostration.

[6] Levenson, p. 344.

[7] Turner, p. 114.

[8] *David and Bethsabe* was entered in the Stationers' Register on May 14, 1594, and not printed until 1599 (Blistein 153-4). Dates of composition have been proffered from 1582 (the year after Peele left Oxford) to 1594, with critical consensus generally coalescing around the later end of this date range, 1589-1594. This depends on conjectures: first, that Peele kept writing plays until close to his death in 1596; second, that *David and Bethsabe* was his last play. It should be noted that there is neither external nor internal evidence to establish an earliest possible date of composition. *Titus Andronicus* first appeared in Henslowe's *Diary* on 23 January 1594, with subsequent performances on 28 January and 6 February. If the title-page of the 1594 quarto is accurate in stating the play was performed by 'the Earle of Derbie, Earle of Pembroke and Earle of Sussex their Seruants', this pushes a first performance date back to August 1593 or before, since Pembroke's Men disbanded after this season. Critics have proposed a variety of dates – 1588 (Hughes (1993)), 1589 (Maxwell (1953)), 1591 (Berthoud (2001)), 1592 (Waith (1984)) and 1593 (Bate (1995)) – relying to various degrees on stylistic similarities with other plays, stylometry , and verbal parallels. However, as with *David and Bethsabe*, no firm external evidence exists to pinpoint the earliest possible composition date.

Lying Down: Precursors and Contexts

In order to consider the elements of worship in both David's and Titus's actions, I first examine the prostration as it occurs in different forms of worship, moving briefly to potential models from Greek drama and biblical prostration before considering examples on the early modern stage. In all three Abrahamic faiths and in the practice of Buddhism, worship involves a complex negotiation over the believer's place in vertical space. The Jewish kippah, or yarmulke, worn on the head, acts as a symbolic barrier between the worshipper and God, a layer of separation marking a fundamental distinction of type: human and divine. The ritual of prostration in Buddhism involves both veneration and a way to rid oneself of arrogance or conceit. For Muslims, 'sujud' means to prostrate: toes, knees, palms, nose and forehead must be the only body parts touching the ground. While in this position, the words of the prayers stress height: 'Glory be to God, the Most High' is repeated three times. 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' ('Glory to God in the highest') is a common Catholic hymn recited at ordinary Sunday Masses throughout the year.[9] The liturgy of the Catholic Church prescribes prostration on Good Friday and at ordinations. All these occasions mingle a sense of anguish at being fallible and fallen, an admission of the limits of human understanding, and a shocking vulnerability to the mercy of a higher power.

Lying prostrate on the stage, characters capture this vulnerability, foregrounding the actor's body and embodied voice by delivering lines from this awkward position, an important component in the staging of such scenes. The prone characters of the Renaissance stage draw on classical models. Famee Lorene Shisler points out: '[l]ying prostrate for a length of time is a method of showing emotion that is surprisingly popular with Euripides', and cites Hecuba, Adrastus, Iolaus and Phaedra as examples.[10] With the exception of Phaedra's lovesickness (an emotion often portrayed with overlapping gestural vocabulary to mourning), all these examples from Euripides feature characters at moments

[9] In the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, the hymn translated as 'Glory to God on high' came after the Kyrie, as in the Catholic Mass, but the 1552 edition moved it to the end of the service, just before the priest's final blessing, where it remained through subsequent editions.
[10] Famee Lorene Shisler, 'The Use of Stage Business to Portray Emotion in Greek Tragedy', *The American Journal of Philology*, 66.4 (1945), pp. 377-397; 382.

of extreme sorrow.[11] In the opening scene of *Suppliant Women,* Adrastus lies down at the temple doors accompanied by a chorus of grieving mothers in black mourning clothes to plead that the Athenians return the bodies of their sons, the famous Seven, denied burial by the Thebans. Iolaus despairs when Macaria offers herself in sacrifice to Persephone. Iolaus asks for support: 'Children, I am undone, grief unnerves my limbs; take hold and support me', and both the words of the Chorus 'Then fall not prostrate thou, but bear what heaven sends' and a servant's later question – 'Why dost thou lie there? Why that downcast look?' and urging – 'Arise, lift up thy head' – indicate his position.[12] The *Troades* features Hecuba lying on the ground as Poseidon describes the destruction of Troy, again later in the play during her own long speech, and again during a choral song. In *Hecuba*, we see her '*supine*' (which is not the same as prostrate, though still lowered) as she *'shrouds herself with her robes and lies on the ground with corpselike stillness*' (473sd).[13] The servant Talthybius enters later to look for her, and she is pointed out on the ground: 'there, on her back, / shut away

[11] Both lovesickness and mourning are bodily afflictions with physical symptoms as well as social performances, thus the behavioural signs (excessive weeping, sadness, insomnia, brooding or pale looks, preference for solitude, fasting, female hair in disarray) become open to interpretation, manipulation, and potential misreading. Polonius misreads Hamlet's 'sadness', 'fast', 'watch', 'weakness', 'lightness', and 'madness' as the symptoms of lovesickness, but these behaviours are also associated with mourning and, in Hamlet's case, all potentially part (or not) of his 'antic disposition' (2.2.146-49; 1.5.179). Tallis's *Love Sick* puts lovesickness back in the medical box: 'being in love produces a symptom profile that would ordinarily suggest significant psychiatric disturbance' (Frank Tallis, *Love Sick: Love as a Mental Illness* (London: Century, 2004), p. 54). (The introductory chapters tracing the history of love as a disease are useful, but findings of later chapters are based on questionable methodology, e.g. low divorce rates in Asian cultures as evidence these are more satisfactory marriages.) See also Marion Wells, *The Secret Wound: Love-Melancholy and Early Modern Romance* (Stanford UP, 2007); Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (OUP, 2008).

[12] *Herakleidai* 603-4, 630ff. English translation from The Athenian Society 2006 edition. Iolaus is an interesting case, however, as the Oxford editors translate the same lines as 'Boys, this is too much, / too much pain, I need to sit…', the Chorus as, 'Bear your burden. / Whatever the gods may send, do not falter' and the Servant's lines as 'Why are you sitting there, staring at the ground?' and 'Stand up, Lift your head' (*Complete Euripides,* vol. 3, eds. Peter Burian and Alan Shapiro (Oxford UP, 2009), 620-1, 641-2, 660-2). Shisler describes the action 'Iolaus…sinks helpless to the ground' and 'Iolaus…is led to a *ἕδρα* and lies there (cf. 633) in sorrow' (pp. 381-2). The 633 reference is to the servant's discovery of Iolaus. See Martin Cropp's article taking issue with Lesky's observation of an inconsistency between the implied lying down at 630ff versus 603-4 implying Iolaus be seated against the altar ('Herakleidai 603-4, 630ff and the Question of the Mutilation of the Text', *American Journal of Philology* 101.3 (1980), pp. 283-6). Cropp notes that *ἕδρα* (used in both 603 and 631) has two major meanings, one referring to the posture of someone seated or at rest, and the other a location where something or someone is at rest (from chair to eye socket), concluding: 'we are not obliged to infer by *ἕδρα* he means a *seated* posture' (p. 284). Greek translation and Greek drama both are far outside my area of expertise, but it is notable that other plays featuring men lying down have spawned critical debate over what precise posture is taken and for how long.

[13] There are no stage directions in Greek drama, thus anything marked off specifically as a direction is editorial.

inside her robes' (514-15) or 'See there, Talthybius, where on the cold ground / She prostrate lies, enwrapt in mourning weeds' in a 1749 edition.[14] The servant commands the queen: 'Stand. Lift yourself. / Lift up that white, white head' (528-9).[15] Drawing parallels between the extreme grief of two parents over the sacrifice and murder of their children leading to grisly revenge, Emrys Jones claims that *Hecuba* is a major source for *Titus Andronicus*.[16] (In *Hecuba*, Polynestor's two sons are killed as he watches, then his eyes are gouged out.)

The parallels are striking, whether the earlier play served as a direct structural model or the influence was filtered through the early modern proliferance of Hecuba as both icon of grief and a cautionary tale regarding the extremities of grief (Lucius warns in *Titus*: 'Extremity of griefs would make men mad; / And I have read that Hecuba of Troy / Ran mad through sorrow' (4.1.19-21)). But so too are parallels between these last two instances of prostrate or supine sorrow in Euripides and the plays in this chapter: royal figures brought low by grief, urged to stand repeatedly by those nearby, often servants or of lower social rank uncomfortable with this inversion of vertical power. Euripides also features formal supplication rituals: Iphigenia to Orestes in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (1067-71), and recalling supplicating her father (361-4); Iphigenia's supplication to her father is enacted in *Iphigenia at Aulis* (1216-17), shortly prior Clytemnestra has supplicated Achilles, saying 'I shall feel no shame in falling at your knees' (900).[17] These instances are not exactly prostration. Characters more frequently describe themselves on their knees, and the

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[14] *Complete Euripides*, vol. 1 (Oxford UP, 2010); *Hecuba, Translated from the Greek of Euripides, with Annotations Chiefly relating to Antiquity*, trans. Thomas Morell (London: n.p., 1749), p. 26. The two translations contradict: 'supine' (on her back) versus 'she prostrate lies' (the earliest uses of the word 'prostrate' fall under the specification 'typically with the face downwards' (*OED*, 1a) but figurative meanings do not specify position: 'Laid low in mind or spirit; submissive or abject; defeated or powerless' (*OED*, 2a)).

[15] Hecuba is a Renaissance schoolbook example of arousing emotions, as in Erasmus: 'Ovid…uses it with grace especially in arousing emotions, as in pity, in grief, in mourning; because grief and passion make people who have been abandoned also verbose. See for example the complaint of Hecuba' (*D. Erasmi Roterodami de Duplici Copia Verborum Ac Rerum* (London, 1573), sig. 9v, qtd. in T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), 2:193). Peele's hesitancy to write of her in his *Tale of Troy* speaks to the power of her pathos: 'My pen, forbear to write of Hecuba, / That made the glorious Sun his chariot stay, / And raining tears his golden face to hide, / For ruth of that did afterwards betide' (457-461) (*The Life and Minor Works of George Peele*, ed. David H. Horne (New Haven: Yale UP, 1952), pp. 183-202). See Tanya Pollard, 'What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?' for an overview of Hecuba in the early modern period (*Renaissance Quarterly* 65.4 (2012), pp. 1060-93), and Katharine Goodland on Hecuba and female grief, pp. 71-99.

[16] Emrys Jones, *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

[17] Euripides, *Bacchae and Other Plays,* trans. James Morwood, ed. Edith Hall (Oxford UP, 1999).

process consisted of touching some part of the body (chin or knees) of the person from whom they wanted to gain favour. However, some similar dynamics are at work here: the falling, lowered body position; the pressures arising from an urgent request. In the Oxford edition of Euripides, Edith Hall notes the way supplication 'puts the recipient under a religious obligation to accede to the suppliant's requests'.[18] Aspects of worship surface, as with Clytemnestra's 'I have no altar to take refuge at except your knees' (911-12).

While the source material for the David story is obviously the Bible, Peele was also possibly influenced by Euripides. As a student at Oxford, he translated a play on Iphigenia, presumed to be either one or both of Euripides' versions.[19] Jean Racine's much later 1674 version of the play, modelled on Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, features Achilles' line in response to Clytemnestra's supplication: 'Must a mother kneel and sue / To me for thee, a queen fall at my feet / Prostrate!' (5.6)[20] The line evokes Tamora's indignity in *Titus* as she vows to 'make them know / what 'tis to let a queen / Kneel in the streets and beg for grace in vain' (1.1.458). It is possible that Euripides prompted both, that the supplication rituals influenced Peele's representations in both *David and Bethsabe* and *Titus Andronicus*.[21] Peele's English translation is lost, so the line of influence cannot be definitively drawn. Rather, I have presented here a cluster of classical models in the forms of both prostration and supplication, with tantalising possibilities for more direct influences.

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[18] 'Introduction', *Bacchae and Other Plays*, pp. ix-xxxix; xxxv.

[19] Arthur F. Kinney says both: '[Peele] translated Euripides' *Iphigenia* plays from Greek' ('John Lyly and the University Wits' in *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Contemporary Dramatists,* ed. Ton Hoenselaars (Cambridge UP, 2012) pp. 1-18; 7). The *British Drama Catalogue* is sure about Euripides, but not which one: 'the central, indeterminable issue is which of Euripides' two *Iphigenia* plays Peele translated', concluding on balance it seems likelier the play was *Aulis* since Gager avoids calling the translation tragic (*British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue* vol. 2, eds. Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson (Oxford UP, 2012), p. 305). Charles Whitworth agrees: 'Peele's first effort at dramatic writing...[was] a translation of one of Euripides' *Iphigenia* plays' ('Introduction', *The Old Wife's Tale* (London: Methuen, 1996), pp. xiii-xxxix; xiv). David Bevington is less sure: 'By the time he finished his undergraduate study, Peele had translated a play, now lost, on Iphigenia – perhaps Euripides' tragedy on that subject' ('Introduction', *George Peele* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. xi-xxix; xi). David H. Horne says, 'one of the Iphigenia plays of Euripides...[p]ossibly Iphigenia in Aulis' ('The Life of George Peele' in *Life and Minor Works,* pp. 3-131; 42).The primary piece of evidence is William Gager's praise on Peele's 'primis...coeptis' (first efforts) (qtd. in *Life*, pp. 37-8). (Both commendatory verses are reprinted in *Life and Minor Works*, pp. 43-5).

[20] *Iphigenia,* trans. Robert Bruce Boswell (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1897). An alternative translation: 'A mother thinks she has to plead for you. / A Queen low at my feet prostrates herself' (Jean Racine, *Iphigenia,* trans. John Cairncross (London: Penguin, 1963; reprint 1973), 951-2).

[21] I discuss the authorship question at greater length below, endorsing the view that Peele wrote 1.1, where these lines from Tamora occur.

Peele's direct source, the Bible, provides numerous examples of lying prostrate in both worship and prayer.[22] Moses and Aaron fall face down before the Lord appears and provides water for the thirsty Israelites:

> And Moyses and Aaron went from the presence of the congregation, unto the doore of the tabernacle of the congregation, and fel upon their faces, and the glorie of the Lorde appeared unto them. (Numbers 20:6)

Jehoshaphat, the king, leads his people in prayer, and the Lord delivers them from hostile invaders:

> And Iehosaphat bowed his face to the earth, and all Iuda and the inhabiters of Jierusalem fel before the Lord, worshipping the Lorde. (2 Chronicles 20:18)

In the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus falls before his father to beg for his own deliverance:

> And he went a litle farther, and fell flat on his face, and prayed, saying: O my father, if it be possible, let this cuppe passe from me: Neverthelesse, not as I wyll, but as thou wylt. (Matthew 26:39)

These examples all share an important component with David's and Titus's prostrations: those throwing themselves before a merciful God believe in the possibility (however slim) of that mercy.

Rabbi Mordecai Joseph cautions against 'falling upon one's face' in prayer and supplication, warning that biblical examples of Moses and Aaron so doing were permissible only because 'they were certain that by this means God would answer their prayers'.[23] He cites a Talmudic ruling that 'an important person is not permitted to fall upon his face [in prayer] unless he knows that he will be answered'.[24] For Don Seeman, this Talmudic context implies that 'the warning against prostration protects important

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[22] Three scholars have attempted to determine which version of the Bible Peele used. Bruno Neitzel concluded that it was impossible to determine which version or versions Peel relied on, while Arthur Sampley settled on a combination of the Bishop's Bible and an edition of the Vulgate (Bruno Neitzel, *George Peele's* David and Bethsabe, (Halle, 1904); Arthur M. Sampley, 'The Version of the Bible Used by Peele in the Composition of *David and Bethsabe*', *Studies in English* 8 (1928), pp. 79-87). Elmer Blistein compared verbal parallels in six sixteenth-century Bible editions: Coverdale, Matthew's, Taverner's, Great, Bishops' and Geneva. He finds the greatest number of parallels in the Bishops' Bible, followed by the Geneva Bible, but cannot rule out other versions due to high occurrences of identical wording or significant unique parallels. Blistein seems to conclude along with Neitzel: 'Peele's source was the Bible rather than any particular version of the Bible' (p. 147). Later in the introduction, Blistein speculates 'because of availability and the number of verbal parallels, it seems likely that Peele's source was either the Bishops' Bible or the Great Bible' (p. 152). In this chapter, I have consulted both the Bishops' and Geneva versions and quote from the Bishops' Bible unless otherwise indicated.

[23] *Mei Ha-Shiloah* II, *Behar* (Golhaber and Spiegleman, 1995), p. 87 qtd. in Seeman, p. 271.

[24] Ibid., p. 27 qtd. in Seeman, p. 277.

personages from ridicule in case their fervent prayers are left unanswered'.[25] Despite the differing outcomes, both David and Titus believe or hope their prayers will be answered. There is a way out, a place beyond their current predicament. To lie down on the earth, that 'roof of graves', is at once to come close to despair and death and to feel the barrier of separation.[26] As the kippah marks a line between human and divine, the crust of the earth divides the living from the dead. Pressing the living body against that divider can be read as an attempt to kindle hope from the mud of despair, even if the plea for help is denied or ignored. Kings and generals take this position when they think they will be seen and heard.

'And all the dead lie down': Staging Prostration[27]

Lying down might look like giving up, but the movement holds theatrical power. The seeming powerlessness encoded in a gesture often associated with abjection functions in a much more complex way in the theatre. Lying down on the boards draws attention to the horizontal plane of the stage, emphasising the role of the body in the performance of emotion. There is a kinetic power here in the way this vertical downward motion (ending in a horizontal position) draws the eyes of spectators to the performer's body, commanding the direction of the audience's gaze downwards. Even when the gesture is expressing diegetic powerlessness, the performance of the gesture demands attention.

This still of Slate Holmgen as Henriquez from the Classic Stage Company's production of *Double Falsehood* reveals the way lying down on stage can be intensely

[25] Seeman, pp. 276-7.
[26] *Sir Thomas More*, 13.3.
[27] Emily Dickinson, 'It was not Death, for I stood up' (1872), *Oxford Book of American Poetry*, ed. David Lehman (Oxford UP, 2006), p. 172.

powerful. Holmgren's body position also shows one possibility for delivering lines from this position.[28]



Slate Holmgren as Henriquez in the Classic Stage Company's 2011 *Double Falsehood*. Photo credit Joan Marcus.

This chapter complicates the denotation of prostration as abjection, adding to the downwards physical motion the upward directionality of the accompanying prayer, and taking seriously the powerful pull on spectators' attention. Something is gained by falling. Before turning to the specific instances in *Titus* and *David and Bethsabe*, this section explores the potency of the action at work in other examples from Renaissance drama.

In his Introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, Jonathan Bate states simply that '[l]ying on the ground serves as physical embodiment of a character's low fortune'.[29] Other instances of characters lying down for extended periods of time in Renaissance plays tend to be emotionally wrought death scenes, such as the ones featured in *Romeo and Juliet*; *Anthony and Cleopatra*; *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, or parodies of such death scenes, as in *A Midsummer*

[28] Emma Smith critiques the use of production images in the way they 'freeze dynamic moments of interaction into two-dimensional form, often cropping areas of "empty" theatrical space to focus on a tightly framed character' ('"Freezing the Snowman": (How) Can We Do Performance Criticism?' in *How To Do Things With Shakespeare,* ed. Laurie Maguire (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 280-97; 289). I appreciate this caution, and this image might be particularly problematic in the way the bulging veins may not be seen by the majority of the spectators. I nevertheless include it as I imagine the strength of his posture to be evident from further away. '[I]dealized, cinematically framed fantasy' it may be, but the fantasy here seems usefully illustrative (Ibid.).

[29] Bate, 'Introduction', p. 86.

Night's Dream. In Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, prostration depicts mourning as Antonio adopts Mellida's grating as his tomb:

> ANTONIO Behold a prostrate wretch laid on his tomb;
> His epitaph thus: *Ne plus ultra*. Ho!
> Let none out-woe me; mine's Herculean woe. (2.2.132-4)[30]

However, as is typical with Marston, the gesture is undercut by irony, expressing Antonio's self-absorption in the attempt to perform Herculean heroic passion. In contrast to the sense of helplessness in the face of extreme sorrow in the classical drama, and later parodies of this woe, the two moments of prostrate mourning in *Titus* and *David and Bethsabe* are marked both by grief and a sense of hope.

Investigating the various dimensions of the gesture requires an important initial distinction: what is the difference, symbolically and theatrically, between lying down and kneeling? Several examples from Shakespeare seem to mingle prostration and kneeling. In *2 Henry IV*, Prince Henry *kneels* according to the stage direction, but describes himself: 'Let me no more from this obedience rise, / Which my most inward true and duteous spirit / Teacheth this prostrate and exterior bending' (4.5.139-49). In *Edward III*, the King demands a penance where six of the wealthiest merchants of Calais '[c]ome naked, all but for their linen shirts…And prostrate yield themselves, upon their knees,' (4.2.75, 77). *Julius Caesar* features a servant '*kneeling*' before Brutus: 'Thus, Brutus, did my master bid me kneel; / Thus did Mark Antony bid me fall down; / And, being prostrate, thus he bade me say…' (3.1.123-5). Do 'prostrate' and 'fall down' here describe the act of kneeling, emphasising the motion verbally through hendiatris? Or are they two or three physically different positions? In this particular example, if the speech indicates two physically separate motions, taking these directions literally means the servant acts out both and delivers the following ten lines as Mark Antony's mouthpiece from a horizontal position onstage. Taking into account the difficulty of performing and projecting lines from this flat position, prostrate could still be meant separately from kneeling, but becomes an abstract, imagined

[30] John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge*, ed. by Keith Sturgess (Oxford UP, 1997).

projection forward of the already-humbling gesture of kneeling rather than a literal description of the actor's body position.

Other examples are more clear-cut. In *1 Henry VI* after Joan la Pucelle and Charles '*fight*' and Joan '*overcomes*', many productions emphasize the erotic undertones of their tussle with Joan sitting astride the fallen Charles, who asks, 'Meantime, look gracious on thy prostrate thrall' (*1HVI* 1.2.117). In *2 Henry VI* Bolingbroke instructs, 'Mother Jourdain, be you prostrate and grovel on the earth' (1.4.10).[31] Stage directions in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* distinguish between prostration and kneeling twice: '*They prostrate themselves, then kneel before the altar of Mars*' (5.1.49.1-2); '*Here they prostrate themselves, then kneel as formerly to the altar of Venus*' (5.1.77.1-2).[32]

While some examples blur the distinction, we do see characters lying down on stage, sometimes for extended periods. Freezing that moment temporarily, deleting preceding and subsequent contexts, and focusing exclusively on that prone body, what are the possibilities for this figure? An instinctual assumption about a still body on the ground is death.[33] '*Falls*' is used to indicate death in multiple stage directions from '*Tibalt falles* [sic]' to '*a sword, as thrust through his face, he falls*'.[34] The character might also be sleeping, may have just fainted, fallen into a trance (as the Folio direction indicates for Othello), tripped over something, or fallen down drunk (in *A Chaste Maid*, a drunk Puritan '*reels and falls*') (3.2.171sd). They could be pretending to be dead, as Chapter 4 investigates more extensively. There is also the obvious sexual possibility. Lovell's ribald account of the gallants' 'conditions…got in France' includes his assessment, 'The sly whoresons / Have got a

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[31] In *The First Part of the Contention*, Jordan says she will do the conjuring 'all prostrate on my face,' with the subsequent stage direction '*She lies downe upon her face*' ((London, 1600), sig. B4v).
[32] Both examples are from scenes attributed to Shakespeare rather than Fletcher (*Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 1279; *Riverside Shakespeare*, p. 1640).
[33] Hence the popularity of "die ins" as a means of protest, where activists lie down in a public space to represent those already dead. Amnesty International used this method as a protest against the death penalty in their 2009 campaign. Thousands of cyclists lay in a London street in November 2013 to protest dangerous traffic conditions and to hold vigil for six cyclists killed that month.
[34] *Romeo and Juliet* Q1, (London, 1597), sig. F2r; *Caesar and Pompey*, 4.3.0 (in *The Plays of George Chapman: The Tragedies,* ed. Thomas L. Berger and Dennis G. Donovan (Bury St. Edmunds: D.S. Brewer, 1987). See *A Dictionary of Stage Directions* for other instances of falling down dead, drunk, asleep, and fainting (Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson (Cambridge UP, 1999), p. 88). Kenneth W. Heaton lists 18 instances of characters in Shakespeare fainting due to strong emotion, four of which occur offstage ('Faints, fits, and fatalities from emotion in Shakespeare's characters: survey of the canon', *British Medical Journal* 333.7582 (2006), pp. 1334-8; 1336.

speeding trick to lay down ladies' (*Henry VIII* 1.3.39). Angelo threatens Isabella, 'You must lay down the treasures of your body' (2.4.96). Glendower 'translates' Kate's '*Welsh*': 'She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down, / And rest your gentle head upon her lap' (*1H4* 3.1.207-8). Hotspur follows up, 'Come, Kate, thou art perfect in lying down / Come, quick, quick, that I may lay my head in thy lap' (3.1.221). Lastly, Don Pedro's memorable image when teasing the lovesick Benedick – 'She shall be buried with her face upwards' – mingles the positions of sex and death (*Much Ado* 3.2.63). The action prompts immediate cognitive investigation from spectators: is he dead? Wounded? Will he get up again? Will they lie down together? Has she fainted due to terror or swooned due to love? Who will fall next, or who will help the fallen up? The gesture commands the gaze and demands this interrogation in performance, sometimes momentarily, sometimes for an extended period.

Lying down differs from kneeling in several crucial respects. The potential significations (as listed above) vary considerably. There is overlap in the mode of supplication, but many more reasons to lie down than to kneel. Both gestures carry the freight of multiple possibilities and connotations; both are a form of physical lowering. Unlike the transitory motion of kneeling, lying down can be the end, carrying with it that note of finality, literally drawing a line with the body.

'I tell my sorrows to the stones': Prostration in *Titus Andronicus*

Turning to the two plays in question, we see two markedly different scenes of prostration. In one, the fallen general is alone, begging for mercy from figures already walking away. In the other, the king draws his followers down with him to 'mourn' – to ask for the inevitable not to happen.

Titus pleads with the tribunes as they drag his bound sons to the place of execution. He begins with a list of reasons why they should '[b]e pitiful', repeating 'for' four times:

> For pity of mine age, whose youth was spent
> In dangerous wars whilst you securely slept;

> For all my blood in Rome's great quarrel shed,
> For all the frosty nights that I have watched,
> And for these bitter tears which now you see
> Filling the aged wrinkles in my cheeks. (3.1.2-7)

He asserts himself a stoic, reminding them (and the audience) with a rhetorically variant repetition of 'for': 'For two-and-twenty sons I never wept / Because they died in honour's lofty bed' (3.1.10-11). As if to demonstrate the true depth of his feeling '[f]or these two', the stage direction '*Andronicus lieth down, and the Judges pass by him*' comes in between the twenty-two unwept sons and the two that bring Titus to prostrate himself on the stones. Left alone on the stage, Titus's grief turns him into a force of nature. In his metaphor, he becomes the rain, unchanging in each season:

> O earth, I will befriend thee more with rain
> That shall distil from these two ancient ruins
> Than youthful April shall with all his showers.
> In summer's drought I'll drop upon thee still;
> In winter with warm tears I'll melt the snow
> And keep eternal springtime on thy face,
> So thou refuse to drink my dear sons' blood. (3.1.16-22)

Beginning by directing attention to the ground, 'O earth', Titus remains lying down for these lines. Jonathan Bate's Arden edition keeps him down throughout his subsequent exchange with Lucius until line 52. The more common editorial choice (Bevington, Alexander, Riverside, RSC, Oxford) has Titus rise after line 47, just before his question, 'But wherefore stand'st thou with thy weapon drawn?' (3.1.48). In either scenario, Titus must deliver both the 'O earth' speech, part of his conversation with Lucius, and his longer speech (15 lines) explaining why he tells his 'sorrows to the stones' from a low position on the stage. Alan Dessen's account of *Titus Andronicus* in performance notes that the majority of productions make significant cuts to this speech, but Dessen does not offer the prostrate position as a reason.[35]

After the tribunes have silently left the stage, Titus continues to address them, 'O reverend tribunes, O gentle aged men, / Unbind my sons, reverse the doom of death' (3.1.23-4). Lucius must tell him, 'O noble father, you lament in vain: / The tribunes hear you not, no man is by, / And you recount your sorrows to a stone' (3.1.27-9). Titus acknowledges

[35] Alan C. Dessen, *Shakespeare in Performance: Titus Andronicus* (Manchester UP, 1989), p. 55.

Lucius, 'Ah Lucius, for thy brothers let me plead,' and returns to his plea: 'Grave tribunes, once more I entreat of you–' (3.1.30-31), only to be cut off by Lucius again, 'My gracious lord, no tribune hears you speak' (3.1.32). Lucius reads Titus's gesture and entreaties as supplication to a governing power, as a subject might kneel to a king to beg for mercy. Lucius's carefully decorous forms of address – 'O noble father', 'My gracious lord' – betray the stark stage picture, Lucius above '*with his weapon drawn*', standing, young, active; Titus below, prone, old, weeping.[36] Lucius seems to feel such extra deference is necessary to preserve his lowered father's nobility and graciousness. Titus defends his posture and his practice, pointing out that ''tis no matter' if the tribunes did hear, as they would not show pity. Titus replaces the objects of supplication with co-mourners:

> Therefore I tell my sorrows to the stones,
> Who, though they cannot answer my distress,
> Yet in some sort they are better than the tribunes
> For that they will not intercept my tale.
> When I do weep, they humbly at my feet
> Receive my tears and seem to weep with me. (3.1.37-42)

The stones share his sadness, performing the function of condolence (from the Latin condolere, to be sorrowful with) rather than consolation (the urging out of sorrow).[37] Titus uses the plural 'stones' against Lucius's 'you recount your sorrows to a stone' (3.1.35, 29). He rises moments before Marcus enters with the mutilated Lavinia. At this sight, which Marcus introduces as 'consuming sorrow', Lucius falls, exclaiming, 'Ay me, this object kills me', while Titus remains standing (3.1.61, 65). Unlike the direction for Titus ('*lieth downe*' in Q1 (E3r); '*lyeth downe*' in F (dd2v/p.40)), the direction for Lucius '*falling to his knees*' does not appear in Q1 (1594), Q2 (1600), Q3 (1611) or F (1623). Instead, modern editors insert the action based on Titus's next line: 'Faint-hearted boy, arise, and look upon her' (3.1.66). Falling down is often indicated only by the subsequent direction to rise. In many plays, as Dessen and Thomson point out in their *Dictionary of Stage Directions*, 'rise is a signal for a figure to rise from kneeling, sitting or lying, although the originating position is rarely provided in

[36] Lucius clearly retains the position in which he enters, as Titus asks him after twenty-five lines, 'But wherefore stand'st thou with thy weapon drawn?' (3.1.48).
[37] Pigman makes this distinction with regard to letters of consolation vs. condolence, p. 12.

the direction,' making it unclear when the character began the action.[38] Lucius's description of the sight that 'kills' him suggests he mirrors Titus's previous pose. Titus's instruction to 'look upon her' may be a command to study or pay attention to Lavinia, or could be further evidence for Lucius being prostrate and thus unable to see Lavinia, as he would be able to see her from a kneeling position.

Marcus's closing lines in the preceding scene anticipate the blinding potential of this encounter:

> For such a sight will blind a father's eye.
> One hour's storm will drown the fragrant meads:
> What will whole months of tears thy father's eyes? (2.3.53-55)

Lucius falls, possibly to his knees, possibly further, at the sight of his sister, but Titus, having just arisen, cannot repeat the earlier gesture so soon without detracting from the power of the first iteration. He explains the problem: 'My grief was at the height before thou cam'st / And now like Nilus it disdaineth bounds' (3.1.71-2). If his body is the container, Titus has burst the bodily limits of expressing grief. Now he can only offer a crude mirror of Lavinia's pain: 'Give me a sword, I'll chop off my hands too' (3.1.73), cutting off the most expressive bodily appendage for an actor.[39] Titus later points out this performative difficulty: 'Thy niece and I, poor creatures, want our hands / And cannot passionate our tenfold grief / With folded arms' (3.2.5-7).

Performing grief through traditional mourning semiotics is similarly cut off. Alexander Leggatt describes the difficulty of staving off comedy as the tragedy accumulates. He finds that the chief challenge of producing the play is preventing the audience from laughing as a deluge of misfortunes makes unrealistic demands on an actor

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[38] p. 182.

[39] Gillian Murray Kendall uses this moment to argue that in this play, the severed limbs reveal the artificiality and grotesque nature of synecdoche, figures of speech turning into nightmares into which character awaken: 'in this text, to lend one's hand is to risk dismemberment' (p. 299). '"Lend me thy Hand": Metaphor and Mayhem in *Titus Andronicus*', *SQ*, 40.3 (1989), pp. 299-316. Katherine Rowe argues that Titus's severed hand is 'part of a fetishizing tradition that makes the capacity for effective action contingent on disability', turning to Galenic theory and emblem books to situate the hand in the Renaissance tradition of manual semiotics in 'Dismembering and Forgetting in *Titus Andronicus*,' *SQ*, 45.3 (1994), pp. 279-303; 280.

to draw on a seemingly endless reservoir of emotional expression.[40] The difficulty is illustrated when Titus breaks into laughter in the following scene at the sight of his sons' heads, a response that baffles those around him. He explains that he laughs because 'I have not another tear to shed' (3.1.267). This play pushes the expression of mourning to its limits, piling gore upon gore, offering laughter as one potential response to the accumulation of horrors.[41] This possibility is staged as Titus's last resort after all his tears are shed, but the play also offers audiences this possibility by interspersing scenes of dark comedy between the acts of violence. Titus's request to Lavinia after his own hand has been cut off – 'Bear thou my hand, sweet wench, between thy teeth' – often incites relieved if uncomfortable laughs from a theatre audience (3.1.281).[42] The comedy also serves as an experiential equivalent of the Chorus in Greek tragedy, offering the audience breathing space in between tense scenes.

'*[G]oing before, pleading*': Prostration As Supplication

For Titus, lying down begins as a gesture of supplication to the tribunes. He draws the gaze to the horizontal plane of the stage, as do the Judges as they '*pass by him*' across the shallow Rose stage. But his posture soon becomes something more: his body brought low by his 'grief…at the height', a demonstration of performing mourning that the initially incredulous Lucius adopts moments later, an attempt to find condolence from the stones. Titus misreads his own tears on the stones as the stones 'seem[ing] to weep with' him (3.1.41). He misrepresents stone as 'soft as wax' compared to 'tribunes more hard than

[40] Philip C. Kolin, '*Titus Andronicus* and the Critical Legacy' in *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland, 1995), qtd. p. 15.
[41] At a recent Globe revival of Lucy Bailey's 2006 production, there were multiple reports of theatregoers fainting and feeling sick. In one performance, five people fainted after seeing Lavinia mutilated (Hannah Furness, 'Globe audience faints at "grotesquely violent" Titus Andronicus,' *The Telegraph,* 30 April 2014).
[42] Jonathan Bate connects the scene in which Chiron and Demetrius joke about Lavinia's rape to the Porter scene in *Macbeth*, the comedy 'a simultaneous heightening and release of tension in the audience', but acknowledges the cultural gap between Shakespeare's time and ours that makes laughing at and taunting a rape victim taboo for modern audiences ('Introduction', pp. 10-11).

stones', finding comfort that the 'stone is silent and offendeth not, / And tribunes with their tongues doom men to death' (3.1.44, 45-6). Christina Luckyj also notes Titus's mistakes here, that 'stones are not soft' but more crucially, that 'the speech's context further deconstructs Titus's reading: the immediate, visible source of power is not words, but the *silence* of the tribunes as they pass over the stage deaf and resistant to Titus's pleas' – they doom men to death not with their tongues, but specifically by not speaking.[43] Titus is wrong about the stones and wrong about silence being comforting, but contrasting Titus's fallen moment to Lucius's reveals a purpose to his action. The opening stage direction for this begins, '*Enter the Judges, Tribunes, and Senators with Titus' two sons, Martius and Quintus, bound, passing over the stage to the place of execution*' and ends with '*and Titus going before, pleading*' (3.1.0.1-4). Critically for my argument that his prostration is strategic he goes '*before*' – before them in the physical sense of appearing before a court, but also chronologically, before the deaths of his sons. Unlike Lucius, who falls in shock at the sight of Lavinia, Titus lies down on stage when he believes gesture can achieve something: first, the last minute plea to the tribunes; then his own written record – 'in the dust I write / My heart's deep languor and my soul's sad tears' (3.1.12-13) – as Lavinia will later write the names of her tormentors and their crime in the dust; then his futile attempt to seek co-mourners. He realises his error. A play in which condolence is sought for in stones reveals the impossibility of any such comfort in Titus's Rome. Titus stays upright at the sight of his mutilated daughter, realising he is alone and exposed: 'I stand as one upon a rock, / Environed with a wilderness of sea' (3.1.94-5). While he does acknowledge the presence of those around him, 'Here stands my other son, a banished man, / And here my brother, weeping at my woes' as well as 'that which gives my soul the greatest spurn / ...dear Lavinia' (3.1.100-4), Titus ultimately and accurately concludes: 'O, what a sympathy of woe is this; / As far from help as limbo is from bliss' (3.1.149-150). In this play, shared sorrow does not bring solace. Titus illustrates this with the image of the sodden handkerchief: 'Marcus, brother, well I wot / Thy napkin

[43] *'A Moving Rhetoricke': Gender and Silence in Early Modern England* (Manchester UP, 2002), p. 94. For Luckyj, this is an example of a 'hermeneutics of silence' separate from Lavinia's silence, which 'exposes the limits of masculine rhetorical culture, its dramatic excesses visibly undermining the humanist rhetoric of eloquent silence' (p. 94). But Titus's dramatic excesses – in gesture, in weeping, and ultimately his excessive revenge - also undermine this rhetoric of silence.

cannot drink a tear of mine, / For thou, poor man, hast drowned it with thine own' (3.1.111). As traumas accumulate, characters become so saturated with their individual grief they are unable to provide comfort. A gesture of supplication inherently holds some hope, a prayer upwards, a request for intervention from a higher power. In *Titus Andronicus*, the answer to this prayer is silence.

'*Enter Tamora pleadinge*': A Sketch of Kneeling in *Titus Andronicus*[44]

Titus's pleading has been compared to Tamora's kneeling in the opening scene, when she begs Titus:

> Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods?
> Draw near them then in being merciful.
> Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge:
> Thrice noble Titus, spare my first-born son. (1.1.120-23)

Titus does not grant her the mercy she frames as noble and divine, but unlike the silent tribunes he does explain, 'Religiously they [the Goths] ask a sacrifice. / To this your son is marked, and die he must, / T'appease their groaning shadows that are gone' (1.1.127-9). The opening scene is punctured repeatedly by death: Titus enters in a funeral march, following '*a coffin covered with black*' (1.1.72.2); the tomb is opened for the sons slain in the war, the coffin laid inside after Alarbus is sacrificed offstage; Titus kills his own son onstage and fierce debate ensues over how to bury him. All of these instances open the play not only with different forms of death (war dead, revenge sacrifice, impulsive murder), but also with an accompanying and intense concern over the debt of the living to the dead. Titus chides himself at the end of his long opening speech, 'Why suffer'st thou thy sons unburied yet / To hover on the dreadful shore of Styx?' (1.1.90-1); Lavinia offers, 'Lo, at this tomb my tributary tears / I render for my brethren's obsequies' (1.1.162-3); Marcus's final, successful plea for Titus to allow Mutius to be buried in the family tomb reminds him, 'Thou art a Roman, be not barbarous. / The Greeks upon advice did bury Ajax' (1.1.383-4). Tamora's

[44] This stage direction – '*Enter Tamora pleadinge for her sonnes going to execution*' is written underneath the Peacham drawing of Tamora kneeling, and does not appear in any known text of the play.

request for mercy asks Titus to ignore the context of tributes to the dead. When Lucius demands her son for sacrifice, he warns of potential consequences for not performing this rite: 'That so the shadows be not unappeased, / Nor we disturbed with prodigies on earth' (1.1.103-4).

The silence of the judges might thus be filled with Titus's earlier response to a lowered, begging parent: this sacrifice is necessary '[t]'appease their groaning shadows that are gone'. Indeed, linking the two might lead us to conclude, with Douglas Green, that Tamora's 'maternal plea for mercy is understandable, moving, and just' and therefore she has 'as much cause for vengeance as has Titus'.[45] Similar causes, perhaps, but rather different effects: Titus taking Tamora's kneeling one step further deflects attention from the similar positions, makes his grief and his commitment to saving his sons seem greater.

Tracing the kneeling in the play we see a concentration in the first scene:

1) Tamora unsuccessfully begs Titus to spare her son's life (1.1.107).



'The Peacham drawing', attributed to Henry Peacham. © The Marquess of Bath, Longleat.[46]

2) Lavinia kneels 'with tears of joy' at Titus's feet upon his return (1.1.164).

3) Marcus and Titus's sons kneel to plead successfully for Mutius's burial (1.1.374.1).

[45] 'Interpreting "Her Martyr'd Signs": Gender and Tragedy in *Titus Andronicus*', *SQ* 40.3 (1989), pp. 317-26; 321.

[46] The Peacham drawing illustrates elements of this scene as 'a composite representation', to use Bate's phrase. (See Richard Levin, 'The Longleat Manuscript and Titus Andronicus', *SQ* 53.3 (2002), pp. 323-40 for a summary of June Schuleter's case against connecting the drawing with this play as well as various refutations of her claims from Waith, Metz, and Bate.)

4) Marcus, the same sons (and possibly Titus) kneel to say a sort of funeral blessing for Mutius (1.1.393.1).[47]
5) Titus kneels to Saturnine and Tamora, seemingly successful in his request for pardon (but Tamora's aside reveals the forgiveness is merely dissembled so she might make Titus and his sons 'know what 'tis to let a queen / Kneel in the streets and beg for grace in vain') (1.1.430, 459-60).
6) Titus's sons, Lavinia, and possibly Bassianus and Marcus kneel at Tamora's direction, 'By my advice, all humbled on your knees, / You shall ask pardon of his majesty' (1.1.477-8), a pardon once again 'won' but only as part of Tamora's machinations.
7) Lavinia likely kneels to beg Tamora to save her from Chiron and Demetrius, clutching at Tamora as indicated by Tamora's, 'What begg'st thou then, fond woman? Let me go' (2.2.172).
8) Before the prostration scene, Titus kneels to Saturninus to unsuccessfully beg mercy for his sons (2.2.288).
9) Lucius either kneels or lies down after Titus's prostration (3.1.65).
10) Titus and Lavinia kneel together in prayer after Titus has sent his severed hand with Aaron, thinking he can save his sons with this sacrifice (3.1.208).
11) Marcus instructs his son, Lavinia, and Titus to kneel along with him to swear revenge (4.1.87-88).

Crucially, kneeling only succeeds once in this list as a form of supplication, when Titus relents to allow Mutius's burial. Every other time a character kneels to beg for something, they are either denied outright or the seeming acquiescence is a trick. Jonathan Bate suggests of the Peacham sketch,

> what is most telling about the illustration is its emblematic quality, which exactly fits the way in which the characters in the play so often seen to become emblems,

[47] Q1 states '*they all kneele and say*', which would include Titus, but most editors exclude him based on his disgruntled concession to the burial three lines earlier (Oxford 2008, Arden 1995). Bate references the Warner production where Titus participated but spoke more slowly so his words emerged as a 'hollow echo' (1.1.394n).

> to be frozen into postures that are the very picture of supplication, grief or violent revenge.[48]

The sketch shows Tamora's kneeling supplication also incorporating her hands clasped in prayer, mingling gestures associated with worship as part of her plea. Characters do freeze into emblems at particular moments of the play, as Bate suggests, but the postures are not frozen into one meaning. The kneeling gesture morphs from pleading to curtailed mourning ritual to underscoring the vow of vengeance. Mapping this story onto the body allows for connections like Alan Dessen's observation that Tamora's hands joined in prayer are 'rejected in favour of lopping limbs'.[49] The story of the gesture tells the story of the play: denied supplications and maimed mourning leave only revenge.

Titus's prostration differentiates this moment not only from his own gestures but also from the use and abuse of kneeling by other characters. His position is strategic in the sense that he humbles himself with purpose, negotiating, as though by bringing himself physically low he can regain some agency. Marcus's final lines offer an extreme form of prostration on the stones in a similar tactic, promising that if the Romans find the family has 'done aught amiss…The poor remainder of Andronici / Will hand in hand all headlong hurl ourselves / And on the ragged stones beat forth our souls / And make a mutual closure of our house' (5.3.128, 130-34). That Marcus delivers these lines from '*aloft*' indicates how far the Andronici are willing to fall in a bid to regain power. Where Titus fails, Marcus succeeds, perhaps because the gesture is projected, only imagined, whereas an actual performance engenders profound discomfort at the perceived desperation of the act, particularly when the frantic bargaining fails. The success may also depend on the united front, the Andronici here 'hand in hand', aligned in their performance, far from Titus's 'stand as one'.

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[48] 'Introduction', p. 43.
[49] *Shakespeare in Performance*, p. 86.

'[A]ll mourning': '[W]hat a sympathy of woe is this'

In contrast to the lonely Titus with his stones, Peele's *David and Bethsabe* presents a striking scene where the ruler lies down and his followers join him. The play is based on 2 Samuel 6-14, with the addition of Solomon's succession from 1 Kings 1 as the final scene.[50] Three main plots intertwine: a romance; a rape and subsequent revenge; and a rebellion against David. The line of succession is settled in the midst of this rebellion. A brief summary of Peele's version: David sees Bethsabe bathing, seduces her, and sends her husband Uriah to the front lines of the war to get rid of him. They have a baby out of wedlock; the baby is born ill and soon dies. They marry and have another son, Solomon. Another of David's children, Ammon, rapes his own sister Thamar. She tells their brother, Absalon, who vows revenge. When Absalon finds David's reaction to the crime insufficient, he kills Ammon and launches a rebellion against his father. Absalon dies hanged by his much-lauded golden hair. The crown will pass to Solomon on David's death.

In the scene where David entreats his followers Ithay, Sadoc, Ahimaas, Jonathan, and others to mourn with him, his entering stage direction includes key markers of mourning: '*David barefoot, with some lo[o]se covering over his head, and all mourning*' (972sd). To be barefoot on stage indicates a plea for mercy in *Edward III* when six citizens appear '*in their Shirts, barefoot, with halters about their necks*', and the performance of public penance as with Elinor, '*barefoot, in a white sheet'* (5.1.7sd; 2.4.16sd). David's request, 'Weepe with me then ye sonnes of Israel' and the subsequent direction '*lies downe, and all the rest after him*' give the scene a sense of ritual and community (991; 991sd). He has entered dressed for the part, and all take their positions with him as he asks, 'Lie downe with David, and with David mourne' (992). But what or whom exactly is the object of this remarkable display?

The time is out of joint for mourning: the deaths of Ammon and the babe are in the past and the death of Absalon is yet to come. Instead, David seems to be excruciatingly aware at this moment of his own complicity in bringing them all so low. His speech circles

[50] For a summary of Peele's changes to the biblical narrative, see Werner Senn, *Studies in the Dramatic Construction of Robert Greene and George Peele* (Basel: A. Francke AG Verlag Bern, 1973), esp. pp. 64-7.

around 'lust' – Absalon's desire for the crown, but also David's own lust for Bethsabe and Ammon's gluttonous lust for Thamar:

> Proud lust the bloudiest traitor to our soules,
> Whose greedie throte, nor earth, aire, sea, or heaven,
> Can glut or satisfie with any store,
> Thou art the cause these torments sucke my bloud,
> Piercing with venome of thy poysoned eies,
> The strength and marrow of my tainted bones. (973-78)

Piercing eyes and tainted bones return us to David and Bethsabe's opening exchanges of lyrical love poetry. Taking the cue to look back from David's language in this scene of prostration, the opening scene requires examination before we return to this group of prostrate mourners.

'*David sits above vewing her*': Discovering Sin

Like *Titus Andronicus*, *David and Bethsabe* opens with a split-level scene, Bethsabe below, bathing and David above, watching. This scene shows not only the linguistic parallels indicating this initial sin as the cause of later mourning, but also the visual structuring of power: David above, Bethsabe below. The opening lines of the play belong to Bethsabe's song:

> Hot sunne, coole fire, temperd with sweet aire,
> Black shade, fair nurse, shadow my white haire.
> Shine sun, burne fire, breathe aire, and ease mee,
> Black shade, fair nurse, shroud me and please me. (24-27)

The anaphora linking the second and fourth lines – 'Black shade, fair nurse' the repeated invocation – not only gives the song an incantatory rhythm but also exposes the changes from 'Hot sunne, coole fire' to 'Shine sun, burne fire'. Descriptors morph into commands as Bethsabe enfolds herself in the safety of the shade to enjoy the 'sweet aire'; a few lines later she also commands the wind, 'Come gentle Zephire trickt with those perfumes / that erst in Eden sweetned Adams love, / And stroke my bosome with thy silken fan' (34-36). Inga-Stina Ekeblad sees that part of Peele's purpose here is 'to show us the beauties of the

flesh and of the senses'.[51] Carolyn Whitney-Brown also reads Bethsabe's opening song as an example of her taking pleasure in her own body.[52] Undoubtedly, the scene is sensual: Bethsabe welcomes the wind and the air as lovers able to caress her even beneath the protection of the shade:

> This shade (sun proofe) is yet no proofe for thee.
> Thy body smoother then this waveless spring,
> And purer then the substance of the same,
> Can creepe through that his launces cannot pierse;
> Thou and thy sister, soft and sacred aire,
> Goddesse of life, and governess of health,
> Keep every fountain fresh and arbor sweet;
> No brasen gate, her passage can repulse,
> Nor bushly thicket, bar thy subtle breath.
> Then decke thee with thy loose delightsome robes,
> And on thy wings bring delicate perfumes,
> To play the wantons with us through the leaves. (37-48)

Bethsabe here speaks of the levels of access to her body, the shade stopping the piercing rays of the sun, the wind and air able to creep through to her body to places even the spring waters cannot reach. Joyfully erotic and playful, the sensuousness of Bethsabe's lines can distract from the darker elements to this scene. References to Adam and Eve provide most obvious undercurrent of a sin about to occur: Bethsabe beckons the same wind '[t]hat erst in Eden sweetned Adams love' (35); David describes Bethsabe as '[f]aire Eva plac'd in perfect happinesse' (53). Enjoyment of shadows is haunted by Aaron's direction to Chiron and Demetrius to rape Lavinia in the woods: 'There serve your lust, shadowed from heaven's eye' (1.1.630). The shadow of the second line turns to a 'shroud' by the fourth line, another difference heightened by the preceding anaphora. The repeated images of sun and fire contrasted with dark shade and shadow culminate with the lines: 'Shadow (my sweet nurse) keep me from burning, / Make not my glad cause, cause of mourning' (28-29). Shadows here foreshadow the events of the play: Bethsabe's 'glad cause' does become the 'cause of mourning'. She asks for something not to happen as it occurs:

> Let not my beauties fire,

[51] Inga-Stina Ekeblad, 'The Love of Kind David and Fair Bethsabe. A Note on George Peele's Biblical Drama', *English Studies*, 39 (1958), p. 62.
[52] Carolyn Whitney-Brown, '"A Farre More Worthy Wombe": Reproductive Anxiety in Peele's *David and Bethsabe*' in *In Another Country: Feminist Perspectives on Renaissance Drama,* eds. Dorothea Kehler and Susan Baker (London: Scarecrow Press, 1991), p. 193.

Enflame unstaied desire,
Nor pierce any bright eye,
That wandreth lightly. (30-33)

Bethsabe's imagery of the hot sun far above her looks beyond the King viewing her. In this scene, Peele presents Bethsabe as both innocent and seductive, calling for the caresses of the wind whilst unaware David is listening.[53] She looks to something higher and more important, as she will continue to do throughout the play: the sun encapsulates both Bethsabe's devotion to a higher power and the bright son she will provide for David's line.

David repeats the 'pierce' of her song in his response: 'What tunes, what words, what looks, what wonders pierce / My soule, incensed with a suddain fire?' (49-50). A reversal of the expected direction for piercing, Bethsabe's beauty pierces David's eyes and his soul.[54] His 'suddain fire' recalls Bethsabe's 'beauties fire' (50, 30). Anaphora also structures his opening lines, the repeated 'what' of his first line recurring in the third: 'What tree, what shade, what spring, what paradise / Enjoyes the beautie of so faire a dame?' (51-2). He fills the spaces with Bethsabe's words, her shade and spring. Susan T. Viguers reads this scene as a failure of imagination, as David 'does not see Bethsabe as an image of beauty to be grasped imaginatively; he sees her as a woman he can possess'.[55] As Whitney-Brown points out, however, 'David's language is crossed by aural pleasure': tunes, words, and wonders compete against 'looks' in his first line.[56] He seems both to desire possession and express this desire with the language of aural appreciation appropriate to the musician from the Psalms. A similar accretion of riches and urges manifests in David's

[53] In the Globe *Read Not Dead* reading of the play, coordinated by Tom Frankland, Sarah Applewood played this opening scene highly conscious of her sexual power, caressing herself seductively in front of her serving woman, playfully biting a scarf, enjoying the wind like a lover. As David described her, she reacted onstage as though hearing and relishing his lascivious description of her (even though diegetically she cannot hear him). The impression was that Bethsabe enjoyed being watched, her visual and tactile reactions to speech she is not supposed to hear adding to the way Peele's language mingled and melds the senses.

[54] Taking into account Renaissance theories of vision, in Peele's world looks could literally penetrate. While theories of sight were under debate, the Aristotelian school of thought believed that some actual, physical thing entered into and flowed out of the eye. The eye could thus be conceptualized both as an organ of entry and exit. Reginald Scot's explanation of the way women purged their 'monethlie humors' through 'vapors and spirits…proceeding out of their eies' includes the warning that these eyebeams could 'pearse to the inward parts' of another person and possibly 'breed infection' (*The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Hugh Ross Williamson (1584; Carbondale: South Illinois UP, 1964), p. 399-400).

[55] Susan T. Viguers, 'Art and Reality in George Peele's *The Araygnement of Paris* and *David and Bethsabe*', *CLA Journal*, 30.4 (1987), p. 489.

[56] Whitney-Brown, p. 187.

catalogue of increase, culminating in his requests that the grass '[b]eare Manna every morne in steed of dew'; that 'the dew be sweeter far then that / That hangs like chaines of pearle on Hermon hill, / Or balme which trickled from old Arons beard' (69-71). David's lines come directly from Psalm 133:

> Behold, how good and how pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity!
> Like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, Aarons beard:
> that went down to the skirts of his garments;
> As the dew of Hermon, that descended upon the mountains of Zion:
> for there the LORD commanded the blessing, life for evermore.

The commentary in the Geneva Bible states that the 'ointment was a figure of the graces which come from Christ the head of his Church' (133:2n). David thus begins by mirroring both the structure and content of Bethsabe's language, recognizing her own upward vision, her 'praise-notes to the liberall heavens', moves through enamelled nature and river beds turned to jewels and ends with a vision of Christ's graces as the dew beautifying Bethsabe's bower. He picks up graces again in his summons to Bethsabe: 'Goe know, and bring her quickly to the King, / Tell her, her graces have found grace with him' (84-5).[57] Peele toys with various meanings of grace, as Cusay tells the frightened Bethsabe:

> Faire Bethsabe, the King of Israell
> From Forth his Princely tower hath seen thee bath,
> And thy sweet graces have found grace with him.
> Come then and kneele unto him where he stands,
> The King is gracious and hath liberall hands. (94-98)

Intermingled with the bawdy puns on 'stands' and 'liberall hands' is the image of the Annunciation: a messenger telling the frightened woman she has found favour and grace in a higher power.[58] Gabriel tells Mary, 'Feare not, Marie, for thou has found favour with God' (Luke 1:30). The gloss in the Geneva Bible to Gabriel's salutation 'Hail, highly

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[57] Divine grace is the central point of contention in Reformation debates, 'the watershed that divides Catholicism from Protestantism, Calvinism from Arminianism, modern liberalism from conservatism' (Charles C. Ryrie, *The Grace of God* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963), pp. 10-11). In simplistic terms, Catholics believe in attaining grace through the sacraments and works while the Protestant emphasis is on faith.

[58] A cursory initial investigation seems to show pre-Reformation paintings of the Anunciation with Mary and Gabriel either kneeling or sitting, on the same horizontal plane (Filippo Lippo, Botticelli, da Vinci, and Fra Angelico depict Mary slightly higher than Gabriel; Vecellio Tiziano's 1535 'Annunciation' is one exception). Later examples show Mary kneeling before a floating Gabriel (e.g. El Greco (1590s), Rembrandt's mid-1630s sketch, Phillippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), Nicolas Le Sueur (1691-1764), Rosetti (1849-50), Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98)).

favoured, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women' insists that Gabriel's 'highly favoured' 'might be literally rendered, "full of favour and grace", and he shows immediately after, laying out plainly unto us, what that favour is in that he says, "The Lord is with thee"' (Luke 1:28n). Grace here becomes God's favour or goodwill. Grace for Bethsabe thus seems to be David's favour or goodwill: she has 'found grace with him'.

Despite Bethsabe's attempts to reject David, the poetry of the scene flows with the already inevitable rhythm of the love story. Like courtly lovers, their verses intertwine, each borrowing images from the other: David's 'thee/me' rhyme echoes Bethsabe's 'see/chastitie' in his speech after hers. Bethsabe's final admonition borrows the language from David's opening greeting: David's 'I cald thee neere for my neerer cure' becomes Bethsabe's 'Then let the King be cunning in his cure' (135, 149). David here seems to seduce Bethsabe with his poetry; Peele moulds the form of Bethsabe's rejections to say yes even while the content clearly says no.[59]

'[U]nweldie bones': Prostration and Grovelling

By repeating the sensuous vocabulary of their opening exchange in the scene of communal mourning with his followers, Peele not only points to David's sin as the origin of his present grief, but also reveals David's need for and insistence upon those around him adopting his rhetoric. Returning to the prostrate scene, this insistence extends to a control of the bodies of others (as he co-opted Bethsabe's body both for his own desire and as the

[59] Similarly, the Globe production had Bethsabe enjoying the poetic back and forth up until the moment when David pulled her behind the curtain into the discovery space, when she suddenly looked reluctant. This space was retroactively contaminated further by Ammon using it to rape Thamar, recasting David and Bethsabe's encounter as forced. Judith Weil and Carolyn Whitney-Brown both align David's forcing of Bethsabe to his will to Ammon's rape (Weil, 'George Peele's Singing School: *David and Bethsabe* and the Elizabethan History Play', *Themes in Drama* 8, ed. James Raymond (Cambridge UP, 1986), pp. 51-66).

'worthy womb' for his successor). The language of David's very soul dissolving into his tears and pouring onto the 'sencelesse earth' echoes Titus's 'Let my tears staunch the earth's dry appetite' (3.1.14). But where Titus is left weeping to the stones alone, Peele's mourning and poetic king inspires his followers with his words: 'Weepe Israel, O weepe for Davids soule, / Lading the fountaines of his drowned eyes, / And powres her substance on the sencelesse earth' (996-98). Sadoc echoes David, 'Weep Israel, O weepe for Davids soule,' and his words provide stage directions for the mourners: 'Strewing the ground with haire and garments torne, / For tragicke witnesse of your heartie woes' (999-1001). Ahimaas picks up on this timeless desire of the grief-stricken, that they might find some way to outwardly express their sorrow: 'O would our eyes were conduits to our hearts, / And that our hearts were seas of liquid bloud' (1002-3). Jonathan offers the image of the Mount of Olives as a plain, the surroundings drowned with the sea of their tears. Ithay takes their mourning beyond the bounds of the earth:

> Earth cannot weepe ynough for Davids woes,
> Then weepe you heavens, and all you clouds dissolve,
> That pittious stars may see our miseries
> And drop their golden tears upon the ground. (1011-14)

Inga-Stina Ewbank points out that Peele changes the biblical episodes to combine multiple encounters into a 'ritualized lament scene…where he gets the effect of a crowd of faithful followers round David, by lyrical rather than narrative or dramatic means'.[60] The lyrical qualities of these lines, bursting with metaphors, are clear, but so too is the dramatic effect of a group of characters physically expressing mourning.

During these extraordinary professions of poetic grief, there is no direction for any of the characters onstage to stand from their positions lying down on the stage. Sadoc urges David, 'let my soveraigne raise his prostrate bones' after each of the men have spoken once, indicating that David remains prostrate (1016). After Ithay's urging to think of his despair 'as a fatall plague, / Which greefe preserveth, but preventeth not', David's response indicates that he is still lying down: 'Me thinkes the voice of Ithay fils mine eares' (1029-30,

[60] Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'The House of David in Renaissance Drama: A Comparative Study', *Renaissance Drama*, 8 (1965), p. 33.

1036). (Titus has similar vision problems while lying down, not noticing the departure of the tribunes.) Does Ithay help him to his feet to act out his lines, 'Let not the voice of Ithay loth thine eares, / Whose heart would baulme thy bosome with his teares' (1037-38)? David describes himself still possibly lying down over twenty lines later:

> But if he [God] say my wonted love is worne,
> And I have no delight in David now,
> Here lie I armed with an humble heart,
> T'imbrace the paines that anger shall impose. (1061-4)

This last 'lie' could be figurative, a promise to return to prostrate despair if he cannot find favour with God again. Blistein's note insists that David 'should not remain groveling much beyond l. 1021' and envisions David rising with his followers also rising and comforting him at Ithay's 'And turne thy drooping eyes upon the troupes / That of affection to they worthinesse, / Doe swarme about the person of the King' (1031-33). At the end of the scene, when Cusay tells David, 'Then rise, referring the successe to heaven,' and David acquiesces, 'Cusay I rise, though with unweldie bones, / I carrie armes against my Absalon' (1104-6), Blistein reiterates, 'I do not believe that David has been prostrate since l. 991 SD, but feel he has been on his throne within the pavilion since about l. 1021. When Cusay suggests that he rise in this line and David agrees to in the next, he is merely leaving his throne preparatory to his exit' (1104n). The difficulties of staging a scene with the main characters lying onstage for much of the important dialogue, where they presumably have to raise their heads to project their lines, surely contributes to Blistein's resistance to the text as it is written. His characterization of David's mourning as 'groveling' is another clue to his discomfort with the physicality of the titular king's grief. As we saw with *Titus*, 'rise' in the text often signals that the character has been kneeling, sitting or lying down, the exact beginning of this lowered position not usually provided by a stage direction. However, this is clearly not the case here, with the previous motions of David's emotions carefully described in Peele's stage directions. It is hard to find a reason (other than critical discomfort) to insist that he is not lying down for most of this scene.

Dramaturgically challenging but potentially compelling in the theatre, this scene of stillness at the centre of the play reveals the way David finds his sense of self and his

notion of himself as king in the eyes of others. He asks his followers to feel with him and to perform those feelings, each of the men using the key word 'witness' in their own expressions of grief. Sadoc's 'For tragicke witnesse of your heartie woes' becomes the line 'For witnesse we would die for Davids woes', repeated by Ahimaas, Jonathan and Ithay (1001, 1005, 1010, 1015). The repetition lends the scene an incantatory quality, a requiem to unrestrained mourning. The men are both observers of David's woes and witness in the sense of an inward testimony of their own consciences, a definition related to 2 Corinthians 1:12, 'For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you-ward'.[61] In the reading of the play at the Globe, all the characters onstage knelt at David's opening lines, and then lay face down on the stage. David had to half sit to deliver his lines (and also to see the script he was reading from), but then returned to a horizontal position, sobbing quietly. The other characters knelt up to deliver their lines, and then returned to lying down. The effect was one of repeated falling to join David, an enactment of the death they promised with 'we would die for Davids woes'.

In *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, Pope Benedict XVI reflects on the act of prostration and emphasizes a deep sense of community felt by the ordinands:

> At ordinations prostration comes from the awareness of our absolute incapacity… In my incapacity, which had to be expressed in the bodily posture of prostration, this prayer, this presence of all the saints, of the living and the dead, was a wonderful strength — it was the only thing that could, as it were, lift me up.[62]

Here, as in the biblical examples and in both the plays, lying prostrate marks a moment of recognition. Earlier in the play, after 'giving lust her raigne' then sending Urias to die in the wars, David hears Nathan's pronouncement of God's sentence: '…I wil (saith Jacobs God) / In thine own house stir evill up to thee, / Yea I before thy face will take thy Wives, / And give them to thy neighbour to possesse…That Israel openly may see thy shame' (651-5). David throws himself to the ground:

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[61] 'Witness, n.', def, 2c, *OED Online* (Oxford UP, 2014).
[62] Pope Benedict XVI, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), p. 71.

> From heavens throne doth David throw himselfe,
> And grone and grovell to the gates of hell.
> *He fals downe.*

Again narrating his own performance, David moves from mourner to penitent. Nathan affirms that this performance reveals true repentance, cueing him, 'David stand up' and speaks a more merciful verdict:

> Thus saith the Lord by me:
> Davide the King shall live, for he hath seene
> The true repentant sorrow of thy heart.
> But...
> The child shall surely die. (660-62, 668)

Hannibal Hamlin links the image of the kneeling Claudius in *Hamlet* to this image of a repentant David, contrasting Claudius's lack of genuine contrition with David's 'broken and contrite heart' – an essential requirement for the forgiveness of sin.[63] David's physical performance of repentance effectively manifests his 'true' sorrow, the difficulties usually present in reading a performance of emotion circumvented by the divine access Hamlet lacks to the inner workings of the penitent's heart.

'[W]hy mournest thou?': Prostration as Prayer

The most common word for worship in the New Testament is the Greek *proskuneo*, meaning 'to prostrate oneself before', and prostration can thus be read productively as a form of worship, contrition, and reverence.[64] The living position their bodies as though they are dead, above the dead, and in doing so enact their ongoing connection to and physical separation from those they mourn. Titus and Lavinia might also seem to translate their mourning to prayer as they both kneel, but in this play, the joined hands that would complete the religious gesture are gruesomely missing:

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[63] *Psalm Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge UP, 2007), pp. 193-4, 216.
[64] Walter Bauer, 'Proskuneo' in *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* 3rd ed. (University of Chicago Press, 2000).

> O, here I lift this one hand up to heaven
> And bow this feeble ruin to the earth. [*He kneels.*]
> If any power pities wretched tears,
> To that I call. [*To* LAVINIA*, who kneels*] What wouldst thou kneel with me?
> Do then, dear heart; for heaven shall hear our prayers. (3.1.205-9)

Tobias Döring reads this moment as the last display of religious pathos in the play before Titus abandons belief in supreme justice and breaks into 'pathological laughter'.[65] Titus does descend into brutal revenge, but before this shift, like David, he turns to his faith. This moment of prostration is Titus's last display of faith, faith in the social fabric of Rome, and in the possibility of divine intervention. However, the gesture of kneeling here highlights what is missing: no hands available to join; no heaven to hear their prayers. Titus knows from his earlier performance that no 'power pities wretched tears', and the grotesque caricature of prayer here demonstrates the hopelessness of ritual in a world where bodies and the social fabric have been mutilated.

This appeal to faith was echoed in the Globe reading, when James Wallace as David moved from lying down to kneeling near the end of the scene to deliver his lines as a prayer, his head and eyes raised up, transforming the mourning into a resolve to stay faithful. This first instance of prostration, genuine though it may be, rapidly achieves David's purpose, teaching him what pose to strike the next time he needs forgiveness. It is also rather problematically followed by the cessation of mourning for the doomed baby, an episode to which this chapter later returns to add vital context to the central scene.

In this central scene, the feeling – 'mourning' – David asks his followers to perform, is mislabelled. He should have instead asked them to pray. In the previous scene, a widow enters, offering David blessings. His next line indicates that she is prostrate: 'Woman, why mournest thou? Rise from the earth' (882). Asking David's question – why mournest thou? – of the following scene reveals the complex dynamics of his own prostration. Immediately prior to lying down, David explains the objects of his mourning beyond his own '[p]roud lust' thus:

> Ah Absalon the wrath of heaven inflames
> Thy scorched bosome with ambitious heat,

[65] *Performances of Mourning,* p. 89.

> And Sathan sets thee on a lustie tower,
> Shewing thy thoughts the pride of Israel
> Of choice to cast thee on her ruthlesse stones,
> Weepe with me then ye sonnes of Israel. (986-991)

He weeps, it seems, not only for his own past sin, but pre-emptively for Absalon's impending rebellion (prior to this, only hinted at in the play by Absalon's soliloquy at the end of the widow scene). David tells Sadoc, 'But that my sonne should wrong his tendred soule, / And fight against his fathers happinesse, / Turnes all my hopes into despaire of him, / And that despaire feeds all my veines with greefe' (1025-8). This grief is preliminary: 'But that [he]...*should* wrong' refers to an imminent and expected wrong. Peele dramatises Absalon's rebellion in the following scenes, making David's despair future-oriented, the converse of his hopes. David's 'mourning' is a version of prayer, asking for what he knows is about to happen not to happen. Although he says, 'Here lie I armed with an humble heart / T'imbrace that anger shall impose', the prostration here is in fact far from humble (1063-4). David's hopeful, 'If I find favour in his [God's] gratious eyes' betrays the posture as one of supplication, asking God for favour (1055).

Titus's solitary mourning contrasts starkly with the community of mourners who surround David. Titus is unable to persuade the tribunes, left alone, visited first with news of his sons' banishment and then Lavinia's rape and torture. David expresses his grief and his prayers in the company of others, directing them to join him in his performance. Titus only becomes an effective director when he carries out revenge. Emrys Jones describes him as 'nothing else than a male Hecuba', an example of destructive grief.[66] Jones foregrounds Titus's emotional suffering to justify the emotional release of revenge, summarizing Titus's journey as 'suffering intensified to intolerable pitch followed by the relief of aggressive action'.[67] However, Hecuba's grief is so self-consuming she becomes an animal. Titus does find relief in the aggression of his revenge, but his vengeance is far too well orchestrated and calculated to be reduced to a mere ferocious dog snapping. Rather, Titus holds on to the social institutions and laws of Rome for as long as conceivably possible, continuing to

[66] *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 106.
[67] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

beg and entreat the tribunes even after they have left the stage. Though he weeps to the stones, he recasts them as a softer sort of tribune, the judges he feels his beloved Rome deserves. When Titus seems to have given up on Rome, telling Lucius he is lucky to have been banished, it is only by collapsing the opposition between Roman civilisation and the wilderness:

> Why, foolish Lucius, dost thou not perceive
> That Rome is but a wilderness of tigers?
> Tigers must prey, and Rome affords no prey
> But me and mine. (3.1.53-56, 3.1.54n)

He sadly admits the death of the ideals Rome is supposed to embody, recognising that Rome has become a wilderness, and even then accepts the inevitability of the laws of nature: 'Tigers *must* prey' (3.1.55, emphasis added).

There is no sense of community here; the only ritual comes later in the prayer highlighting the lack of hands/agency for both Titus and Lavinia. Lucius begins by urging Titus up, then falls down himself at the sight of Lavinia. Both Titus and David lie down with a sense of atonement, knowing that their pride has led them to fall. Yet both also fall in order to preserve their respective pride. Seeing the gesture as one drawing on elements of worship makes it harder to dismiss it as mere abasement from which the two leaders must quickly be urged upwards. Understanding the strategic elements to this movement explains some of the discomfort expressed by diegetic and non-diegetic audiences. Are they to read the repentance as sincere? Can the performance be both strategic and sincere? Do the subsequent actions of both (Titus's gory revenge, David's celebration after the child's death, David's rising from the communal prostration to take arms against another son) render the gestures retroactively empty? These instances are deliberate performances that ask for the audience's attention and therefore engender scrutiny. The projection forward in time is also strategic: I lie down and say I am mourning to indicate I have accepted the inevitability of my fate, but in fact, by my supplication I have not accepted this as inevitable and am begging for this future not to happen.

Mourning the Nameless (Shame)

Placing the scene of David's prostration within the context of other scenes of mourning in Peele's play, notably the mourning prior to the illegitimate child's death, not only makes the case for the play as psalm translation, but also creates a vital basis for comparison with the structures of mourning in *Titus Andronicus*. David's lowest moral point in the dramatic action occurs early on, when he first attempts to get Urias drunk enough to sleep with Bethsabe to cover up her pregnancy. After Urias refuses the comforts of home, David sends him to the front lines of the war to die. The question raised by the chorus is one that permeates Elizabethan sermons and commentaries on David: 'If holy David so shoke hands with sinne, / What shall our baser spirits glorie in?' (566-67). The Chorus relates Urias's death, and then asks the audience to 'Suppose this past, and that the child is borne / Whose death the Prophet solemnly doth mourne' (573-74). Thus, when Bethsabe enters, mourning, the audience might assume she too mourns the death of the child. Her mourning features traditional elements of the lament such as repetition, self-blame, exclamations and the stillness as the narrative pauses:

> Mourne Bethsabe, bewaile thy foolishnesse,
> Thy sinne, thy shame, the sorrow of thy soule.
> Sinne, shame, and sorrow swarme about thy soule,
> And in the gates and entrance of thy heart,
> Sadnesse with wreathed armes hangs her complaint.
> No comfort from the ten string'd instrument,
> The tinckling Cymball, or the Yvorie Lute,
> Nor doth the sound of Davids kingly Harpe,
> Make glad the broken heart of Bersabe.
> Jerusalem is fild with thy complaint,
> And in the streets of Syon sits thy greefe. (574-85)

Bethsabe takes up the motif of grief 'taking the place' of the lost loved one but her grief is so expansive it fills the whole city. Her repeated '[s]inne, shame, and sorrow' make her view of the causal links clear: sin leads to shame and sorrow. Not until the twelfth line of her lament do we learn that the child still lives: 'The babe is sicke, sicke to the death I feare' (586). Bethsabe mourns not only the impending death of her son, but another death she believes she has caused:

> Urias, woe is me to think hereon,
> For who is it among the sonnes of men,
> That sayth not to my soule, the King hath sind,

> David hath done amisse, and Bersabe
> Laid snares of death unto Urias life.
> My sweet Urias, falne into the pit
> Art thou, and gone even to the gates of hell,
> For Bersabe, that wouldst not shrowd her shame. (590-97)

Bethsabe concludes her speech of lament, packed as it is with her own shame and self-blame, to recast herself as both victim and servant:

> O what is it to serve the lust of Kings,
> How Lyonlike they rage when we resist,
> But Bersabe in humblenesse attend,
> The grace that God will to his handmaid send. (598-601)

In her two previous self-descriptions as 'handmaid' she has been handmaid to David, and in the depths of her despair here she pins her hopes on divine mercy if she can be God's handmaid.

David enters and Bethsabe exits; they mourn separately. However, as with the seduction scene, Peele has them co-opt each other's images. Like Bethsabe, David banishes all music while he mourns: 'David, hang up thy Harpe, hang downe thy head / And dash thy ivorie Lute against the stones' (604-5). The following lines – 'The dew that one the hill of Hermon fals, / Raines not on Syons tops, and loftie towers' – twist lines from Psalm 133:

> Beholde howe good and howe pleasaunt a thing it is: that brethren dwel together in unitie.
> Lyke unto a pretious oyntment upon the head, which runneth downe upon the beard, even upon Aarons beard: which also runneth downe upon the skyrtes of his garmentes.
> Like unto the deawe of Hermon: whiche falleth downe upon the hyll of Sion.
> For God hath commaunded his blessing: life everlasting where is.

David as Peele's king takes the words of the psalm, which celebrates unity, to mourn the disunity of his kingdom. Here, the nourishing dew does not fall on Zion: God's blessing is absent. David repeats the evidence of God's displeasure, seemingly acutely aware of the way a punishment for him is borne by the guiltless child and by Bethsabe:

> The babe is sicke, and sad is David's heart,
> To see the guiltlesse beare the guilties paine...
> The babe is sicke, sweet babe, that Bersabe
> With womans paine brought forth to Israel. (6602-3, 611-12)

Their similar yet separate speeches mirror the opening scenes of the play, an example of the balanced structure to Peele's work.

One of the major difficulties in mourning the lost babe is that it has no name. David and Bethsabe refer to it only as 'the babe', while Nathan refers to it as 'the child'. After Nathan conveys the death sentence, David uses only the pronoun 'it': 'But must it die that David loveth so?' (671). This nameless child functions solely a symbol: he stands only for '[h]is mothers sin, his kingly fathers scorne', Nathan's words echoed ten lines later by David (669, 679). While the Biblical account announces the birth of 'a sonne' (2 Samuel 11:27), Peele's play does not specify the child's gender until David looks forward to a replacement, hoping Bethsabe 'may beare to me another sonne' (709), rendering the babe even more of a blank. Other characters insist on the illegitimacy of the child. Cusay refers to it as '[t]he child new borne by that Urias wife' and '[t]he child is dead, that of Urias wife, David begat' (684, 694). Bethsabe herself is distanced onamastically: she is not a named person, but the wife of a named person; for the unnamed child of the unnamed woman, this onamastic distancing is doubled.

But can a person without a name be mourned? Edward Lyford connects names to memory, asking 'how should a man uphold or remember the deeds of those men that have no names? in his 1655 treatise, *The True Interpretation and Etymology of Christian Names*.[68] As Foucault claims, '[o]ne cannot turn a proper name into a pure and simple reference. It has other than indicative functions: more than an indication, a gesture, a finger pointed at someone, it is the equivalent of a description'.[69] Jonathan Bate's reading of Wordsworth's 'Essay upon Epitaphs' connects memorial inscription to the very origins of poetry:

> Epitaph is the earliest form of written poetry, perhaps one of the earliest forms of any kind of writing. It is the root of that kind of poetry which we call 'lyric', which is written, which comes from strong feeling, which serves to memorialize and monumentalize people and places.[70]

The name, not mentioned explicitly by Bate (or discussed at length in Scott Newstok's recent analysis of the epitaph as literary genre) is integral to the epitaph, often part of or

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[68] Edward Lyford, *The True Interpretation and Etymologie of Christian Names* (London: Printed by T. W. for George Sawbridge, 1655), sig. B1r.
[69] Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *Textual Strategies*, ed. by Josue V. Harari (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1979), pp. 145-6.
[70] Jonathan Bate, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1991) p. 87.

directly and necessarily preceding the engraving epitaph.[71] In Peele's *The Old Wives Tale*, Sacrapant equates Delya's name with her selfhood, hoping she will forget her former self when he rechristens her: 'Now will I call hir by another name, / For never shall she know hir selfe againe'.[72] Names are an essential element for identification and memorialisation. Burial in an unmarked grave has traditionally signalled dishonour or disgrace.[73] The Latin root of 'ignominy' is 'no name'.[74]

The lack of a name in the case of the child stands in stark contrast to the way David's iconic mourning for his rebel son focuses on his name:

> O Absalon, Absalon, O my sonne, my sonne,
> Would God that I had died for Absalon:
> But he is dead, ah dead, Absalon is dead,
> And David lives to die for Absalon. (1839-42)

Peele lifts the lament from 2 Samuel 18:33: 'And the King was moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: & as he went, thus he said, O my sonne Absalom, my sonne, my sonne Absalom: wolde God I had dyed for thee, o Absalom, my sonne, my sonne' (*Geneva*). When he greets Absalon after recalling him from banishment, David repeats his name: 'Ah Absalon my sonne, ah my sonne Absolon [*sic*]' (943), foreshadowing the mourning that is to come later, as if he could call Absalon back home a second time.

Peele's 'The Honour of the Garter' features names of poets, translators and publishers in the prologue.[75] Later in the poem, Peele emphasizes the importance of names to being remembered. In the book on the desk before Fame, the speaker in this dream vision sees the name Fraunces of Bedford: 'And glad I was that in that precious booke /

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[71] Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaph Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[72] George Peele, *The Old Wives Tale*, ed. by Frank S. Hook (New Haven: Yale UP, 1970), 571-2.
[73] This was the practice for war criminals such as Hermann Göring, Adolf Eichmann, and Heinrich Himmler, as well as serial killers Elizabeth Bathory, Harold Shipman, H. H. Holmes, Myra Hindley, and perpetrators of school shootings (Shushannah Walshe, 'The Location of Adam Lanza's Body, Like Most Mass Shooters, Is Unknown', *ABC News* <http://abcnews.go.com/US/location-adam-lanzas-body-mass-shooters-unknown/story?id=18100476>). More recent unmarked ends have taken the form of cremation and scattering the ashes in an anonymous or unvisitable location, as with Osama Bin Laden. Sometimes unmarked graves are the result of a history of vandalism to famous headstones; some people request to be buried without their names. Keats famously requested that only the phrase 'Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water' be inscribed on his headstone. Apple founder Steve Jobs was buried without a headstone.
[74] Laurie Maguire, *Shakespeare's Names* (Oxford UP, 2007), p. 9; 'ignominious, *adj.*', *OED*.
[75] George Peele, 'The Honour of the Garter' in *Life and Minor Works,* pp. 173-6.

That name I found: for now me though I sayd, / Heere vertue dooth outlive th'arest of death' (282-84). Bedford might be dead, 'yet alive his name in Fames records' (287). Peele raises this image of permanent names at the end of poem:

> Your names are in this Register of Fame,
> Written in leaves and characters of golde;
> So live, as with a many moe you may
> Survive, and triumph in eternite,
> Out of Oblivions reach, or Envies shot;
> And that your names immortally may shine
> In these records, not earthly but divine. (407-13)

In 'Polyhymnia', Peel describes the Earl of Essex mourning Sidney:

> Yclad in might Armes of mourners hue
> And plume as blacke as is the Ravens wing...
> And all his companie in funerall blacke,
> As if he mourn'd to think of him he mist
> Sweete Sydney, fairest shepheard of our greene. (104-5, 110-112)[76]

When Peele comes to write in this poem of Philip Sidney's younger brother, M. Thomas Sydney, the name trips his memory of the lost Sidney: 'Sydney, at which name I sigh, / Because I lacke the Sydney that I love, / And yet I love the Sydneys that survive' (224-6). The memory and reputation of preceding ancestors accrete meaning to the family name, one Sidney overshadowed by the Sidney.

Christopher Sutton compares the biblical David's weeping for Absalom to Christ's weeping for Jerusalem in his 1604 *Disce vivere*:

> *David* wept for *Absolon,* saying, *Absolon, Absolon, O my sonne Absolon, I would to God I had dyed for thee!* Christ did as much mourne for Jerusalem, as ever *David* did for *Absolon,* Jerusalem, Jerusalem, I would to God I had dyed for thee: no Jerusalem, I am now going to die for thee.[77]

Sutton's parallel serves as a reminder of the physical entities – people and places – behind proper nouns. We need names for places but we also need a name to keep our place. Places and people without names are quickly forgotten. The linking of names with memorializing practices is evident in the simplicity of World War memorials: simple lists of names carved into stone. The Vietnam War Memorial lists names on reflective marble, so that those trying to remember can see the possibility of their own faces behind the names of the dead.

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[76] 'Polyhymnia' in *Life and Minor Works*, pp. 165-72.
[77] Christopher Sutton, *Disce vivere* (London, 1604), p. 415.

The numerous Tombs of the Unknown Soldier speak to the poignant attempt to achieve the impossible: to memorialize without names.

After his own acceptance that the child must die, repeating 'the babe must die' (673, 678) as if convincing himself, David calls for all Israel and all of nature to join his mourning:

> Mourne Israel and weepe in Syon gates
> Wither ye Caedar trees of Libanon,
> Ye sprouting Almons with your flowering tops,
> Droope, drowne, and drench in Hebrons fearefull streames. (674-7)

Yet as soon as David hears the news that the child has died, his mourning stops: 'The child is dead, then ceaseth Davids shame. / Fetch me to eat, and give me Wine to drinke' (696-7). The music he had halted for his time of mourning resumes: 'Bring downe your Shalmes, your Cymbals, and your Pipes. / Let Davids Harpe and Lute, his hand and voice, / Give laud to him that loveth Israel' (699-701). The question posed by David's servants in the biblical account lurks behind this scene: 'What thing is this, that thou hast done? thou didest fast and wepe for the childe, whilce it was alive, but when the childe was dead, though didest rise up and eat meat' (2 Samuel 12:21). David's reply centres on his previous hope for mercy:

> While the childe was yet alive, I fasted, and wept: for I said, Who can tel *whether* God wil have mercie on me, that the childe may live? But now being dead, wherefore shulde I now fast? Can I bring him againe anie more? I shal go to him, but he shal not returne to me. (2 Samuel 12:22-3)

Here again, mourning is an expression of hope, asking for God's mercy. For the biblical David, it is appropriate to mourn before he knows what God's verdict will be. Afterwards, there is no longer any point. He sees mourning after the fact as grief without a destination: 'Can I bring him againe anie more?', noting that dying is a one-way process with no return.

Peele's David praises the God who 'put away his sinne from out his sight, / And sent his shame into the streets of Gath' (703-4).[78] The child, despite David's eloquent call for mourning, remains nothing more than 'his sinne' and 'his shame' after death. The echo of the more poignant finality present in the biblical account comes with David's last lines

[78] When David mourned for the child before his death, the 'plaines of Gath and Askaron rejoice[d]' (608). As W. H. Williams points out, Gath and Askaron here stand for David's enemies, as in 2 Samuel 1:20, 'Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice' (42n).

before the bodily pleasures of water, wine, oil, music, and Bethsabe are brought to him: 'For where he is, of force must David goe, / But never may he come where David is' (711-12).

Daniel Price's sermon after Prince Henry's death, printed in 1612 as *Spirituall Odours*, offers an explanation for the trajectory of David's grief over the baby:

> David the King in a sorrowful case, weeping, mourning, crying for his *sonne*, lying all day and night on the *earth*; *Hee* wept and wept, and would not bee *comforted*...When the child is *sick*, David sorroweth, the childe being *dead* he riseth and eateth. He will be no longer in *paine* then the childe in perill.[79]

Marjory Lange comments on the topicality of this sermon, an admonition to James I for being too restrained and not taking part in repentant grieving: 'David's grief for his child is what James's grief for his son Henry's death ought to have been – active during the Prince's illness, and decently terminated after the death'.[80] At this crucial moment Peele's David (following 2 Samuel) turns stoic: 'Now sleepeth Davids sorrow with the dead' (715). He silences Bethsabe's mourning: 'Faire Bersabe, sit thou, and sigh no more' (713). His censure provides her only presence in the scene. She is allowed no lines, her gestural grief described only by David's interdiction.

The stage direction following this speech by David is worth attention: '*They use all solemnities together, and sing, etc.*' (716sd). Blistein's footnote follows the tone of David's line to read these solemnities as 'an occasion for rejoicing not grief', pointing to *Romeo and Juliet* 1.4.173, 179 as evidence that 'ceremonies are not necessarily grave and serious; indeed a solemnity is most often a joyous occasion' (716s.d.n). Peele's use of 'solemnity' in his other works supports a definition of solemnity as a formal ceremony. In *The Araygnement of Paris*, Diana describes the ceremony as Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos lay down their props at Elizabeth's feet: 'And loe beside thie rare solemnitie,/ And sacrifice these dames are wont to doe' (1237-8).[81] In *Edward I*, Queene Elinor complains that Edward has scheduled the coronation too soon for her to properly prepare: 'the time is all too short / And sudden, for so great solemnitie' (197-8).[82] Yet what formal ceremony exists to celebrate or rejoice over

[79] Daniel Price, *Spirituall Odours to the Memory of Prince Henry* (London, 1613), pp. 27, 29.
[80] Marjory Lange, *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 133.
[81] George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, ed. by R. Mark Benbow (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961).
[82] George Peele, *Edward I*, ed. by Frank S. Hook (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961).

death? Tybalt does describe the Capulet masque as 'our solemnity' twice, but the term occurs amidst a vicious exchange with Romeo where it serves Tybalt's purposes to magnify the Montague offence by referring to the festivities in exalted language. Later in the play, Juliet's father laments over her seemingly dead body: 'Uncomfortable time, why cam'st thou now / To murder, murder our solemnity'(4.5.60-61). Here 'solemnity' refers to the marriage ceremony, as it does in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (4.1.133, 4.1.184, 5.1.359; 'solemnities' at 1.1.11). In *Anthony and Cleopatra*, the play ends on this word before the dead bodies are carried out: 'Our army shall / In solemn show attend this funeral, / And then to Rome. Come, Dolabella, see / High order in this great solemnity' (5.2.363-66). The ambivalence of the term – a ceremony that can be funeral or marriage, coronation or sacrifice – captures the ambivalence of David's response to his nameless son's death.[83] He mourns while there is still hope the child may live, despairs at his God's condemnation, and rejoices when the price of forgiveness has been paid and the symbol of his shame has gone. The motions Peele prescribes for David's emotions make these ups and downs physically apparent: David is '*walking sadly*' when first mourning the child; '*fals downe*' on hearing God's condemnation; '*sits sadly*' after accepting the child will die. His servants' reluctance to tell him the news that the child has died creates anticipation for a display of further anguish from the king, and his almost happy acceptance of the news creates an effective dramatic reversal of expectations.

While his actions may seem puzzling in the context of expected emotional trajectories surrounding death, Peele constructs a David perfectly aligned with the emotional trajectory of the Psalms. Isabella Whitney's lament, 'IS. W. to C. B. in bewylynge her mishappes' shows an acute sixteenth-century awareness of God's preferred sacrifice according to Psalm 51:

> If heavie hartes might serve to be a sacrifice for sinne:
> Or else, if sorrows might suffice, for what so ere hath byn:
> Then mine Oblacion, it weare made,

[83] In the Globe reading, the solemnities were unequivocally a wedding, the death of the child wiping out Bethsabe's past life in order for her to be crowned David's queen.

> Whiche longe have lived in Mourners trade.[84]

Peele's David has four major scenes of mourning: before the child dies, when Ammon is murdered, when Absalon rebels, and when David finds out Absalon is dead. Peele dramatizes the first as the appropriately penitential David of the Psalms, the second reinscribes the mourning tropes of the Psalms ('How long shall Juda and Jerusalem / Complaine and water Syon with their teares? (870-1)), the third draws attention to power of the prostrate body as supplicant, a dramatisation also aligned with the message of the Penitential Psalms, and finally, the fourth features rebukes from Nathan, Joab, and Abisay for David's excessive and inappropriate mourning alone. Definitions of supplication consistently emphasise that this is an 'earnest' request: the examples of prostration here are not dishonest, but the strategic dynamics at work in taking this pose emphasise the ways prostration functions as performance.[85]

Peele and Shakespeare as Co-Mourners: The Case for Collaboration

This section of the chapter deals with the connections between *Titus* and *David and Bethsabe* as they relate to the question of co-authorship, moving from the connection of the dramaturgical technique of prostrate mourning to the similar split-level opening scenes of the two plays.

The first person to doubt Shakespeare's sole authorship in print was Edward Ravenscroft, in the Preface to his 1678 adaptation of the play, *Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia, A Tragedy, Alter'd from Mr. Shakespeare's Works*:

> there is a Play in Mr. *Shakespears* Volume under the name of *Titus Andronicus*, from whence I drew part of this. I have been told by some anciently conversant with the

[84] In *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney and Aemilia Lanyer: Renaissance Women Poets*, ed. by Danielle Clarke (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 15. This epistle appeared in Whitney's *A Sweet Nosgay*, published in 1573.
[85] 'Prostration, n.', def. 1a, *OED*; *Merriam-Webster.com*.

> Stage, that it was not Originally his, but brought by a private Author to be Acted, and he only gave some Master-touches to one or two of the Principal Parts or Characters; this I am apt to believe, because 'tis the most incorrect and indigested piece in all his Works; It seems rather a heap of Rubbish then a Structure.[86]

Other than his critical view of the content (conveniently justifying his rewriting of the 'heap of Rubbish', as J. C. Maxwell pointed out), Ravenscroft may be set aside with most eighteenth-century doubts concerning authorship based on seeing the play as 'unworthy' of Shakespeare.[87] Later critics, including J. M. Robertson (1905), John Dover Wilson (1948), J. C. Maxwell (1953), and T. W. Baldwin (1959), did coalesce around George Peele as a potential collaborator. The amount of Peele's involvement in the play ranged from Robertson's 'much of the play is written by Peele' and various levels and orders of revising to Maxwell's temptation to assert that the whole play was by Shakespeare, but being too often reminded of Peele in Act I to do so.

Setting such temptations aside momentarily, the key external evidence for the play consists of an appearance in the First Folio and in Francis Meres' 1598 list of Shakespeare's tragedies, an entry in the Stationers' Register on 6 February 1594, and a quarto edition published the same year, subsequent quartos in 1600 and 1611, and the Peacham sketch. Henslowe recorded receipts from 'the earle of sussex his men' 'ne-Rd at titus & ondronicus the 23 of Jenewary'.[88] Repeat performances occurred on 28th January and 6th February. That summer, on the 5th and 12th June, Henslowe recorded two more performances, 'beginninge at Newington my Lord Admeralle men & my Lorde chamberlen men' – the combined Admiral's Men and Chamberlain's Men playing at the Newington Butts theatre. The title page of the first quarto (1594) adds more playing companies to the mix: 'As it was Plaide by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembrooke, and Earle of Sussex their Servants'. Jonson's Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) attests to the popularity of the play along with *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'He that will swear *Jeronimo* or *Andronicus* are the best

[86] (London, 1678), sig. A2r.
[87] J. C. Maxwell, 'Introduction', *Titus Andronicus* (London: Methuen, 1953), pp. xi-xlv; xxv. Brian Vickers provides a detailed account of the authorship doubts in both *Shakespeare, Co-Author* and the back-and-forth from 1623-1801 in *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage*, 6 vols. (London: 1974-81).
[88] *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 21.

plays yet, shall pass unexcepted at here as a man whose judgment show it is constant, and hath stood still these five and twenty, or thirty years' (105-9).[89]

Despite Henslowe's 'ne' notation, the inclusion of the Earls of Derby and Pembroke on the title page provides possible evidence that the play was on stage prior to 1594.[90] Pembroke's Men were only in existence briefly, touring the provinces in 1592, giving two performances at court during the 1592 Christmas season, and apparently bankrupt by 1593. A *Titus* performed by Pembroke's Men would thus need to have been written by 1592. However, David George notes that the unusual title page could refer to the three companies acting 'in combination': some of Strange's Men became Pembroke's Men, who combined with Sussex's Men after bankruptcy.[91] Why this 'combination' company would not be referred to by their final patron's name, as Sussex's Men, is not clear to me. However, given the shifting composition of playing companies during the 1590s, and the unreliability of title-pages as records of associated playing companies, the sequence mentioned there remains controvertible. Equally equivocal are the textual connections between the play and *A Knack to Know a Knave* (performed by Lord Strange's Men, later the Earl of Derby's Men, in 1592); *The Troublesome Reign of King John* (1591); Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (completed 1593, published 1594), and his *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* (summer 1593); and Peele's *Honour of the Garter* (written 1593). For all these echoes or direct quotations, the directionality of the borrowing remains unclear.

Eugene Waith settles on a date preceding 1592 for original composition, with a revision in late 1593.[92] The *Oxford Textual Companion* decides on 1592, interpreting the title page as reference to performances by the three companies in sequence, but states, 'At this time no confidence seems attainable about the play's original theatrical affiliation or its

[89] Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* in *English Renaissance Drama*, pp. 961-1066.
[90] For 'ne' as not necessarily a brand new play but rather a play newly licensed, see Foakes (*Diary*, pp. xxx-xxxi), and more detailed discussion in Chapter 3 in relation to the order of composition for *Henry VI*.
[91] 'Shakespeare and Pembroke's Men', *SQ* 32 (1981), pp. 305-23; 317.
[92] 'Introduction', p. 10.

date of composition'.[93] Jonathan Bate endorses David George's 'combination company' theory, and suggests the play was written in late 1593 and first performed in January 1594.[94] For the purposes of discussing authorship, we have a best guess date of composition earlier than 1594, likely 1592-3.

The probability of collaboration is high based on stylistic evidence, particularly the anomalies in Act 1. John Dover Wilson's 1948 edition lists a compelling number of parallel passages between Peele's works and 1.1. J.C. Maxwell added to this a grammatical construction common for Peele but rare for Shakespeare: a possessive adjective or pronouns as antecedent to relative clause, a structure occurring six or seven times in 1.1. MacDonald P. Jackson found that the suspect scenes (1.1, 2.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.7) all had a low frequency of feminine endings, as well as a higher frequency of 'and' than any other play. The unusual word 'palliament' which only occurs elsewhere in Peele's *The Honour of the Garter* provides another link to Peele. Jonathan Bate objects that '[t]he problem with all the arguments based on verbal parallels is that imitation is always as likely as authorship', but this does not answer Gary Taylor's astute objection asking why the imitation should be highly concentrated in one scene, and largely imitate one writer: 'The parallels suggest that the first scene was written by either Peele or an imitator of Peele, but the rest of the play seems to have been written by neither'.[95] The revised Oxford *Complete Works* (2005) lists *Titus* as 'by William Shakespeare, with George Peele'.[96]

Dover Wilson describes the verse in the first scene as 'dramatically flat...since all the characters speak with the same voice, frame their sentences after similar patterns, and even borrow words and phrases from each other'.[97] As we have seen, the same verbal trick was used in the opening scene of *David and Bethsabe*. However, in this play, in contrast to Dover Wilson's assessment of flatness in *Titus*, the borrowed words and repeated patterns achieve heightened dramatic effect. Brian Vickers adds to Dover Wilson's mapping of

[93] p. 114. The editors add 'we have been impressed by a) the fact that, like *Richard III* and *1 Henry VI*, it can be linked to Strange's Men, and b) the large size of its cast, which associates it with the pre-plague plays' (p. 114).
[94] 'Introduction', p. 78.
[95] Ibid., p. 81; *Textual Companion*, p. 115.
[96] p. 155.
[97] 'Introduction', *Titus Andronicus* (Cambridge UP, 1948; reissued 2009), pp. vii-lxv; xxvii.

similar passages in Peele's works and Act 1. For Vickers, *David and Bethsabe* and *The Old Wives Tale* are '[e]qually remote from *Titus*'.[98] *David and Bethsabe* is included in the discussion as more evidence of particular characteristics of Peele's style: the last line of a speech becoming the first line of the next ('Servus: And Davids heart would not be comforted? / David: Yea Davids heart would not be comforted' (689-90); other instances at 127-8, 215-16, 418-19); a half-line echoed from one speech to the next (420-21, 458-9, 919-21, 1010-11, 1036-7, 1128-9, 1356-7, 1804-5); the symmetrical balancing of speeches that also occurs frequently in the opening scene of *Titus*.[99] Nathan's ten-line speech after telling David to stand ends with, 'The child shall surely die, that erst was borne, / His mothers sin, his kingly fathers scorne' (660-69); David's following ten-line speech concludes, 'The babe must die that was to David borne, / His mothers sin his kingly fathers scorne' (670-79). Vickers describes the effect of this instance of repetition as 'the patterning giving it a ritual quality, rather like Titus' repetition of the line "In peace and honour rest you here, my sons" to begin and end his farewell blessing after their interment (1.1.150, 156)'.[100] As this chapter has shown, Peele's biblical play uses this repetition effectively as ritual, creating an effective dramatisation of the Psalms. If we accept the evidence that he contributed to *Titus*, what happened to the lyrical qualities of his verse? Here, he uses the same verbal tricks but the effect is radically different. In the revenge tragedy, the ritual repetition rings 'flat' and 'monotonous' (to use Dover Wilson's descriptors) precisely because there is nowhere above for it to go. Both plays open with characters on two levels with movement between the two (a similarity forming part of Jackson's case for collaboration).[101] However, the overwhelming focus of the opening scene in *Titus* is the tomb and funeral procession, featuring horizontal motion and a figurative focus below the earth – a different mood entirely than the sensual, musical exchange between David and Bethsabe culminating in an image of the Annunciation. The Prologue in *David and Bethsabe* asks 'to conduct, / Upon the wings of my well tempered verse / The hearers minds above the towers of Heaven' (17-

[98] *Shakespeare as Co-Author*, p. 179.
[99] Ibid., p. 180.
[100] Ibid., p. 180.
[101] Macdonald P. Jackson, 'Collaboration' in *Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford UP, 2012), pp. 31-52; 47.

19). Saturninus and Bassianus '*go up*' only to make way for the incoming funeral march, and all of the directions to '*rise*' in this scene are for characters rising from kneeling. The repetitions and repeated attempts at ritual, rather than simply being dismissed as monotonous, become part of the pattern of rehearsing mourning, trying over and over to get it right, but not succeeding.

Peele's role as collaborator is further illuminated by looking at the sources for *Titus*. Beyond the obvious Ovidian connection, two texts are closely related to the play: a ballad entered by John Danter in the Stationer's Register in 1594 along with the play (the earliest surviving printed version is 'Titus Andronicus' Complaint' in *The Golden Garland*, published 1620), and a prose narrative found in an eighteenth-century chapbook, assumed to be a reprint of a much older Elizabethan pamphlet (*The History of Titus Andronicus the Renowned Roman General*). While it is highly probable that the ballad is based on the play, the relationship between the play and chapbook history is not so clear (though more recent criticism has shifted toward viewing the play as source rather than analogue).[102] For the purposes of this chapter, it is useful to consider both scenarios. The order of relevant events differs in each account, as outlined in this table:

[102] See Waith (pp. 28-37) for a detailed look at the cases for and against the chapbook as the play's source – and a compelling conclusion that the 'most probable order is history–play–ballad' (p. 33). Bate (pp. 83-5) dismisses the chapbook as a source, arguing for play–ballad–history along with Mincoff ('The Source of *Titus Andronicus*', *NQ* 216 (1971), pp. 131-4), Hunter ('The Sources of *Titus Andronicus* – Once Again', *NQ* 228 (1983), pp. 114-16), and Jackson ('*Titus Andronicus*: Play, Ballad and Prose History', *NQ* 36 (1989), pp. 315-17). Bullough describes the prose history as the play's 'main source' but also notes that the play is as likely to have preceded the history as to have followed it (*Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 6 (New York: Columbia UP, 1957-75), pp. 3-86; 7).

Chapbook	Play	Ballad
	1) Aaron tells Chiron and Demetrius to rape Lavinia.	
1) Queen arranges for Moor and her sons to murder Emperor's son (Lavinia's betrothed).	2) Chiron and Demetrius kill Bassianus, at Aaron's instigation and Tamora's urging.	1) Emperor's wife and her sons kill Caesar's son (Lavinia's betrothed).
	3) Chiron and Demetrius rape Lavinia, then cut off her tongue and hands.	
2) Moor and Queen's sons lure Titus's sons to the pit with the body; they are accused of murder and imprisoned.	4) Aaron traps Titus's sons in the pit with Bassianus's body; they are accused of murder and sentenced to death.	2) Moor traps Titus's sons in the pit with the body; they are accused of murder and imprisoned.
	5) Titus begs first Saturninus and Tamora (on his knees), then the tribunes (prostrate) to show his sons mercy.	
	6) Titus sees Lavinia; he arises, weeps with her.	
3) Moor tricks Titus into cutting off his hand to save his sons.	7) Aaron tricks Titus into cutting off his hand to save his sons.	
4) Titus 'rejoic[es]' in the hopes of their delivery.	8) Titus and Lavinia pray together.	
5) The hand is returned along with his sons' dead bodies.	9) The hand is returned along with his sons' severed heads.	
6) Titus faints; he arises, tears his hair, weeps.	10) Titus laughs.	
7) Lavinia goes to the woods to mourn for her brothers.	11) Titus vows revenge.	
8) The Moor sends the Queen's two sons to rape her while he keeps lookout. Moor tells them to cut off her hands and tongue.	12) Fly scene; Titus apparently beginning to go mad.	3) Emperor's sons rape Lavinia, cut off her hands and tongue.
9) Titus tries to do 'violence upon himself', curses.	13) Lavinia points to the tale of Philomel in Ovid.	4) Titus sees Lavinia; laments.
10) Lavinia writes the names of her attackers in the dust.	14) Lavinia writes the names of her attackers in the dust.	5) Lavinia writes the names of her attackers in the dust.
	15) Titus quotes Seneca.	6) Titus curses, tears hair.
		7) Moor tricks Titus into cutting off his hand to save his sons.
		8) The hand is returned along with his sons' severed heads.
11) Titus vows revenge, feigns madness, shoots arrows at the heavens.	16) Titus plots revenge, feigns (?) madness.	9) Titus weeps, cries for revenge, feigns madness, shoots arrows at the heavens.

[103] Matching background colours indicate matching incidents (e.g., Chapbook 8, Play 3, Ballad 3).

In the chapbook, Titus's most physical expression of grief occurs when his hand is returned to him along with the beheaded bodies of his sons:

> At this woeful sight, overcome with grief, he fainted away on the dead bodies; and when he recovered again, he tore his hoary hair which age and his lying in winter camps for the defence of his country had made as white as snow, pouring out floods of tears; but found no pity from the hardened villains, who left him with scoffs in the midst of his woeful lamentations with his sorrowful daughter.[104]

Lavinia is raped following this event in the chapbook version, after she retires to the woods in mourning for her brothers. In response to this, '[p]oor Andronicus' grief for this sad disaster was so great that no pen can write no words express. Much ado they had to restrain him from doing violence upon himself; he cursed the day he was born to see such miseries fall on himself and his family.'[105]

In the ballad, Titus does not mourn his wrongfully accused sons, but Lavinia's rape is 'what wounded most'.[106] For this he weeps – 'With teares of blood I wet my aged face', and here we also find the comparison to his reaction to previous losses: 'For my Lavinia I lamented more / Than for my two-and-twenty sonnes before'.[107] When she discloses the perpetrators, Titus's self-described reaction takes elements from his chapbook responses to the death of his sons (hair tearing) and the discovery of Lavinia (cursing the day he was born): 'I tare the milke-white haires from off my head, / I curst the houre wherein I first was bred'.[108] The return of his sons' heads in the ballad produces:

> Then past reliefe, I up and downe did go
> And with my teares writ in the dust my wo;
> I shot my arrowes towards heaven high,
> And for revenge to hell did sometimes cry.[109]

In the play, Titus's tears in the dust are for his condemned but still living sons, juxtaposed with his earlier stoicism:

> For two-and-twenty sons I never wept,
> Because they died in honour's lofty bed;
> *Andronicus lieth down, and the Judges and others pass by him*

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[104] 'The Prose History of Titus Andronicus' reprinted in *Titus Andronicus* (Oxford 1984, reissue 2008), pp. 195-203; 201.
[105] 'Prose History of Titus Andronicus', p. 202.
[106] 'Titus Andronicus Complaint' in Richard Johnson, *The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures* (London, 1620), sig. F1v.
[107] sig. F2r.
[108] Ibid.
[109] sig. F2v.

> For these, tribunes, in the dust I write
> My heart's deep languor and my soul's sad tears. (3.1.10-13)

If the play came before the chapbook, the chapbook can be seen as a commentary of sorts on the play. In this case, the alteration from prostration before his sons' deaths (the play) to fainting after his sons' death (the chapbook) is potentially more evidence of discomfort with this grovelling position. If the chapbook came first, then Shakespeare (or Shakespeare and Peele), change Titus's involuntary fainting on top of the dead bodies to a consciously performed prostration before the bodies are dead – a supplication rather than a reaction. Rather than a gesture of sorrow, it becomes one more akin to David's prayer. The composition date of *David and Bethsabe* must precede the 14 May 1594 entry in the Stationers Register; the generally accepted range runs from 1589–1594. The uncertainties surrounding the dating of both plays makes it unclear which came first, but there is a possibility of Peele's influence on this scene, either more directly as a collaborator or through Shakespeare's knowledge of the parallel scene in *David and Bethsabe*.

'[W]hat 'tis to let a queen / Kneel': Posturing Rulers

Annaliese Connolly has argued that *David and Bethsabe* was written for the Admiral's Men, destined for performance at the Rose with Alleyn as David (358-9). Not only does the play fit within the vogue for biblical plays c.1590–1602, but Peele 'deliberately replicates aspects of stage spectacle from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, including scenes of siege warfare with vaunting between characters upon city walls, together with hanging of characters either from walls or, in the case of Absalon, from a tree', as well as David as God's anointed warrior sharing qualities with 'The Scourge of God'.[110] Both begin as shepherds and then

[110] Connolly, para. 10. She fits this in with a strategy of repertory identified by Roslyn L. Knutson, in which companies who owned Marlowe's plays built 'a complementary repertory that duplicated, exploited, or exaggerated certain of their features' (Roslyn Knutson, 'Marlowe Reruns: Repertorial Commerce and Marlowe's Plays in Revival' in *Marlowe's Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts* , ed.

build reputations as soldiers; Connolly adds to this the vaunting between David and Hanon on the walls, the transfer of the crown from the king of the Ammonites to David, and triangulates these similarities in stage spectacle with the political significance of David and Tamburlaine as parallels to Elizabeth I post-Armada.[111] John Prime's sermon, 'The Consolation of David, briefly applied to Queen Elizabeth', describes the queen as 'a daughter of David [who] had as great deliverances as ever David had'.[112] While the overall argument for Peele's play having been written for the Admiral's Men is compelling, the parallels to Tamburlaine break down when it comes to prostration but hold true when comparing David and Elizabeth I.

The lens of prostration complicates the lines of connection between Tamburlaine, David, and Elizabeth I. David and Elizabeth I use the pose of prostration in similar ways, but for Tamburlaine this gesture is both a punishable offence and an appalling punishment. The clearest example of punishment is when he uses Bajazeth as a footstool:

> But, villain, thou that wishest this to me,
> Fall prostrate on the low disdainful earth
> And be the footstool of great Tamburlaine,
> That I may rise into my royal throne. (4.2.2-5)[113]

Bajazeth's response makes it clear how humiliating this posture is: 'First shalt thou rip my bowels with thy sword, /And sacrifice my heart to death and hell, / Before I yield to such a slavery' (4.2.6-8). (But yield he does.) Prostration as supplication fails spectacularly in this play, when four virgins are sent from Damascus to plead for mercy with Tamburlaine: 'Pity, oh, pity, sacred emperor, / The prostrate service of this wretched town!' (5.1.99-100). He sends the virgins to be slaughtered, and orders their bodies to be hanged from the city walls as a lesson to others.

According to A. L. Rowse's account of her coronation, Elizabeth I also shunned prostration:

> Next came the most sacred moment of the ceremony – the consecration and anointing of the Queen. This was initiated by the singing of Veni, Creator and the

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Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), pp. 25-41; 25, qtd. in Connolly para. 9).

[111] Connolly, para. 11.

[112] B2r, qtd. Connolly para. 14.

[113] Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1* in *English Renaissance Drama*, pp. 183-244.

> Litany, and the saying of several long prayers. Previous sovereigns had endured this lying prostrate on cushions before the altar, and Mary had not been the one to omit it. Elizabeth politely knelt: no doubt she held that sufficient.[114]

The *Liber Regalis*, a coronation service book used at services from 1307-1661, prescribes the ceremony: the king lies prostrate before the altar after the offering, prayers and psalms are said over him, and then the anointing follows.[115] A device for the ceremony of Henry VII's coronation describes the old ritual thus:

> [A]fter the Cardinall hath commoned his self, he having betwene his hands the same chalice wheruppon the holy sacrement shalbe laied, shall turne hymself to the King and to the Quene, and thei, lying prostrate before hym, shall saye their Confiteor, all the prelates answering Misereatur, and the Cardinall seying absolucioun; that doon, the King and the Quene shall somwhat arise kneling, and with great humylite and deuocion receyve the sacrament by thands of the said Cardinall.[116]

The report of Mary's coronation notes that at this point 'a quission of velvet was layd before the Aulter upon the which her Grace laye prostrate whyle eten [certain] orysons was said over her'.[117]

Few direct accounts of Elizabeth I's coronation remain, but the most detailed one seems to contradict Rowse's assertion that she knelt:

> And then and there was a carpet with kussynes of gold spread before the aulter. And Secretary Cycill delivered a Booke to the Bishop and there was a Bishop standing at the left hand of the aulter. And the Queenes Matie being newly apparrelled came before the Aulter and lean'd upon the kussyns, and over her was spread a read silken cloth. And then and there the Bishop annoynted her Grace. And that done changing apparrel her grace retorned and sat in her chayre.[118]

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[114] A. L. Rowse, 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth,' *History Today* 3.5 (1953), pp. 301-11; 309-10.
[115] fol. 99r qtd. in Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge UP, 2008), p. 32.
[116] qtd. in 'Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII' in *Rutland Papers*, ed. William Jerdan, *Camden Old Series* vol. 21 (London: Camden Society, 1842), p. 22.
[117] MS. College of Arms, I 7, p. 70.
[118] Written records include this report by an anonymous English eyewitness, the heraldic proclamation, and a letter from an Italian visitor, Il Schifanoya. I cite here from C. G. Bayne's 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth' (*EHR* 22 (1907), pp. 650-73; 667), in which all three accounts are reproduced. On whether Elizabeth withdrew during the consecration, see A. F. Pollard, 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', *EHR* 25 (1910), pp. 125-6; William P. Haugaard, 'The Coronation of Elizabeth I', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 19.2 (1968), pp. 163-5; Richard C. McCoy, '"The Wonderful Spectacle": The Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation' in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Ritual,* ed, Janos M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 217-25. Forthcoming: *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, 5 vols (Oxford UP, 2014). On pageantry leading up to the coronation, Sandra Logan's 'Making History: The Rhetorical and Historical Occasion of Elizabeth Tudor's Coronation Entry', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31.1 (2001), pp. 251-82.

In contrast to 'lean'd upon the kussyns', the account specifies kneeling at two other points prior: 'And immediately her Grace was led before the high aulter and there sitting a Bishop the Quene's Matie kneeling before the Bishop and kissed the patyn'; 'after that hir Grace kneeled before the Aulter and the Bishop red a booke before her Grace'.[119] The specificity of the different terminology and the similarity to the account of Mary lying prostrate on a 'quission of velvet' point to Elizabeth adopting a similar pose for her coronation.

As expected, usually people prostrated themselves before the Queen, as when members of Parliament visited Elizabeth at Whitehall on November 30 1601 (at her invitation to thank her for her November 28 proclamation on patent reform). After 'Three lowe reverences made,' the Speaker, John Croke, concluded on behalf of the whole Parliament, 'Prostrate at your feete, we present our most Loyall, and thanckfull hartes, even The last drop of Bloode in our heartes, and last speritt of Breath in our Nostrilles, to be powred out, to be Breathed up, For your safetye'.[120] Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, adopts the pose rhetorically in a letter of submission after his last committing to the Tower: 'Now do I prostrate at your highness' gracious feet myself, my poor children, and all that I have, hoping more on your most gracious clemency than in any unadvised desert. I seek to excuse myself no way, but wholly submit myself to what shall best please your most merciful heart'.[121] The epilogue to Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and the prologue to *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, both performed at court before Elizabeth, adopt similar rhetorical stances:

> O deere Goddesse,
> Breathe life in our nombd spirits with one smile,
> And from this cold earth, we with liuely soules
> Shal rise like men (new-borne) & make heau'n sound
> With Hymnes sung to thy name, and praiers.[122]
>
> As wretches in a storm, expecting day,
> With trembling hands and eyes cast up to heaven,

[119] John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (London, 1823), p. 61.
[120] Katherine Duncan-Jones, '"Almost always smiling": Elizabeth's Last Two Years' in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England* , eds. Elizabeth H. Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2007), pp. 31-47; qtd. 45.
[121] Letter to Queen Elizabeth, 10 Sept. 1571, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* ed. Leah S. Marcus (University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 128-9; 128.
[122] Thomas Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* (London, 1600), sig. L3v.

> Make prayers the anchor of their conquered hopes,
> So we, dear goddess, wonder of all eyes,
> Your meanest vassals, through mistrust and fear
> To sink into the bottom of disgrace
> By our imperfect pastimes, prostrate thus
> On bended knees, our sails of hope do strike,
> Dreading the bitter storms of your dislike. (1-9)[123]

Perhaps the most striking performance before Elizabeth was that of Shane O'Neill – 'Shane the Proud' – the Irish king of the O'Neill dynasty of Ulster who came to London in January 1562. Elizabeth I conceded to almost all of his demands, but he consented to present himself before her. Cecil's letter to the Earl of Sussex on Shane O'Neill's submission to Elizabeth lays out the plan: 'I thought mete that his submission shuld be both in Irish and English, which he made upon his knees, and first prostrat uppon his face'.[124] Camden's account describes the scene:

> Now was Shan O'Neal come out of Ireland, to perform what he had promised a year before, with a guard of ax-bearing Galloglasses, bare-headed, with curled haire hanging downe, yellow surplises dyed with saffron, long sleeves, short coates, and hairy mantles; whom the English people gazed at with no lesse admiration than now a-dayes they doe them of China and America. He being received with all kindnesse, and falling downe at the Queene's feete, confessed his crime and rebellion with howling, and obtained pardon.[125]

When, aside from the careful proscribed ritual of coronation, do we see Elizabeth I prostrate? The recorded instances are remarkably consistent: when she is at prayer. A translation from one of the few prayers she wrote in Spanish reads: 'I, Thy humble maidservant, prostrate myself, O my God, O my Father, before the throne of Thy divine Majesty and give Thee infinite thanks, thanks as great as I am able, because Thou hast made me one of the number of those whom Thou freest from great afflictions.'[126] The 'Prayer to God for the Auspicious Administration of the Kingdom and the Safety of the People' begins with this humble positioning: 'Great Framer and Preserver of things, God, before whom here at the feet of Thy Majesty I humbly lie prostrate, I consider seriously

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[123] Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* in *English Renaissance Drama,* pp. 483-544.
[124] Sir William Cecil, letter to the Earl of Sussex, 7 Jan. 1561 (MS. Cotton Titus b. 8.69) reprinted in *The Zurich Letters,* ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge UP, 1846), p. 295n.
[125] William Camden, 'Shane O'Neil at Court' reprinted in *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), p. 87.
[126] 'The Spanish Versicles and Prayers: First Prayer' in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* pp. 155-6; 155.

with myself how unworthy I am, to whom Thou kindly offerest Thine ear. Suffused all over with shame, I scarcely dare to lift up mine eyes to Thee.'[127] Elizabeth's chaplain William Tooker describes her preparing to heal the sick: 'How often have I seen her most serene Majesty, prostrate on her knees, body and soul rapt in prayer.'[128] This last instance is another that mingles prostration and kneeling, but crucially, the gesture was publicly performed, substantiating her royal power – 'a spectacle of her piety'.[129] Elizabeth, like Peele's David, performs the gesture as a public prayer, sometimes physically as in Tooker's description, sometimes rhetorically through her prayers – many of which were made public in a 1569 printing with a frontispiece featuring the Queen kneeling in prayer.



Queen Elizabeth I At Prayer, Frontispiece to *Christian Prayers* (1569)

[127] Ibid., p. 158.
[128] qtd. in Carole Levin, '"Would I Could Give You Help and Succour": Elizabeth I and the Politics of Touch', *Faculty Publications, Department of History* Paper 68 (1989), pp. 191-205; 199.
[129] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford UP, 1991), p. 69.

Hamlin asserts that the frontispiece to *Eikon basilike* depicting a kneeling Charles I was a visual allusion to the penitent David, two divinely appointed kings, sinful but repentant.[130] This image of Elizabeth fits into this tradition of visual allusion. Elizabeth fashions herself as God's 'handmaide'; Peele's David has a 'humble heart'; both king and queen position themselves as servants to God while simultaneously reinforcing their status as providential leaders. Placing this gesture in a religious and historical context allows us to see the agency (or attempt to regain agency) at work in a motion calculated to preserve or regain power.

Toward the end of the play, Titus has recognised both the potential emptiness and the strategic advantages of such posturing. He asks the Clown, 'Sirra, can you with a grace deliver up a Supplication?' and delivers specific instructions/stage directions:

> Then here is a
> Supplication for you, and when you come to him, at the first
> approach you must kneele, then kisse his foote, then deliver up
> your pigeons, and then look for your reward. I'll be at hand,
> sir, see you do it bravely. (4.3.101-5)[131]

Where is the Clown heading when Titus stops him? 'Why, I am going with my pigeons to the tribunal plebs to take up a matter of brawl' (4.3.91-2). The Clown's 'tribunal plebs' is a mispronunciation of *tribunus plebis*, the tribune of the people – arcing back to Titus's own unsuccessful supplication to the tribunes. The modifier 'bravely' has the connotation of showmanship, as Falstaff plays upon it: 'for to serve bravely is to come halting off, you know; to come off the breach with his pike bent bravely, and to surgery bravely; to venture upon the charged chambers bravely' (2.4.47-51). Titus has learned that gestures in this Rome cannot be strategic in the simpler sense of his earlier prostration-as-supplication, but must be part of a carefully orchestrated plot. Pretending not to see through Tamora's disguise in a subsequent scene, he asks, '[H]ow can I grace my talk, / Wanting a hand to give it action?' – action, Waith notes, a rhetorical term meaning both 'delivery' and 'gesture' (5.2.18n). Of course, having one hand gives his message powerful action, physically

[130] pp. 193-4.

[131] This passage appears in Q1 (corresponding to roughly 4.3.104 in modern editions), but Eugene Waith is 'virtually certain that Shakespeare had second thoughts about this dialogue' due to the repetition of the question (at l. 97 Titus asks, 'Tell me, can you deliver an Oration to the Emperour with grace?'). He omits these lines, while Dover Wilson resolves the repeated question by omitting the first instance, as do J. C. Maxwell and Stanley Wells. Bate also brackets off the lines surrounding the first question as a 'false start', retaining the lines about a kneeling supplication.

underscoring his following speech, 'Witness this wretched stump, witness these crimson lines' – writing in the blood from his stump. It speaks volumes as he addresses both Tamora-as-Revenge and the revenge the audience knows is coming: 'O sweet Revenge, now do I come to thee, / And if one arm's embracement will content thee, / I will embrace thee by and by' (5.2.67-9). The scene was memorable enough in action in the theatre for Middleton to recall it a decade later in *The Ant and the Nightingale* (1604), when a soldier describes his 'lamentable action of one arm, like old Titus Andronicus' (947).[132] In the opening scene, Tamora counsels Saturninus, 'Dissemble all your griefs and discontents' (1.1.443), a typically Peelean reformulation of her, 'Titus…/ Whose fury not dissembled speaks his griefs' (1.1.438). Titus learns that there is no way to speak his griefs but to dissemble.

David's final lines position Absalon above, in heaven (a sublime remove from his death above, in a tree):

> Then thou art gone, ah thou art gone my sonne
> To heaven I hope my Absalon is hone.
> Thy soule there plac'd in honour of the Saints
> Or angels clad with immortalitie,
> Shall reape a sevenfold grace, for all thy greefes.
> Thy eyes now no more eyes but shining stars,
> Shall decke the flaming heavens with novell lampes. (1903-9)

David conjures the gaze ever upwards: 'Thou shalt behold thy soveraigne face to face, / With wonder knit in triple unitie, / Unitie infinite and innumerable' (1914-16). This unity returns us to the subject of Psalm 133, as the thing David desires and mourns throughout the play. The only staged glimpse of unity is achieved through what appears to be shared mourning. What seems to come across most clearly in a scene where the living act as though they are dead is the potential for connection through mourning. Mirrored gestures open up mirrored emotions: by getting his followers to follow his motions, David wants them to experience his emotions too. However, this unity is achieved only briefly. Peele both holds out this possibility and snatches it away, pushing a king who leads by mourning to near abdication through mourning. What connects all four scenes is the exquisitely

[132] *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford UP, 2007), pp. 164-82.

lyrical nature of the performed mourning. Viewing Peele's play as a dramatic version of the equally lyrical psalm translations makes sense of a play only ever admired for its poetic feats: this is a play about the ways lyric poetry is translated, created, quoted and performed.

Titus begins to perform David's part, turning to those around him, prostrating himself to beg for mercy. But he exists in the world of revenge tragedy in which the justices are deaf to his pleas and the structures of power seem irrevocably corrupt. While both plays deploy vertical visual structure, at the end of *Titus* there is no high-flown rhetoric, only a heap of bodies. The striking image in this final scene is of Aaron 'fastened in the earth' (5.3.183) and Tamora's body scattered on the ground for 'beasts and birds of prey' (5.3.198). The quadruple levels of the opening funeral scene – the tomb below, the two levels of the stage, and the burial rites gesturing to powers above – become flattened into one ghastly plane where bodies are not buried but consumed. This is a play of dark pits, of stones, of tears written in dust, where the ultimate punishment is to remain in that wretched space unburied, the only consolation to be found by going darker, to 'Revenge's cave' (3.1.269).

Performing mourning is literally cut off in *Titus Andronicus*, but investigating the gesture of prostration in connection with *David and Bethsabe* and in the contexts of worship and political positioning reveals the cultural meanings of prostration for those who normally bow to nobody. This version of pre-emptive mourning is both deliberate performance and targeted rhetorical position, crucial elements shared with kneeling, as the next chapter investigates. Unlike the transitory gesture of kneeling, however, lying down is freighted with finality, drawing a line with the body, marking the earth both as the 'roof of graves' and as a platform for performance.

Chapter 2

'*[K]neeling and weeping*': Rehearsing Mourning in *Sir Thomas More* and *Edward II*

Towards the end of *Sir Thomas More*, the Earl of Surrey delivers a message to More from the never-yet-ever-present king. The Bishop of Rochester has been sent to the Tower for refusing to sign the king's articles. With this threat in the background, Surrey asks More once again to sign, reiterating, 'if you now refuse for to subscribe, / A stricter course will follow' (12.148-9). The immediate response is Lady More's, 'O dear husband –' followed by the daughters' 'Dear father' – opposite which line in the MS is the direction '*kneeling and weeping*', which might apply to both daughters or as Jowett's note points out, to More's wife as well (13.150n). The female family members likely remain on their knees as they implore, 'O God, O God!' in response to the entry of the officer who will arrest More for high treason.

Edward II presents a very different form of kneeling from the outset. When Gaveston first enters to Edward, he kneels, prompting Edward to respond:

> Why shouldst thou kneel? Knowest thou not who I am?
> Thy friend, thy self, another Gaveston!
> Not Hylas was more mourned of Hercules
> Than thou hast been of me since thy exile. (1.1.141-4)[1]

Edward's urging Gaveston upwards contrasts sharply to his threat moments before to Mortimer for his failure to show appropriate deference: 'The sword shall plane the furrows of thy brows / And hew these knees that now are grown so stiff' (1.1.93-4).

These two scenes foreground the gesture of kneeling in contrasting ways. More's family kneel on his behalf for the king's mercy, kneel to implore More to relent and sign the articles, and, as we shall see, kneel as a form of attempted mourning. Gaveston's pose is one of seduction, but his earlier line, 'Farewell base stooping to the lordly peers; / My knee shall bow to none but to the king' reveals a seemingly subservient gesture to be a form of social dominance if one will kneel only before the most powerful person in the country and nobody else (1.1.19). Similarly, the kneeling position of More's daughters and wife simultaneously confirms and belies More's description, 'This partner and these subjects to my flesh / Prove rebels to my conscience' (13.151-2). Kneeling prior to this in the play has been the very antidote to rebellion, as More chides the citizens, '…those same hands / That

[1] All references are to the New Mermaids edition (Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II*, eds. Martin Wiggins and Robert Lindsey (London: Methuen, 1997).

you, like rebels, lift against the peace, / Lift up for peace; and your unreverent knees, / Make them your feet' (6.122-5).

This chapter takes the gesture of kneeling as a starting point to develop an analysis of mourning modulated by class divisions, focusing primarily on one play which only allows the poor to mourn, *Sir Thomas More* (c.1600, revised 1603-4) and another play which emphasizes the unidirectionality of mourning between social classes, *Edward II* (c. 1590-2).[2] Mourning in both these plays is also quite literally preposterous: placing first what should be last as characters mourn the deaths of those still living. Whereas there is a symbiotic circularity of mourning and revenge in the *Henry VI* plays, in these two plays we find the opposite as the emotion precedes the event that is supposed to cause it. This chapter argues that proleptic mourning in *More* and *Edward II* is performed as a repeated rehearsal to ease, stave off and prepare for the coming loss, rehearsing mourning in order to be able to let go when the moment finally comes, but in both plays seems also to erupt as a direct consequence to what is going on behind the scenes. *Edward II* technically opens with a court in mourning for the old king, but instead the opening line 'My father is deceased' makes Gaveston 'surfeit with delight' (1.1.1-2). Later in the play, Edward mourns Gaveston's exile, and mourning here is both proleptic (for Gaveston's impending death) and a staged shadow of what has gone unperformed (mourning for Edward's father). What is interesting in *Sir Thomas More* is precisely what is not staged: the articles the historical More refused to sign are mentioned onstage, but their contents are never made explicit. More's Catholicism is similarly occluded throughout the play, creating an eerie sense that everybody knows what his sin is but cannot speak it aloud. More's family mourn for his

[2] While the date of the revisions to the play has been largely agreed to be around 1603-4, John Jowett's recent edition of the play presents convincing evidence in favour of a later date than previously accepted for the original text: 1600, vs. a previous coalescence around the early 1590s. Scott McMillin has suggested that the play was written for Lord Strange's Men, but Jowett's later dating of the play makes this impossible (McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre and* The Book of Sir Thomas More (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987). Jowett proposes the possibility of the play being commissioned by the Earl of Derby's Men, with Worcester's/Queen Anne's Men the likely candidates for the revisions. The original text was likely written by Anthony Munday in collaboration with Chettle, revised by Chettle and Dekker, transcribed by an unknown Hand C, possibly a scribe, further revisions provided by Shakespeare, Heywood and Dekker, and a final editing phase by Hand C (Jowett, p. 393). Marlowe's play was performed by Pembroke's Men, and the date of composition likely between 1590-2 based on borrowings from *2* and *3 Henry VI*, and Peele's *Edward I* (Martin Wiggins, 'Introduction', *Edward II* (London: Methuen, 2007), pp. xi-xlii; xiv-xv).

undisclosed offstage actions while Edward replaces mourning for his father with mourning Gaveston's exile.

As well as sharing this sense of mourning 'out of joint', the two plays have an overlapping gestural vocabulary in the depiction of grief: both feature kneeling as the predominant body position. This chapter addresses the following key questions: what does it mean to kneel in the worlds of More and Edward, and how does this gesture relate both to the sense of prolepsis and class propriety of mourning in both plays? Both plays ultimately reject kneeling as a gesture of mourning. In *Edward II*, the subservient kneeling of the nobles is revealed to be a hollow gesture, allowing Edward to continue visually playing at kinghood while they divest him of any real power. In *Sir Thomas More*, More rejects the kneeling mourning of his family in favour of the mourning by the poor. Here, the repetition of the gesture shadows the unstated and unspoken elements of the play: the submission the absent Henry VIII desires but which More refuses to perform; the unspoken Catholicism underlying this refusal.

'For this cause I bow my knees…': Staged Kneeling and Religion[3]

The analysis of specific instances of kneeling in the two plays under consideration first requires a brief summary of what it means to kneel on the early modern stage. I examine kneeling here as a frequent occurrence on stage, the physically lower pose often mirroring the power differential or relative class positions, but despite both the frequency and the lowering, holding a high degree of theatrical power. The gesture may also potentially be read as Catholic – not exclusively or necessarily so, but Catholic resonances seem particularly justified in the case of More.

[3] Ephesians 3:14. Kneeling in the Bible most often occurs as a form of reverence or act of adoration while praying (e.g. 2 Chronicles 2:13, 6:13, Ezra 9:5, Isaiah 45:23, Daniel 6:10, Acts 7:60, 9:40, 20:36, 21:5, Luke 22:40-41), less often as people fall to their knees before another (Mark 1:40, 10:17, Matthew 17:14, 27:29).

Kneeling is a ubiquitous gesture. Dessen and Thomson's *Dictionary of Stage Directions* reports that 'over 300 figures are directed explicitly to *kneel*/*kneel down* (a small percentage of the actual onstage kneeling)'.[4] In Brian Cummings' 2012 British Academy lecture, he noted that kneeling occurs in every Shakespeare play (although there is not a single instance in the sonnets, perhaps evidence of the playwright's intuition of the power of this gesture on the stage rather than the page).[5] Kneeling has been written off as 'ordinary stage business' and 'such a common action in drama and in life' that it cannot be used, for example, as evidence of borrowing between plays.[6] I would argue that ubiquitous or common as it may be, kneeling remains meaningful, and despite many forms and instances of kneeling, the gesture is most often one of supplication. Herbert Spencer's nineteenth-century article on 'Evolution of Ceremonial Government', while problematically flattening any distinctions between cultures, emphasises the ubiquity of kneeling as a gesture of submission in different times and places:

> ...[that] kneeling is, and has been in countless places and times, a form of political homage, a form of domestic homage, and a form of religious homage, needs no showing. We will note only that it is, and has been everywhere, associated with coercive governments; as in Africa, where "by thus constantly practising genuflection upon the hard ground, their" (the Dahomas') "knees in time become almost as hard as their heels;" as in Japan, where "on leaving the presence of the emperor, officers walk backward on their knees;" ...and as in mediaeval Europe, where serfs knelt to their masters, feudal vassals to their suzerains, and in 1444, the Duchess Isabella de Bourbon, visiting the queen, went on her knees thrice during her approach.[7]

The *Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's Tragedies* points to the repeated tableau of a woman kneeling to a man in the tragedies, including Lavinia kneeling to Titus for a blessing, Tamora's kneeling in vain for mercy, and Portia's kneeling to Brutus. Here kneeling represents female submissiveness, but as Dillon points out, it can also 'highlight a forced or unwilling adoption of submission' as with Portia's 'physical posture which will proclaim her as a virtuous and obedient wife despite the strongly assertive mode of her

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[4] p. 125.
[5] Brian Cummings, 'Shakespeare and the Reformation', British Academy lecture, 1 May 2012. Audio recording available at <http://www.britac.ac.uk/events/2012/Cummings-shakespeare.cfm>.
[6] Richard Knowles, 'How Shakespeare Knew *King Leir*' in *Shakespeare Survey* 55 (Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 12-35.
[7] *Popular Science Monthly* 13 (1878), pp. 146-66; 150.

speech'.[8] When words and gesture contradict, is one mode of communication consistently deemed more trustworthy than the other in the theatre? The analysis in this chapter complicates this binary by attending to the conversation occurring between gestures. The accretion of meaning in a gesture like kneeling opens the physical gesture for parsing in the space of the playhouse. Like prostration, it physically lowers the body of the actor, but in doing so, exercises control of the gaze of the audience and commands the vertical space of the stage, allowing a pose of submission to retain tremendous theatrical power. It also draws on past iterations of the pose, allowing for visual intertextual commentary between scenes and between plays.

There is also the haunting question of whether kneeling is Catholic, a question that might be answered as so many 'Catholic?' queries by the possibly occluding, 'yes, but not necessarily or exclusively'. The illustrated 1587 *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum* depicts Catholics persecuted by Protestant iconoclasts, and the Catholics are shown kneeling before altars and shrines:



'Horrenda inhumanitas genera à Geusiis Belgicis peracta.'[9]

[8] Janette Dillon, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's Tragedies* (Cambridge UP, 2007), p. 60.
[9] Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum [...]* (Antwerp, 1587), p. 61. Discussed in Christopher Highley, 'Richard Verstegen's Book of Martyrs' in *John Foxe and His World*, eds. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 183-97.

Complaints about the continuation of Catholic funeral practices in Lancashire in 1590 feature kneeling as one of the 'manifold popish superstition[s] used in the burial of the dead':

> Then, concerning those that remain with the corpse till it be buried, when they have set down the corpse in the church they bend themselves to their private prayer with crossing and knocking themselves, all kneeling round about the corpse neglecting the public service then in hand.[10]

The later *Directory for the Public Worship of God*, adopted in 1645, again targets kneeling as a ceremony for the dead to be outlawed:

> Because the customs of kneeling down and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other usages in the place where it lies before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are in no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.[11]

In the context of the Scottish Reformation, King James was criticized for a twofold crime of not just taking the sacrament but also of kneeling before the altar to do so, gestures Clare McManus reads as 'brand[ing] the King as closer to Catholicism than the Queen'.[12] In his pamphlet, 'The lawfulness of kneeling in the act of receiving the sacrament of the Lordes supper', the preacher John Michelson identifies one of the major arguments against kneeling as 'conformitie with the Papistes' and specifically with the 'idolatrie of Papistes'.[13] He answers this objection by first listing all the already-shared practices and beliefs, from the blessed Trinity, Christ's conception by the Holy Ghost, the substance of baptism, then asks, 'they kneele at Prayer; wee kneele in like manner: and shall wee refuse to kneele at the receiuing of the Sacrament, because it is their custome to kneele?' For Michelson the problematic idolatry lies not in the gesture but the internal feelings:

> The idolatrie of the Papistes, is not their kneeling: for Kneeling is a lawfull, & commendable gesture, in the true worship of God. But this is their idolatry, that internalie, in their hearts, they believe that the bread is Christs body really, by Transubstantiation & externally with their bodies, by uncovering their heads,

[10] *A Description of the State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the County of Lancaster, the year 1590*, ed. F. R. Raines (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1875), pp. 5-7, qtd. Cressy p. 401.
[11] *A Directory For the Publique Worship of God* (1646), p. 35, qtd. Cressy p. 416.
[12] Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)*, (Manchester UP, 2002), p. 94.
[13] John Michelson, *The lawfulness of kneeling in the act of receiuing the sacrament of the Lordes supper* (University of St Andrews, 1620), p. 60.

> knocking on their breastes, bowing their knees &c they worship the bread as the very body of Christ, & as Christ himself, God and man.[14]

Cummings' work on the *Book of Common Prayer* reveals not a Protestant elimination of kneeling, but an extra rubric and extra attention paid to kneeling by John Knox. There is a distinct attempt to control the feelings of those kneeling in the addendum now known as the Black Rubric: [15]

> Leste yet the same kneelyng myght be thought or taken otherwyse, we dooe declare that it is not ment thereby, that any adoracion is doone, or oughte to bee doone, eyther unto the Sacramentall bread or wyne there bodily receyved, or unto anye reall and essencial presence there beeyng of Christ's naturall fleshe and bloude.

The 1620 answer to Michelson, *A defence of our arguments against kneeling*, relates kneeling to the act of prostration:

> to returne to kneeling, I conclude with the words of Calvin, who sayth, *That they are sure that they swarve not from Gods commandement, who take the sacrament as God hath commanded without adoration. They have the example of the Apostles, who prostrate not themselves but took sitting.*[16]

Kneeling, then, does not automatically cue a Catholic reading, though there remains the possibility for the Catholic ritual to haunt the gesture, particularly in *Sir Thomas More*, where Catholicism surfaces only in dreams, More's religion deliberately unstaged.

If the realm of the gestural is to make the unseen seen, to make internal emotions externally legible, there is a powerful crosscurrent at work here in which the gesture may cue the internal emotion.[17] The gesture can inspire genuine emotion that did not precede

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[14] Michelson, p. 55.
[15] Cummings, 'Shakespeare and the Reformation'.
[16] David Calderwood, *A Defence of Our Arguments Against Kneeling* (Amsterdam: Giles Thorp, 1620). Emphasis in original.
[17] Positing gestures as making the unseen seen rests on a number of assumptions: firstly, that there is some internality to express, something going on 'within' that must be made manifest. Secondly, there is the risk here of falling into the simplicity of the Galenic model which generates a bodily response from an image in the soul, with no space in between for modulation or simulation. Francis Bacon outlines this unmodulated version of expression: 'For the Lyneaments of the bodie doe disclose the disposition and the inclination of the minde in general; but the Motions of the countenance and parts, doe not onely so, but doe further disclose the present humour and state of the mind & will' (*Advancement of Learning* (1605; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 37). Paul Menzer argues that the early modern stage 'grew increasingly self-conscious about the expressive divorce between interior and exterior' and sought ways to achieve a 'bodily eloquence that is simultaneously authentic *and* fully comprehensible', summarising the actor's paradox: '[b]y virtue of their conventionality, however, these external manners can be aped, which erodes authenticity. Therefore, a truly authentic display must be *un*conventional but, by virtue of being so, risks incoherence' ('The Actor's Inhibition: Early Modern Acting and the Rhetoric of Restraint',

the gesture, or, more often, intensify a pre-existing emotion. Claudius seems to believe in this possibility as he kneels, asking for his body's posture to cue repentance: 'Bow, stubborn knees; and heart with strings of steel, / Be soft as sinews of the new born babe' (3.3.70-71). For Ramie Targoff, this scene 'interrogates…the belief that external practices might not only reflect but also partly transform the internal self' – a belief she connects to the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, and the possibility for kneeling as a 'devotional process that…produce[s] a sincere state of contrition'.[18] Coppélia Kahn points to Thomas Wright's caution: 'hearts…be inscrutable, onely open to God' while 'externall physiognomy and operations' offer only 'an Image of that affection that doth raigne in the minde', not 'a perfect and resolute knowledge'.[19] Here Shakespeare stages a gesture initially soliloquised as an attempt at contrition, one Hamlet reads as successful prayer, 'the purging of his soul', but one that ultimately fails as Claudius gives up: 'My words fly up, my thoughts remain below' (3.3.85, 97). Despite this final failure, the scene speaks to the power of kneeling: the gesture has protective power as a pose of prayer, even if those prayers 'never to heaven go'; Claudius's gesture is a genuine 'assay' to cue repentance, even if he does not succeed.

The transformational possibility of the external gesture is evident, as well as the potential for both misreading the body (even for Hamlet, attuned to 'actions that a man might play'), and also deliberately performing the gesture insincerely. After all, kneeling before someone testifies immediately and visibly to his or her dominance over the kneeling figure. People kneel because they want something (or want to show they want something), whether it is forgiveness, mercy, rewards, a hand in marriage, or kneeling together as part

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Renaissance Drama 35 (2006), pp. 83-98; 85, 88-9). While Menzer posits a suppression of passion as the only way to reveal it, it is unclear how this suppression of passion fully escapes the possibility of being feigned. Crucially, however, Menzer's account as well as early modern 'passions' theorists endorse this interior-exterior model (e.g. Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*; Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London, 1640)). By raising the problems of legibility, the concept of a text/gesture to be read and an underlying meaning/emotion to be gleaned is consistently upheld as the basic structure of expression.

[18] Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of the Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 3, 1).

[19] Wright, p. 27 qtd. Kahn, ' Claudius On His Knees' *Shakespeare Up Close: Reading Early Modern Texts* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), pp. 282-90; 289. Kahn's close reading of this scene asks us to pay attention to Claudius as a 'sinner struggling with conscience' identifying the interpretative dilemma (hitherto eclipsed by obsession with Hamlet's delay) as: 'reading Claudius's inscrutable heart in his words' (p. 290).

of the marriage ritual to underline the sincerity of their sworn oaths and for a blessing from above. Subjects kneel to pay homage, to express their lower social status in a starkly physical mode.

Kneeling is also frequently a gesture of mourning on stage, with examples from across the period featuring kneeling mourners. As the Duchess of Malfi woos Antonio, she insists, 'This is flesh and blood, sir; / 'Tis not the figure cut in alabaster / Kneels at my husband's tomb' (1.1.454-6).[20] It is possible that here, the Duchess kneels to her social inferior, her physical posture echoing the carved figures of kneeling mourners, a vivid demonstration of the multiple valences of kneeling – kneeling to mourn, kneeling to woo.[21] In *Cymbeline*, Belarius instructs 'Come on, away, apart on our knees' as the final gesture in their obsequies for Innogen and Cloten (4.2.288). *The Two Noble Kinsmen* opens with three mourning Queens '*in black*'; one kneels before Theseus, one before Hippolyta, and the third before Emilia (1.1.24.1). Creon will not allow them to bury the bodies of their husbands, and they kneel to beg Theseus to intercede. They are told repeatedly to 'rise', to 'stand up', the focus specifically on their knees: 'No knees to me', says Emilia; 'O, no knees, none, widow,' reiterates Theseus (1.1.35, 74). Theseus wishes to press on with his wedding ceremony, but relents when both Hippolyta and Emilia join the widows on their knees, in a scene that underscores the dependency of the power of the gesture on those performing it. Three kneeling Queens are insufficient to sway Theseus, until his wife and her sister kneel also.

Jacquelyn Pearson argues that the 'most striking' similarity between *King Leir* and *Richard II* is the visual motif of kneeling, connecting York kneeling to request Aumerle's

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[20] John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi* in *English Renaissance Drama* (pp. 1749-832).

[21] Stephen Hamrick makes a case for the Catholic poetics of *Tottel's Miscellany*:

> Surrey and Cheke's Catholic poet-lovers have "worshipt" at a "sacred flame," giving "thankes" upon their knees to "serve" the "gods" Cupid and Venus. Although kneeling remained a legal practice when Tottel first published his collection in 1557, already by 1549 kneeling to the name of Christ had become a controversial Catholic practice that some Protestants rejected.

Hamrick acknowledges wider possibilities in that the 'poetic image of a lover kneeling before a divine being, however, evokes multiple early modern contexts that inflect the contemporary understanding of this ubiquitous Petrarchan image' ('*Tottel's Miscellany* and the English Reformation', *Criticism* 44.4 (2002), pp. 329-61; 339).

execution and the Duchess kneeling to beg for her son's life to Cordella and Leir kneeling and rising and kneeling again in Scene 24.[22] The motive for kneeling in these scenes is to seek pardon, as, in each, one character vows never to rise until their request is granted. Richard Knowles dismisses these parallels by identifying the vastly different dynamics at work between the loving Leir and Cordella versus York's request for his son's death, and writes off the kneeling as 'ordinary stage business'.[23] Knowles excludes the posture as possible evidence for borrowing between plays due to kneeling being 'such a common action in drama and in life'.[24] Crucially, however, Skura answers Knowles's criticism by pointing to the unusual context of kneeling in *Richard II*: there is more than one kneeler, the kneeling is inappropriate based on characters' rank and social context, the kneeling turns into a competition and finally, is so excessive that Bolingbroke comments on it, 'Our scene is altered from a serious thing, / And now changed to, "The Beggar and the King"' (5.3.77-8). Skura relates this to the scene in *Leir* where father and daughter reunite, and 'compete almost comically with each other in kneeling for forgiveness (scene 24)'.[25] The debate over these instances of kneeling validates comparing the gesture across plays if careful attention is paid to the specific contexts and differing dynamics of the visually similar posture in each instance.

Continuing this brief survey of staged kneeling, *Coriolanus* examines the enormous disparity in power created by kneeling in the scene where Coriolanus first kneels to his mother both as greeting and to address his discomfort. As his family approaches, Coriolanus narrates, 'My mother bows, / As if Olympus to a molehill should / In supplication nod' (5.3.29-31), and after kissing Virgilia, greets Volumnia:

> And the most noble mother of the world
> Leave unsaluted. Sink, my knee, i'th'earth;
> *He kneels*
> Of thy deep duty more impression show
> Than that of common sons. (5.3.49-52

[22] 'The Influence of *King Leir* on Shakespeare's *Richard II*', *N&Q* 227 (1982), pp. 113-15.
[23] 'How Shakespeare Knew *King Leir*' in *Shakespeare Survey* 55 (Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 12-35.
[24] Knowles, 'How Shakespeare', p. 24.
[25] Meredith Skura, 'What Shakespeare did with the Queen's *King Leir* and When' in *Shakespeare Survey* 63 (Cambridge UP, 2010), pp. 316-24; 320.

Volumnia immediately reverses their physical positions:

> O, stand up blest!
> *He rises*.
> Whilst with no softer cushion than the flint
> I kneel before thee, and unproperly
> Show duty as mistaken all this while
> Between the child and parent.
> *She kneels*. (5.3.52-56)

Coriolanus's response to his kneeling mother makes both the enormous disparity in power created and his discomfort with this imbalance clear:

> What's this?
> Your knees to me? To your corrected son?
> *He raises her*.
> Then let the pebbles on the hungry beach
> Fillip the stars. Then let the mutinous winds
> Strike the proud cedars 'gainst the fiery sun,
> Murdering impossibility, to make
> What cannot be slight work. (5.3.56-62)

The emotional effect of the gesture is clear, and one Volumnia repeats later in the scene as she begs Coriolanus to make peace, ratcheting up the bathos from weeping to commanding, 'Down ladies! Let us shame him with our knees' (5.3.169); making this apex of gestural expression clear, 'Down! An end. / This is the last. / *The ladies and Young Martius kneel*' (5.3.171-2); and pointing attention to his son, 'Nay, behold's! / This boy, that cannot tell what he would have / But kneels and holds up hands for fellowship' (5.3.173-5).[26] Earlier in the play, Volumnia introduces the gesture as she counsels Coriolanus to kneel for the people, 'for in such business / Action is eloquence, and the eyes of th'ignorant / More learned then the eares' (3.2.75), implying that her own later actions manipulate her more ignorant son.[27] The final stage direction of the kneeling scene '*He holds her by the hand,*

[26] Of the stage directions here, only *'Kneeles*' after Coriolanus's 'Sinke my knee' appears in the Folio.
[27] For David Bevington, Volumnia's advice summarises the central argument of his book, *Action Is Eloquence: Shakespeare's Language of Gesture*, (and provides the title) epitomising an 'attitude towards the language of gesture [that] is at once admiring and cynical. It attributes to visual images an extraordinary power to move men's minds, a power that words alone cannot claim; at the same time, it perceives in those visual images a power to deceive' ((Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984), p. 1). In a later section on kneeling, Bevington describes the 'ironic reversal' of Coriolanus's mother kneeling to him to bring about his capitulation to her (p. 169). He also discusses Isabella's kneeling in the final scene of *Measure for Measure* at length – here, 'the insistent kneelings pace the struggle between justice and mercy' (p. 167) – and the 'jolting challenge…to the conventions of ceremonial language'

silent' replaces any explanation by Coriolanus of his capitulation, as his next lines exclaim over what his mother has already done: 'O mother, mother! / What have you done?' (5.3.183-4).[28] Cynthia Marshall writes of this moment: 'Bodily action here must convey all that is not said…action is rendered hysterical, for the characters' bodies must convey a knowledge that is remote from their words'.[29] This scene brings the survey of staged kneeling to a fitting close, revealing kneeling as, to use Bevington's phrase, 'a profound gesture of acknowledgement of the claims of hierarchy', as well as the ways the gesture can be strategically deployed as persuasive, pitiable, provoking discomfort.[30] Considering the scene as tableau highlights the possibilities for actions generally and kneeling specifically to convey the unspoken, as occurs in both *Sir Thomas More* and *Edward II*.

Kneeling For Reward in *Edward II*

The co-mingling of the kneeling family members and kneeling in subservience in *Coriolanus* brings together the dominant modes of this gesture in the two main plays under consideration in this chapter: the family for *Sir Thomas More* and the complex power exchanges in *Edward II*. Kneeling in *Edward II* is, for the majority of the play, rewarded, until the final scene where it is horrendously punished. The play is full of instances of kneeling: in a physical position inverse to the dynamics of the spoken seduction, Gaveston kneels as the king woos him in the opening scene; the nobles kneel to Edward as a sign of reconciliation and he rewards them with honors; he later rewards the kneeling Spencer with titles. Sara Munson Deats argues that the similar blocking in these scenes 'could

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in *King Lear*, a father and king kneeling to his daughter, and kneeling over her dead body in the 'unutterably painful' final scenes (p. 171-2).

[28] This direction does appear in the Folio.

[29] 'Shakespeare, Crossing the Rubicon', *Shakespeare Survey* 53 (Cambridge UP, 2000), pp. 73-88; 86.

[30] Bevington, *Action*, p. 164.

provide a vinculum linking these three parallel instances of obeisance and reward'.[31] Bevington and Shapiro link instances of kneeling in *Richard II* as transfers of power: 'Kneelings are crucial visual images throughout *Richard II*, enabling us to follow the transfer of power from Richard to Bolingbroke, and culminating in a wryly comic scene in which the Duke and Duchess of York and their son Aumerle all kneel to King Henry IV and are reconciled by him.'[32] Looking at this scene a little more closely, the Duchess of York begs Henry to pardon Rutland: 'For ever will I walk upon my knees…until thou bid me joy / By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy' (5.3.92-5), and is joined in her kneeling pose by Aumerle, 'Unto my mother's prayers I bend my knee', and opposed in the same pose by York's 'Against them both my true joints bended be' (5.3.96-7). The Duchess of York critiques York's plea as disingenuous – 'His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are in jest' – claiming that 'His weary joints would gladly rise, I know; / Our knees shall kneel till to the ground they grow' (5.3.100, 105-6). The kneeling in *Edward II* similarly traces power dynamics:

> Virtually all the signs of royal privilege once enjoyed by Edward are assumed by those who supplant him…The kneelings that were such visible tokens of contention between Edward and his peers are now made to the Queen and her son, as when Rice ap Howell and the citizens of Bristol greet Isabella with obeisance "In signe of love and dutie to this presence" (IV.vi.48). Mortimer boasts in soliloquy "that with a lowly conge to the ground, / The proudest lords salute me as I passe" (V.iv.49-50).[33]

Not just the citizens' signs of homage but also the knees of the nobles themselves are a consistent focus in the struggle for power, Edward asserting himself over Mortimer by threatening to literally carve him into submission: 'The sword shall plane the furrows of thy brows / And hew these knees that now are grown so stiff' (1.1.93-4). After Isabella tells Edward she has negotiated with the nobles for Gaveston's return, she cues the nobles to kneel: 'My gentle lord, bespeak these nobles fair / That wait attendance for a gracious look

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[31] Sara Munson Deats, 'Marlowe's Fearful Symmetry in *Edward II*' in *'A Poet and a filthy Play-maker': New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, eds. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill, and Constance B. Kuriyama (New York: AMS Press, 1988), p. 247.
[32] David Bevington and James Shapiro, '"What are kings, when regiment is gone?": The Decay of Ceremony in *Edward II*' in *'A Poet and a filthy Play-maker'*, pp. 263-78; 264.
[33] Ibid., p. 275.

/And on their knees salute your majesty' (1.4.336-8). The stage tableau at this moment is a physical demonstration of the restoration of the natural order, the king embracing the queen, the nobles assuming the position of subservience. However, this show of obedience rings somewhat hollow following so quickly after the nobles have exerted their power both by forcing Gaveston into exile and now allowing him back. Perhaps the Duchess of York's more critical examination of prayerful poses would be useful here, since the visual echo of the nobles assuming the kneeling position Gaveston took in the opening wooing scene also makes visible their desire to take Gaveston out of the picture, physically taking his place before the king.

As Arundel delivers the news of Gaveston's death, Edward's first question is, 'O, shall I speak, or shall I sigh and die?' (3.1.122) Spencer Jr. counsels him to transmute his grief to vengeance, and Edward '*kneels and saith*' his extended and epic vow of revenge against the barons.[34] He swears by earth, by heaven, all the moving orbs, by his right hand, his father's sword. His promise that 'my bloody colours may suggest / Remembrance of revenge immortally' (3.1.139-40) links 'remembrance' and 'revenge' and indicates how successful his transmutation has been. The formerly sighing/dying (in both the erotic and grief-related senses of the words) king has not transformed into a Bolingbroke, but the words he speaks are those of active revenge as opposed to passive mourning. What does it mean here that he kneels as he vows revenge? Kneeling in other plays is a step to or from prostration (for example, in *Titus Andronicus* and *David and Bethsabe*) and modelled in this

[34] Lear, for example, prefers 'noble anger' (2.4.276) rather than 'women's weapons, water-drops' (2.4.277), while Malcolm counsels Macduff to 'Dispute it like a man...let grief / convert to anger' (4.3.219, 228-9), offering revenge as the cure to grief: 'Let's make us med'cines of our great revenge, / To cure this deadly grief' (4.3.220-21). For King John in *Edward III*, it is the efficacious response to loss: 'By this revenge that loss will seem the less' (4.3.82), as Theseus in Heywood's *Brazen Age* prioritises: 'There lie most beauteous of the youths of Greece, / Whose death I will not mourne, ere I revenge' ((London, 1613), sig. D3r). Hoffman banishes the 'clouds of melancholy' as the body of his father, the 'nerves and arteries / In dead resoundings summon up revenge' (Henry Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman* in *Five Revenge Tragedies,* ed. Emma Smith (London: Penguin, 2012), 1.1.1, 3-4). The dying Bedford exhorts, 'O, let no words, but deeds, revenge this treason!' (*1 Henry VI,* 3.2.49) Queen Margaret attempts what is consistently gendered the male response to bereavement – 'Think therefore on revenge and cease to weep' – but, holding Suffolk's head, asks, 'But who can cease to weep and look on this?' (*2 Henry VI*, 4.4.3-4). Chapter 3 of this thesis departs from traditional critical models which treat revenge as a response to anxieties over justice (e.g., Boas, Kerrigan) and instead examines revenge as the action that both tries to cure and causes grief.

play as a gesture of subservience. But here Edward seems to combine the religious element of kneeling to take a vow, and kneeling to take a knighthood, the ceremonial importance reflected in the way the body poses before the greater power to promise something. There is potential here for emotionally powerful staging of a kneeling Edward vowing revenge before and to the audience. In *3 Henry VI*, Warwick and Edward kneel together to vow revenge, Warwick claiming,

> Here, on my knee, I vow to God above
> I'll never pause again, never stand still,
> Till either death hath closed these eyes of mine
> Or fortune given me measure of revenge. (2.3.29-32)

Edward joins him, body and soul: 'O, Warwick, I do bend my knee with thine, / And in this vow do chain my soul to thine' (2.3.33-4). Richard and George join the vow for revenge. In contrast, Edward kneels alone, despite the presence of at least six others on stage to witness his vow of revenge, emphasising his isolation. This isolation could underscore the emotional power of his plea, reaching out to the audience as he gestures from the 'earth, the common mother of us all' up to 'heaven, and all the moving orbs thereof', pointing to the whole vertical space of the playhouse he commands with his kneeling body, '[b]y this right hand' (3.2.128-30). However, this power is quickly undermined after he rises. Then, the play makes clear that he is only able to induce others to kneel by paying for it: quite possibly, Spencer kneels as he is anointed Earl of Gloucester and Lord Chamberlain in the lines immediately following Edward's vow.[35]

[35] On Henry VIII anointing the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard on 1 July 1535: 'the King girt the said sword about the Earl baudrickwise, the foresaid earl kneeling, and the other Lords standing that led him. And so the patent read out, the second Earle, being brought into the King's Majesty's presence by the two Earls aforesaid, was created there in everything according to the ceremony of the first Earl' (*Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 1515-1574*, eds. J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1867), p. 203).

Kneeling For Mercy in *Sir Thomas More*

In contrast to the opening subversive rejection of Gaveston's kneeling before the king in *Edward II*, kneeling first occurs in *The Book of Sir Thomas More* as a clear gesture of humility that More demands from the citizens. He chides them for disobeying their king:

> Wash your foul minds with tears, and those same hands
> That you, like rebels, lift against the peace,
> Lift up for peace; and your unreverent knees,
> Make them your feet. To kneel to be forgiven
> Is safer wars than ever you can make
> Whose discipline is riot.
> In, in, to your obedience! (Add. II, 6.118-28)[36]

When Surrey enters to deliver the pardons, moments too late as Lincoln as already been hanged but in time to save Doll, he reports: 'Sir Thomas More humbly upon his knee / Did beg the lives of all, since on his word / They did so gently yield' (7.144-6). Here, the gesture is repeated up the chain of social hierarchy, and More kneels for mercy as he told the rebels to, and on behalf on the rebels, literally taking their place and position in begging mercy for them. As with Marlowe's play, the gesture of subservience is modeled and repeated iterations accrue the diverse meanings of each previous incarnation, even if only as faint cognitive echoes.

Later in the play, mercy is needed for More himself. Surrey comes to deliver the news to More that Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, has been sent to the Tower for refusing to sign the king's articles, and to ask More once again to sign. This scene features female members of More's household kneeling to beg both God and More for mercy. While the '*kneeling and weeping*' stage direction could apply to both daughters or to More's wife as well, the stage direction for Lady More at 13.168 says '*kneeling*' as she begs her husband, 'Dear loving husband, if you respect not me, / Yet think upon your daughters' (13.150n; 13.168-9). Either she has been kneeling with her daughters since the beginning, or only

[36] This addition is widely accepted to have been written by Shakespeare (cf. Jowett (2011), Taylor (1989), McMillin (1987), Melchiori (1990)). However, Jowett describes the 'complex development' this passage underwent with Shakespeare's original text altered by Hand C, from Shakespeare's 'make them your feet to kneele to be forgyven' to Hand C's alteration of the punctuation and deletion of several lines: 'Make them your feet, to kneel to be forgiven. / Tell me but this: what rebel captain,…' and Jowett's editorial decision (following Melchiori) to split the line, 'Make them your feet. To kneel to be forgiven' (pp. 126-9).

starts kneeling here and joins in their physical expression as she asks More to think of them. More has to tell her, 'Wife, stand up' (13.169). Later in the scene, More advises her, 'Wife, mar not thine indifferent face. Be wise. / More's widow's husband, he must make thee rise,' meaning her next husband must build her fortune back up, but as Jowett's note points out, also 'opening up the possibility that Lady More has remained kneeling' (13.190n). In the later scene where his family enters, '*mourning*', his daughters exclaim once, 'Ah, my dear father!' and their only other line is to request, 'Your blessing, dear father', at which point they may conceivably kneel (16.65.1, 110, 124). Roper's Latin tag from Seneca – 'Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent' (small sorrows speak, great ones are silent) (13.195, 171n) – seems both an endorsement of his and More's stoic responses and a critique of the daughters (and possibly Lady More) weeping. The Senecan quotation appears frequently in the drama both indicating and questioning the impossibility of expressing grief.[37] Jowett's note remarks, 'Through quotation of the Latin, Roper speaks for the whole silent household' – but the household is explicitly not silent. And whether they weep audibly or not, their kneeling is a silent way of speaking grief.

More's indifference to his family's kneeling pleas and kneeling mourning continues even in the face of audible weeping. Questions dominate More's reactions to his family's expressed grief: 'Why, how now wife?' (13.127); 'What shouldst thou fear, fond woman?' (13.129); 'Why do you weep? Because I live at ease? …Why then should you weep?' (16.69, 75). These questions straddle a gap between obliviousness and solicitousness: is More concerned for those grieving around him and ready to hear them, or stemming the flood of grief in order to preserve his stoical approach? When More tells his wife he has resigned his office, he dismisses her tears: 'Come, breed not female children in your eyes' (11.75); 'No, wife, be merry, and be merry all, / You smiled at rising, weep not at my fall' (11.84). More later chides his son-in-law:

> Close them not then with tears, for that ostent
> Gives a wet signal of your discontent.
> If you will share my fortunes, comfort then:

[37] See Introduction for discussion of this aphorism.

> An hundred smiles for one sigh. What, we are men!
> Resign wet passion to these weaker eyes,
> Which proves their sex, but grants it ne'er more wise. (4.3.53-8)[38]

Crying figures here as an explicitly female strategy, something 'weaker eyes' might do. More's performance, 'void of fear', verges on heartlessness toward his family not only in his repression of their grief, but also in the way he seems to toy with them, cryptic phrasing hinting that he will relent and sign the Articles for the king and raising their hopes before dashing them again (17.124). The tricks and reversals More plays on his family combined with his joking even on the way up the steps of the scaffold occlude our view of his inner struggle for all but the briefest instances.[39] At one moment a single tear threatens to escape as he addresses his daughters, '...what's here, what's here? / Mine eye had almost parted with a tear' (13.192), but he layers on a triple pun to bury the hint of emotion: 'Grave More thus lightly walks to a quick grave' (13.194).[40] 'Almost' used to mean 'mostly all, or nearly all' and usually appeared in the form 'all most' (e.g. 'These givers were almost Northenmen' [Ascham, 1570] or 'The women...do that work almost' [Rowland, 1658]).[41] The 'close to being'/'very nearly but not quite' meaning was current at the same time and the one that persisted.[42] The close to being, tantalising nearness of something there, something underneath, that might possibly be unburied or discovered or erupt if only More allowed

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[38] Appendix 1, Original Text 3, 1-6 in Jowett's edition; 4.3.53-8 in Melchiori's edition, with 'them' inserted for 'it' in ln. 58.

[39] Susanna Brietz Monta reads More's jests within the framework of Reformation-era martyrologies, concluding that More's 'martyrdom is a moving but opaque performance' since 'the play fails to link More's famous final jests to a declaration of his conscience' (*Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge UP, 2005), p. 160-61). Instead, for Monta, 'the play uses joyfulness to hide the inwardness of its protagonist and thus to conceal More's religiously controversial motivations' (160-61). Sir Thomas More's inscrutability creates a 'void' – a space Gillian Woods argues makes us 'want to know More' (*Catholic Semiotics in Shakespearean Drama*, D.Phil. thesis. (University of Oxford, 2007), p. 121).

[40] The 2005-2006 RSC production, directed by Robert Delamere with Nigel Cooke playing More, drew a range of responses. Lois Potter found More looked 'increasingly like a heartless clown by contrast with real, caring human beings such as Doll Williamson and Lady More herself' ('Political Tyrants: The 2005 Jacobean Season at the Swan', *SQ* 57 (2006), pp. 450-62; 452). Paul Taylor agrees, objecting to the 'emphasis on "merry More", who, even on the scaffold, jokes about never again having a headache. With his gaunt, haunted face, Nigel Cooke is ill-suited to this side of the character, and his mannered performance makes you feel that it was the martyr's long-suffering family who deserved canonisation' ('Thomas More, Trafalgar Studios, London', *The Independent*, 10 Jan. 2006). Michael Billington enjoyed More's jokes: 'The astonishing thing about this once-banned 1592 play...is what a rib-tickler the old boy is' ('Thomas More', *The Guardian*, 7 Jan. 2006).

[41] *OED*, def. 1.

[42] *OED*, def. 2a.

it, or maybe released by or to the right person, or prompted by the right words or the perfect silence, inscribes on More's otherwise inscrutable surface more heart-rending depths than any histrionic display.[43] He allows his family a glimpse, allowing them close enough to know that his tears could happen, but in almost releasing and then holding back, displays far more self-control than never coming close. More's 'almost' describes the crack in his otherwise unruffled demeanour that suddenly seems 'nearly all' full just below this previously implacable surface.

More's description of the earth as 'the roof of graves' (13.3), a sealed container for the buried dead, extends this metaphor of readable fullness to the barrier separating the living and the lost. What erupts from beneath or beyond in this play comes in the form of the prophetic dreams experienced by Lady More, More's daughter, and her husband, Roper. Lady More's dream features her and Sir Thomas More 'in a little boat' they fasten onto the King's barge at night on the Thames, listening to music (11.13-16). Then the 'violence of the stream' severs their vessel 'from the golden fleet', carrying them to London Bridge and then to the Tower, 'and there it turned / And turned about… / Methought that we both cried, / Till that we sunk, where arm in arm we died' (11.23-6). On some levels the symbolism of the dream is simplistic, a way for Lady More to express the helplessness she feels at her fate intertwined with her husband's. More's daughter's dream is more interesting:

> Methought I saw him here in Chelsea church,
> Standing upon the rood-loft, now defaced;
> And whilst he kneeled and prayed before the image
> It fell with him into the upper choir,
> Where my poor father lay all stained in blood. (11.37-41)

The 'rood-loft' was a gallery or walkway on the rood screen that separated the chancel or choir from the nave, and upon which, before the Reformation, the rood/crucifix stood. The 'now defaced' cues us to the post-Reformation context here, as does the clearly iconoclastic

[43] Tobias Döring describes the stance of the classic authorities: 'the greatest mourners remain outwardly unmoved' (*Performances,* p. 2). More can be seen here laying claim to a greater inner grief through his outward stoicism.

kneeling and praying before an image.[44] More's Catholicism goes unsaid in the play, but his worship appears in his daughter's dream as the very thing that causes his death. Crucially, the gesture used here is that of kneeling, and kneeling before the cross. This allows valences of Catholicism and danger to linger over the gesture as it is repeated, occurring again less than twenty lines later as the daughters '*kneel*' for More's blessing.

The potential efficacy of kneeling as pleading is intimated and rejected in a scene where More's wife kneels to demonstrate the submission he should seek from the King. After her kneeling request to 'think upon your daughters' (13.169), More seems to assent: 'I have bethought me / And I'll now satisfy the king's good pleasure' (13.170-1). Even the most ardent More-supporter cannot claim that these lines could be delivered neutrally, since everyone on stage reacts and reads him in the same way, his daughters rejoicing, 'O happy alteration,' and Surrey and Shrewsbury happily endorsing his 'conversion' (13.172, 173). More must correct them: 'O pardon me, / I will subscribe to go unto the Tower / With all submissive willingness' (13.174-6). When his family visits him in the Tower, he repeats the trick. Roper tries to persuade him, ''t shall be no distaste unto your wisdom / To yield to the opinion of the state,' and More again seems to change his mind: 'I have deceived myself, I must acknowledge; / And as you say, son Roper, to confess the same / It will be no disparagement at all' (16.90-5). Lady More offers to depart immediately to inform the king, and More's next lines are brutal in the vivid description of the death he chooses: 'I thought to have had a barber for my beard, / Now I remember that were labour lost: / The headsman now shall cut off head and all' (16.98-100). The joking tone here can again potentially come across as callous, particularly in the context of repeatedly offering and snatching away hope. More the character and *More* the play thus reject kneeling as a form

[44] For Jowett the 'falling of the crucifix represents the Reformation, prophetically suggesting that More's execution will be connected with the end of Catholic forms of worship' (p. 91). Gillian Woods describes More's death in this dream 'as a fatal act of iconoclasm', with his prayer 'at an anachronistically "now defaced" rood loft situat[ing] him in a future generation of English Catholics', but notes that the 'breadth of subjectivity remains insistently personal. Iconoclasm becomes a story about the death of "my poor father"' ('"Strange Discourse": The Controversial Subject of *Sir Thomas More*', *Renaissance Drama* 39 (2011), pp. 3-36; 22-3).

of mourning and kneeling as a form of supplication – at least when it comes from his family members.

Hans Holbein's *Thomas More and his Family* functions as an intriguing postscript (though painted, of course, pre-script) to the shunned kneeling in the play. In the original sketch, on the right of the picture, More's youngest daughter, Cecily Heron, his eldest daughter, Margaret Roper, and his second wife, Alice, are all kneeling. The small prayer books, Dame Alice's prie-dieu, Cecily's rosary beads, and the kneeling poses mark the scene as prayer service.



Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study for a Family Portrait of Sir Thomas More*, drawing, 1527. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett.

Louis L. Martz asks of this sketch, 'why is not Sir Thomas kneeling to lead the service, as his wife is kneeling?', pointing to the low footstool as an indication that More might be

about to leave his seat to kneel upon the stool.[45] According to the surviving copy at Nostell Priory, painted by Rowland Lockey in the early 1590s, Holbein's later version of the painting changed many of the prayer books to classical works and removed not only the rosary and prie-dieu but also the footstool. The dog nestling at More's feet now precludes the possibility of him being about to kneel. The written instruction on Holbein's original sketch next to Alice – 'Dise soll sitzë' (This one should sit) – is followed in the later version, where Alice is shown sitting and reading.[46]



Rowland Lockey, after Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of the Family of Sir Thomas More*, oil and tempera on canvas. Yorkshire, Nostell Priory.

The daughters remain kneeling, although comparing painting to sketch reveals that they are kneeling *less*: there is more undifferentiated mass of black skirts lifting them from the ground in the later version. The first sketch presents the possibility More in the play teasingly offers and snatches away, that he is about to kneel, to take on this pose of

[45] Louis L. Martz, 'Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man', *Moreana,* 100 (1989), pp. 397-416; 400.
[46] David R. Smith, 'Portrait and Counter-Portrait in Holbein's "The Family of Sir Thomas More"', *The Art Bulletin*, 87.3 (2005), pp. 484-506; 489.

submission, to be persuaded to join his family physically and therefore remain with them. The later painting offers a visual parallel to the occlusions of the play, erasing markers of Catholicism only for elements to re-emerge: the kneeling daughters, Dame Alice's crucifix dangling before a prayer book, rosary beads hanging less obviously from Margaret Giggs's belt on the left.

Buried by the Poor: Class and Mourning in *Sir Thomas More*

While More's family's mourning is repeatedly closed off and pushed back, even as they beg for acknowledgement on their knees, others in the play are able to mourn and thereby preserve him.[47] Crucially, the others are More's social inferiors, the upward directionality of their mourning reinforcing More's journey to a higher place. Just before his execution, More says to the Lieutenant who will take him to his death:

> Yet God be thanks, here's a fair day toward
> To take our journey in. Master Lieutenant,
> It were fair walking on the Tower leads. (17.9-11)

[47] The connection between mourning and preservation appears repeatedly in the trope of salty tears as preserving agent. Titus offers tears to Lavinia that will turn the fountain into 'a brine pit with our bitter tears' (3.1.129), and the saltiness of tears in Shakespeare is consistently emphasised, the phrase 'salt tears' appearing eight times in the plays and once in *Venus and Adonis*, and 'salt' directly associated with tears in twenty-one of the fifty-three occurrences of the word. Sometimes 'salt' stands in for 'tears' as in Aufidius's contemptuous description of Coriolanus giving up Rome '[f]or certain drops of salt' (5.4.93), or Lear's grief, 'Why, this would make a man a man of salt' (4.4.196). Olivia, mourning her brother, 'water[s] once a day her chamber round / With eye-offending brine', the preservative qualities of which Valentine describes: 'all this to season / A brother's dead love, which she would keep fresh / And lasting, in her sad remembrance' (1.1.30-33). ('Season' is repeatedly glossed as 'to preserve', and the note in the Oxford edition points out that 'Shakespeare frequently compares tears to seasoning in brine' (1.1.29n)). Tears are also referred to as brine twice in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, when the Gaoler's Daughter complains, 'I have not closed mine eyes, / Save when my lids scored off their brine' (3.2.27-8) and in Hippolyta's grotesque image of the women soaking their 'infants in - and after ate them - / The brine they wept at killing 'em' (1.3.21-2). Friar Lawrence exclaims at Romeo's 'deal of brine' that washed his cheeks for Rosaline, again explicating the preservative properties: 'How much salt water thrown away in waste / To season love, that of it doth not taste!' (2.3.67-8). The Countess describes Helena's tears as preserving: ''Tis the best brine a maiden can season her praise in' (1.1.46-7), although this quickly turns to a discussion of affecting sorrow rather than genuinely having it. While Olivia's grief, Romeo's tears, the brined babies, and Helena's display are all presented critically, the idea of tears as a preserving agent illustrates the paradoxical image of the aims of tragedy, of elegy and of funeral rites: to purge and preserve, releasing grief and cultivating ('watering') grief in others in order to console. Rather than a Freudian work of mourning, one of severance and separation from the dead, in this way the work of mourning is an act of preserving a connection to the deceased.

The picture of More walking on the lead strips covering the roof terraces gestures to the heights from which he has fallen, and the image is too much for the Lieutenant to bear. He responds, 'An so it might have liked my sovereign lord, / I would to God you might have walked there still' before the direction, '*He weeps*' (17.13-14). The motif of higher places is continued by More's comfort to the weeping lieutenant, 'Sir, we are walking to a better place' (17.14) but he then returns the focus directly to the physical body that will remain below on earth: 'O sir, your kind and loving tears / Are like sweet odours to embalm your friend' (17.15-16). The continuation emphasises More's being a true 'friend' to those of lower social stations, as he refers to being spoiled as a guest by the Lieutenant's wife. The Warders of the Tower enter, talking of More:

> I think the poor will bury him in tears.
> I never heard a man since I was born
> So generally bewailed of everyone. (14.12-14)

As if cued by the reference to the poor, '*Enter a poor Woman*' who wishes to speak to Sir Thomas More, who has all the evidence for a suit she has in the Chancery, the court of the Lord Chancellor. More tells her the King has 'ta'en the matter into his own hand' and that he can no longer help her. The woman enacts the mourning the Warder has just predicted, bidding More goodbye: 'Ah, gentle heart, my soul for thee is sad. / Farewell, the best friend that the poor e'er had' (14.43-4).

Why is it in this play that More is most effectively mourned by the poor? All the instances above describe mourning as a service they do *for* him: the poor Woman's soul 'for [him] is sad'; the Lieutenant's tears 'embalm' him; the 'poor will bury him in tears', and thus reinstate More both as nobleman and as 'friend' to the poor. Embalming and burial by the tears of the poor are the markers of the aristocratic funeral, as outlined in Clare Gittings' analysis of probate inventories, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, a book with an explicit focus on the experiences of survivors and reactions to bereavement.[48] The aristocratic funeral rituals were controlled either directly by Elizabeth

[48] Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 11.

I or Lord Burghley, or through the College of Arms.[49] The lengthy preparations for a heraldic funeral made embalming a necessary feature of the proceedings, preserving the corpse while the arrangements were made for the intricate rituals required. A passage describing the 1560 funeral of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Francis Talbot, warrants attention both for the strict protocol of the funeral procession, with position determined by status, and the role of the poor at the beginning of the procession:

> First came the conductors, with black staves, followed by the poor. Next came the choir, singing, and the hooded standard bearer alone followed by all the gentlemen attending the funeral, 'two and two, in long gowns, with hoods on their shoulders'. Then, in order, the dead man's chaplains, all the esquires, the household officials of the deceased, carrying their white staves of office. The bearer of the banner was hooded, and followed by the heralds, who wore tabards of the royal arms over their black mourning gowns. Then came the corpse on an open coach, surrounded by four banner bearers. The body was immediately followed by the chief mourner, wearing a long train carried by a gentleman usher; then eight other principal mourners in pairs, with yeomen bringing up the rear of the procession, also two by two.[50]

Gittings argues that the death of a powerful subject weakened the social hierarchy, and had to be compensated for by a display of aristocratic strength: 'Although a duke might have died, there were still eleven other dukes to follow him to his grave'.[51] The funeral procession reinscribes this hierarchy, with the poor and the servants of the deceased equally important to the tableau as the procession of dukes available to stand in for the dead man.

A poignant scene of mourning for the theatrical More features his servants, through whom the playwrights choose to report More's trial and sentencing: 'law hath made him / A dead man to the world, and given the axe his head, / But his sweet soul to live among the saints' (15.38-40). This also underscores the sense of preemptive death, with More declared legally dead as a traitor before the physical sentence is carried out. Catesby distributes the twenty nobles left to each man in More's will, a gesture the Revels footnote

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[49] Ibid., p. 166.
[50] Ibid., pp. 173-4.
[51] Ibid., p. 166. Jennifer Woodward says the heraldic funeral procession was 'a microcosm of the social unit of the kingdom, hierarchically organized according to status and degree. Overall the spatial organization of the funeral procession functioned as a statement of continued order and stability' (*The Theater of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), p. 17).

connects to Anthony's announcement of Caesar's bequest to the Roman citizens (5.2.47-9n). The key difference here is that the servants need no winning over: they have expressed their sorrow before Gough announces the terms of the will. Catesby's oak tree metaphor alludes to the social rift heraldic funerals tried to heal: 'Thus the fair spreading oak falls not alone, / But all the neighbour plants and under-trees /Are crushed down with his weight' (15.56-8). The 'co-partners of one woe' for More are not his daughters and wife but his servants, the poor, and those standing in for the king, including the Lieutenant whose title literally 'takes the place' (15.60). The vocabulary of shareholding in woe lets the complication of monetary compensation for mourning linger, a situation paralleled by the distribution of doles to the poor who attended funerals. Gittings describes the function of the dole as status enhancing, as a large dole would attract large numbers of poor people and swell attendance; '[o]ne account describes a dole as 'a remembrance of the deceased'; clearly, as with largesse at the drinking, the idea was to impress the recipients sufficiently so that they would not forget the dead person for a long time and possibly, even pray for him, despite numerous bishops' injunctions to the contrary'.[52] Provision for doles was the most frequent death-bed request recorded in the probate accounts, attesting both to the widespread charitable impulse behind such provisions and the importance people placed on the presence and prayers in some sense bought by the doles.[53] Ronald Strickland's analysis of aristocratic funeral doles underscores the vestiges of feudalism: 'Funeral charity reinforced the social hierarchy by providing relief for the poor in a way that emphasized their dependence upon the generosity of the nobility', a helpful corrective to idealistic notions of doles as purely motivated by charity. [54] Payment for mourning, already an action

[52] Gittings, *Death*, p. 163. Gittings quotes Bishop Hooper of Gloucester and Worcester, who enquired in 1551 'whether they keep and use any month-ends…which is the maintenance of purgatory, and false belief and state and condition of the dead' (qtd. p. 163). 'Month ends' here refers to the pre-Reformation ceremony of the 'month's mind', held a month after burial, 'that the dead may be remembered and prayed for' (p. 162).
[53] Ibid., p. 163.
[54] Ronald Strickland, 'Pageantry and Poetry as Discourse: The Production of Subjectivity in Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral', *ELH* 57 (1990), pp. 19-36; 21.

imbricated in the 'crises of authenticity' of theatre, adds a layer of alienation.[55] Those who are allowed to mourn More are, on one level, those who have to mourn him – his own servants, paid for their roles onstage; the poor, whose role as mourners is co-opted into the show of the aristocratic funeral; his executioner, whose emotion is similarly complicated by the tradition of executioners asking forgiveness of the condemned before carrying out the sentence. The direction of this mourning preserves More's self-positioning 'above': he is of higher rank, above caring, above others in his inscrutability, above the command of the King, ultimately moving upwards to heaven.

Going Dark: Movement from Public to Private

What was the alternative to this grand show (potentially, 'dumb shew', if we are to believe Dekker's account of Elizabeth I's funeral) of the aristocratic funeral?[56] Whereas in the 21st century, funerals are almost always a daytime activity, another option emerged at the end of the 16th century for early moderns: the night funeral.[57] The most important aspect in

[55] Susanna Brietz Monta argues that Sir Thomas More 'extends what Maus calls "crises of authenticity" to martyrdom itself' (*Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge UP, 2005), p. 161). The 'crises of authenticity' phrase occurs in Maus, *Inwardness*, pp. 31-2.

[56] Elizabeth I's funeral is discussed at length in the context of fake funerals in Chapter 4.

[57] There is some debate about what many popular encyclopedia sources refer to (without qualification) as the Roman tradition of night funerals: a University of Michigan explanation of a Roman cremation urn claims casually, 'Roman funerals were typically held at night to prevent large public gatherings and discourage crowds and excessive mourning which, in the case of major political figures, could lead to serious unrest' ('A Roman Funeral', *Cremation in a Roman Port Town*, virtual exhibit, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor); Richard Darby classes the night funeral under 'Budget Burials', stating, 'The funerals of poor people were simple affairs and were often held at night. Nocturnal funerals were cheaper because there was no need to hire professional mourners or pay for a professional priest' (*Rich and Poor in Ancient Rome* (Black Rabbit, 2005), p. 29); William Smith's *Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities* claims 'All funerals in ancient times were performed at night (Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* XI.143; Isidor. XI.2, XX.10), but afterwards the poor only were buried at night, because they could not afford to have any funeral procession (Festus, *s.v. Vespae;* Suet. *Dom.* 17; Dionys. IV.40)' ('Funus' (John Murray: London, 1875), pp. 558-62). However, H. J. Rose questions the ubiquity of the custom at any time, pointing out that the sparse evidence for nocturnal funerals comes from a few passages in Servius and additions to his commentary, all of which ultimately go back to a lost work by Varro. Rose's reasons for supposing day and night were chosen about equally (for funerals) go beyond the day being 'more convenient and less ghostly' to considering that young people were buried at night and are regularly buried differently from older people (a difference supported by Gittings' evidence of the wearing of white at young virgins' funerals, *Death*, p. 57), and discounting the use of torches as evidence of night as they were used at both marriages and births as 'magical protectors', and neither of which were 'confined to the hours of darkness' ('Nocturnal Funerals in Rome', *The Classical Quarterly* 17.3/4 (1923), pp. 191-4; 191-2, 194).

which the night funeral differed from the heraldic burial was the recognition of individual loss.[58] Gittings describes this as 'a desire to emphasise private loss in the ritual, rather than any public display of strength', the pejorative nature of this flexing display clear here and in her earlier formation: 'the *show* of political strength enshrined in the heraldic funeral'.[59] The particular individual is mourned, rather than upholding the social fabric by immediately filling their role in society. The clearest example of this dynamic is, of course, 'The King is dead. Long live the King!'

Sir Thomas More appears at a time when the doles to the poor were decreasing, and before night funerals became increasingly popular in the early 1600s. In the space of this gap, the play presents the two scripts for mourning in truncated form. In the scene where his family join him in the Tower and the stage directions specify Lady More enters '*mourning*', More's family members speak a total of sixteen lines to his forty-seven. Despite his verbosity, More's comfort to his family seems thin; these lines include one of his previously discussed false reversals, his joke about his beard being cut off with his head, and dismissals of his family's grief with his seeming nonchalance. Yet, finally, they are able to share tender exchanges. More prescribes his own simple funeral rites: 'Live all, and love together, and thereby / You give your father a rich obsequy', all the homage he requires being their continued life as a loving family (16.122-3). More shares a parting line with his wife:

> LADY MORE Ah, my dear husband.
> MORE Sweet wife, good night, good night... (16.126)

Roper glosses their final moments together: 'I think before this hour, / More heavy hearts ne'er parted in the Tower' (16.128-9).

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[58] Jennifer Woodward points to Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631) for a more practical reason: night burials (in both Roman times and early modern) allowed executors to avoid both heraldic regulations and heraldic fees. Night funerals also saved on the costs of sermons and the distribution of alms to the poor. Laurence Stone concludes that the cost-saving was the primary motivation in the switch to nocturnal burials, but Woodward uses evidence from Gittings' work as well as examples of lavish nocturnal funerals like that of the Countess of Warwick in 1623 (who 'was conveyed out of Holborn to be buried in Essex by more than two hundred horse all with torches and above threescore coaches') to argue for a more complex variety of factors behind the emerging fashion for night funerals (p. 142-5).

[59] Gittings, *Death*, p. 197, 188 (emphasis added).

This focus on the family is augmented by the play's withdrawal from public into private as More retreats from public life. Scott McMillin's discussion of the staging of the play analyses the use of the curtained space and the increasing frequency of interior scenes: 'interiors become both more frequent and more prominent as the action moves away from the public insurrection scenes and toward More's downfall and death, the sense of location in the play becoming private and withdrawn as a successful public career turns toward tragedy'.[60] McMillin also sees the visual contrasts between the interior scenes as showing 'the decline of the family group – from the ceremony of the Lord Mayor's entertainment with its rich furnishings, to the lamenting scene with its humble seats, and then to the final gathering of the family in the bare furnishings of the prison scene'.[61] While the stripping away of luxury provides stark visual contours to the *de casibus* theme, this stripping down also allows the family their closest moments together, however brief. The play manages to sketch a version of the night funeral, the sorrow of a few dramatised in less ostentatious settings. Ultimately, however, More seems above this in multiple senses: above any emotional outpouring, and above it in his preference for the aristocratic funeral script (the one he participates in more freely), and finally, above it in his self-positioning as martyr.

The play that dramatises his fall infuses his death scene with images of ascent, in contrast to his kneeling family. His jokes as he climbs up the scaffold centre around rising and falling:

> Well, let's ascend, i'God's name.
> In troth, methinks your stair is somewhat weak.
> I prithee, honest friend, lend me thy hand
> To help me up. As for my coming down,
> Let me alone, I'll look to that myself. (17.53-7)

The stage direction is explicit concerning the presence of stairs onstage, '*As he is going up the stairs, enters the Earls of SURREY and SHREWSBURY*' (17.57.1-2), and More addresses them from his climbing position about his climbing:

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[60] McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre,* p. 100.
[61] McMillin, p. 101.

> Ye see, though it pleaseth
> the King to raise me thus high, yet I am not proud;
> for the higher I mount the better I can see my friends
> about me.
> ...Truly,
> here's a most sweet gallery. I like the air of it better
> than my garden at Chelsea. (17.59-61, 65-7)

Lastly, he refers to his soul's upwards flight:

> There is a thing within me that will raise
> And elevate my better part 'bove sight
> Of these same weaker eyes...
> I shall break from you and fly up to heaven. (17.109-11, 113)

Scott McMillin argues convincingly that using the same elevated stage space illuminated the parallels between two powerful moments – Lincoln's hanging and More's beheading – to which I would add More's address to the crowd of rebels.[62] The two bodies held up for closest scrutiny in the play are those executed under orders from the absent king: Lincoln's and More's. Lincoln's hanging is a mistake, the Sheriff too hasty in beginning executions before the king's pardon arrives, and the shadow of this mistake points to the possibility of More's execution being the 'error' of Surrey's final lines. The Earl of Surrey, the same character who brought More the prediction of his own fate by reporting that of Dr. Fisher, closes the play with the following lines after More's death:

> A very learned gentleman
> Seals error with his blood. Come, we'll to Court.
> Let's sadly hence to perfect unknown fates,
> Whilst he tends progress to the state of states. (17.125-8)

He '[s]eals error with his blood'; he does not seal *his* error with his blood. Thus 'error' floats more freely, possibly More's error, and possibly the error of the 'Court', or 'the state', both pointing blame towards a regime that has already executed one man too soon. Gillian Woods finds that the 'pardon that comes too late to save Lincoln' creates a 'Henry VIII-shaped void in the play' and 'denies a human aspect to More's punishment', so that in both

[62] *The Elizabethan Theatre and The Book of Sir Thomas More* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987), p. 102. Modern stagings reinforce McMillin's suggestion: the 2005-6 RSC run cut the Erasmus clowning scene to end the first half with Lincoln's execution, to parallel the second half ending with More's death (Jowett, 'Introduction', p. 110).

cases '[s]tate power seems arbitrary'.[63] While the King's absence is undeniable, mapping the elevated scenes removes some of the arbitrariness from this exercise of power. When More addresses the crowd of rebels, asking them not to 'lift' their hands 'against the peace' but to make 'unreverent knees' their 'feet', they respond to him repeatedly as 'Shrieve More' (Sheriff More) – five times in six lines (6.122-5, 6.49, 50, 53, 54). More's pacifying of the people is rewarded by promotion to knighthood, for which he 'must kneel' (6.221). In the following scene, there is a new 'Master Shrieve'; the sheriff who takes More's title ignores the stay of execution and sends Lincoln to his death. The same sheriff defends More against Doll's criticism, pointing out that More has 'so pleased our gracious lord the King / That he is hence removed to higher place' (7.97-8). More is thus doubly implicated in Lincoln's death, by his divesting the title of sheriff, and by removing himself to higher places and thus being aligned with the authority of the King.

More's advice to the crowd that the King 'is clement if th'offender mourn' (6.139), asking them to '[s]ubmit': '[g]ive up yourself to form', is advice his mourning family wishes he would take for himself (6.161, 163). Instead, he refuses to submit, rejecting their mourning and the night funeral in favour of the dynamics of an aristocratic funeral. Despite his alignment with the King's problematic authority, the play finally places More in the ultimate elevation, 'he tends progress to the state of states', in heaven (17.128). The expression 'tends progress' implies a royal progress, God replacing the monarch in More's afterlife as God replaced the King as More's authority on earth. Surrey's 'unknown fates' has a ring of irony to it, contrasting with the already known fate of More throughout the play.[64] The contrast of the plural 'we' and 'us', 'Come, we'll to Court. / Let's sadly hence to perfect unknown fates' with 'Whilst he tends progress to the state of states' seals the separation More has endorsed all along (17.127-8).

[63] Woods, 'Strange Discourse', p. 27.
[64] Woods points out that Surrey's fate – execution for treason against Henry VIII – is also known, contrasting the way 'we know too much about the "unknowing" Surrey' with the 'ultimately inscrutable More' ('Strange Discourse', p. 28).

Mourning from '*below*' in *Edward II*

In contrast to the trope of ascendance invoked repeatedly at the end of *More*, in *Edward II*, there is a complete absence of the space 'above' with no action requiring use of the upper stage. In other Marlowe plays, this space is put to multiple effects. Barabas uses the space as his gallery but falls from there into his own trap. Tamburlaine's soldiers scale the city walls, and hoist the 'slaughtered carcasses' of the virgins who begged Tamburlaine for mercy 'on Damasacus' walls' (5.1.131, 130). In *The Massacre of Paris*, the hanging of the Admiral may occur from above.[65] Lucifer and attendant devils may enter 'above' in *Faustus* both to observe Mephistopheles's interaction with Faustus, and to take the symbolic place of God.[66] In *Edward II*, the emptiness of the upper stage functions not as a space to be achieved or filled, but as a blank that frustrates ascendant desires. For Charles Forker the absence is symbolic in a providential sense:

> [T]he apparently missing 'above' (repeatedly used in the Shakespeare histories) implies an altered metaphysic – or perhaps a more profound skepticism about inherited religious categories than Shakespeare normally expresses. Shakespeare's placing of scenes occasionally seems to reflect a remnant of the old medieval-allegorical concept of stage space, as, for instance, when the Duchess of Gloucester and Hume, a priest, observe from their position 'aloft' while the conjurer Bolingbroke and his confederates raise from the trap a 'fiend' who then 'Descend[s] to darkness' (*2H6*, 1.4.9, 40-41), or when the saintly King Henry VI, who is reading a book of devotions, meets his violent death ironically '*on the walls*' – on high, as it were – just after he moralizes bitterly on his murderer's true identity as a 'good devil' (*3H6*, 5.6.1-4).[67]

The conspicuous absence of the upper playing space in this play makes Edward's comparison of his longing for Gaveston to the unfulfilled lovers of Danaë (who were frustrated because the lady was locked away from them in a tower) even more poignant, as the upper space of the tower in the world of *Edward II* is one of haunting emptiness (2.2.53-

[65] See Mariko Ichikawa, *Shakespearean Stage Space* (Cambridge UP, 2012), pp. 139-41 on various uses of the upper stage, including for numerous hanging scenes: 'one thing we may say for certain is that the upper playing area was a convenient place from which to dispose of the corpse' (141).
[66] Douglas Duncan endorses this view, relating the way Marlowe used the upper level 'to signify hierarchical station' to the way the play dramatises 'the ironic viewpoint of the *kataskopos*...stressing Lucifer's power over the "fond worldling" whom he watches' (*Ben Jonson and the Lucianic Tradition* (Cambridge UP, 1979), p. 111).
[67] Charles R. Forker, 'Introduction', *Edward II* (Manchester UP, 1994), p. 34. See Chapter 3 on vertical space in the *Henry VI* plays.

6). Ultimately, Edward's subversive upward desire for his social inferior cannot reach its object.

His son, Edward III's mourning finds expression not due to the kind of personal connection of a family funeral, but due to the proper upwards social direction: a son mourning a father, a prince mourning a king, a king taking the place of the dead king, unlike his father's entirely inappropriate mourning. *Edward II* ends where it should begin, with a royal funeral, the heir dutifully commemorating his predecessor. Isabella's description of Edward III performing the iconic gestures of mourning – 'he tears his hair and wrings his hands' – provide the stage directions for his entrance (5.6.18). Isabella identifies the genre switch for her and Mortimer; their history play power grab defeated, she admits, 'Now, Mortimer, begins our tragedy' (5.7.23).[68] Perhaps in hopes of postponing this tragedy, she exhorts her son, 'Weep not, sweet son' (5.7.33), but Edward defends his tears as appropriate: 'Forbid me not to weep; he was my father. / And had you loved him half so well as I, / You could not bear his death thus patiently' (5.7.34-6).

Edward III's grief is particularly notable for the immediate and consistent pairing of his mourning and revenge. Unlike other characters, who are set up to choose one path or another, Edward's narrated entry tearing his hair and wringing his hands is instantly qualified by Isabella's next line indicating that he 'vows to be revenged upon us both' (5.7.19). His opening speech in this scene promises the grisly image of revenge and mourning cemented together with blood:

> My father's murdered through thy treachery,
> And thou shalt die; and on his mournful hearse
> Thy hateful and accursèd head shall lie
> To witness to the world that by thy means
> His kingly body was too soon interred. (5.7.28-32)

[68] In terms of the genre of the play, Clayton G. MacKenzie outlines why it cannot be a tragedy: 'At the end of *Edward II*, the newly crowned Edward III begins to demonstrate the true qualities of kingship – strength, justice, decisiveness. For this reason, Marlowe's subtitle to the play speaks of the "troublesome" reign and "lamentable" death of Edward II but stops short of describing the story as a tragedy. For the Elizabethan playgoer of the 1590s no saga that culminated in the coronation of Edward III could be defined persuasively as tragic' (*Deathly Experiments: A Study of Icons and Emblems of Mortality in Christopher Marlowe's Plays* (New York: AMS Press, 2010), p. 70).

Unlike his father, he does not kneel to vow revenge, but speaks his promise directly to those who will feel his vengeance. His upwards offering comes in the closing lines of the play before the funeral march, when he makes a double offering to his dead father:

> Sweet father, here unto thy murdered ghost
> I offer up this wicked traitor's head.
> And let these tears, distilling from mine eyes,
> Be witness of my grief and innocency. (5.7.99-102)

Here he gives bodily proof of revenge in the form of Mortimer's head, and the bodily proof of mourning through his own tears. Edward III's ability to both mourn and revenge stems from these mutually reinforcing performances. The hyper-metatheatricality of the final scene has been identified as undercutting the authenticity of Edward III's grief.[69] From Isabella's cueing the tragedy genre to Edward's calling for his funeral robes, and giving precise and repeated instruction on exactly how to stage the final funeral procession with Mortimer's head on the hearse, the scene highlights the mechanics of its production. Edward's final speech cut down is a series of staging instructions: 'Go fetch my father's hearse…bring my funeral robes…Here comes the hearse…help me mourn…offer up this wicked traitor's head' and finally he cues his own tears, 'let these tears, distilling from mine eyes, / Be witness of my grief and innocency' (25.101-2). Rather than the elements of theatricality detracting from this scene, the play instead stakes a strong claim for the value and necessity of performing grief, with props and costumes and the appropriate show.[70]

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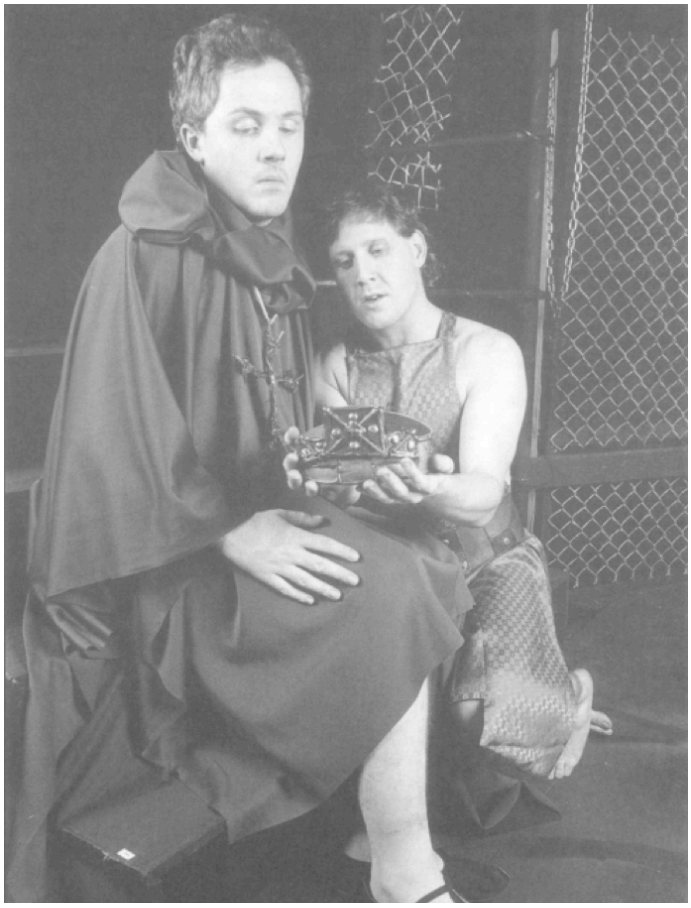
[69] Cf. Meg F. Pearson on the 'props-heavy' funeral she sees as a potential reminder of older plays featuring dumb shows, a display that 'looks so theatrical that its contrivedness could work against its political effectiveness'; also criticised as a 'state funeral, deployed by one of those galvanizing princes [that] appears intentionally underwhelming after the movingly conflicted display of Edward's murder' ('Audience as Witness in *Edward II*' in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama, 1558-1642*, eds. Jennifer A. Low and Nova Myhill (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 93-112; 106, 105).

[70] For Ruth Lunney, the dumb show is not the funeral but Edward's murder, one way in which the use of exemplum in the play detaches experience from judgment, particularly in the absence of commentary before and after the murder scene. She notes that 'death elsewhere in Marlowe is matter for explication, the stage full of characters busily commenting on the action, unlike this almost-dumbshow' ('Marlowe's *Edward II* and the Early Playhouse Audience' in *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Cultural Contexts of His Plays*, ed. by Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 38). Mathew Martin also points out the way this final scene silences Edward II: 'Deathly serene corpse or disembodied ghost, Edward at the end of the play is silent, a speechless sign in the dumb show of his mourning son's power. Edward's screams of pain have given way to his son's ventriloquism' ('Plays of Passion: Pain, History, and Theater in *Edward II*' in *The Sacred and Profane in English Renaissance Literature*, ed. Mary A Papazian (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 105.)

At the abbey, Edward II exclaims, 'Mortimer! Who talks of Mortimer? / Who wounds me with the name of Mortimer, / That bloody man?' (4.7.37-9). He continues:

> Good father, on the lap
> Lay I this head, laden with mickle care.
> O might I never open these eyes again,
> Never again lift up this drooping head,
> O never more lift up this dying heart! (4.7.39-43)

The New Mermaids edition inserts the stage direction, '*He kneels*' after 'That bloody man', but in order to lay his head in the abbot's lap, Edward is far more likely to sit or crouch on the floor of the stage, knees bent to the side, since kneeling upright would make this awkward or impossible.[71]



4.7
Tim Philbin as the Abbot of Coventry and Gary Lowery as Edward II.
Absolute Theatre Company, Chicago, 1987. Photo: J. B. Spector.

[71] The nuances of this moment reveal our lacking vocabulary for different modes of kneeling, which we tend to assume is the upright position with knees bent at a 90° angle. In order to get his head on the abbot's lap, Edward must either bend forward from the waist and bury his head, childlike (making it difficult to deliver any subsequent lines), or bend his knees to the side and sit on the actual floor, leaning to the side to be able to both rest his head on the lap and deliver lines.

Brought low in status by Mortimer's victory, he is also brought low physically in this gesture and the repetition of 'lift up' suffuses his mourning with the action he cannot do, and thus denies it with 'never again' and 'never more'. This is not an expression of desire not to be lifted up, but mourning that such ascension can never happen again.

Kneeling is ultimately rejected in both plays as a gesture of mourning. In *Edward II*, the subservient kneeling of the nobles turns out to be a hollow gesture orchestrated to allow Edward to continue the visual appearance of kinghood while power is stripped from him. Edward's kneeling to vow revenge on Mortimer for Gaveston's death is a potentially powerful moment of theatre, but retroactively proves an ineffective threat as even at the moment of his brief battlefield victory, Mortimer escapes. In *Sir Thomas More*, the kneeling mourning of More's family is rejected in favour of the mourning by the poor, but the repeated gesture also serves as a reminder of what goes unstaged and unsaid in the play: exhibiting the submission the King indirectly demands and never gets from More, the Catholic valences of the gesture coming from the same family members who dream in Catholic imagery provide a visual surfacing of More's otherwise unspoken Catholicism. More's sympathetic response to the 'poor Woman' who enters and his gratitude to the weeping Lieutenant who leads him up to the scaffold provide a stark contrast to his stoical, mocking, and heartless responses to his mourning family. For Edward II, his failure to mourn his father and continued mourning of the 'base' Gaveston trigger the outrage in the nobles that leads to his horrible death. In both these plays, kneeling is a central gesture in performing obeisance but cannot effectively perform mourning. It is possible to think of *More* and *Edward II* as inverses of each other, *More* punctuated along the way with scenes of proleptic mourning that are missing or misdirected in *Edward II*, and notably so. The final scenes of *More* push back against the mourning, particularly in More's resistance to his family, and the final scene ends abruptly with More's death and 'No eye salute my trunk with a sad tear' (17.123). If *Edward II* closes as it should have opened, *More* closes as we always knew it would.

Mourning Out of Joint

Both plays depict mourning as most appropriate when directed upward socially, and both feature kneeling as the predominant mode for demonstrating both social difference and as a potential pose to express grief. Kneeling, of course, is a transitory gesture, always in between standing and prostration. It is a pose of pause, on the way down or up, in motion. This transitional movement maps onto the transitional space of mourning, particularly in these two plays where the mourning is quite literally preposterous – putting first what should come last by mourning those not yet dead. More's family and his servants mourn throughout the second half of the play, but this is anticipatory grief as he does not die until the final scene of the play.[72] In *Edward II*, Edward mourns his lover Gaveston's absence lavishly and excessively, a mourning that not only takes the place of the funeral rites for his father but one that also precedes Gaveston's death. In this play, there is a double displacement of mourning, both in terms of time and object of mourning.

Edward's first mention of mourning is not for his dead father, but for Gaveston's absence: 'Not Hylas was more mourned of Hercules / Than thou hast been of me since thy exile' (1.1.143-4). His forgetfulness about his father's death is highlighted by the Bishop of Coventry's entry, and Edward questioning where he is going. The Bishop answers 'To celebrate your father's exequies' (1.1.175) prompting the questions: why doesn't Edward know this? And why isn't he on his way there? Instead, Edward lets Gaveston manhandle the Bishop, then strips him of his goods and title and gives all to Gaveston. If the Bishop was the one presiding over the funeral, this scene also might mean Edward directly denies his father a funeral in favour of pleasing his lover.

Forced to banish Gaveston, Edward signs his name to the articles, 'Instead of ink, I'll write it with my tears' (1.4.86).[73] The two striking performances of grief come not in

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[72] Erich Lindemann discusses this concept with relation to AIDS patients in 'Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief,' *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 101 (1944), p. 147. In *Shakespeare and Domestic Loss: Forms of Deprivation, Mourning and Recuperation*, Heather Dubrow refers to Lindemann's work as a way to understand pre-mourning plague victims.

[73] Forker's Revels edition note connects this line to *Richard II*, 'with rainy eyes / Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth' (3.2.146-7); Titus describes his tears writing in the dust: 'For these two, tribunes, in the dust I write / My heart's deep languor and my soul's sad tears' (3.1.13-14). In Proteus's

response to death, but from the Queen at her replacement by Gaveston and from Edward at Gaveston's absence. The Queen describes her mourning, demanding, 'Witness the tears that Isabella sheds, / Witness this heart, that sighing for thee breaks' (1.4.164-5). She vows, 'Like frantic Juno will I fill the earth / With ghastly murmur of my sighs and cries' (1.4.178-9). When the nobles enter, Lancaster points out 'Look where the sister of the King of France / Sits wringing of her hands and beats her breast' (187-8). Her mourning is gestural, consciously narrated like both her later performance and that of Edward III's. Edward II's mourning appears to compete with Isabella's as he re-enters: 'He's gone, and for his absence thus I mourn' (1.4.304), continuing a description of his grief that focuses on the interior processes of his beating heart and giddy brain rather than hand-wringing and externally beating on the breast:

> My heart is as an anvil unto sorrow,
> Which beats upon it like the Cyclops' hammers,
> And with the noise turns up my giddy brain
> And makes me frantic for my Gaveston.
> Ah, had some bloodless Fury rose from hell,
> And with my kingly scepter struck me dead
> When I was forced to leave my Gaveston. (1.4.311-17)

The wish for his own death is a device common to the medieval lament for the dead, although later the death wish becomes associated with women as a solution to their grief, especially after the loss of a lover, while men want to do something (most often revenge) to alleviate their sorrow.[74] Edward's passivity in this passage makes his self-image as victim

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description of poetic creation tears become ink: 'Write till your ink be dry, and with your tears / Moist it again, and frame some feeling line / That may discover such integrity' (*Two Gentlemen* 3.2.75-7), while Sidney's image of the poet in *Arcadia* mingles the two: 'Never did pen more quaking perform his office; never was paper more double-moistened with ink and tears; never words more slowly married together…' (*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (1977), p. 437). The tears-as-ink metaphor occurs far earlier as a standard trope in troubadour poetry, while Martha Rust points out the source for Chaucer's twist on this as the verses themselves weep in the opening stanza of *Troilus and Criseyde*, 'Thesiphone, thow help me for t'endite / Thise woful vers, that wepen as I write' (I.1-7), which Rust traces to Chaucer's translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*: 'For lo, rendynge muses of poetes enditen to me tynges to ben written, and drery vers of wretchidnesse weten my face with verray teres (1-6) ('Blood and Tears as Ink: Writing the Pictorial Sense of the Text', *Chaucer Review* 47.4 (2013), pp. 390-415; 404).

[74] Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *Laments for the Dead in Medieval Narrative* (Pittsburgh: Duqesne UP, 1966), pp. 38-41, 62. Other devices of the lament include self-blame, overwhelming despair and elaborate praise for the deceased, as well as frequent apostrophes and exclamations, 'k' sounds suggesting 'gasping effort even to begin to speak of so great a loss' and 'w' sounds that 'provide a keening' (pp. 29, 98).

clear: he is consistently the object rather than the subject of his sentences, even the final line, 'I was forced to leave my Gaveston' occurring in the passive formulation even though technically Edward forced Gaveston to leave by signing the articles of his banishment.[75] Lancaster's response to Edward's grief is a curse and exclamation, '*Diablo!* What passions call you these?' (1.4.312).[76] He highlights Edward's lack of control, not endorsing Edward's passive model of victimhood, but pointing to the disordered passions and the diabolically overwhelming effect they have on the king and therefore the realm. The simplest reading of this play boils down to a version of Lancaster's question: if Edward cannot even govern his own passions, how can he possibly govern the country? However, examining these emotions reveals not a disordered overflow, but mourning that is both displaced and proleptic. Edward's mourning is 'out of joint' in that the dominant gesture of the play, kneeling, proves ineffective at performing mourning, and displaced both in object and in time. Instead of mourning his father's death, he mourns Gaveston's absence, and the mourning that freights the front-end of the play is also predictive or proleptic of his and Gaveston's impending deaths.

Gaveston himself partakes in this proleptic mourning, if only briefly. In his final appearance onstage, Gaveston appears '*mourning*', although it is unclear what or who

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[75] Although not intrinsic to the discussion of mourning in the two plays, there is an interesting contrast in the treatment of articles in *More* and *Edward II*. In *Sir Thomas More*, the articles remain hidden, occluded throughout the play, and never appear onstage. The audience is never informed what the content of the articles is. In *Edward II*, the document is not only present onstage, but everyone signs their names onstage, first all the nobles, and then the scene in which Edward is forced to sign. While *More's* articles come from the king (who also remains occluded and offstage), *Edward's* articles come from the nobles to the king. Furthermore, the final line of Marlowe's scene emphasises, 'This will be good news to the common sort', suggesting the directionality of these articles is from low to high, from subjects to king rather than king to subject (1.4.92).

[76] The term 'passions' here is an invective, drawing on psychomachic models in which a battle for the soul is fought between passion and reason. This line of thinking draws on Socrates, Aristotle, and Cicero, mediated for early moderns by the contributions of Erasmus and Calvin. For Erasmus, the mind is associated with reason governing the body, associated with passions, which he imagines as 'intruders within the gates' (Christopher Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph Over Reason* (Oxford UP, 2007), p. 20). This position reflects the division of the mind into two parts, rational and emotional, the Socratic model put forward by Plato. Reason must overcome the sway of passions and appetites in order to lead a virtuous life. For Socrates, this fight is never ending, whereas Cicero and Aristotle are more optimistic, Cicero offering the possibility of cultivated stoicism to overcome and eradicate the passions, Aristotle with a more modified view that passions cannot be eradicated but might be cultivated for a more virtuous life. Calvin believed that the passions could be overcome only through God's grace. Here, with the exclamation '*Diablo!*', Lancaster points to Edward's unholy lack of governance over his passions.

exactly he is mourning (2.6sd). The full stage direction in the 1594 Quarto, '*Enter Gaveston moorning and the earle of Penbrookes men*' gives slightly more of the context – Gaveston is actually Pembroke's prisoner at this point.[77] But the mourning seems to be for his own impending death, as his subsequent question implies: 'Weaponless must I fall and die in bands. / O, must this day be period of my life, / Centre of all my bliss?' (2.6.3-5) Gaveston's two opening soliloquies feature death twice: first as he describes the king 'upon whose bosom let me die' (1.14); secondly in his allusion to the Actaeon-Dian myth in which Actaeon is '[b]y yelping hounds pulled down, and seem[s] to die' (1.69).[78] But while in the Ovidian telling, Actaeon's hunting dogs really do pull him apart, in Gaveston's staged version for the king, he only 'seem[s] to die'. Thomas P. Anderson finds that the use of metaphor 'defers the horror of Actaeon's death' to create a 'pleasing show' for the king,[79] but this seeming to die echoes on throughout the play beyond the seductive imagery to the numerous seeming deaths of Gaveston throughout the play.

In *Sir Thomas More*, mourning is triply out of joint: in time, in space, and for those mourning. The dislocated time is partly a function of a play written by multiple hands at different times – a play stuffed with nostalgia for a Catholic figure at the end of a century of religious turbulence.[80] The play mourns both a Catholic figure and also mourns Catholicism in some ways, the evocative Catholic imagery of the dream affirmed by the way the dreams come true, but the bloody punishment of Catholic worship in the dream

[77] sig. F2v. The earlier Quarto sd '*Enter king Edward moorning*' shows that the mourning is an important enough visual to merit inclusion in these stage directions, despite Edward's next lines indicating the same: 'Hees gone, and for his absence thus *I* moorne' (sig. C3v).
[78] Much has been made here about death as orgasm, including the theory that letting Gaveston 'die' upon the King's bosom is letting him ejaculate on his chest and therefore signifies Gaveston's dominant role ((Manchester UP, 1994), 1.1.14n). For Sara Munson Deats, 'the passage may ironically forecast not only the event of Edward's murder but the actual type of death he will suffer. Gaveston's use of the phrase "seem to die," again suggesting the Elizabethan pun for sexual intercourse, implies that the erotic masque may conclude with a mock murder but actual rape, perhaps adumbrating the mode of Edward's slaying, which is a grotesque parody of his forbidden sodomy' ('Myth and Metamorphosis in Marlowe's Edward II', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 22.3 (1980), pp. 304-21; 310-11)
[79] *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 102.
[80] 'At the end of a century of religious turbulence' is potentially misleading phrasing since it seems to indicate a stopping point to the turbulence, a neat tying-off point from which we can look back and astutely survey the waves. 1600 in no way marks such a stopping point in the actual lived experience, where what we now call the 'Elizabethan Settlement' was not settled in any sure sense with the old queen about to die without an heir and possible Catholic successors waiting in the wings.

also repeated in More's execution. The physical space for More's family's mourning shrinks into an increasingly private space as his public status declines, as the emotional space for their sorrow is repeatedly closed off by More himself. More accepts the tears of the poor, seeming in some ways to revert to his happy role as the man of the London people, yet in others to rehearse the script for the funeral of an aristocrat. The mourning is proleptic in that it occurs repeatedly (and exclusively, given the span of the play) before More's actual death. Mourning, as work to be done on the way to healing, is intrinsically transitory. Mourning someone not yet dead occupies an even more transient position, suspended in the time period between diagnosis and death, between sentencing and beheading, between banishment and execution. Both *More* and *Edward II* explore this dislocated space with the repeated bending of the knee joint, gesture anticipating emotion, emotion anticipating event. Rehearsal becomes performance. Kneeling down onstage, despite occurring most frequently as a subservient posture, draws attention to the power dynamics of the vertical axis of the stage space. The kneeling figure controls the gaze of the audience, even momentarily, asking to be read, inviting scrutiny of this place in between.

The following chapter investigates this vertical axis more closely, and more literally, focusing on the physical rising and falling engendered by the substitution for revenge as mourning in the *Henry VI* plays.

CHAPTER 3

'*On the Top*':
Verticality and Revenge as Mourning in *Henry VI*

The first character onstage in *1 Henry VI* is a dead man. This play of 'grief…first and last' opens with Henry V's funeral (5.6.102):

> *Dead March. Enter the funeral of King Henry the Fifth, attended on by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; the Duke of Gloucester, Protector; the Duke of Exeter; the Earl of Warwick; the Bishop of Winchester; and the Duke of Somerset*. (1.1.0)[1]

Bedford's opening lines provide further stage directions that open out from the 'heavens' of the playhouse to the cosmos:

> Hung be the heavens with black! Yield day to night!
> Comets, importing change of times and states,
> Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,
> And with them scourge the bad revolting stars
> That have consented unto Henry's death… (1.1.1-5)

The opening stage directions and the first lines of the play introduce the two central ideas of this chapter: the notion of verticality (both thematically and in terms of staging) and the problematic mourning rituals of the *Henry VI* cycle. The opening elegiac speech accompanies a funeral procession; mourners dressed in black enter to the beat of a dead march. Bedford's lofty language paints the heavens in mourning, darkening the sky to night, but also points to the literal 'heavens' of the playhouse that would have been shrouded in black drapery to signal the tragic mode.[2]

Despite an opening full of the 'trappings and the suits of woe', these plays repeatedly show mourning abandoned in favour of revenge. This chapter takes revenge out of the conventional critical approach treating it as a response to anxieties over justice, such as F. S. Boas's use of *The Spanish Tragedy as* shaping subsequent tragedy and John Kerrigan's *Revenge Tragedy*, to examine revenge as the action that paradoxically both causes and tries to cure grief. Ironically, in the attempt to do justice to the memory of the

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[1] In Michael Boyd's 2006 *RSC* production, Henry V's presence was even more striking: the sound of mourner wailing, a coffin being lowered into a grave, and the ghost of the deceased Henry V spewing up blood before crawling into his grave opened *Part 1*. His earlier production (*RSC* 2000) emphasised the vertical axis, Henry V's corpse lowered down through a large trapdoor in the ceiling as Bedford gestured upwards.

[2] The black hangings invoke not just the night, but also the 'blacks' of funeral custom. When putting on tragedies, it was standard practice to hang the stage with black cloth, as Marston indicates in *The Insatiate Countess*: 'The stage of heaven is hung with solemn black, / A time best fitting to act tragedies' (cited in Neill, *Issues of Death*, p. 284n). Neill points to Chambers (*Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 3, p. 79) for a full list of contemporary reference to this practice, standard in public and private playhouses as well as court performances (p. 284n).

dead by taking revenge, the dead are forgotten as the living climb to new heights (both politically and literally), interspersing death scenes with extensive siege battles that draw attention to the vertical space of the stage and the way the martial ethos requires ever-increasing fallen for the few to rise. This chapter argues that the dominance of the vertical dimension in these plays, rather than framing the action in providential terms of heaven and hell, repeatedly directs the gaze back to the dead bodies on the stage. Why do towers feature so prominently, and why is the upper stage space so frequently crowded? What are the characters trying to avoid below? One answer lies in the horizontal plane of the stage being constantly disturbed by dead bodies that refuse to stay buried. Through contrasting the ascendant aspirations and climbing sieges with dead bodies returning and re-emerging on stage, the *Henry VI* plays dramatise the inefficacy of revenge as a substitute for mourning. Revenge not only leads to more killing, but places mourning and revenge into a binary of inaction and action. Mourning is rejected as useless, unmanly, sometimes even as madness. The plays depict the resulting cycle of revenge and the fragmentation of a society that lacks effective mourning rituals.

'Climbing my walls in spite of me': Verticality and Theatre[3]

Bedford's gesture to 'the heavens' begins by drawing the eye upwards, away from the body of the dead king, making spectators take into account the richly metaphoric vertical space of the stage from below the boards up to the balcony space and the turrets. My opening discussion of stage verticality featured *Richard II* as an introduction to the components of verticality in both the emotional and political realms. Richard falls from power – 'Down, down, I go'; he aligns himself with the earth: 'Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand' pitying both the ground and himself as 'usurping steps do trample thee' (3.3.178, 3.2.6, 17). Bolingbroke kneels as Richard descends the steps of Flint Castle, a gesture Richard rejects: 'Up, cousin, up. Your heart is up, I know / Thus high at least, although your knee be low' (3.4.6). Richard's 'up' here points to Bolingbroke's elevated power and mood. While the action in *Henry VI* can be charted against the physical backdrop of the theatre, particularly the innovative use of the upper space in Part 1, the valences of emotional and political verticality complicate the ups and downs of siege warfare. This chapter begins with the theatre itself to discover the ways playwrights constructed towers on stage, examines the use of vertical space in the *Henry VI* plays first in military and political dimensions, and then returns to the unburied dead to argue that revenge substituted for mourning leads only to more revenge and more mourning.

One of the devastating ironies of the vertical stage space in the *Henry VI* cycle is the weakness of the tower, a vantage point that seems visually strong. Characters repeatedly seek to gain the upper stage space as a position of powerful advantage only to become vulnerable targets. Towers bring multiple and complex connotations to the stage. They depart from the ground, rise up to the heavens, and escape earthbound existence. They are also vantage points offering a god-like view from above, superior vision of the surrounding landscape. Being able to look off into the distance also enables predictions, seeing who or what might be approaching. In the *Oresteia*, a watchman learns of the fall of Troy from his vantage point on the palace roof, reading the news from a string of hilltop bonfires:

[3] *2 Henry VI*, 4.10.33.

'watching for the sign, / the torch flame, flickering news from Troy' (10-11).[4] Helen watches Paris and Menelaus battle over her from the Trojan towers in the *Iliad*; from this same location Priam, Hecuba, and Andromache witness Hector's body mutilated and dragged through the dust. Towers are places of witness, sometimes offering an unbearable view of tragic events. A tower cannot escape the connotations of the biblical Tower of Babel, a symbol of human pride and false certainty, the wish to be god-like.[5] As the architecture rises, humans fall. Marlowe's 'topless towers of Ilion' are echoed by Greene and Lodge in *A Looking Glass for London* as '[t]owers that topless touch the clouds', like those of Tarsus in *Pericles*, '[w]hose towers bore heads so high they kissed the clouds' and those (again) of Troy in *Troilus and Cressida*, '[y]ond towers, whose wanton tops do buss the clouds' – all of which symbolise a dangerous urban splendor (5.1.93, 1.4.24, 4.5.220).[6] They reach so far into the sky that no top can be seen (as with the Tower of Babel), the reference to Troy a reminder of the doom that follows hubris.[7] The tower seems inherently tragic, a rise signifying an impending fall. Anthony Low, however, points out two possible responses to the tower:

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[4] *The Oresteia,* ed. by Peter Burian and Alan Shapiro (Oxford UP, 2003).

[5] Genesis describes a unified people building 'a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven' having the effect that 'now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do' and resulting in the 'confound[ing] their language, that they may not understand one another's speech…Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth' (11:4,6,9). Janette Dillon points out that Babel transitioned from being a symbol of heretical speech in general to having a specific connection to Catholicism in the sixteenth century (*Language and Stage in Medieval and Renaissance England* (Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 220-1). Per Sivefors presents additional evidence for Babel as 'an image of Catholic pride and sinfulness', particularly in the 1608 *Fall of Babel* ('Conflating Babel and Babylon in *Tamburlaine 2*' *SEL* 52.2 (2012) pp. 293-323; 295-6).

[6] Shakespeare also gives us 'The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces, / The solemn temples, the great globe itself, / Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve' (*The Tempest*, 4.1.152-4); '…these great towers, trophies, and schools should fall…' (*Timon*, 5.4.25); '…sometime lofty towers I see down-razed' (Sonnet 64, ln 3); 'Time's glory is… / To ruinate proud buildings with thy hours, / And smear with dust their glittering golden towers' (*Lucrece* 939, 944-5).

[7] Accounts of biblical towers often focus on Babel, but towers in the Bible are sites of competing and sometimes contradictory meanings. They serve as watchtowers (2 Kings 9:17), and as protective enclosures to keep the people of a city safe (Judges 9:51). But towers are torn down during times of war (Judges 9:49, Ezekiel 26:4). In Isaiah 32:14, the towers turn into their inverse, caves ('dennes'): 'Because the palace shalbe forsaken, and the noise of the citie shalbe left: the towre and fortresse shalbe dennes for ever, & the delite of wilde asses, and a pasture for flockes…' (Geneva Bible). Towers also stand for God's protection, as in Psalm 61: 'For thou has bene mine hope, and a strong tower against the enemie' (61:3), and in David's song in 2 Samuel: 'God is my strength, in him will I trust: my shielde, and the horne of my salvation, my hie tower and my refuge: my Saviour, thou hast saved me from violence' (51:3); 'Therefore I will praise thee, O Lord among the nations, and will sing unto thy Name). He is the tower of salvation for his King, and sheweth mercie to his anointed, even to David, and to his seede for ever' (51:50-51).

> Imaging the downfall of worldly greatness, it retains some of its non-Christian or secular weight, though long used as a Christian argument against worldliness. In this aspect it evokes a primarily tragic emotion: pity for the fall rather than satisfaction in its justice. As an image for foolish presumption, however, it can evoke indignation, scorn, and laughter, which are primarily the responses to comedy.[8]

The characters in *1 Henry VI*, however, do not seem to have read their Homer nor their Virgil nor the Bible. Both the English and the French see towers and walls as desirable spaces of security and victory. The tower first comes into view in this play as an armoury, as Gloucester departs the scene to check on the weapons arsenal he has to secure the position of the new young king: 'I'll to the Tower with all the haste I can, / To view th'artillery and munition, / And then I will proclaim young Henry king' (1.1.167-9). Kristen Deiter's survey of 'Tower plays' – the twenty-four extant English history plays featuring the Tower of London from 1579-1634 – finds that all of them portray the Tower 'as a symbol of opposition to the Crown', with sovereigns' prisoners escaping or being released, monarchs imprisoned in the Tower, the involvement of the Tower in rebellions, or the royal misuse of the Tower justifying rebellion or revenge.[9] While the back and forth between Winchester and Gloucester in *1 Henry VI* takes part in the discourse of misuse of the Tower, the Tower appears as a symbol of royal power in this scene (not a challenge to that ideology), keeping the young king safe and keeping the opposition away. Gloucester skirmishes with Winchester's men in front of the Tower gates, and the Mayor of London enters '*in the hurly-burly*' (1.3.56.2). The respective cases Winchester and Gloucester plead to the Mayor revolve around perceived misuse of the Tower. Gloucester charges that Winchester has 'distrained the Tower to his use' (1.1.61), 'distrained' having the legal sense of confiscated, while Winchester responds that Gloucester 'would have the armour here out of the Tower / To crown himself king and suppress the Prince' (1.3.67-8). Here, gaining the Tower means gaining power. The '*skirmishes cease*' after the Mayor's Officer commands all to return home on pain of death. Despite the threat of Gloucester's men and the fighting

[8] Low's argument concerns towers in Milton, but his point regarding dual responses holds true for the earlier drama ('The Image of the Tower in *Paradise Lost*', *SEL* 10.1 (1970), pp. 171-81; 174).
[9] '"What Citadels, what turrets, and what towers": Mapping the Tower of London in Thomas Heywood's Lord Mayors' Shows', *Comparative Drama* 47.4 (2013), pp. 473-503; 473.

that ensues, this tower stands firm and impenetrable, the young Henry safe inside despite the factional battles just outside the walls.

The following scene recasts the backstage just used as the Tower of London into a tower on the side of the River Loire. The Master Gunner and his Boy appear on the main stage, the Master Gunner pointing out the position of the English:

> The Prince's spials have informèd me
> How the English, in the suburbs close entrenched,
> Went through a secret grate of iron bars
> In yonder tower, to overpeer the city,
> And thence discover how with most advantage
> They may us vex with shot or with assault. (1.4.8-13)

The English here seem to have the advantage of height, able to look down on the city and pick their targets. However, this scene reveals the vulnerability of the tower to modern implements of war, as the Gunner reveals: 'To intercept this inconvenience, / A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have placed' (1.5.14-15). Talbot and Salisbury's joyful reunion in the following scene is thus overcast by their unawareness of the cannon aimed at them. The tower is vulnerable not only to artillery but the watchtower becomes watched, both perceived advantages subverted.

Talbot and the Earl of Salisbury enter '*above on the turrets with others, among them Sir Thomas Gargrave and Sir William Glasdale*' (1.5.0.1-2). Salisbury calls attention to their location after his opening questions to Talbot, exhorting him 'Discourse, I prithee, on this turret's top' (1.5.5).[10] The scene is unusual in several respects, featuring one of the longest scenes entirely played in the upper space, and with more characters crammed into the upper space than is usual for other plays. Bevington writes of the window scene in *Romeo and Juliet*: 'We see again the care with which Shakespeare uses the upper acting area only

[10] Most editors identify their location as the gallery at the back of the stage, but Christine Eccles and Allison Gaw both suggest that the 'top' is the location closer to the roof on which the trumpeter stands in the DeWitt sketch of the Swan (Eccles, p. 143; Gaw, *The Origin and Development of* 1 Henry VI *in Relation to Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele and Greene* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1926), p. 56). Gaw's proposed staging has Salisbury, Talbot, Gargrave, and Glansdale appear on the turret platform on which the trumpeter stands in the DeWitt sketch, then enter the turret itself and appear through the window as the 'secret grate' (p. 57). However, most of this stage business could be achieved by using the gallery space, and the scene does not seem to require anything particular to the turret platform location – rather, the complexity of the action seems to rule out the small space of the turret top. See Chambers for further dismissal of Gaw's turret theory, arguing that the heavens would obscure any action above (vol. 1, p. 293).

for brief uncrowded appearances and for action that derives its metaphoric significance from its spatial elevation above the main stage'.[11] Dessen and Smith's survey of stage directions featuring 'above' notes that 'typically one or two figures appear *above* or *aloft*, five being the maximum in all but a few plays, with the more figures above, the more minimal the actions and shorter the scene'.[12] In contrast, in this scene 'above', the stage direction specifies four named characters, plus '*others*'.

The repeated references to their location seem to contribute to their initial confidence 'on this turret's top' as an advantageous outlook, and the subsequent sense of dislocation in their realisation that nowhere is safe: 'Accursèd tower!' (1.5.5, 54). The timing of the scene has both the 'just missed' exquisiteness of the deaths in *Romeo and Juliet*, and the pantomime 'He's behind you!' impulse as the Gunner's Boy passes over the stage with a burning linstock to light the cannon just before Salisbury turns to the iron grate to look down.[13] The tower as an outlook becomes a vulnerable, too-visible spire. The opening confidence of position turns into cursing their locale.

The French experience a similar reversal. In another instance of crowding the tiring-house gallery, the victorious French enter '*on the walls*', as Joan, Charles, the Reignier, the Duke of Alençon and French Soldiers must all appear above (a minimum of six actors). Joan declares, 'Advance our waving colours on the walls' (1.7.1), claiming the tower as a place of victory, advertising that 'Joan la Pucelle hath performed her word' (1.7.3). The French retire inside to banquet, and a Sergeant appears (likely also on the walls) and orders the Sentinels to keep watch – a sure indication something is about to go wrong. Talbot, Bedford and Burgundy enter below with scaling ladders, the tower revealed as vulnerable even to the simplest form of technology. Talbot explicitly refers to the strength of the walls, preferring God as the strength of the English: 'God is our fortress, in whose

[11] Bevington, *Action*, pp, 112-13.
[12] p. 1.
[13] The timing of Salisbury's death has been dismissed as 'just the bad luck of war' (A. L. French, 'The Mills of God and Shakespeare's Early History Plays,' *English Studies* 55 (1974), pp. 313-24; 314); as a 'chance' death (picking up on Talbot's 'What chance is this that suddenly hath crossed us?' (1.4.72) by Pearlman (*William Shakespeare: The History Plays* (New York: Twayne, 1992), p. 27). However, the elements of bad luck and chance undeniably present in this scene amplify rather than diminish the tragic effect of the death.

conquering name / Let us resolve to scale their flinty bulwarks' (1.1.26-7). The English ascend 'several ways', Talbot resolving to finish at either the upper or lower extreme, the gallery or under the stage: 'here will Talbot mount, or make his grave' (2.1.34). In a spectacular and comic scene, the surprised French '*leap o'er the walls in their shirts*', the Bastard of Orléans, Alençon and Reignier entering '*half ready and half unready*' (2.1.39.1-4). David Bevington notes that for the French to emerge from the tiring house at gallery level and jump down to the main stage would have required a vertical leap of up to fourteen feet – 'requiring agility and no doubt inspiring anti-French laughter among Elizabethan English spectators'.[14] For Joseph Candido, the scene 'grotesquely literalizes' the contrast between the English chivalric code of aristocratic values and the French incivility (a contradistinction David Riggs makes originally in regard to Talbot's description of his release).[15] Yet both English then French mistake the tower as a locale of victory and safety. The English suffer an arguably more dignified tragic death, whereas the French are ejected unceremoniously, dishevelled and half-dressed.

Joan and the French soldiers prove how easy it is to gain entry through the city gate of Rouen, disguising themselves as peasants with sacks over their backs, their gleeful anticipation clear in one soldier's punning, 'Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city' (3.2.10-11).[16] Joan's aside, 'Now, Rouen, I'll shake thy bulwarks to the ground,' (3.2.16) recalls Talbot's 'Let us resolve to scale their flinty bulwarks' (2.1.27) setting the expectation for a successful sack of Rouens. In an analogous scene towards the end of *3 Henry VI*, Edward and his men approach the city of York, and the Mayor enters '*on the walls*' and refuses entry to Edward, informing him the city has sworn allegiance to Henry. Edward quickly talks his way in, claiming only to seek his dukedom and a wish to be Henry's friend. The Mayor descends from his position of advantage and hands the keys over to Edward, effectively removing himself from any further significance as he does not have another line and

[14] *This Wide and Universal Theater* (U of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 76.
[15] 'Getting Loose in the *Henry VI* Plays' *SQ* 35.4 (1984), pp. 392-406; 394.
[16] Franziska Quabeck uses this disguise as non-combatants as an example of immoral military strategy (while acknowledging that the contrast with Talbot's chivalry serves other functions in the play), with the 'close juxtaposition of the different meanings of the word "sack" represent[ing] the dual nature of their strategy: the sacks they carry as peasants, i.e. civilians, enable them to sack the city as soldiers' (*Just and Unjust Wars in Shakespeare* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), p. 234).

Edward marches into the city with soldiers. The plays present city walls repeatedly as permeable, despite the assumptions of the characters who appear on them.

After Joan and the soldiers enter the gates (the tiring-house door), Charles, the Bastard and Reignier appear on the main stage. As in the turret scene with Talbot, the action is meticulously and repetitively narrated by characters onstage, Joan indicating she will 'by a sign give notice to our friends' (3.2.8), the Bastard asking, 'Now she is there, how will she specify / Here is the best and safest passage in?' (3.2.20-21), Reignier detailing, 'By thrusting out a torch from yonder tower, / Which, once discerned, shows what her meaning is' (3.2.23-4). Joan again appears victorious '*on the top*' this time '*thrusting out a burning torch*' (3.2.24.1-2). She describes her victory pose, keeping attention on her at this upper level and providing two readings of the fire she brandishes: 'Behold, this is the happy wedding torch / That joineth Rouen unto her countrymen, / But burning fatal to the Talbonites' (3.2.25-7). The Bastard and Charles, seeing but presumably not hearing Joan, provide their own descriptions of her fire signal:

BASTARD See, noble Charles, the beacon of our friend.
The burning torch in yonder turret stands.
CHARLES Now shine it like a comet of revenge,
A prophet to the fall of all our foes! (3.2.28-31)

After the excursions which drive the English out of Orléans, the martial victory is represented visually in a scene that presents Joan, Charles, the Bastard, and Reignier '*on the walls*' and the Duke of Bedford '*brought in sick in a chair*' with Talbot and Burgundy below. It may be tempting to translate this visual positioning into a more stable hierarchy of power, as David Bevington does for *2* and *3 Henry VI*: 'Appearances aloft of Lord Scales '*upon the Tower, walking*,' to citizens who enter '*below*' and of King Henry '*on the terrace*' receiving the submission of Jack Cade's rebels...stress the hierarchical patterns'.[17] However, the position on the city walls has been shown repeatedly in this play to be one of vulnerability and false confidence. Joan mocks them from her position of perceived advantage, taking particular aim at Bedford. Ironically, Bedford is the character who has opened each previous scene of mourning with words, but now calls for revenge: 'O let no

[17] Bevington, *Action*, p. 103.

words, but deeds, revenge this treason' (3.2.48). Joan's retort emphasises Bedford's incapacity to act any deed: 'What will you do, good greybeard? Break a lance / And run a-tilt at death within a chair?' (3.2.49-50). She makes it clear that death is the only opponent left for Bedford to face, rousing Talbot's defiant speech. He demands that the French 'like soldiers, come and fight it out' (3.2.65), objecting to what he views as base and cowardly tactics: 'Like peasant footboys do they keep the walls, / And dare not take up arms like gentlemen' (3.2.67-8). Talbot's objection here, in relation to the previous action of the play, seems unwarranted. The see-saw up-and-down war game of 'Who's on top?' that centres around gaining and losing the high ground of the tower fades into inconsequential pageantry if the opposing forces can simply demand those on the city walls must come down and fight.

Talbot's later parley with the French General, who is '*aloft*' on the walls of Bordeaux reveals the triple threat to the besieged city:

> You tempt the fury of my three attendants –
> Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire –
> Who, in a moment, even with the earth
> Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers. (4.2.10-13)

The 'air-braving towers' here invoke Marlowe's 'topless towers'.[18] In a moment of dramatic foresight that will be repeated in *Romeo and Juliet* ('Methinks I see thee now thou art so low / As one dead in the bottom of a tomb' (3.5.55-6)), the General prophecies that the differences in their height presage Talbot's imminent death: 'These eyes that see thee now well colourèd / Shall see thee withered, bloody, pale, and dead' (4.2.37-8). In *King John*, Arthur dies by jumping from the walls that are, as in the *Henry VI* plays, vantage points with battles occurring before them, bulwarks with threats railed against and from them. Shakespeare uses the same prefiguring height differential as *1 Henry VI* and *Romeo and Juliet* to forecast Arthur's death. As Eleanor and Constance argue over Arthur's right to the throne, Arthur's use of 'low laid' describing his grave flashes forward to the moment he contemplates leaping from the walls, rationalising the risk '[a]s good to die and go, as die

[18] James C. Bulman, *The Heroic Idiom of Shakespearean Tragedy* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1985), p. 29.

and stay' (4.3.8): 'Good my mother, peace. / I would that I were low laid in my grave; / I am not worth this coil that's made for me' (2.1.163-5). This is the only time the exact phrase 'low laid' occurs in Shakespeare's plays, the closest being the reverse 'laid low' in Balthasar's description of Juliet as he breaks the news to Romeo that she is dead: 'I saw her laid low in her kindred's vault' (5.1.20). Two other instances interspersing adverbs also reveal deaths: Scroop describing the deaths at Bristol, 'Those whom you curse / Have felt the worst of death's destroying wound, / And lie full low, graved in the hollow ground' (*Richard II*, 3.2.138-140); Antony's shocked, 'O mighty Caesar! Dost thou lie so low?' on discovering Caesar's dead body. 'Low laid' as metonym for death also functions as linguistic opposite and logical result of 'air-braving', contrasting the full, high aspirations with their inevitable hollow, low ends in the grave.

Henry's scene of death opens with the Lieutenant of the Tower looking down from the walls, Henry below, reading. The Folio stage direction reads '*Enter Henry the Sixth and Richard with the Lieutenant on the walls*', a syntax that implies the Lieutenant is alone in the gallery above, with Henry and Richard below (5.6.0.2n). Other editors share this assumption, Cox and Rasmussen further noting (from a private correspondence with George Walton Williams) in their Arden edition that 'it is unlikely that such a climactic and dramatic action would be performed '*on the walls*' with nothing else happening below' (5.6.0.1-2). David Bevington, however, makes a compelling dramatic case for the scene taking place entirely above:[19]

> It is…spatially fitting that Richard of Gloucester should murder King Henry '*on the walls*' of the Tower of London at the end of *3 Henry VI* (5.6), in a scene that figuratively reveals once more the breach of England's royal fortress by homebred treachery. The reversal of legitimacy dramatized in this scene finds its sad confirmation in *Richard III*, when Richard appears '*aloft*' to the commoners who have come to ask him to accept the throne (3.7.94).[20]

In either case, murdering Henry on the walls or below the walls with the symbolism of the Lieutenant guarding from above reveals the weakness of towers, gates, and walls. The Tower of London that began as a place of safe protection for the boy Henry in *1 Henry VI* is

[19] In the fifth edition of his *Complete Works*, Bevington includes the stage direction as it is printed in other editions, '*Enter Henry the Sixth and Richard [Duke of Gloucester], with the Lieutenant [of the Tower] on the walls*' (5.6.0.1-3), but makes no comment regarding who exactly appears on the walls.
[20] Bevington, *Action*, p. 103.

the place where he is killed in *3 Henry VI*. Insisting upon the penetrability of this supposed place of safety or victory reveals the hollow nature of such structures if the country's ruler cannot rise to meet the challenges of his time. Scaling the walls and entering the gates and shooting those on the top of the tower provides exciting visual energy in the theatre while undercutting the assumptions of the visual sense: that towers provide lookouts, and city bulwarks hold strong. Janette Dillon notes that siege scenes become less common in Shakespeare's histories after 1595, with only one brief scene before the city walls of Harfleur in *Henry V* (an easy conquest with 'no time for any binary feeling of opposition to emerge').[21] She concludes that Shakespeare chooses the open field for Henry's heroic Agincourt speech because '[s]cenes before city-gates have, over the course of Shakespeare's prior history plays, become too often ironised to be used by this time as a forum for heroism'.[22]

While this survey of the ways towers and walls feature in the *Henry VI* plays is incomplete, that these examples only represent a selection of the use of the upper space is instructive in itself, underscoring E. K. Chambers' observation that *1 Henry VI* makes the fullest use of walls of any sixteenth-century play.[23] Two other Shakespeare history plays, *King John* and *Richard II,* feature walls prominently and are worth attention both for the ways walls hold strong in these plays and in the way those upon the walls are positioned as spectators. Like the parleys in *Henry VI, King John* incorporates leaders presenting their cases for entry to those upon the walls.[24] The English and the French square off before the gates to Angiers, each side claiming to represent the legitimate King of England (the English behind John, and the French and Austrian forces for Arthur). King John threatens

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[21] *Shakespeare and the Staging of English History* (Oxford UP, 2012), p. 53. Indeed, not just siege scenes, but use of the walls in general declines following the 1590s: plotting walls featured in stage directions in extant plays reveals 26 references from 1580-1599, 10 from 1600-1619, and 4 from 1620-1639.

[22] Ibid., p. 53.

[23] Chambers, p. 55. A summary: two characters '*above*' in 1.4; four '*on the turrets*' (1.6); at least six '*on the walls*' (1.8); three '*above*' (2.1); three using ladders to scale walls at different moments in 2.1; leaping '*over the walls*' also in 2.1; Joan '*on the top*' (3.3); five characters '*on the walls*' (3.5), the Captain of Bordeaux '*aloft*' (4.2); Reignier 'on the walls' (5.5) (Richardson and Wiggins, *British Drama 1533-1642,* p. 165).

[24] Appendix A2 in Braunmuller's Oxford edition discusses the editorial debates on the stage direction that reads 'Enter a Citizen upon the walles' in the Folio, pointing to evidence in the ensuing dialogue for the presence of multiple citizens (pp. 272-83).

the city with 'cannons' with 'their bowels full of wrath', 'ready mounted…to spit forth / Their iron indignation 'gainst your walls' (2.1.210-12). He also warns of the danger of parleying with the French: 'And now, instead of bullets wrapped in fire / To make a shaking fever in your walls, / They shoot but calm words folded up in smoke / To make a faithless error in your ears' (2.1.227-30). King Philip also threatens: 'But if you fondly pass our proffered offer, / 'Tis not the roundure of your old-faced walls / Can hide you from our messengers of war' (2.1.258-60). Despite the threats of both cannons and infectious words, the walls hold in this scene. The Bastard later proposes that the English and French join forces against Angiers, comparing the citizens of the city to spectators at a play:

> By heaven, these scroyles of Angers flout you, Kings,
> And stand securely on their battlements
> As in a theatre, whence they gape and point
> At your industrious scenes and acts of death. (2.1.373-6)

This reduction of the wars to scenes played in a theatre has the desired effect, spurring the two forces to agree to combine 'against these saucy walls' (2.1.401-4) (although they ultimately combine through marriage rather than raining down military destruction on the town). The speech also reduces spectatorship to gaping and pointing, a form of mockery or flouting. To be a spectator in the Bastard's terms is not to take things seriously. A similar distancing effect occurs in *3 Henry VI*, when Warwick berates his own shocked inertia on learning of his brother's death: 'Why stand we like soft-hearted women here, / Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage; / And look upon, as if the tragedy / Were played in jest by counterfeiting actors?' (2.3.25-8). Here, doing nothing, not reacting, is connected to the stillness of mourning, a position Warwick believes to be best occupied by 'soft-hearted women' (a gender divide discussed below). Furthermore, a man who looks on must not believe that what has happened is real. Spectatorship is active disbelief, again, not taking things seriously enough.[25]

[25] John Astington uses Warwick's lines to look at believability from the other side of the boards, noting that playing 'in jest' and 'counterfeiting' both 'debase the value of the currency of acting' but tying this to a larger discourse dismissive of acting (*Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge UP, 2010), p. 15). This idea of acting as counterfeiting is discussed at length in the context of fake funerals in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Positioning the spectators 'on their battlements', looking down from the walls also has the odd effect of singling out a minority of the audience who look down from the upper galleries, lords' rooms, and gentlemen's rooms.[26] Does this make spectators momentarily aware of their own perspective in vertical space, looking up at the stage from the yard, across from the lower galleries, or down from the higher spaces?[27] Looking down from a height makes the action below seem unreal, physical removal engendering emotional distance.[28] This chapter explores the dynamic of removal further within the context of mourning, or more specifically, as the avoidance of mourning.

'[W]hy mourn we not in blood?': Revenge as Mourning

The crowded upper stage space and prominent use of towers direct our attention to what the characters are trying to avoid below: dead bodies returning to the stage, sometimes whole, sometimes in pieces. The *Henry VI* plays open with a dead king's body brought on stage and end with a dead king's body brought from the stage. In the interim, there are twenty-seven deaths on stage, with another six death sentences pronounced and carried out off stage. Alexander Leggatt claims that the *Henry VI* plays demonstrate that 'the fate of

[26] Derek Peat terms Globe playgoers a 'vertical audience', contrasting the vertical galleries to the way later theatre construction has audiences shelved away from the stage and describing the actor having 'spectators looking up from below his knees and…looking down on his head' ('Looking Up and Looking Down: Shakespeare's Vertical Audience', *SQ* 35.5 (1984), pp. 563-70; 564).
[27] Janette Dillon's section on the vertical axis of the theatre describes the emphasis of Bastard's speech on 'the physical make-up of the stage, with its gallery' but also argues that this speech 'physically points up the Bastard's own marginality. It is spoken as an observer, of a stage picture which he is almost certainly describing from a peripheral, off-centre position on the stage. His own "off-centredness" is coded through his representation here of a symmetrical stage picture – a stalemate indeed – from an asymmetrical position of his own, since he stands outside and free of the two groupings of English and French' (*Shakespeare and the Staging,* p. 51).
[28] In French, 'prendre de la hauteur' (literally, 'to take the height', translated as 'to climb' in English) also means to get perspective or to detach.

English heroes is to die, and the habit of the English community is to forget them'.[29] Certainly, the sheer number of dead heroes at the end of the action supports the first half of this claim. However, this chapter argues that the habit of the English community is to fiercely try, yet fail, to remember them. The deaths that permeate these plays are surrounded by scenes of attempted mourning, sometimes aborted, but more often replaced by revenge, by which characters hope to climb to new political heights. At Henry V's funeral, Exeter expresses his frustration at the stasis and inaction of mourning, asking the question that sets into motion a pattern of mourning-as-revenge that haunts all subsequent deaths: 'We mourn in black; why mourn we not in blood?' (1.1.17). Ironically, in the attempt to do justice to the memory of the dead by taking revenge, the dead are forgotten, replaced by the fresh kill and a new imperative to mourn (and revenge) someone else's death. The revenge imperative leads not only to more killing, but also places mourning and revenge into a binary of inaction and action, mourning pushed away as useless or even as madness. The fallout from this cycle of revenge reveals the fragmentation of a society that seems to lack sufficient mourning rituals, as the dead reappear for multiple unsuccessful attempts at mourning.

Over the past century, critics have treated revenge in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama as a mode of extralegal retributive justice, righting a wrong that has gone unpunished within traditional frameworks of justice at the outset of the play. Bacon's version of revenge as 'a sort of wild justice' has taken hold, missing the less pejorative versions, like Saviolo's advice on how to carry out revenge honourably, as well as the possibilities of revenge enacted by the state, as in references to magistrates as 'the common revengers' and the execution of sentence as 'public vengeance'.[30] The terminology is worth

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[29] Alexander Leggatt, 'The Death of John Talbot' in *Shakespeare's Histories: A Quest for Form and Genre*, ed. John W. Velz (Binghamtom, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1996), p. 20.

[30] 'Of Revenge,' in *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 72. Saviolo writes, 'whosoever being moved with just disdain, and just occasion, shall conveniently revenge himselfe against any man' (*Vincentio Saviolo his practice* (London, 1595), sig. Ii2r). Saviolo's justification is for the larger social cause, as in this example of adultery:

> for adulterie ought a man to combate, not as to revenge the wrong done to one particular person, but in regarde of all, considering how holye and religious a bond matrimonie is, being a lawfull conjunction instituted and ordained by God…everye Gentleman ought to undertake the combate, not so muche to revenge himselfe, or his freends, or to thastice or

attention not just for the way it has influenced critical response to the network of plays defined as revenge tragedies, but for the way it impacts critical thinking about the act of revenge in other genres. The *Henry VI* cycle, of course, belongs to the history play genre, and the context of war changes the moral, psychological, and dramatic implications of the revenge act: now revenge takes on a nationalistic moral impulse. This chapter takes both the history play and wartime contexts into consideration, but this 'revenge act' itself and the inflections brought to it by the past century of revenge tragedy criticism require unpacking.

The term 'revenge tragedy' itself is modern, given currency around 1900 beginning with A. H. Thorndike, and given fuller treatment in Fredson Bowers' *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*.[31] The genre is notable for immense popularity: 'revenge tragedy was for a time the most popular form of English Renaissance tragedy, and arguably of the period's drama altogether'.[32] Previous studies of mourning have, notably, focused on revenge tragedies.[33]

> punishe the offenders, as to preserve and keepe from violence a bond so sacred and inviolable. (sigs. Y4v-Z1r)

In 'Revenge and Revenge Tragedy', Ronald Broude aligns revenge more closely with the modern word 'punishment' (*Renaissance Quarterly* 28.1 (1975), pp. 38-58; 41). Broude cites Cranmer's 'common revengers' ('A Sermon Concerning the Time of the Rebellion,' in *Misc. Writings and Letters* (Cambridge, 1846), p. 193), and Hugh Latimer's 'public vengeance' ('Epistle for the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity,' in *Sermons* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 495).

[31] Thorndike's definition is 'a distinct species of the tragedy of blood…whose leading motive is revenge and whose main action deals with progress of this revenge' ('The Relations of *Hamlet* to the Contemporary Revenge Play,' *PMLA*, 17 (1902), pp. 125-220; 125). Both Thorndike and Bowers, despite claiming *The Spanish Tragedy* is the progenitor of the form, in fact use *Hamlet* as the exemplary revenge tragedy (for Bowers, 'the *apotheosis* of the revenge play') creating the generic strictures from a model said to consummate the genre (*Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (Princeton UP, 1940), pp. 61-5). Thus, the familiar critical narrative inherited from Bowers regarding revenge tragedy, tracing Senecan influences from Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* through *Titus Andronicus* (often noted as particularly violent) reaching a nadir in *Hamlet*, moving then to the Jacobean *Revenger's Tragedy* and *Duchess as Malfi* as commentary of sorts on the genre, actually moves both backwards and forwards in time, measuring other revenge tragedies as precursors or responses to *Hamlet*.

[32] Tanya Pollard, 'Tragedy and revenge' in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, eds. Emma Smith and Garrret A. Sullivan (Cambridge UP, 2010), pp. 58-72; 58. Pollard cites the numerous printings (twelve from 1592-1633), imitations, and parodies of *The Spanish Tragedy* as evidence of the popularity of the genre as a whole (p. 70n). Wendy Griswold tracks the endurance of the genre, from Kyd's innovation (1587-90) to the popularity of *Hoffman* at the Phoenix as late at 1631 (considering Shirley's *The Cardinal* in 1641 'more of a throwback than the end of a continuous line), contrasting this 40+ year span to the twenty year presence of city comedy from *Every Man in His Humour* in 1599 to the latest to Massinger's 1621 *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (*Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theater, 1576-1980* (University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 67).

[33] As well as the obvious *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton UP, 2002), *Hamlet* dominates Neill's influential *Issues of Death*, which also treats *The Changeling*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, *Othello* (arguably a version of revenge tragedy), as well as the tragedies *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *The Broken Heart*. Rist sets his study *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration* against Ronald Broude's 1973

The problem with examining mourning in revenge tragedies motivated by concerns of justice is that it creates a binary of static mourning vs. active revenge, where, as in *Hamlet*, mourning is either seen as a delay to the necessary action, or revenge becomes the only possible expression of grief. This stems from the conventional position of the revengers as victims justified in their desire to seek redress for crimes thus far unpunished: for Hieronimo, the murder of his son; for Hamlet and Hoffman, the murders of fathers; for Antonio, the death of Mellida; for Vindice, the rape and poisoning of Gloriana. Tanya Pollard summarises the appeal of these dynamics: 'The thrill of the plays, though, depends on the audience identifying with the aggrieved revenger and rooting to punish the original wrongdoing. The genre's popularity, then, speaks to the attraction of seeing frustrated victims satisfy their demand for justice'.[34] While this identification argument holds true for some tragedies, in others revenge fuels plot dynamism, a convenient topos for playwrights in search of lively material. The identification with the aggrieved revenger may not endorse their case as 'just', either, but might rather be the thrill of seeing just how far they will take their revenge. Hoffman, for example, does not appear to be a particularly sympathetic figure. It seems to me that this approach rather unquestioningly endorses the revenge ethos as expressed by wronged characters.

The argument that revenge is emotionally restorative appears in the prototype revenge tragedy, with Hieronimo's 'To know the author were some ease of grief, / For in revenge my heart would find relief' (2.5.40-1). Shakespeare picks up on the potentially curative properties of revenge, as Macduff advises Malcolm: 'Let's make us medicines of our great revenge / To cure this deadly grief' (4.3.215-16).[35] Harry Keyishian sees Shakespeare's view of revenge in *Henry VI* as

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argument that revenge tragedies expressed a Protestant worldview, instead measuring the 'Reformed-ness' of the performative ideal of mourning in revenge tragedies, and in doing so, takes on the pairing of revenge tragedy and mourning traditions somewhat unquestioned (p. 1, 22).

[34] Pollard, 'Tragedy and revenge', p. 59.

[35] Contrast this to Bacon's 'a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well' ('Of Revenge', in *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 72); on the remedial properties of revenge, see Tanya Pollard, 'A Kind of Wild Medicine: Revenge as Remedy in Early Modern England', *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 50 (2005), pp. 57-69; Harry Keyishian, *The Shapes of Revenge: Victimization, Vengeance, and Vindictiveness in Shakespeare* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1995).

> not merely social, however, but personal. Shakespeare portrays injuries, insults, and wrongs as psychic traumas for which revenge seems, to the victim, the only remedy. Characters who have been victimized or violated, who have suffered malicious harm, look to revenge as a means to restore a sense of selfhood. Focusing on the psychology of revenge, Shakespeare contends that this is how people behave when injured: through retaliatory actions, they try to restore a sense of selfhood and redeem an identity damaged by injury.[36]

In *English Revenge Drama*, Linda Woodbridge also pushes back against the idea that Elizabethans saw revenge as psychologically damaging, amassing quotes (from avengers) about therapeutic effects of revenge, and also about the delight found in the completion of revenge from *Titus* to *The Duchess of Malfi* (Bosola's 'My revenge is perfect' (5.5.62), and *Antonio's Revenge* ('Sons that revenge their fathers' blood, are blessed' (5.5.82).[37] As this chapter demonstrates, multiple characters in the *Henry VI* plays express similar praise for revenge, but the re-entering dead and the sense of lack and loss pervading these histories points to the curative inadequacy of the revenge act.

In the wide-ranging *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon*, John Kerrigan addresses the physical and psychological reappearances of the dead, from bones making their way out of graves, hair and nails continuing to lengthen, to organ transplants making a double sort of life after death possible. He states, 'none of this would matter if the buried were incapable of hatred', pointing to forms of dismemberment in Greek drama that might seem gruesome but are in fact a form of ritual sacrifice to ensure that that dead stay dead, and explicitly not in one piece.[38]

Aside from avoiding retreading haunted and hallowed critical ground, why choose history plays and not revenge tragedies for a chapter treating revenge? At first glance, the history play genre is missing many of the characteristic features of revenge tragedy: fewer ghosts urging vengeance; less trickery in the form of disguises or feigned madness; the total absence of the trial via play-within-the-play device. But the comedy billed as 'Honourable History' *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and 'Shakespeare's most celebrated war

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[36] 'The Progress of Revenge in the First Henriad' in *Henry VI: Critical Essays* ed. Thomas A. Pendleton (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 67-78; 67.
[37] Linda Woodbridge, *English Revenge Drama: Money, Resistance, Equality* (Cambridge UP, 2010), p. 23-4.
[38] John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 30, 33.

play'[39] *Henry V* feature princes disguised. Madness in histories may not be feigned but is present, often brought on by grief, and put to various uses. While plays-within-the-plays are absent, metatheatrical meditation occurs repeatedly. Crucially, when it comes to revenge, the history plays do not feature the delay in achieving revenge that structures most revenge tragedies; rather, the *Henry VI* plays are structured by recurring revenges. The mourning queens in *Richard III* lower themselves to the stage floor, sitting to say the names, calling and recalling the dead:

> Queen Margaret: I had an Edward, till a Richard killed him;
> I had a Harry, till a Richard killed him:
> Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard killed him;
> Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard killed him.
> Duchess of York: I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;
> I had a Rutland too, thou holp'st to kill him.
> Queen Margaret: Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard killed him.
> (4.4.40-46)[40]

The repeated pattern and rhythm pairs the having of the first half of each line with the killing of the second half, so that for these mourning mothers, to have a child is inevitably to see them killed. The repetition of the articles 'a' and 'an' as well as different characters sharing the same name make the individual identities seem meaningless in the inexorable cycle of revenge. The repetition underscores the repetitive nature of revenge in the history plays, the inevitability of slotting in to a predetermined role in this cycle. The history genre is one of inevitability, telling stories already known, but revenge recurs again and again named specifically as revenge.

Against this notion that revenge should be studied in the context of the history play, Eleanor Prosser's survey of the revenge motif in plays produced between 1562 and 1607 explicitly excludes '[p]lays in which open warfare is accompanied by vows of revenge'

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[39] Frequently described as 'war play' not 'history play' (above quoted from the Cambridge UP catalogue book description online ('King Henry V'); the locution occurs in Lily Campbell's assessment of *Henry V* as 'a great war play' and multiple introductions and reviews (*Shakespeare's Histories: Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (1947; New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 305).

[40] Jowett describes the potential effects in performance: 'The repetition of names, at its most extreme in ll. 37-43, can resound impressively if the play is performed as the last of a cycle, as in Peter Hall's production, where one reviewer thought the passage particularly effective because the dead were remembered by the audience too' ('Introduction', *Richard III* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), p. 62).

since 'the issues are national and political rather than private and moral'.[41] However, the revenges enacted across the *Henry VI* cycle feature elements of the national, the political, the private, and the moral. The private/public divide used to distinguish the individualistic revenger from revenge (nominally at least) in the national interest does not hold in a play that pulls the focus in to the chiastic pair: '*Enter a Sonne that has kill'd his Father, at one doore: and a Father that hath kill'd his Sonne at another doore*'.[42] Henry VI's response to this sight, 'O piteous spectacle' (2.5.73) points to another difference posited between revenge tragedy and history play: revenge tragedies take the vengeance and killings to absolute extremes, with more carnage and more horror, heaping spectacle on bloody spectacle.[43] *Titus* is often cited as an example of such excess, but *3 Henry VI* features especially gruesome spectacles from taunting York with a handkerchief stained with his son's blood, to Margaret cradling her dead lover's head, that rival the 'pornography of horror' charge leveled at other Elizabethan revengers.[44] For Jowett, the history play *Richard III* 'assumes its own form as a variant on the revenge tragedy by manipulating and altering the structure of its historical source'.[45]

History plays, then, feature revenge in ways just as fruitful to explore as the trajectories of revenge tragedies, but the function of revenge in the histories has been somewhat overlooked. By looking at the ways revenge replaces mourning in these three plays, we see what revenge does and what it fails to do. If, as Griswold claims, the 'social significance' of the revenge tragedy 'lay in its display and formal resolution of the tension between centralized authority and individual justice', here we see revenge removed from the context of individual justice, and performed for national, aspirational, and emotional motives.[46]

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[41] *Hamlet and Revenge* (1967; Palo Alto: Stanford UP, 1971), p. 36n.
[42] From the Folio sd (p. 156). This scene as well as the different versions of this stage direction are discussed at length below.
[43] Jonathan Bate makes this point in the BBC podcast 'Elizabethan Revenge', *In Our Time*, hosted by Melvyn Bragg (BBC Radio 4, 2009), 18 Jun 2009.
[44] Peter Mercer, *Hamlet and the Acting of Revenge* (University of Iowa Press, 1987), p. 34.
[45] 'Introduction', *Richard III*, p. 22.
[46] *Renaissance Revivals*, p. 56.

'What ceremony else?': Unburied Bodies and Corrupted Exits

Laertes' inquiry about Ophelia's funeral rites might be asked of the opening funeral in *1 Henry VI*. For what kind of funeral is this? There is no officiating presence, despite the Bishop onstage. There are no structural cues, no formal prayers, nor any clear indication what stage of the funeral the scene is supposed to represent. The characters repeatedly refer to it as a 'funeral' as does the Folio stage direction, but they do not refer to being inside a church or in a graveyard. It remains unclear whether this is the beginning of a funeral (as in the BBC version), or the end of a funeral as the coffin leaves Westminster. Edward Burns points out that the second option seems dramatically far less effective: 'It is an important irony in the scene that the very concerns raised by the death of Henry prevent a properly respectful completion of the ritual of his funeral' (1.1.0.1n).[47] Brian Cummings describes Henry V's funeral as Shakespeare 'medievalizing ritual' and presenting a ritual that is in many senses 'counterfeit', 'no longer functional' and openly acknowledging its own theatricality.[48] It is unclear, however, what is specifically medieval about the ritual presented: the processional dead march to open the scene finds a contemporary parallel in the elaborate procession for Sir Philip Sidney's post-Reformation funeral; the mourning drapery hung on the stage recalls the black drapery of churches still current in the 1590s, likewise for the black mourning cloaks.[49] The direct addresses to the dead body might be in contradiction to the 1552 Order for the Burial of the Dead, but addresses to dead bodies are so ubiquitous in early modern drama that it seems unlikely they are here included as a particular medieval vestige.

The ceremony, if it can even be classed as such, does not go smoothly: it is interrupted by bickering; the very nature of what the characters are doing there is derided and questioned; finally, the participants desert the funeral entirely.[50] This last point

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[47] 1.1.0.1n.
[48] 'Counterfeit Ritual: Theatre and Memory in Shakespeare', Queen Mary University of London, Medieval and Early Modern Texts and Contexts Lecture Series, 8 March 2011.
[49] For mourning drapery in churches and cloaks see Gittings, *Death,* p. 27.
[50] Katharine Goodland argues that the interruptions undermine Henry V's heroic status: 'the funeral procession that purportedly enacts continuity, the survival and immortality of the dignitas, instead manifests discontinuity and discord' ('Obsequious Laments: Mourning and Communal Memory in Shakespeare's *Richard III*' in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England*, eds. Dennis Taylor and David N. Beauregard (New York: Fordham UP, 2003), pp. 44-79; 58).

depends on the funeral cortège remaining onstage for the entire scene, although some editions of the play have the funeral procession exit mid-scene, after Bedford's, 'Let's to the altar. Heralds, wait on us' (1.1.45). Removing Henry's coffin at this stage does not seem to present any dramatic advantages, and later lines in the scene make less sense without the presence of the coffin: Bedford's instruction to the messenger to speak softly 'before dead Henry's corpse' (1.1.62); the Third Messenger's present-tense description of the lords mourning: 'My gracious lords, to add to your laments / Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse' (1.1.103-4). Exeter's exhortation, 'Remember, lords, your oaths to Henry sworn' (1.1.162) is stronger if the coffin is still on stage (1.1.162n).

A dead march opens the scene, a device more frequently used to close off scenes of mourning, and the subsequent abortive attempts to mourn seem less a funeral ritual of any sort and more a pastiche of elegiac speeches and angry grief.[51] Mourning is abandoned in favour of revenge. Even Bedford forcefully rejects the attempt at funeral ritual when the messenger brings news of territories lost to the French:

> Give me my steelèd coat. I'll fight for France.
> Away with these disgraceful wailing robes.
> Wounds will I lend the French, instead of eyes,
> To weep their intermissive miseries. (1.1.85-6)

Eyes are evacuated of sight and expressibility to become wounds that can only bleed; mourning rituals are abandoned for the simplistic exchange of blood spilt for blood. Tears wept become tears rent in enemy bodies.

Kerrigan's analysis of blood as 'recompense' is of particular relevance for this discussion of revenge inciting revenge. Blood holds both the threat of pollution and the possibility of purification. The 'blood-guilt' Kerrigan traces through Greek tragedy is notable for affecting killers above all, but staining anyone associated with the death: 'Kin were said to be at risk from the displeasure of the dead if they did not prosecute killers; speeches in court threatened juries with similar pollution and vengeance if they slighted a

[51] As with the dead marches in *Coriolanus, King Lear*, *Massacre at Paris*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *A Larum For London*. Cf. Brian Cummings, '"Dead March": Liturgy and Mimesis in Shakespeare's Funerals', *Shakespeare* 8.4 (2012), pp. 368-85, for a discussion of the peculiar vogue for this device in the 1590s and the relationship between the 'dead march' and religious ritual.

murdered man's interests'.[52] Death carries an infectious blame. The cure: 'purification from blood required the use of blood. A piglet would have its throat slashed and be held over the killer, so that its gore spouted on to the hands which had been stained by murder'.[53] Here, Kerrigan cites Orestes, in the *Eumenides*:

> The stain of blood dulls now and fades upon my hand.
> My blot of matricide is being washed away.
> When it was fresh still, at the hearth of the god, Phoebus,
> This was [expelled through cleansing] by sacrifice
> of swine… (280-4, qtd. 45)

A possible rationale here posits blood as homeopathic, 'applying like to cure like' – as in the effect of tragedy for Aristotle, '[p]ity and fear purge pity and fear'.[54] Kerrigan notes that 'revenge theatre dramatizes a desire to shed blood on the polluted spot' – erasing blood with blood not by the purification ritual, but by killing in revenge.[55] While this rationale is given voice repeatedly by characters to justify their urge for revenge, in this history cycle, blood does not cure grief but spreads it messily around.

Perhaps the clearest example of a body repeatedly unburied due to the prioritisation of revenge occurs with Salisbury's death. Salisbury's death presents several editorial uncertainties about when to take a body offstage. Talbot's line, 'Bear hence his body; I will help to bury it' (1.5.67) appears following, 'Heavens, be thou gracious to none alive / If Salisbury wants mercy at thy hands' (1.5.64) in the Folio edition, a position Edward Burns retains and argues that the failure to act immediately on Talbot's command shows 'the bathetic collapse of his control' (1.4.86n, Arden 2000); H. C. Hart's 1930 Arden follows the Folio with no explanation. In the 1960 Arden edition, Cairncross had repositioned the line so it refers to Gargrave's body, noting that the compositor likely erroneously inserted the line after Talbot's reference to Salisbury due to confusion over the two bodies onstage, a decision followed by Michael Taylor (Oxford 2003) and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge 1990). Having the line refer to Gargrave makes much more sense given that after his command to 'Bear hence his body,' Talbot turns his attention entirely to Salisbury and

[52] p. 43-4.
[53] p. 45.
[54] p. 45.
[55] p. 46.

describes movements by Salisbury – his beckoning hand and smile – and later orders, 'Convey me Salisbury into his tent' (1.5.88). Finally, the Folio stage direction '*Salisbury lifteth himself up and groans*' followed by Talbot's description, 'Hear, hear, how dying Salisbury doth groan' indicates the undeniable presence of Salisbury's body still on stage (1.4.104).

Salisbury's body presents another editorial quandary in the scene when Talbot and his men scale the walls of Orléans, with the Folio stage direction adding '*Their Drummes beating a Dead March*' to Talbot's entrance with the scaling ladders. Hattaway pictures Salisbury here carried in a funeral procession which is abandoned to attack the French. This seems implausible as every line focuses on the attack. Gary Taylor notes that the dead march would be appropriate for a sneak attack at night, and does not necessarily signify a funeral procession.[56] However, most editions (including the Oxford text) move this stage direction to 2.2, after Talbot's 'Bring forth the body of old Salisbury' (2.2.4). When Talbot calls for the reentry of Salisbury's dead body, it must either be brought forth from where the entering funeral procession leaves the coffin or brought onto the stage at this point with a dead march. Michael Taylor moves the dead march of the Folio stage direction to the moment Talbot requests the display of Salisbury's body: '*Enter soldiers with the body of Salisbury, their drums beating a dead march*' (2.2.6.1-2), reasoning that the 'direction was intended for the later occasion when Salisbury's body is ceremoniously brought on to the stage' (2.1.7.2n). While Taylor has the funeral exit just eleven lines after the body has reentered, Burns suggests that Salisbury's body remains on stage until the end of this scene, fitting with the pattern of 'interrupted obsequies' (2.2.17.1). Whether the body is brought onstage and then swiftly removed, or left onstage as the other characters celebrate their recent 'bloody massacre', gossip about Joan and the Dauphin, and then receive a summons from the Countess of Auvergne, Salisbury haunts the scene unburied.

The editorial problems presented by the dead bodies in the play may reflect dramatic (and possibly cultural) uncertainties about what the living should do with the

[56] *Textual Companion*, p. 221.

dead, but reappearing corpses certainly leave the impression that whatever they are doing is not enough to lay these bodies to rest. Coriolanus curses the love of the plebeians by comparing it to 'the dead carcasses of unburied men / That do corrupt my air' (3.3.122-3). This ties in to contemporary thinking that unburied bodies infected the air and were one of the causes of plague.[57] These unburied corpses in *Henry VI* corrupt the texts and the air of the plays, threatening to rise again. [58]

[57] Thomas Lodge's *A Treatise of the Plague* (1603) argues that 'all pestilential sicknesses…are ingendred from the ayre, depraved and altered in his substance, by a certain vicious mixture of corrupted and strange vapours' (sig. B3v). See Darryl Chalk on the '"plaguey" air' in *Coriolanus* ('"Here's a Strange Alteration": Contagion and the Mutable Mind in *Coriolanus*' in *Renaissance Shakespeare: Shakespeare Renaissances* (University of Delaware Press, 2014) pp. 68-76; 70-71). The insult of leaving bodies unburied spurs the action of *Antigone*, when Antigone disobeys Creon's decree that Polyneices's corpse should remain 'unwept, unburied, / For hungry birds of prey to swoop and feast / On his poor body' (29-31). Her instinct that respect for the dead should transcend any impulse for vengeance is shared by Edward's initial reaction to Clifford's body in *3 Henry VI* (at least before they discover the identity of the body): 'now the battle's ended, / If friend or foe, let him be gently used' (2.6.43-4). The notion of leaving criminals unburied as punishment resurfaced in 2013 in the extended protests at a Worcester, Massachusetts funeral home that received the body of one of the accused Boston Marathon bombers, Tamerlan Tsarnaev. His body remained in the funeral home for two weeks as no local cemetery would agree to bury it. One protest sign read, 'Bury this terrorist on US soil and we will unbury him.' Eventually the body was transported to rural Virginia, buried in a small cemetery in an unmarked grave (Daniel Mendelsohn, 'Unburied: Tamerlan Tsarnaev and the Lessons of Greek Tragedy' *The New Yorker*, May 14 2013).

[58] In Adrian Noble's RSC production, *The Plantagenets*, onstage corpses from the previous battle rose as though reanimated to become Joan's onstage '*Fiends*' (5.3.7) (Alan C. Dessen, *Rescripting Shakespeare: The Text, the Director, and Modern Productions* (Cambridge UP, 2002), p. 174). His successor, Michael Boyd, had 'England poised, on both its vertical and horizontal axes, precariously on the edge of hell' where 'dead characters returned to the stage as revenants haunting the living' (Stuart Hampton-Reeves and Carol Chillington Rutter, *The Henry VI Plays* (Manchester UP, 2006) p. 187).

'Think therefore on revenge and cease to weep': Revenge Replacing Mourning

Talbot, initially at least, seems quite certain about his use of the dead. As Salisbury lies dying, Talbot is already narrating his actions, positioning him as the ghost urging revenge of later revenge tragedies: 'He beckons with his hand and smiles on me / As who should say, "When I am dead and gone, / Remember to avenge me on the French"' (1.5.70-72). Michael Taylor's Oxford note points out that Salisbury's smile at this juncture is '[n]o mean feat with his 'cheek's side struck off' (l. 53), further evidence of Talbot's narrative license here as he appropriates Salisbury's death to legitimise his desire to burn the towns of France like Nero. He wants to make the revenge public:

> And that hereafter ages may behold
> What ruin happened in revenge of him,
> Within their chiefest temple I'll erect
> A tomb wherein his corpse shall be interred,
> Upon the which, that everyone may read,
> Shall be engraved the sack of Orleans,
> The treacherous manner of his mournful death,
> And what a terror he had been to France. (2.2.10-17)

Here, Talbot uses Salisbury's corpse to tell the story not just of his death, but also of the ruinous revenge, Talbot's victorious sack of Orleans. Talbot repeats the epithet given to himself – 'the terror of the French' (1.4.42) – in further conflation of mourning rites replaced by personal glory.[59] The object of the verb 'engraved' is the relative pronoun 'which', standing in for the 'tomb', but 'which' could also point back to the 'corpse' (especially on first hearing, without the ability to read and parse grammatically). Engraving

[59] Every other time the word 'terror' is used in the play, it describes Talbot: the Countess's disbelief 'It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp / Should strike such terror to his enemies' (2.3.22-3); the General before the gates of Bordeaux: 'Thou ominous and fearful owl of death, / Our nation's terror and their bloody scourge!' (4.2.15-16); Lucy's question, 'Is Talbot slain, the Frenchmen's only scourge, /Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis?' (4.7.77-8). In 'John Talbot, Terror of the French: A Continuing Tradition', Matthew Woodcock describes 'an active, more discursive tradition' of allusions to the Talbot reputation as a terror to French children, 'immortalized' in Hall's chronicle: 'This man was to the French people, a very scorge [sic] and daily terror' (*NQ* 51.3 (2004), pp. 249-51; 250, 249). Aside from Hall and Shakespeare, these allusions include an example from E.K.'s gloss to the 'June' eclogue of Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Nashe's 'the terror of the French' in *Piers Penniless* (1592), Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (1534), a 1512 letter describing George Talbot (1468-1538) as from a family 'always accustomed to beat the French' (qtd. in Woodcock, pp. 249-50). Both Woodcock and Pollard make the point that Talbot is not only the terror of the French but also (and not unrelatedly) 'the embodiment of English chivalry' (Woodcock, p. 250; A. J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427-1453* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), pp. 2-3). By lending Salisbury his 'terror' epithet here, Talbot eulogizes both Salisbury and his own reputation.

the victory, the revenge, and the glory on the corpse itself writes over the 'mournful death' with deeds. Talbot berates the English soldiers who retreated: 'You all consented unto Salisbury's death, / For none of your would strike a stroke in his revenge' (1.5.34-35). Here, the failure to take revenge constitutes treason. The speech before Salisbury's body at its reentry also makes it clear that the priority was revenge, and that Salisbury's death had to be avenged many times over before burial could take place:

> Now have I paid my vow unto his soul.
> For every drop of blood was drawn from him
> There hath at least five Frenchmen died tonight. (2.2.7-9)

In *3 Henry VI*, Clifford's immediate reaction on capturing Rutland is the eye-for-an-eye form of justice that keeps the wheels of tragic history turning: 'As for the brat of this accursèd Duke / Whose father slew my father, he shall die' (1.3.4-5). When Rutland urges him, 'Be thou revenged on men,' Clifford claims to be deafened by the spilt blood of the previous generation: 'In vain thou speak'st, poor boy: my father's blood / Hath stopped the passage where thy words should enter' (1.3.21-3). Like Talbot's five Frenchmen for every drop of Salisbury's blood, Clifford's version of revenge also goes far beyond a death in return for a death:

> Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine
> Were not revenge sufficient for me;
> No, if I digged up thy forefather's graves
> And hung their rotten coffins up in chains
> It could not slake mine ire nor ease my heart. (1.3.26-30)

This violence to the dead is symptomatic of plays that repeatedly forget their dead, or bring them back only to abuse them (as with Somerset's head, taunting York with his son's blood, the torment of Clifford's dead body, Margaret bringing Suffolk's head onstage to mourn him, the repeated stabbing of Henry's body). The desire aligns Clifford with the villain, Aaron, of *Titus Andronicus*, who confesses,

> Oft have I digged up dead men from their graves
> And set them upright at their dear friends' door
> Even when their sorrows almost was forgot,
> And on their skins, as on the bark of trees,
> Have with my knife carved in Roman letters,
> 'Let not your sorrow die though I am dead.' (5.1.135-40)

Like Talbot, he writes his message of vengeance on dead bodies.

Despite Rutland pointing out the unending cycle of revenge, 'Thou hast one son: for his sake pity me, / Lest in revenge thereof, sith God is just, / He be as miserably slain as I' (1.3.41-3), Clifford returns to the inexorable logic of his first claim: 'Thy father slew my father, therefore die' (1.3.47) as he stabs the boy.[60] For Keyishian, here '[i]n his fury, Young Clifford has turned into an automaton of revenge.'[61] The chop-chop internal rhyme thy/my and repeated 'father' - 'Thy father slew my father' – emphasises the machine-like, inhuman quality of this logic. Clifford's lament for his father occurs in the penultimate scene of the play, closing out the battle scene with a forceful reminder of the human costs of the war. He switches registers abruptly at the sight of his father's body, moving from his Talbot-like cry for revenge and valour in the face of his fleeing comrades – 'Hot coals of vengeance! Let no soldier fly!' (5.2.36) – to the longer sentences and slowed pace, evoking the Day of Judgement, the end of all things if his father's life has ended.

> O let the vile world end,
> And the premisèd flames of the last day
> Knit earth and heaven together.
> Now let the general trumpet blow his blast,
> Particularities and petty sounds
> To cease! (5.2.40-45)

He circles back quickly to revenge, dismissing pity and vowing brutality:

> Henceforth I will not have to do with pity.
> Meet I an infant of the house of York,
> Into as many gobbets will I cut it
> As wild Medea young Absyrtus did.
> In cruelty will I seek out my fame. (5.2.56-61)

David Riggs writes of the way this 'ruthless logic of outrage and revenge' replaces political honour or any particular political philosophy.[62] The possible effects of such ruthless chopping appear in Eleanor's gruesome image of stepping on bloody neck stumps as the stairway up to power:

> Were I a man, a duke, and next of blood,
> I would remove these tedious stumbling blocks

[60] For Spinrad, 'innocent children may be slain to show a tyrant's brutality' (*Summons*, p. 115). However, Clifford's actions are connected to his filial duty to avenge his father's death, the next generation completing the actions of the previous generation.
[61] 'The Progress of Revenge in the First Henriad' in *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, p. 72.
[62] *Shakespeare's Heroical Histories:* Henry VI *and its Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971), p. 91.

> And smooth my way upon their headless necks. (*2 Henry VI* 1.2.63-5)

Her image provides a gory illustration of the central claim of this chapter: revenge destroys communities as it is used as a fast track to advantageous positions of higher status. The heads of those in the way are seen as nothing more than 'stumbling blocks' to the relentless ascent to power: the way up can only be secured by smoothly executing these tedious obstacles. Eleanor codes this course of action as masculine – 'Were I a man' – as well as a function of class and inheritance: 'a duke, and next of blood'. This functions to highlight what she sees as her husband's triple justification in contrast to what she terms his 'base and humble mind' (1.2.62). She also couches her ambition in a rhetoric of upwards motion, promising to lengthen Gloucester's reach with her own to reach the crown:

> And having both together heaved it up,
> We'll both together lift our heads to heaven,
> And never more abase our sight so low
> As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground. (1.2.13-16)

One glance unto the ground might take in the consequences of this justification for revenge: a stage littered with dead bodies, deaths unmourned as sights are set on higher aims.

The scenes of mourning that do occur in *2 Henry VI* are notable for the absence of any such dead bodies. Upon hearing that his wife has been caught conspiring with a witch and conjuror against the king, Gloucester expresses defeat: 'Sorrow and grief have vanquished all my powers' (2.1.178). After he hears her sentence read out, he speaks of his brimming sorrow, 'Mine eyes are full of tears, my heart of grief' (2.3.17). He enters the subsequent scene with his men, all '*in mourning cloaks*' (2.4.0.1-2). These are the long, black, hooded cloaks worn at a funeral. But no one has died. Gloucester makes it clear that he mourns what is currently happening, 'the coming of my punished Duchess' (2.4.8) and draws attention to the fact that he has been crying: 'I'll prepare / My tear-stained eyes to see her miseries' (2.4.16-17). The mourning here, despite the costumes, is not for a death, but shows both his affection for his wife, and also the shame, humiliation and grief over his loss of social standing due to her treasonous acts.

Eleanor enters to perform her penance, '*barefoot, with a white sheet about her, written verses pinned on her back, and a wax taper burning in her hand*' (2.4.18.1-3). Wearing a white sheet and appearing barefoot before the community was a form of public penance in both Elizabethan England and Henry VI's time.[63] Markers of funerary ritual and mourning are also visible in her appearance, barefoot as some mourners appear, wrapped in a white sheet like a winding sheet, verses pinned to her the ways elegies were affixed to coffins.[64] Penance and mourning overlap, Eleanor telling her husband dressed in mourning, 'Now thou dost penance too' (2.4.21). Humphrey's command to 'forget this grief' initiates Eleanor's long lament (2.4.27).[65] Eleanor's description of her grief focuses not on any inner turmoil, but on the reactions of the 'rabble' around her 'that rejoice / To see my tears and hear my deep-fet groans', expressing shame and mourning at her own humiliation, but not acknowledging guilt (2.4.33-4). She does not express remorse but rather mourns her position of shame. Instead of being directed at the dead, mourning is directed at her own loss of power.

King Henry VI finds dramatic and poetic power in lamenting, but simultaneously absconds from pursuit of political power – a pattern Shakespeare would repeat in *Richard II*. This is the inverse of Eleanor's position: to mourn here is explicitly to reject the duty of the ruler to rise to the challenges of the political moment. Both indicate that rising is impossible while mourning. From the instant Humphrey is taken from court, Henry

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[63] Lisa Dickson points out that the sheer length of Eleanor's speech undercuts a punishment presented 'as a spectacular exemplum of self-abnegation'; 'this loquaciousness is at odds with the protocols of penitence' ('Tent Him to the Quick: Vision, Violence, and Penalty in Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*', *Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003), pp. 69-93; 84).

[64] See Goodland for the way disheveled hair and bare feet signify the denial of social interaction by remaining visibly unkempt (*Female Mourning*, p. 10). Hecuba, icon of grief run mad, 'run[s] barefoot up and down' in the First Player's description (*Hamlet* 2.2.503). Her 'bare feet, tear-blinded eyes, and "mobled" (i.e., muffled) figure make her a living picture of desperation' (James A. W. Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 85).

[65] This speech has been listed as one of the many set speeches in the *Henry VI* plays following a Senecan declamatory mode and classified as a lament (Hardin Craig, 'Shakespeare and the History Play' in *John Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 55-64; 57). Wolfgang Clemen uses the speech as an example of the way Shakespeare 'concretises and localises the lament', arguing that the way Eleanor evokes the outward scene gives 'a more poignant impression of suffering that the mere rhetorical lament' (*The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery* (New York: Routledge, 1977), p. 10).

immediately wishes to leave too. He positions himself as the calf's mother unable to do anything but wail as her offspring is beaten and slaughtered:

> And as the butcher takes away the calf,
> And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strains,
> Bearing it to the bloody slaughter house,
> Even so remorseless have they borne him hence;
> And as the dam runs lowing up and down,
> Looking the way her harmless young one went,
> And can do naught but wail her darling's loss,
> Even so myself bewails good Gloucester's case
> With sad unhelpful tears, and with dimmed eyes
> Look after him, and cannot do him good,
> So mighty are his vowèd enemies.
> His fortunes I will weep, and 'twixt each groan,
> Say 'Who's a traitor? Gloucester, he is none'. (3.1.210-222)

From this moment forth, the King relegates himself to the position of mourner: for the remainder of his time on stage he will play this part. Margaret recognises the incompatibility of the two roles (mourner and ruler) instantly: 'Henry my lord is cold in great affairs, / Too full of foolish pity' (3.1.224-5). She also undercuts the expression of grief by pointing out that Gloucester's grief – and, by extension, any such performance – might be feigned and strategic: 'Gloucester's show / Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile / With sorrow snares relenting passengers' (3.1.225-6). Mourning is thus doubly rejected: foolish in contrast to taking action in 'great affairs' and possibly fake anyway.

Throughout *2 Henry VI*, Margaret serves as the active counterpart to Henry's static mourning. In another instance of replacing the mourning costume with military gear, Margaret's message to Edward promises 'my mourning weeds are done / And I am ready to put armour on' (4.1.104-5). Margaret's entrance at the head of a march with Prince Edward cues her anti-lament:

> Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss
> But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
> ...
> Yet lives our pilot still. Is't meet that he
> Should leave the helm and, like a fearful lad,
> With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
> And give more strength to that which hath too much,
> Whiles in his moan the ship splits on the rock
> Which industry and courage might have saved?
> ...
> We will not from the helm to sit and weep,
> But keep our course, though the rough wind say no,

> ...
> Why, courage then, what cannot be avoided
> 'Twere childish weakness to lament or fear. (5.4.1-38)

Her speech plays with metaphors of the ocean, picturing the Lancastrians as sailors in a maimed ship battling stormy waves, rough winds and dangerous rocks. Even in the face of such odds, Margaret is determined that they must stay their course, and that tears and laments are weak and give strength directly to the enemy. As their defeat comes to pass, Margaret faces her forces again, this time weeping as she breaks the news of Edward's usurpation: 'what I should say, / My tears gainsay: for every word I speak / Ye see I drink the water of my eye' (5.4.73-5). She eats her tears as others would eat words, taking them back as soon as they spill down her cheeks.

Richard's position on expressing grief is clear: 'To weep is to make less the depth of grief; / Tears then for babes, blows and revenge for me' (*3HVI* 2.1.85-6).[66] Richard's conflicting images of coats of steel and black mourning gowns align him with Clifford's wish to 'mourn in steel':

> Shall we go throw away our coats of steel
> And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns,
> Numbering our Ave-Marys with our beads?
> Or shall we on the helmets of our foes
> Tell our devotion with revengeful arms? (2.1.160-4)

The 'arms' here are both the weapons and the limbs that wield them; Richard can express devotion only through violent action. He makes the connection clear in subsequent lines, threatening Clifford with both arms wielding weapons: 'Suppose this arm is for the Duke of York / And this for Rutland, both bound to revenge, / Wert thou environed with a brazen wall' (2.4.2-4). His dismissive religious image connecting 'black mourning gowns' and '[n]umbering Ave-Marys with our beads' echoes Margaret's derision of Henry: 'all his mind is bent to holiness, / To number Ave-Maries on his beads' (1.3.56-7). Mourning is as ineffective, superstitious, and inactive as the rosary. While the specificity of 'Ave Maria' here angles the criticism to the Catholic Church rather than to devotion in general, the plays do not offer bifurcating Catholic and Protestant mourning scripts.

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[66] David Riggs describes this as 'urg[ing] his brothers to forgo the "passion" of lament for the *consolatio* of revenge' (*Shakespeare's Heroical Histories*, p. 133).

Characters instead tend to dismiss all mourning as ineffective, though the events of the play call this stance into question by showing the consequences of such neglect.

Revenge is posited over and over again as the manly, martial course of action. Linda Woodbridge points to *3 Henry VI* as evidence that '[t]he thought of revenge stirs a warrior's fighting spirit, plumes up his competitive instincts, and spurs him to manly exploits, as many fierce flytings attest', dubbing Margaret's actions 'heroic vengeance'.[67] Yet for all her acts of vengeance and her dismissals of mourning, Margaret ends *3 Henry VI* a mourning mother shocked at the brutality of those who would kill a child:

> No, no, my heart will burst and if I speak.
> And I will speak, that so my heart may burst.
> Butchers and villains, bloody cannibals,
> How sweet a plant have you untimely cropped.
> You have no children, butchers; if you had,
> The thought of them would have stirred up remorse. (5.5.59-64)

A mother wailing for her lost child and the repeated 'butchers' recall Henry's slaughterhouse calf imagery, dismissed earlier by Margaret as '[t]oo full of foolish pity' (3.1.225). While the flytings of all three parts attest to the desire to rise up, whether by stepping on bloody stumps to reach new political heights or stepping over forgotten and unburied bodies, even the bloodiest of revengers only stay on top briefly and precariously before returning to earth. Revenge cannot function as a substitute for mourning; the act only causes more mourning.

[67] p. 28. Kurtz sees Margaret's actions as more horrifying than heroic: 'Margaret can be seen as a different kind of critique of the values of the masculine world of war: what is horrifying in men is more vividly horrifying in her because it is unexpected. We can see the nightmare violence for what it is more clearly in a woman than in a man because we are less accustomed to it there, the way a cigarette looks more shocking in a child's mouth than an adult's' ('Rethinking Gender and Genre in the History Play', *SEL* 36 (1996), pp. 267-87; 271).

'Profaning this most honourable order': The Question of Compositional Order[68]

Thus far, I have been writing of the three parts of *Henry VI* as an unproblematic trilogy in which the order of composition matches their relation to historical time. Given that they traditionally form, along with *Richard III*, one of Shakespeare's two tetralogies, and that the order of composition has been questioned since 1768, this matter needs attention. Undisputed facts about the three parts are frustratingly scarce, and may be best summarised briefly in the form of a timeline, as chronology is at issue here.

Jan-Feb 1592	Repairs and alterations are done on the Rose Theatre.[69]
3 March 1592	Henslowe records the first receipts from a play identified as '*harey the vj*' with the notation 'ne' in the left margin alongside the entry.[70]
23 June 1592	Playhouses are closed due to Southwark riot. They remain closed due to plague.
8 August 1592	Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* is printed. One passage (discussed further below) describes the emotional effect of Talbot's death on the audience. This text is dedicated to Lord Strange (patron of Strange's Men), and also praises Edward Alleyn, then lead actor of Lord Strange's Men.
20 Sept 1592	*Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* is entered into the Stationer's Register. The pamphlet mocks Shakespeare 'with his *Tygers heart wrapped in a Players hyde*' (sig. F1r). In *3 Henry VI*, York describes Margaret, 'O tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide' (1.4.137).
29 Dec 1592	Performances resume at the Rose.
January 1593	The sixteenth and final performance of '*harey the vj*' in the season. Takings are exceptionally high – 'unequalled throughout Henslowe's long management'.[71]
1 Feb 1593	Playhouses are closed due to plague.
Spring 1594	Edward Alleyn leaves Strange's Men, rejoins Admiral's Men.
1594	*The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster* is printed by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington as an anonymous quarto.
1595	Peter Short prints an octavo, also for Millington and also anonymous, titled *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York and the death of good King Henrie the*

[68] *1HVI,* 4.1.41.
[69] Foakes, 'Introduction', *Diary*, pp. 9–13.
[70] Foakes, p. 16.
[71] Hanspeter Born, 'The Date of *2, 3 Henry VI*', *SQ* 25 (1974), pp. 323–34; 325.

	Sixt. The title page mentions Pembroke's Men having performed the play 'sundrie times' (sig. A1r).[72]
1600	*Henry V* is first printed, and refers to *Henry VI* '[w]hich oft our stage hath shown' in the epilogue.
1600	Valentine Simmes reprints *The Contention* for Millington. William White reprints *The True Tragedie* for Millington.
1619	William Jaggard prints both quartos together for Thomas Pavier as *The Whole Contention*, 'newly corrected and enlarged' and 'Written by William Shakes-speare, Gent.'
1623	*First Folio* published, including the only surviving text of *1 Henry VI*.

Despite ongoing debate regarding dating, authorship, and order of composition, critics agree that all three parts (in some form) were written before the *Groatsworth* reference in September 1592.[73] Henslowe's entry has raised two crucial questions: does '*harey the vj*' refer to *1 Henry VI*? Does the notation 'ne' mean this was the first performance of *1 Henry VI*? That Henslowe refers to Part 1 seems highly likely to me: he usually records the names of second or subsequent parts of multi-part plays, as Roslyn Knutson has shown; Nashe's defence of the stage highlighting Talbot's death (as does Part 1), and dubbing Talbot 'the terror of the French' (as does Part 1) might very likely refer to a recent, highly popular

[72] Both quarto and octavo editions suffered from the 'bad quartos' theory of memorial reconstruction but are now largely considered not as 'bad' reports but as playtexts worthy of study in their own right. On 'bad quartos', see Laurie Maguire, *Shakespearian Suspect Texts: The 'Bad' Quartos and their Contexts* (Cambridge UP, 1996); Steven Urkowitz, 'Good News about "Bad" Quartos' in *'Bad' Shakespeare*, ed. Maurice Charney (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 189–206; Kathleen Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos: Performance and Provenance of Six Shakespearean First Editions* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994). Recent theories regarding *The Contention* (Q) posit it as a text deriving from 'an abridged or possibly otherwise revised version of the F text' (*Textual Companion*, p. 175); Lawrence Manley's article cites the 'growing consensus' that Q represents an adaptation by Pembroke's Men of the *2 Henry VI* Folio text written for Strange's Men ('From Strange's Men to Pembroke's Men: *2 Henry VI* and *The First Part of the Contention*', *SQ* 54.3 (2003) pp. 253-87; 256). See Scott McMillin's earlier suggestion that certain features of Q Contention can be explained as 'rearrangements … that … were deliberately planned as part of a theatrical adaptation' to fit the play to the number of personnel available to Pembroke's Men ('Casting for Pembroke's Men: The *Henry VI* Quartos and *The Taming of A Shrew*' *SQ* 23 (1972), pp. 141-59; 146). Q is a third shorter than F (see Warren's Introduction, pp. 76-7, for useful breakdown of F passages absent from Q and where the two present different versions). *The True Tragedy* (O), on the other hand, is largely seen as a coherent play which Shakespeare reworks to create *3 Henry VI* (See Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts* (1996), pp. 317-8; Janis Lull, ed. *Richard III*, p. 3; Randall Martin's Introduction to Part 3, pp. 103-32 for evidence that '*True Tragedy* is a memorially reported early version of the play that Shakespeare substantially revised as *3 Henry VI*' (p. 105).)

[73] The issue of co-authorship has been recently further complicated by Gary Taylor's suggestion that Marlowe wrote the Joan of Arc scenes ('Imitation or Collaboration? The Early Shakespeare Canon', paper delivered at *ISA Conference: Shakespeare, Origins and Originality*, Stratford-upon-Avon, 6 August 2014).

production (and Talbot appears only in Part 1); the recent renovations of the Rose create a theatrical space well suited to the dominance of the vertical axis in Part 1; finally, no other plausible candidate play featuring Talbot has been put forward.[74] Accepting that Henslowe's 'ne' means that the play was 'new' in every sense – both newly composed and first performed – has certain consequences for the order in which the three parts were written. If Part 1 is brand new in March of 1592, how do we explain the reference to the 'tiger's heart' of Part 3 just under seven months later? One of the few critics to both accept Part 1 as the fully 'new' '*harey the* vj' yet still argue for a 1-2-3 order of composition, Born describes a writing timeline with Part 1 written in the last part of 1591 and beginning of 1592, and Parts 2 and 3 written between March and August of 1592, with Robert Greene overhearing the 'tigers heart' line at rehearsals.[75] Paul Vincent takes this hypothesis to task as 'blatantly flawed', pointing out that *2 Henry VI* would have been rushed into performance very quickly after completion rather than waiting for Part 3 to be written, and also that this timeline requires us to accept Shakespeare composing these three plays at 'nearly three times the rate he maintained from 1594 to 1613', and finally that Greene was unlikely to have attended rehearsals of a forthcoming play by a writer he soon described as an 'upstart Crow'.[76] Imagining Greene at Shakespeare's play rehearsals does seem unnecessarily fanciful (and also conflicts with what we now know about the practice of rehearsing from Tiffany Stern's *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*), but in yet another neat twist involving familiar players, we do know that Greene knew about material in Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* months before the pamphlet was printed.[77] The objection raised

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[74] Roslyn L. Knutson, 'Henslowe's Naming of Parts', *NQ* 228 (1983), pp. 157–60. Taylor also points out Henslowe's consistent identification of a 'second part' but not a first ('Shakespeare and Others: The Authorship of *Henry the Sixth, Part One*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 7 (1995), pp. 145-205). Taylor says this play is the only one we know of depicting the death of Talbot ('Shakespeare', p. 151). There remains the possibility that both Nashe and Henslowe refer to a lost play. Holger Syme finds Henslowe's reference 'as opaque as his later listings of a "harey the v"...and of a "long shancke"...neither of which clearly corresponds to the other plays about those monarchs that survive from the 1590s', though admits 'the conjecture can be justified' ('Alternative Histories of London's Theatres in the 1590s' in *Shakespeare Survey* (Cambridge UP, 2012), pp. 269-89; 271).
[75] Born, 'Date', pp. 331-4.
[76] Paul J. Vincent, *When* harey *Met Shakespeare: The Genesis of* The First Part of Henry the Sixth, D. Phil. thesis (University of Auckland, 2005), p. 52-4.
[77] Tiffany Stern states categorically 'many...impose on the past a mythical period of regular group rehearsal that is very much in the twentieth-century style' (*Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*

regarding Shakespeare's rate of production does not take into account the possibility and relative speediness of collaborative authorship.[78]

A crucial line of attack for arguing that Part 1 could have been written earlier than Parts 2 and 3 focuses on the meaning of Henslowe's 'ne', which has frequently been accepted as an abbreviation for 'new'. This hypothesis does not fit with all occurrences of 'ne' in the *Diary* (for example, the same play is marked 'ne' on 28 April 1592 and again 11 February 1597), leading to a search for alternative explanations and Frazer's suggestion that 'ne' is an abbreviation for the theatre at Newington Butts.[79] However, this suggestion also fails to fit with all instances. Diana Price's work parsing Henslowe's 'box office statements' led to a hypothesis that explains all the 'ne' notations: 'ne' is shorthand for 'twice' the usual entry fee at the tiring-house door (the entryway to the most expensive theatre seats). Price points to two numerical tables Henslowe recorded in which 'n' stands for '2', suggesting 'ne' stands for '2 plus the final "e" in "twice" or "double"' or twice the 'e' as in entry.[80] She tests the theory by examining Rose revenues for *Dr Faustus* (not 'ne'), '*harey the vj*' ('ne'), and *Tragedy of the Gyves* ('ne' 30 January 1593). Price concludes: 'such "ne" plays may be newly composed, newly revised, or simply promoted at twice the price. So while it is

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(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 3; see Vincent p. 54 on Greene's knowledge of Nashe's pamphlet and the 'close working relationship' between the two.

[78] The speed of production in collaborations is sometimes a result of conditions necessitating collaboration: collaborative efforts often occurred in the rush to revise a play for relicensing, a revival by a new company, or a specific performance. I have deliberately bracketed here the debate over order of composition from the authorship debate, but see Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Others' for evidence that Nashe wrote Act 1, and Shakespeare wrote 2.4 and 4.2-4.7.32, with the remainder of the play assigned to two unknown dramatists; Brian Vickers in 2007 argued for Nashe, limited contribution by Shakespeare, and one other collaborator, a theory he revised in 2008 in favour of Kyd collaborating with Nashe on the first version of the play, then revised by Shakespeare ('Incomplete Shakespeare: Or, Denying Coauthorship in *1 Henry VI*' *SQ* 58 (2007), pp. 311-52; 'Thomas Kyd, Secret Sharer', *TLS*, 18 April 2008, pp. 13-15; Craig and Kinney's computer analysis also assigns Act 1 to Nashe, the same scenes as Taylor to Shakespeare (adding 3.4.33-4.1) but finds no evidence for Kyd's involvement, claiming that Marlowe may have written some of the Joan of Arc material in Part 1, and some Jack Cade material in Part 2 (Hugh Craig, 'The three parts of *Henry VI*', *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship,* eds. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge UP, 2009), p. 40-77). Paul Vincent's thesis modifies Taylor's findings so the 'two unknown dramatists' become one, and takes 4.6 away from Shakespeare (p. 188). The evidence for Nashe's involvement in Act 1 seems compelling across a number of different methodologies, as does the likelihood of Shakespeare's 2.4, and most of Act 4. Nashe has also been proposed as a possible contributor to *2 Henry VI*, along with Peele and Greene (Knowles, 'Introduction', *2 Henry VI* (London: Arden, 1999), pp. 73-83).

[79] Winifred Frazer, 'Henslowe's "ne"', *NQ* 236 (1991), pp. 34-5. Brian Vickers cites this explanation with approval in *Shakespeare: Co-Author* (Oxford UP, 2002), p. 150.

[80] Diana Price, 'Henslowe's "ne" and "the tyeringe-howsse doore"', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 42 (2003), pp. 62-78; 62.

possible to infer that many, probably most of the plays marked "ne" were new, at least to Henslowe, a "ne" annotation is not prima facie evidence that the play was newly-composed'.[81] Her explanation fits neatly with the observations of the editors of the *Diary* that 'ne' entries always have high takings, and that 'ne' possibly refers to the licensing of a play for performance by the Master of the Revels, making the company charge higher admissions to offset the licensing fee.[82] Licensing, furthermore, does not indicate that a play was necessarily new, but only, as Burns puts it, 'newish' – for example, an older play revived with substantial revisions.[83]

Where does this leave us with *1 Henry VI*? Henslowe's '*harey the vj*' probably refers to a performance of some version of the play that has come to us in textual form as Part 1 in the Folio. From the available evidence, this 1592 performance was either brand new, newly revised, or otherwise worthy of higher entry fees. We cannot confirm a definite composition date or order of composition for the three parts, only that they were circulating in some form before September 1592.

Critics have turned to the plays themselves for answers, and the case for Part 1 as prequel raises the following questions regarding content: why does the playwright take pains to initiate the roses symbolism in Part 1 only to ignore it in Part 2? Why is Talbot, star of Part 1, not mentioned in Part 2 (particularly in Gloucester's opening lists of those who shed blood in France)? Why does Gloucester 'appear[] as two different men' in Part 1 and 2? Why is Margaret's character so different in Part 1 versus Parts 2 and 3? Why does Part 2 refer to Mortimer dying in Wales while Part 1 has him die onstage in the Tower? John Dover Wilson's edition raises a number of these incompatibilities, and Gary Taylor adds to the list in his 1995 article.[84] Combining this internal evidence with interpretations of the limited pieces of external evidence from Henslowe, Nashe, and Greene, critical consensus since the 1990s has favoured the case that Part 1 was written last. The *Oxford Complete Works* places Part 1 after the other plays; the Oxford single edition concludes the 'weight of

[81] Price, p. 73.
[82] Foakes, p. 34-5.
[83] Burns, 'Introduction', *1 Henry VI* (London: Arden, 2000), pp. 1-89; 71.
[84] Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Others', p. 150.

the evidence does in fact suggest that this first play was written after the other two'; Brian Vickers' most recent article on authorship admits that reconstructing the compositional process 'will always be conjectural' but finds it 'very probable that *1 Henry VI* was written after the other two parts, and as a prequel to them' to cite only a few instances.[85] Yet, the external evidence remains inconclusive even in the deftest critical hands, and the internal evidence makes a compelling case for Part 1 as 'different' but does not establish to any certainty whether this is a result of the different collaborative hands at work, an early play shaped by a relatively inexperienced playwright, or a play written later as a prequel. Dover Wilson describes Gloucester as 'a common brawler' in Part 1, and thus concludes '[t]his roaring boy cannot have been drawn by the man to whom we owe the "noble gentleman" of Part II' (xiii). But discontinuities in characters and symbolism, it seems to me, cut both ways: if Part 1 was written later as a prequel, why wouldn't the playwright(s) make the characters congruent with their representations in the already existing Parts 2 and 3? Emrys Jones's answer to why Part 2 does not allude to Talbot is plausible (at least equally or more plausible to Talbot's absence as evidence for the prequel case): 'Shakespeare's usual procedure, especially in his opening scenes, is to throw the attention *forward*, excite anticipation, engage interest in what is happening *now* between the persons on the stage'.[86] David Bevington 'remain[s] sceptical' about the hypothesis placing Part 1 after Parts 2 and 3: 'The imperfections of a probable collaboration might seem the plausible consequence of an early effort when Shakespeare and his colleagues were still struggling to work out what an English history play should be like. The lack of any reference to Lord Talbot in Part II does not seem inexplicable in a work of loose construction'.[87] To throw our own attention forward and include *Richard III* in this discussion also raises the question of the stylistic incongruity of *1 Henry VI* with both *3 Henry VI* and *Richard III*, the two plays Part 1 would have been written in between if we follow the prequel timeline. F. G. Hubbard groups *2 Henry VI*, *3 Henry VI*, and *Richard III* together as exhibiting 'Senecan' repetition and

[85] *Oxford Complete Works*, p. 125; Michael Taylor, 'Introduction', p. 13; Vickers, 'Thomas Kyd', p. 15.
[86] Jones, *Origins*, p. 137.
[87] 'The Early Shakespeare' in *Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare,* ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford UP, 2012), pp. 297-317; 315.

parallelism, while *1 Henry VI* has far fewer of these elements.[88] Nicholas Grene writes of the four plays as 'an interlocking series with a narrative rhythm building across the parts rather than in the individual plays'.[89] Other critics who treat the Henry VI-Richard III plays as a tetralogy include Harry Keyishian, Dominique Goy-Blanquet, Larry Champion, Barbara Hodgon, and David Scott Kastan.[90] The imagery and language of Parts 2 and 3 have long been noted as more complex and developed (causing Malone in 1787 to reject Shakespeare's authorship of Part 1 entirely). Michael Taylor finds it 'odd' that Shakespeare would have decided to collaborate on the prequel after the success of his solo-authored Parts 2 and 3. Collaborating on Part 1 before Parts 2 and 3 fits in with the narrative of Shakespeare collaborating more extensively at the beginning and end of his career.[91] This assumes Parts 2 and 3 are the work of Shakespeare alone, a supposition yet undetermined, although computer analysis affirms the high likelihood of collaboration on Part 1 (a conclusion arrived at through other means by numerous scholars), a reasonable probability of collaboration on some segments of Part 2, while only one segment of Part 3 displays patterns of collaboration.[92]

I muddy the already murky waters surrounding this question to introduce doubt to a now widely accepted theory of composition that strives to rupture Part 1 from Part 2, but fails to anchor it securely between Part 3 and *Richard III*. I turn now to a comparison of fathers and sons in mourning scenes in Parts 1 and 3 to demonstrate one instance of varying treatments of similar thematic matter.

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[88] 'Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama', *PMLA* 20 (1905), pp. 360-79; 376-7.
[89] *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), p. 23.
[90] Harry Keyishian, *The Shapes of Revenge;* Dominique Goy-Blanquet, *Shakespeare's Early History Plays: From Chronicle to Stage* (Oxford UP, 2003); Larry Champion, 'The search for dramatic form: *1, 2, 3 Henry VI*' in *Perspectives in Shakespeare's English Histories* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980), pp. 12-53; Barbara Hodgdon, *The End Crowns All: Closure and Contradiction in Shakespeare's History* (Princeton UP, 1991); David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1982).
[91] This is not to deny Shakespeare's collaboration throughout his career – notably the sections added to *Sir Thomas More* in 1603-4, Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith's recent evidence of collaboration with Middleton on *All's Well That Ends Well* ('Many hands', *TLS* 20 April 2012), as well as the generally accepted Middleton collaboration on *Timon of Athens* (both c. 1607) – rather that collaborative works are more frequent at the beginning (*Edward III*, *1 Henry VI, Titus Andronicus*) and end (*Pericles, Henry VIII, Two Noble Kinsmen*).
[92] Craig and Kinney, *Shakespeare, Computers,* p. 50.

Fathers and Sons: Inherited Mourning

Talbot is led onto the stage, the stage direction '*old Talbot led*' clearly designating his weakened condition. His questioning lament is for his son: 'Where is my other life? Mine own is gone. / O where's young Talbot, where is valiant John?' (4.7.1-2). When his son's body is borne on stage, Talbot is initially defiant of 'antic death', hearkening back to the Icarus story, 'Two Talbots, wingèd, through the lither sky / In thy despite shall scape mortality' (4.7.18, 21-2). However, as soon as he addresses his son's dead body, he begs him to speak despite knowing he is already dead. Ten lines previously, he says, 'in that sea of blood my boy did drench / His over-mounting spirit; and there died' (4.7.14-15)); subsequently, he begs, 'Speak to thy father ere though yield thy breath. / Brave death by speaking, whether he will or no' (4.7.24-5). Talbot, the great warrior of the play, who has consistently urged revenge over mourning, dies from his grief over his son:

> Come, come, and lay him in his father's arms.
> My spirit can no longer bear these harms.
> Soldiers, adieu. I have what I would have,
> Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave.
> *He dies.* (4.7.29-32)

If Talbot stands for the warrior ethic of revenge in Part 1, this death creates a poignant scene of the warrior who scaled high towers brought low. He does not mourn the fate of the nation, or rail any longer at the English soldiers who do not measure up to his warrior ideals. He bids the soldiers onstage and his own soldiering 'adieu'. The scene is one of intense privacy and closeness, the language circling around the closeness of two characters who are part of one another, who share a name and fate. They end as close as physically possible, Talbot's arms enclosing his son as a grave. Nashe's famous description of Talbot's death attests to the affective power of the scene on early modern audiences:

> How would it have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had lyne 200 years in his tomb he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones embalmed with the tears of 10,000[93] spectators at least (at several times)

[93] This number has been cited in articles estimating the numbers present in early modern audiences, and taken quite literally to mean 10,000. However, the figure "ten thousand" appears 41 times in Shakespeare's plays and it seems far more likely that it simply means "many" rather than a specific number. For example, King Edward's 'were thy admiration ten tymes more, / Ten tymes ten thousand more thy worth exceeds', while Salisbury in the same play says, 'Heere stood a battaile of ten thousand horse' (*The raigne of King Edvvard the Third* (London, 1596), sigs. C1v, K1r); Byllius describes seeing Tatianus 'put ten thousand Romaines, to the swoord' and Octavia decrees to Antonius, 'Wert thou ten thousand times a prince, / Thou cannot force it stay' (Samuel Brandon,

> who in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding.[94]

Alexander Leggatt's essay on 'The Death of Talbot' pinpoints the death as the climax of the play and traces echoes of Talbot throughout Parts 2 and 3, including the repeated Daedalus-Icarus image in the scene where Richard kills Henry. His theory of forgotten heroes is compelling when reading the *Henry VI* plays in the Folio-imposed sequence. The evocative neatness of the Talbot echoes and the arc of history leaving heroes forgotten changes if, as a significant number of critics now agree, *1 Henry VI* was written after Parts 2 and 3. If this first part was written as a prequel, could Talbot's death scene instead be seen as the ultimate critique of the revenge-by-mourning ethos running throughout the other parts? In this formulation, Talbot's death retroactively explains the dramatic past but the historical future.[95]

Descending from the 'turret's top' and towers of Part 1 and the climbing 'towering' energy of Part 2, Part 3 becomes claustrophobic; the imagery of the sepulchre encloses those who still remain grasping for place. Margaret, as ever more politically astute than Henry, warns him in the opening scene about making York heir: 'What is it but to make thy sepulchre, /And creep into it far before thy time?' (1.1.236-7). Edward's call to arms, 'A crown or else a glorious tomb, / A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre' (1.4.16) outlines the possibilities, and sepulchres prove to be more earthly than glorious.

The tragicomoedi of the vertuous Octauia (London, 1598), sigs. B6r, G8r); Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* has Leon describing 'hell…raving beneath the ground worke of the earth / As if ten thousand vapours burst in her' ((London, 1598), sig. E4v). The translation of Jean du Bec's *Historie of the great emperour Tamerlan* uses the 'ten thousand' figure 28 times, with reference most frequently to horses (trans. H.M. (London, 1597) p. 9, 12, 121, 123, 134, 154, 161, 177, 236-7, 240-41, 254-5). *EEBO* records 709 instances of the phrase just in the 1590s.

[94] *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), 1.212. If, as some have posited, Nashe in fact wrote this section of the play, his account may also serve as self-praise for his abilities as a dramatist. Matthew Steggle's *Laughing and Weeping in the Early Modern Theatre* collects a number of early modern references to show that causing weeping was seen as a mark of a talented writer, a feat aspired to by a number of dramatists. He concludes: 'the frequently desired image is of a theatrical audience all of whom are in tears: Nashe, Middleton, Stanley and Lower state this desideratum particularly clearly, and three of them claim that is has been achieved' (p. 98; see Ch. 5 on the dynamics and descriptions of weeping audiences).

[95] Drawing on Foucault, Phyllis Rackin describes the Talbot's death scene as an example of glory surviving physical death: dying young ensures that life, magnified by a tragic death, passes into immortality through renown. Though no survivor carries the Talbot name into the future, it will survive, 'recorded in history books, alive in sixteenth-century memory and celebrated on Shakespeare's stage' ('Anti-Historians: Women's Roles in Shakespeare's Histories', *Theatre Journal* 37.3 (1985), pp. 329-44; 334).

This earthly level is brought into view by the molehill, emerging onstage and representing eruption from below, the disruption of the stage surface by unburial. As Hamlet's 'Well said, old mole. Canst work i'th' earth so fast? / A worthy pioneer' alludes to the movement of subterranean demonic spirits, the molehills provide visible evidence of underground activity, the 'underground' space of the stage most often representing hell (1.5.170-1).[96] The diminutive height of the molehill in vertical space provides stark visual contrast to the towering ambitions of those brought low. Margaret contrasts the heights of York's ambitions in her orders to Clifford and Northumberland: 'Come make him stand upon this molehill here, / That raught at mountains with outstretchèd arms' (1.4.67-8). A description of Barton and Hall's 1963 *Wars of the Roses* emphasises this point, with York 'dragged to the dizzying heights of a molehill that, "elevating" him, mocked his ambitions'.[97] If the molehill is represented by a prop that raises York up so he is above Margaret and his tormentors, the height differential changes the dynamic of the exchange as Margaret must speak up to him. In the 1963 RSC *Wars of the Roses*, Peggy Ashcroft's Margaret slapped York across the face with a handkerchief sopping with his child's blood, and bloodied her own face both at this moment, and after her joke about setting York's head 'on York gates…[s]o York may overlook the town of York!' as she wiped her hand across her face and 'left her mouth a bloody gash'.[98] Margaret's lines question his reaction, specifically the lack of tears: 'What, hath thy fiery heart so parched thine entrails / That not a tear can fall for Rutland's death?' (1.4.87-8). The actor playing York here might play this moment in a state of numbed shock, since Margaret's presentation of the bloodied napkin is how he learns of his son's death. In the BBC version, Bernard Hill portrays York as angrily refusing to give Margaret the reaction she seeks, staying fiercely still. After she places the paper crown on his head, jeering at his presumption to take King Henry's crown,

[96] 'Mole' was also a name for devil; miners and pioneers were associated with underground spirits in *The discouerie of witchcraft*, which refers to attacks by devils who 'assault them that are miners or pioneers, which use to worke in deepe and dark holes under the earth' (Reginald Scot (London, 1584), p. 494). Dover Wilson makes this connection to the line in *Hamlet*: 'The epithets "old mole", "pioner" and perhaps "truepenny", refer to the common superstition that devils might work like miners beneath the ground and that their rumblings could be heard' (1.1.149n) (John Dover Wilson, ed., *Hamlet* (Cambridge UP, 1934), p. 164).
[97] Hampton-Reeves and Chillington Rutter, *Henry VI Plays*, p. 77.
[98] Ibid., pp. 77-8.

York launches into an excoriating attack on Margaret. The scene was clearly memorable to Greene, who takes the 'tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide' line from this attack (1.4.137). When York finally does weep, he takes control of his grief, spelling out the meaning of each tear:

> Bidst thou me rage? Why now thou hast thy will,
> For raging wind blows up incessant showers,
> And when the rage allays, the rain begins.
> These tears are my sweet Rutland's obsequies,
> And every drop cries vengeance for his death
> 'Gainst thee fell Clifford, and thee false Frenchwoman. (1.4.143-9)

York's tears here serve both as funeral rites for his son and as calls to revenge. They are an arresting display of his dramatic power in this scene. Even Northumberland cannot help but be moved: 'Beshrew me, but his passions move me so / That hardly can I check my eyes from tears' (1.4.150-1). Despite Margaret being the stage manager opening the action, telling other actors where to place York, waving the handkerchief prop at him to instigate tears, York uses the affective hold he gains. He metaphorically washes Margaret's threats away with tears and predicts a more permanent hold on the sympathies of anyone who hears his story:

> See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears
> This cloth thou dipped'st in blood of my sweet boy,
> And I with tears do wash the blood away.
> Keep thou the napkin and go boast of this,
> And if thou tell'st the heavy story right,
> Upon my soul the hearers will shed tears,
> Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears
> And say, 'Alas it was a piteous deed!' (1.4.156-63)

Northumberland's tearful response models York's description of his 'foes' functioning as the model spectator in the pageantry of the scene and reversing the extremity of Clifford's cry for revenge: 'Had he been slaughterman to all my kin, / I should not, for my life, but weep with him, / To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul' (1.4.169-71) York has conquered Margaret in dramatic terms, already turned one of her followers to 'melting tears' and Clifford and Margaret quickly see the need to dispatch this figure, almighty in his suffering. The Messenger who brings the news of York's death to his sons confirms this power, describing himself as 'a woeful looker-on' and York's severed head '[t]he saddest

spectacle that e'er [he] viewed' (2.1.45, 67). Margaret's version of mourning in blood eclipses her humanity, her mouth a bloodied gash of a savage predator unable to speak, rendered 'more inhuman, more inexorable / O ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania' (1.4.154-5). The scene presents York's grief as more powerful in performance than Margaret's vengeance.[99]

The scenes interspersing this 'saddest spectacle' and the next molehill view of mourning revert to revenge as mourning. Richard's response to York's death becomes the model: 'To weep is to make less the depth of grief / Tears then for babes, blows and revenge for me' (2.1.85-6). Warwick's initial inertia – 'Why stand we like soft hearted women here… And look upon as if the tragedy / Were played in jest by counterfeiting actors?' – quickly turns into a vow of revenge underscored by kneeling:

> Here on my knee I vow to God above
> I'll never pause again, never stand still,
> Till either death has closed these eyes of mine
> Or fortune given me measure of revenge. (2.3.25-32)

Edward's sympathy makes him kneel and vow similarly – 'O Warwick, I do bend my knee with thine' – and it remains for the higher-aspiring Richard to pull them both to their feet: 'Brother give me thy hand, and gentle Warwick / Let me embrace thee in my weary arms' (2.4.33, 44-5).

The fighting excursions follow, Richard calling Warwick off so he might hunt down Clifford alone. The next '*Alarum*' introduces not the final showdown battle between Richard and Clifford, but '*King Henry alone*' (2.5.0). He makes clear reference to his position and location, 'Here on this molehill will I sit me down' (2.5.14), and many productions make the connection to York's molehill by using the same prop or same area of the stage for both scenes.[100] The passage of time dominates Henry's molehill contemplation of the shepherd's

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[99] Ashcroft's reflection on performing this scene ties Margaret's violence back to the violence perpetrated on her earlier in the cycle, seeing the scene in *2 Henry VI* where she appears on stage carrying Suffolk's head as pivotal: 'I came to realise why this scene was of paramount importance - for later in what is one of the greatest and certainly most horrific scenes […] when Margaret wipes the blood of York's son on the Duke's face […] I found that seemingly impossible bestial act to be credible as the result of the violence that has been perpetrated on her lover' (Peggy Ashcroft, 'Margaret of Anjou', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 109 (1973), pp. 7-9; 7-8).

[100] E.g. in Karin Coonrad's 1996 New York Shakespeare Festival/Public Theatre *Henry VI,* the front center space of the stage 'signalled vulnerability', used for both molehill scenes, Henry's death, and Joan's taunting (H. R. Coursen, 'Theme and Design in Recent Productions of *Henry VI*' in *Henry VI: Critical Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 205-19; 212).

life, the repetitive tick-tock repetition of the lines marking out 'the minutes how they run' (2.5.25). Ralph Fiennes as Henry experienced the speech line-by-line: '[Henry] is not aware when he starts the speech that his imagination will lead him to contemplate the regular, ordered life of a shepherd, minute by minute, hour by hour. So each line is a new thought – or rather a thought developed'.[101]As Henry sits in the stillness of his pastoral vision, the war bursts in: '*Enter a Son that hath killed his father at one door with his father's body, and a Father that hath killed his son at another door, bearing his son's body*' (2.5.54.1-3). As with the difficult-to-exit bodies in Part 1, the Folio and Octavo differ in their stage directions here. F gives: '*Enter a Sonne that hath kill'd his Father, at one door: and a Father that hath kill'd his Sonne at another doore*' (P2v) while the Octavo has them enter separately: '*Enter a souldier with a dead man in his armes*' and, after a shorter opening speech than F, '*Enter an other souldier, with a dead man*' (C2v-C3r). The Folio direction presents a balanced tableau while the Octavo makes one action follow from the other. The 'piteous spectacle' (as Henry exclaims) in either presentation functions as a set piece demonstrating the horrors of the 'bloody times', and also allows Henry to perform as chief mourner, a choric figure to this scene who does not interact with either grieving father or son (2.5.73). The fragmentation of community caused by civil war appears in vivid relief with the three characters mourning their losses, echoing each other's sorrows, but never speaking directly to each other. They echo other moments of mourning in the play too, both the molehill visual and the Son's language, 'My tears will wipe away these bloody marks', recalling York's hope that his tears will wash away his son's blood from the handkerchief (2.5.72). Henry's 'let our hearts and eyes, like civil war, / Be blind with tears and break o'ercharged with grief' emphasises not only the self-destructive, blind nature of civil war, but also the potentially self-destructive nature of grief with no outlet (2.5.77-8). The visual arrangement of the scene likely has the Father and Son kneeling over or by the bodies they both closely inspect to discover their identities, with Henry possibly raised slightly on a platform as his molehill, or sitting on the stage, all

[101] Ralph Fiennes, 'King Henry VI' in *Players of Shakespeare 3*, eds. Russell Jackson and Robert Smallwood (Cambridge UP, 1993), p. 110; also cited in Oxford edition (2001), 2.5.26-40n.

brought physically low by grief.[102] The scene itself runs the risk of being 'o'ercharged with grief' but unlike other scenes of mourning where characters pile their speeches on top of each other and seem to attempt to outdo each other with ever-increasing rhetorical displays of woe, the three mourners in this scene speak in the same space without competition. The father's speech features repeated syllables that give a sobbing effect, 'Ah, no, no, no' (2.5.3).[103] They mourn the effects of war on generations past, represented by the son mourning his father; the effects on future generations, with the father mourning his dead son; and on the state of the country in the present, as the ruler can do nothing but mourn. The symploche at the closing of the scene makes them reply to each other by taking on the structure of the repeated question:

SON	How will my mother for a father's death	
	Take on with me and ne'er be satisfied?	
FATHER	How will my wife for slaughter of my son	
	Shed seas of tears and ne'er be satisfied?	
HENRY	How will the country for these woeful chances	
	Misthink the King and not be satisfied?	
SON	Was ever son, so rued a father's death?	
FATHER	Was ever father, so bemoaned his son?	
HENRY	Was ever king, so grieved for subjects' woe?	(2.5.103-11)

The repeated "How...for...ne'er be satisfied" and "Was ever...so...?" imposes a structure on their expressions, demonstrating that the way grief can be expressed eventually reaches the limits of language; each mourner eventually asks the same questions.

The father's final words echo Talbot's dying words:

Come, come, and lay him in his father's arms.
My spirit can no longer bear these harms.
Soldiers, adieu. I have what I would have,
Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave.
He dies. (*1HVI* 4.7.29-32)

[102] The Oxford note to Margaret's later 'on the ground / Where I must take like seat unto my fortune / And to my humble seat conform myself' (3.3.9-12) points out that '[s]itting on the ground is a traditional posture of grief and despair' as in *Richard II*: 'For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground / And tell sad stories of the death of kings' (3.2.151-2) (*3HVI* 3.3.9-12n).

[103] As do the ululated vowel repetitions in Iranian songs of lament today, as well as Ovid's onomatopoeic description of Pan discovering the nymph Syrinx has turned into reeds which emit a 'sonum tenuem similemque querenti' – '[t]hin vowel sounds, many querulous nasals; the line itself is as *simile querenti* as sound can make it' – which Golding translates only as 'a still and mourning noyse' (*Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Arthur Golding Translation, 1567,* ed. John Frederick Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2000), p. xxix)

He substitutes his body for the formal funeral rites, the rituals of winding-sheet, funeral bell, and sepulcher replacing Talbot's 'arms' 'harms' and '[s]oldiers':

> These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet,
> My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre,
> For from my heart thine image ne'er shall go.
> My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell. (2.5.114-17)

Here there is an echo, but also distortion. Michael Boyd's RSC production featured the same actors doubling as Talbot and his son, and playing fathers and sons of Part 3 as one pair – when the father finished his speech and embraced the corpse of his boy, the corpse came alive as the father crumpled into death. But while the tableau Henry mourns here features fathers and sons, this death scene is not about a hero's tragic end, or about the story that will be told by, to or of 'ten thousand spectators'. The fathers and sons here are anonymous, unnamed, so that they become representative of all the fathers who have lost their sons and sons who have lost their fathers throughout this bloody history. The cycle opens with a dead father (as histories of inheritance generally must), ending the first part with Talbot and son 'frozen emblematically in the posture of funerary sculpture'. Part 2 ends with Clifford's discovery of his father's body, which he loads onto his back. Part 3 opens with York's grief for Rutland, and hinges on Henry mourning with the fathers and sons (2.5), and ends with Richard's sword weeping 'purple tears' as the first mourning son is murdered. The 1594 *True Tragedy of Richard III* features, like any good revenge tragedy, the Ghost of Clarence in the Induction, showing a shield which bears the motto, 'Cresse cruor sanguinis, satietur sanguine cresse, / Quod spero scitio. O scitio, scitio, vendicta' (Let blood increase, let blood be satisfied with blood, / Which I hope speedily. O speedily, speedily, revenge).[104]

Blood spilt craves more blood, the substance, to borrow Kerrigan's terms, that is the only thing that can 'recompense' its own loss, just as revenge tries to recompense loss with further violence.[105] The *Henry VI* plays show just how unsuccessful this strategy of mourning in blood turns out to be for both the living and the dead. In 'demonstrat[ing] at

[104] *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (London, 1594), sig. A3r. The translation is Irving Ribner's (*The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton UP, 1957), p. 83).
[105] p. 46.

once the visceral appeal of revenge and the devastating repercussions of acting it', Shakespeare's tetralogy follows in the revenge tragedy tradition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, but makes a further point in opening out scenes of extended, affective (if not yet effective) mourning.[106] The development from the Talbots' repetitive, stilted lines to York's weeping masterclass, the complex compassing imagery and intertwined language of the fathers and sons, and the tableau of the sitting, mourning women of *Richard III* offer an intriguing if elusive thread in the debate over order of composition. Blau's image of playing history – 'The past always needs blood donors. The theatre is a means of transfusion' – might be modified by Nashe's view of the role of theatre, which entails both the transfusion of blood with Talbot 'fresh bleeding' and the transfusion of 'the tears of ten thousand spectators' rendering Talbot 'new embalmed'.[107] Performance insistent on three levels of action, despite being unusual for the upwards kinetic energy and extended presences '*above*' ultimately draws attention also to what goes on below. Watching the histories performed allows us to see what is missing, and potentially to fill in some of the missing mourning with our own as the latest of Nashe's new embalmers.

[106] Gregory Colon Semenza uses this phrase to describe Kyd ('The Spanish Tragedy and Revenge' in *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, eds. Garrett Sullivan, Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield (Oxford UP, 2006), pp. 50-60; 50).
[107] Blau, *Take Up the Bodies*, p. 9.

CHAPTER 4

'[*A*]*ll the Mourners equally counterfeit*':

Fake Funerals and Performance Anxieties

'*A counterfeit corpse brought in, [followed by] Thomasine, [an old Mother,] and all the Mourners equally counterfeit.*' (4.4.52.0)[1]

'The secret of acting is sincerity. If you can fake that, you've got it made.' – George Burns

The three previous chapters have demonstrated what is at stake when the body is doing something legible: kneeling, lying down, ascending walls and towers. This chapter asks what happens when the body is not legible, either because the signs of mourning are more subtle or illegible due to being faked. The focus remains on the performing body, but this is a different kind of body legibility. We know what kneeling and prostration look like and what the various possibilities are for reading these gestures – but what do mourners look like when they are faking the traditional markers of grief? Everything that happens on stage is faked – so what is the difference? This chapter looks at cases where mourning is 'faked' *more* than just the standard artifice of acting, at mourning that is explicitly modeled as 'counterfeit' within the worlds of the plays. (This 'standard acting' is of course under intense debate and flux at the turn of the century as competing companies defined, redefined, and marketed their own acting conventions.)

Thomas Middleton's stage direction (above) for Quomodo's fake funeral in *Michaelmas Term* repeats the word counterfeit in a way that demands attention. It raises questions about how, exactly, this mourning should be performed. Is a counterfeit corpse a different stage prop to a normal stage corpse? If, as in other counterfeit deaths onstage, a live body must emerge from the coffin, is the difference as simple as weight – the actor's real body giving real weight to the stage coffin only when the death itself is unreal in the world of the play?[2] Do counterfeit mourners look different to actors in mourning dress? How does acting in a 'counterfeit' manner differ from simply acting?[3] The answer, as this chapter argues, is that visually, the two are often indistinguishable.

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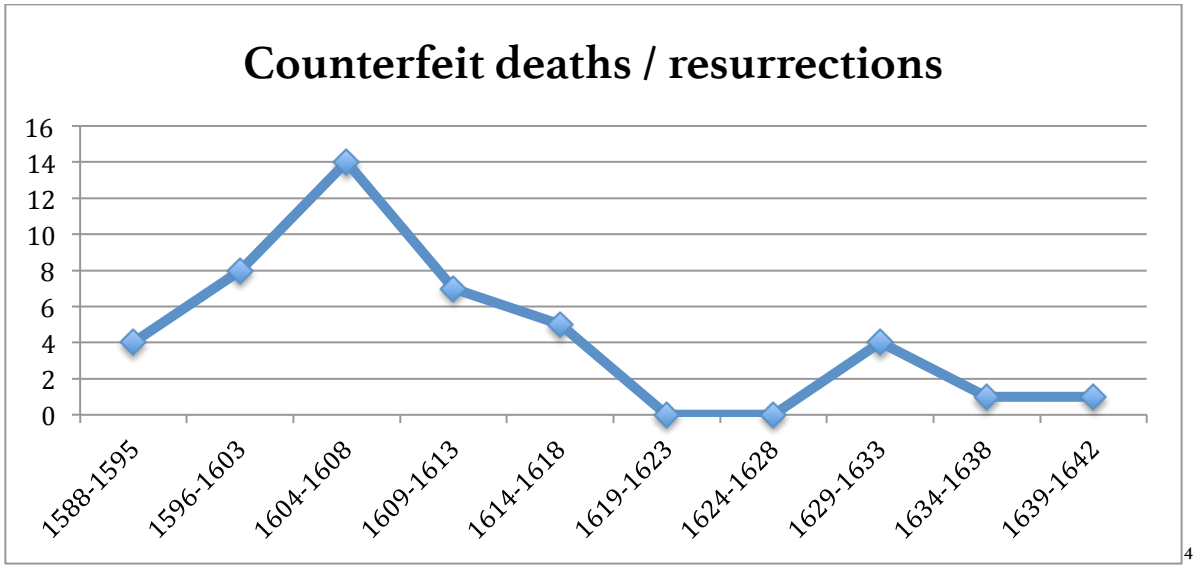
[1] This direction in the 1607 quarto reads: '*A counterfet Coarse brought in, Tomazin, and al the mourners equally counterfeit*' (sig. H3r).

[2] While producing *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, cast members from Edward's Boys expressed the difficulty of preserving the surprise ending (when the couple burst out of their coffins) due to the giveaway presence of a real, living body inside the prop coffins. This is due to the detectable weight of the actor inside the coffin (versus normally empty prop coffins). (Performed 3rd March 2010, Somerville College chapel, Oxford.)

[3] There is also something very 'meta' in this that gives the audience pleasure, as when watching RSC actors pretend to be amateurs in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

This is not to say that counterfeit mourning functions in the same way as other forms of expressing grief on stage, but mourning presented in this manner exposes the large elements of hypocrisy that surround and potentially unsettle regular acts of mourning. Cases of feigned mourning force the question: why make grief public? These examples show strategic uses of both fake death and mourning, sometimes for ambition, sometimes to engineer or to avoid a marriage, sometimes as a test of affection. Playing at and playing with mourning exposes the potential falsity of all emotion. Fake funerals thus function as a crisis case rather than a test case in examining performances of mourning, pushing the stakes of legibility and sincerity to their limits, particularly in the nested, doubly 'faked' realm of the theatre.

When tabulating these instances, a spike in the data stood out. The graph below demonstrates a surge in what I have labeled 'counterfeit deaths/resurrections' – broadly speaking, when a character is believed to be dead and turns out to be alive. There is a clear increase at the turn of the century, but a much more significant upsurge in the years from 1604-1608, shown here:



[4]

This upsurge in counterfeit deaths comes right after 1603, the year of Elizabeth I's death and lavish state funeral. 1603 was also one of the worst plague years on record. Clearly, death and mourning were at the forefront of the minds of playwrights and playgoers, but that the response to the death of a monarch should be a rash of counterfeit deaths speaks to a more complex set of reactions. This

[4] Dates for these plays are the first date of performance (when known).

chapter examines in depth three plays performed c.1604-5: Chapman's *The Widow's Tears* (c. 1605, for the Children of the Chapel),[5] Middleton and Dekker's *1 Honest Whore* (c. 1604, for the Admiral's Men)[6] and Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (c. 1605, for Paul's Boys).[7] All these plays present mourning that is simultaneously genuine, in that those mourning believe they have lost someone, yet also counterfeit on various levels. Sometimes, the character being mourned is not dead; sometimes not only is the object of the mourning not really dead, but the mourners are faking their grief at the supposed death. What emerges from a close examination of these texts is threefold. Firstly, the plays exhibit an unnerving sense of time out of joint as a death imminent in the future disrupts the present in counterfeit form (as preparatory mourning has done in other plays). Secondly, there is the threat of collapse to the structure of the performed self as counterfeiting exposes other hypocritical dynamics. Thirdly, the theatre poses unresolved and potentially unresolvable questions about what it means to make mourning public, particularly in the aftermath of the death of the most public figure of all.

Expressing grief onstage (and in life) flits between doing and representing, the inward grief communicated through the available rituals and signs of mourning. Such rituals are inevitably performative and subject to Hamlet's critique as 'shows of grief … actions that a man might play' (1.2.82, 83). The mimesis of mimesis (projected by the staging of a play within a play or by funerals orchestrated to test grief) underlines the problem of representation itself – a problem wrestling with the seminal terms of the New Historicists, who offered us the idea of narrated representation

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[5] There is general scholarly consensus that Chapman's play was written in late 1605 or early 1606. (Fleay is certain it is not later than 1605 (*A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, vol. 1 (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), p. 61); Parrott dates the play in 'the autumn of 1605 or the spring of 1606' (*The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), p. 798); Smeak follows Parrott with 'late 1605 or early 1606' (*The Widow's Tears* (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), p. xi). Akhiro Yamada's 1975 edition notes that the 'evidence is inconclusive' and the 'exact date…uncertain' but follows the general agreement around 1605 (*The Widow's Tears* (Manchester UP, 1975), pp. xxxii-xxxiii). The most recent edition, edited by Jonathan Hudston, gives a date range of 1604-1605, placing the play in the same timeframe as *Caesar and Pompey* (*George Chapman: Plays and Poems* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. xi).

[6] Paul Mulholland dates first performance of the play to some time between April and October 1604, at the Fortune Theatre. Henslowe's payment to 'Thomas Dekker and Middleton in earnest of their play called the patient man and the honest whore' was some time in 1604 prior to 14 March. The topical allusion to the siege of Ostend at 10.31-2 – that's harder to come by than ever was Ostend' – implies the siege has ended, which would place the play after 11 September 1604. However, Mulholland suggests that this allusion was probably added in the course of the play's theatrical run ('Canon and Chronology: *The Patient Man and the Honest* Whore' in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works,* eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford UP, 2007), pp. 351-3; 351).

[7] Maxwell's identification of Lethe's 'sixpence British' as a new coinage ordered 11 November 1604 pushed the date of earliest performance forward to between late 1604 and early 1606 (Baldwin Maxwell, 'Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*' *Philological Quarterly* 22 (1943), pp. 29-35.

instead of imitatory mimesis. The critical discourse on doing vs. representing finds analogues in the Renaissance itself: Sidney mingles the key terms of this chapter in his definition of mimesis as 'a representing, counterfeiting, a figuring forth'. Representation in Hamlet's famous line is simultaneously (and oppositionally) the 'show' – the trappings and suits of woe – and the rejection of that show – that which 'passes show'. In early modern plays that feature mourning, competing poetics emerge repeatedly as characters debate how to express grief: the poetics of presence, where outward signs reveal truth, versus a poetics of absence in which appearances are constantly measured against the truth they purport to represent. Roger Starling uses similar poetic modes to analyse Bolingbroke's rejection of Richard II's performance, but defines them as 'theatrical poetics of presence' and an 'anti-theatrical poetics'.[8] If part of the pleasure in playgoing is to enjoy and guess at the truth of the action presented, to deem such a process 'anti-theatrical' seems instinctively wrong. The tension here tugs between the assurance that outward signs accurately communicate an interior truth, and a heightened awareness that this mode of knowing could be manipulated, a manipulation deployed on multiple levels and examined consistently on the early modern stage.

The chapter begins by first presenting crucial contexts, unpacking from 'counterfeit mourning' what it means to counterfeit in terms of mimetic theory and in the early modern theatre, and what both 'counterfeit' and 'mourning' mean for Middleton (who, along with Shakespeare, appears most frequently in the list of playwrights making use of this device). This scene setting begins with a brief survey of both recent and early modern theoretical material on mimesis; followed by an overview of stage resurrections in the period including the anti-theatricalists' view of acting as counterfeiting; and finally, counterfeit deaths throughout the Middleton canon.

[8] Roger Starling, '"Scenes from the life of one who is suited for nothing": Shakespeare and the question of mimesis' in *Refiguring Mimesis: Representation in Early Modern Literature*, eds. Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), pp. 15-36. In a similar critique of performance, Casca suspects Caesar's reluctance to accept the crown is nothing more than show, making the 'tag-rag people' into a playhouse audience clapping and hissing 'as they use to do the players in the theatre' (1.2.256-8).

Mimesis: Old and New

Mimesis, in the most general of definitions, describes the relationship between art and life. It is often (and inadequately) explained as the Greek word for 'imitation', but has a much wider scope and meaning. Matthew Potolsky's introduction lists related terms and translations, unable to escape the language of mimesis even in explaining the term: 'Mimesis takes on different guises in different historical contexts, masquerading under a variety of related terms and translations: emulation, mimicry, dissimulation, doubling, theatricality, realism, identification, correspondence, depiction, verisimilitude, resemblance.'[9] Mimesis functions on such a foundational level that it is impossible to write a sentence about the relationship between art and the world without already and inevitability becoming imbricated in the theoretical debate over artistic representation: to say art 'imitates' or 'represents' or 'simulates' already makes a claim, as does the terminology chosen for the thing it represents: reality (objective or perceived? Existing or reflexively created? The 'second nature' of conventions within culture?). Derrida describes the vast significance and centrality of the term: 'the whole history of the interpretation of the arts of letters has moved and been transformed within the diverse logical possibilities opened up by the concept of *mimesis*'.[10] To trace the history of mimesis is also to retell the history of literary theory, to account for what has fascinated philosophers, makers, and critics of art for thousands of years. This introduction traces the arc of a history that would require volumes to cover comprehensively, and is beyond the scope of this thesis. The context offered here identifies important stakes in this debate, from Aristotle's departure from Plato to relatively recent interventions giving fuller theoretical voice to the performative and self-reflexive dimensions of mimesis. These dimensions are not modern or recent themselves, as the readings of the Jacobean city comedies will show, but rather the recent critical theorists (in a mimetic layering) analyse and recognise modes of knowing that have been, in a sense, there all along.

For Plato, art is an illusion imitating something real, an imitation that is always potentially corrupt and must be distinguished from nature. Art in the neoplatonic sense is a mirror of the world. Aristotle modifies this account by defining mimesis not as a copy of truth or nature (what

[9] Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 1.
[10] Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination*, trans. B. Jonson (University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 187.

actually is), but as a persuasive simulation copying our ways of knowing the world rather than the world itself. Expressed early modern anxieties over the relationship between texts and the world they claim to represent share with modern theory both the sense of the profound importance of the debate, and a curious intermingling of terms. Sidney's *A Defence of Poetry* offers this foundational statement of poetics: 'Poesy therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word mimesis, that is to say, a representation, counterfeiting or figuring-forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture – with this end, to teach and delight'.[11] Sidney here conflates *imitatio*, the self-conscious imitations of literary models (as with schoolchildren learning to write), with mimesis, 'figuring forth' or 'counterfeiting'.

Importantly, both Plato's and Aristotle's accounts require some sense of 'the world itself', an ontologically separate historical background and literature. This mechanism underlies the historicist approach to literary studies. Locutions such as Tillyard's 'world picture' or 'settled world-view of the age' derive from this sense of a social reality potentially reflected in literature.[12] That these locutions now sound outdated is due to poststructuralist claims advanced by New Historicists, primarily that history is always 'narrated' and thus the notions of a 'settled world-view' or even the 'events of the past' are impossible, as well as New Historicists' insistence on multiple, contradictory histories rather than a unified view of the past and the incorporation of non-literary texts in the discussion of literary history. While allowing for the value of 'excavat[ing] the circumstances of composition', A. D. Nuttall takes issue with the way scholars following the New Historicist approach 'averted their eyes from the complex fictions candidly offered *as* fictions by the poets and dramatists'.[13] Derrida and de Saussure deconstruct the notion of a model existing a priori to be imitated. For Baudrillard, fakes and counterfeits only arise in the Renaissance, with the start of the competition for the meaning of signs. Art has moved from representing reality to masking or manipulating that reality, a reality which, crucially, still exists in this first order of the

[11] Philip Sidney, 'A Defence of Poetry' in *English Literary Criticism*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 345.
[12] E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1943).
[13] A. D. Nuttall, *A New Mimesis: Shakespeare and the Representation of Reality* (Methuen, 1983; reissued Yale UP, 2007), p. vii-viii.

simulacrum. Only in the later orders (the Industrial Age and present day) is that basic reality absent.

Judith Butler, developing the connections between mimesis and gender, extends the Derridean deconstruction to gender identity: 'there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender…identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results'. Butler is not the first to reverse the relationship; Erving Goffman's 1959 *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* defines selfhood as merely an effect of acting, with the public self not a copy or 'fashioning' of a private original, but the sense of the inner self as a copy generated by social performances. Butler's sense of the 'performative' derives from Austin's speech-act theory, which defines a performative as a doing that constitutes a being where 'the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action' – to return to the opening terms of this discussion, an action that makes what it describes, already doing what it represents.[14]

The virtues of imitation were extolled in the early modern pedagogical practices derived from Erasmus. William Kempe's summary of this educational model outlines the steps in the grammar school curriculum:

> first the scholler shall learne the precepts: secondly, he shall learne to note the examples of the precepts in unfoulding other mens workes: thirdly, to imitate the examples in some worke of his owne; fourthly and lastly, to make somewhat alone without an example.[15]

Erasmus described the innate ability to copy: 'Nature has implanted in the youngest child an ape-like instinct of imitation'.[16] Gary Taylor, in his introduction to the Oxford Middleton, notes that the imitation extended beyond copybooks:

> Selves would be best fashioned by mimicking a fashion they could see: students enacted dialogues which taught them the proper fashion for everything from wiping their nose to

[14] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 25; Ernest Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959); J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words,* ed. J. O. Urmoson and Marina Sibsà (1955; Oxford UP, 2011), p. 6.
[15] William Kempe, *The Education of Children* (London, 1588), sig. F2r.
[16] qtd. in Gary Taylor, 'Lives and Afterlives', *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 33. Erasmus's influence on English education sought to establish rhetoric in school curricula (cf. T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (Urbana UP, 1944), ch. 4-6; Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); David Cressy, 'Introduction', *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975); Lisa Jardine, 'Ghosting the reforms in dialectic: Erasmus and Agricola again' in *The Significance of Renaissance Rhetoric,* ed. Peter Mack (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 27-45.

> polishing their prose…Middleton – whose family crest was a chained ape – was compelled to mimic.[17]

Trained and chained by mimicry, Middleton puts both mimesis and fashioned selves under intense pressure, presenting characters whose selfhood is nothing more than a reflection of social performance. Imitatio is more than mimicry, however, and to think of it as 'aping' oversimplifies the practice. Johannes Sturm's *Nobilitas Liberata* (1549, translated into English 1570) has been called 'perhaps the most suggestive document in English that we have on the practice of imitation in the sixteenth century'.[18] In it, he states that a literal copy is a false copy. Instead, good artists both reveal and conceal the secret image or pattern they are copying. Sturm instructs, 'For he ought to be a hider of his Arte, which would be a good Imitator. To follow our example in every point is very childish'.[19] Later, he adds, 'Notwithstanding, sometimes I like it well that our Imitation shoulde appeere and be perceived'.[20] Part of the pleasure for the audience is to guess at the hidden structure behind the imitation. Sturm describes the enjoyment of making a connection between *Bembus* and Tullie's *Brutus*:

> For as *Tullie* hearing of *Hortensius* death, conceived greater greefe of mind, than any man woulde have supposed: so his father *Bembus,* when tidings came to the Senate of *Venice,* of the Duke of *Urbines* death, conceived verily great greefe, and sorow, as *Tullie* doth: and as *Tullies* griefe increased in writing and utteraunce, so doth *Bembus* his in lyke sort. Now whither *Bembus* for some purpose woulde have it perceived, that his writing was like to *Tullies,* or whether he thought it coulde not be spied: truely for my part, in steade of the greefe that he and his father conceiued, in reading of this, I reaped great pleasure.[21]

Here we have the joy of recognition, of being in on the trick, partners in crime with the writer.

Conventionalist accounts of mimesis rest on the artist and audience sharing 'a set of conventions so familiar that neither side recognises it is trafficking in conventions rather than describing an objective reality'.[22] Plays featuring fake funerals force the recognition of these

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[17] Gary Taylor, 'Lives ', p. 33. Schoenbaum claims Middleton is no imitator, but uses a narrower definition of imitation: 'Unlike Webster, he kept no commonplace-book; he does not imitate Sidney and Montaigne, nor does he pride himself on his erudition' (*Middleton's Tragedies* (New York: Columbia UP, 1955), p. 102).
[18] Marion Trousdale, 'Recurrence and Renaissance: Rhetorical Imitation in Ascham and Sturm', *ELR* 6 (1979), pp. 156-79; 165. The English translation is titled *A Ritch Storehouse or Treasurie for Nobilitye and Gentlemen*, trans. T. B. (London, 1570).
[19] sig. 36r. Counterfeiting, as used in this translation, is of the art-making sense, as Sturm refers to the 'Arte which *Appelles* shewed in counterfeytinge the images of *Aesculapius* or *Priamus*' (sig. 36v). 'Arte' here is used in a more abstract sense akin to artistry, telling imitators to 'expresse…the selfe-same Arte' of Appelles rather than copying a picture with 'the same colours, lineaments, and shadowes' (sig. 36v).
[20] Sturm, sig. 37r.
[21] Sturm, sig. 37r-37v.
[22] Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 4.

conventions; to use Benjamin's terms, mimesis is no longer a convention of expression, but an expression of convention.[23] They expose the patterns in a blunter fashion than Sturm's glimpsing version of recognition requires, but still retain some of the pleasure he describes in recognising those patterns. Tracing the feigned deaths and resurrections and fake funerals in a number of plays allows for a fuller examination both of this emerging convention – for example, when could an audience recognize that an onstage death was false? – and of the process and effects of constructing these conventions.

Playing with Mimesis

The plays in question toy with this self-reflective aesthetic, revealing the limits of stage illusions and pushing mimetic framing to an extreme. But to argue that drama comments on the possibilities of representation in the theatre is to rehearse an old argument that in many ways leads us in an uninteresting circle. The fake funerals are a mimetic way of examining mimesis. However, William Engel argues that framing mechanisms in tragedy 'self-consciously extended the limits of theatre's magic'.[24] For Engel, the key to unlocking these frames (dumb shows, self-conscious moments of spectacle like Calantha's dance in *The Broken Heart*) goes beyond mimesis:

> ...if we gaze intently enough at the way the spectacle is said to reflect and carry within itself both the affirmation of its constitutive images and also their negation, then we can begin to twist free from the cycle of reification and mimetic reflection by noting that, when a charmed space is activated in a Renaissance drama, it tends to bring with it some sort of commentary on the conditions of its artificiality.[25]

There is something categorically different, however, in the activation of Engel's 'charmed space' in the case of mourning. The performance within an artificial frame of grief in particular within changes the dynamics of scrutinising that performance metatheatrically, partly because it layers and unfolds the dynamics of representation (as happens with dumb shows), and partly because it

[23] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: New Left Books, 1977), p. 175.
[24] William E. Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England: Shades of Memory* (Oxford UP, 2002), p. 1.
[25] Ibid. p. 43.

at once alienates and distances the audience while offering out the potential for emotional engagement. Depending on the levels of knowledge (when, for example, is the audience in on the trick), these moments can function as a test of spectatorship – should we have known or when should we have known that the death or mourning was feigned? When should the characters involved have realized, if at all? In the case of the performed emotion, the diagnostic capabilities of determining fake vs. real emotion are held up for scrutiny. Faking mourning seems exceptionally egregious, as the stakes of both legibility and performance or non-performance are higher.

Before turning to the fake funerals of city comedies, investigating previous stage examples reveals the generic expectations formed in the years preceding 1604-5. *Romeo and Juliet* is a particularly instructive and relatively early example. This is a partly comic play, and a partly urban play, arguably more tragic for its 'could-be comedy' qualities. It features a fake death (albeit one which mutates into a real death as the play shifts into the tragic mode) as well as extended mourning for people who are not dead. These extended scenes also introduce a key element in many scenes of feigned death: the role of an audience asked to examine mourning as a performance. This may be because the audience is slightly removed from the play by knowing the death is not real, or because they know that different characters on stage have different levels of knowledge about what is going on and can gauge individual performances accordingly, or possibly must reexamine their own diagnostic capabilities if they are taken by the feigning.

Romeo and Juliet features feigned death as an escape from mandated marriage. The mourning scene around Juliet's supposedly dead body reveals the primary concerns of those closest to her. Her father's first concerns are physical and transactional: her body and her betrothal. He lists her physical symptoms, 'Out alas! she's cold, / Her blood is settled, and her joints are stiff' (4.5.25-6); his next focus is Death personified stealing Juliet's virginity, 'O son, the night before thy wedding day / Hath death lain with thy wife. There she lies, / Flower as she was, deflowered by him' (4.5.35-7).[26] The Nurse instructs Lady Capulet in grief, as she has taught her how to mother all along. Lady Capulet's lines echo and are cued by the Nurse:

[26] Capulet's imagery here draws on the multiple meaning of raptus: being seized, being raped, and, in Catholic canon law, the practice of bride kidnapping to prevent a marriage. Romeo has, of course, already pre-empted Paris and seized Juliet – an act that causes her multiple deaths.

NURSE She's dead, deceased. She's dead, alack the day!

LADY CAPULET Alack the day, she's dead, she's dead, she's dead! (4.5.23-4)

NURSE O lamentable day!
LADY CAPULET O woeful time! (4.5.30)

Moisan asserts that the lamentations in this scene are both artificially stylized and contain elements of humour, both of which contrast sharply with Juliet's actual death.[27] The Nurse's repetition can appear ludicrous:

> O woe! O woeful, woeful, woeful day!
> Most lamentable day, most woeful day
> That ever, ever I did yet behold!
> O day, O day, O day! O hateful day!
> Never was seen so black a day as this.
> O woeful day! O woeful day! (4.5.49-54)

It is also possible to play these lines straight, the repetition of the 'o' and the 'ay' syllable in 'day' offering an actor the sound effects of sobbing, also indicated by the choked stammering of the repeated words. Capulet claims, 'Death…[t]ies up my tongue and will not let me speak' and follows with three seven-line stylized laments, but the Nurse enacts this inability to speak from the moment of her discovery (4.5.32). The Nurse silenced by grief is a striking image in Shakespeare's source, Arthur Brooke's translation, *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* (1562): 'as one distraught, / she to her mother ranne, / With scratched face, and heare betorne, / but no word speake she can'.[28] In Brooke's version, Juliet's mother has the longest response to her death:

> Ah cruell death (quoth she)
> that thus against all right
> Hast ended my felicitie,
> and robde my hartes delight,
> Do now thy worst to me,
> once wreake thy wrath for all.
> Even in despite I crye to thee
> thy vengeance let thou fall.
> Wherto stay I (alas,)
> since Juliet is gone?
> Wherto live I since she is dead,
> except to wayle and mone?
> Alacke dere chyld, my teares
> for thee shall never cease,
> Even as my dayes of life increase,
> so shall my plaint increase.

[27] Thomas Moisan, 'Rhetoric and the Rehearsal of Death: The "Lamentations" Scene in *Romeo and Juliet*', *SQ* 34.4 (1983), pp. 389-404.
[28] sig. 68r.

> Such store of sorow shall
> afflict my tender hart,
> That dedly panges when they assayle
> shall not augment my smart.
> Then gan she so to sobbe,
> it seemde her hart would brast.[29]

Here the devices of exclamation, apostrophe to death, self-blame, overwhelming despair and wishes for death mark Juliet's mother's response as a conventional medieval lament.[30] The apotheosis of grief in Brooke remains with the silent male, however:

> But more then all the rest
> the fathers hart was so
> Smit with the heavy newes, and so
> shut up with sodain woe,
> That he ne had the powre
> his daughter to bewepe,
> Ne yet to speake, but long is forsd,
> his teares and plaint to kepe.[31]

Shakespeare's Capulet initially preserves this sense of unspeakable grief, but undermines his claim to this particular rhetoric by speaking.

The Nurse's longer speech (quoted above) does not appear in the first quarto, where the only line the Nurse has in this scene is her answer to Lady Capulet's 'How now whats the matter?': 'Alack the day, shees dead, shees dead, shees dead'. Lady Capulet repeats, 'Ah shees dead, shees dead,' in answer to Capulet's 'Come, come, make hast, wheres my daughter?' but the scene is much shorter than Q2. There is one notable feature in the scene in Q1, which directs all the characters to speak together:

> CAPULET O heere she lies that was our hope, our joy,
> And being dead, dead sorrow nips us all:
> *All at once cry out and wring their hands.*
> ALL CRY And all our joy, and all our hope is dead,
> Dead, lost, undone, absented, wholy fled.

This device and the timing required for four characters to speak a whole couplet in unison is more stylized and potentially more awkward in performance than the Nurse's lament.[32]

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[29] sig. 68v.
[30] As catalogued in Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *Laments for the Dead in Medieval Narrative*. (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 1966), p. 62. She notes the gendered responses to the central question of the lament, 'What shall I do?': women often want to die as a solution to their grief, especially after the loss of a lover, whereas men want to do something – which in medieval narratives means revenge (pp. 37-41).
[31] sig. 69r.
[32] The 2011 RSC *Romeo and Juliet* demonstrated the potential awkwardness of stylised lament in performance, particularly for a modern audience. Peter Kirwan's review notes, 'The decision to have Gruffudd Glyn's

Q2 is almost a third longer than Q1, which has previously been dismissed as 'a memorial reconstruction of a version that Q2 represents in substantially correct form'.[33] Another theory posits Q1 as an early draft that Shakespeare revised to produce Q2, but Lukas Erne raises the obstacle to this argument that the sense of many passages in Q1 only becomes clear after comparison with Q2.[34] Farley-Hills posits Q1 as a cut down version of the text 'intended for performance by a touring troupe in the provinces',[35] but this does not explain the rewriting of substantial portions of the text. One of the features that might suggest some degree of memorial agency in the production of Q1 is the breakdown in the relationship between Q1 and Q2 at 'moments of intense stage action' when the exact wording was not as important to the performance and therefore may have been difficult to recall.[36] One such moment is this lamentation scene. Charles B. Lower argues of the '*All at once*' stage direction:

> [T]he Q1 stage direction...would make impossible the task of a reporter (on stage, back-stage, or in the audience), and it probably would even negate an actor's responsibility to memorize his own part accurately. The lament speeches in Q1 and Q2 have only miniscule correspondence in substance, yet are remarkably parallel in tone; this situation seems strange until we see that it may be accounted for by the cacophony of simultaneity in performance.[37]

The Nurse's lament, which seems individualized and primary in the Q2 text, dissolves into the cacophony of simultaneous mourning in the possibly performance-related Q1. For Jay Halio, however, Q1 'modulates' the 'exclamation upon exclamation along with mostly unvaried repetitions' of Q2, 'making them somewhat less melodramatic or excessive.'[38] The debate over these moments of mourning in the two quartos reveals familiar tropes: melodrama and 'excess' taking away from the pathos of a scene; the danger of long, repetitive scenes if each mourner is

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Balthasar deliver his news of Juliet's death in a broken falsetto song was tonally disruptive: it was presumably meant to be a ritualised moment of mourning, but instead had the audience laughing' ('Romeo and Juliet (RSC) @ The Courtyard Theatre', *The Bardathon Blog*, 26 March 2010). At the performance I attended, this moment produced embarrassed giggles from the audience (3 March 2011).

[33] H. R. Hoppe, *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1948), p. 58. In *Shakespearean Suspect Texts*, Laurie Maguire unpacks Hoppe's circular reasoning in identifying Q1 as a memorial reconstruction, asking for a more consistent approach to suspect texts that does not use elements frequently found in accepted 'good' texts as markers for memorial reporting in suspect texts.

[34] *The First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Cambridge UP, 2007), p. 9.

[35] David Farley-Hills, 'The "Bad" Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*', *Shakespeare Survey* 49 (1996), pp. 27-44; 28).

[36] Lukas Erne, 'Introduction', *The First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Cambridge UP, 2007), p. 17. I make no claim here that Q1 as memorial reconstruction is anything but one of a number of possibilities, and am primarily interested in the 'intense stage action' of this scene rather than drawing conclusions about the status of Q1.

[37] Charles B. Lower, '*Romeo and Juliet*, 4.5: A Stage Direction and Purposeful Comedy', *Shakespeare Studies* 8 (1975), pp. 177-94; 182.

[38] Jay B. Halio, 'Introduction', *Romeo and Juliet: Parallel Texts of Quarto 1 (1597) and Quarto 2 (1599)* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 135.

allowed to speak individually, and the danger at the other extreme of short, simultaneous mourning becoming cacophonous, muddled, even comic. While the less verbal nature of Q1, which focuses on crying out and the wringing of hands, might bind characters together so that the speaking in unison makes sense, there is also the risk of a scripted feel to intoning lines as a group/troupe.[39]

The scene deploys a further level of audience alienation from the mourners, as the audience knows Juliet is not dead. This detachment means the mourners' reactions can be studied as performances (both by the actors and by characters performing the act of mourning), rather than inculcating participation from an audience who does believe a character has died. There is also a test of empathy: does this scene engender less sympathy for a family we know are grieving over a fake death? If their grief is real within the diegesis of the play, isn't this usually all that is required for an emotional engagement from the audience? By making the grief over something feigned, Shakespeare highlights what grief does for those who remain, making the 'dead' body less important than the beliefs and reactions of the community. For the theatre audience, the performance of grief functions as a microcosm of the theoretical foundations of theatre: a mimetic examination of mimesis. In this case, the mourning is also preparatory for Juliet's actual death, to

[39] This also hinges on interpreting 'at once' as 'all together' rather than 'immediately'. The editors of the Oxford Shakespeare follow Lower's theory and add the Q1 sd to a text largely based on Q2, adding 'together' to make the interpretation of 'at once' clear: '*Paris, Capulet and his Wife, and the Nurse all at once wring their hands and cry out together*' (4.4.67sd). However, as Jowett notes in the *Textual Companion,* this is the first edition to use this interpretation (p. 300). Plays from the period make use of the phrase in multiple ways, so a survey of this usage does not give a definitive interpretation for the direction. The phrase 'all at once' appears as a mode of address to a large group: Tenacity bids 'farewell to all at once' (Anon., *The Contention Betweene Liberalitie and Prodigalitie* (London, 1602), sig. C3v); in the 1594 *The Taming of a Shrew*, Fernando says, 'Good morrow gentlemen to all at once' (sig. B2v). *The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey* gives support to simultaneity with the direction '*Senators crie all at once*' followed by the speech heading 'Omnes' ((London, 1607), sig. G1r). This is a particularly instructive example as the stabbing is presented as a form of mourning just two lines prior to this s.d.: 'The Senators the Mourner ore the Hearse' (sig. G1r). *Bussy D'Ambois* has 'Ile sooth his plots: and strow my hate with smiles / Till all at once the close mines of my heart / Rise at full date, and rush into his bloud' which could modify the 'close mines' acting all together, but more likely refers to the 'until' and the sudden change from the soothing and smiling act (George Chapman (London, 1607), sig. 54v). *The Whore of Babylon* features parentheses which seem to emphasise the sense of 'at once' as 'immediately': 'Our bloud ranne all to water, yea our soules / Strove all (at once) t'expire' (Thomas Dekker (London, 1607), sig. H2r). *A Christian Turn'd Turke* has the 'all at the same time' sense: 'Whirle-winds pursue him, heaven, seas, earth, all at once / Joyne to his confusion' (Robert Daborne (London, 1612), sig. G1v). In the same play, there is a wish 'may, oh may the force of Christendome / Be reunited, and all at once require / The lives of all that you have murdered'; the forces of Christendom could all together require or all immediately require this recompense (sig. I4r). Kyd's *Soliman and Perseida* has two instances: Soliman directs Erastus to get rid of his griefs all at the same time, so he can enjoy his company again: 'Go then, go spend thy mournings all at once / That in thy presence Soliman may joy' (Thomas Kyd, *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda* (London, 1592), sig. F3r). Piston asks Erastus if he wants the news from Rhodes: 'Will you have them all at once?' which has both senses: do you want all of the news together/right now? (sig. E4v).

which the reaction is brief and focused on the need to explain how 'Juliet, dead before,' came to be '[w]arm and new killed' (5.3.195-6). Kent Cartwright connects the artificiality of the scene to discomfort in the audience, believing that 'the spectators' unwanted complicity in the Capulets' deception will make them desire that the scene end quickly (particularly as the previous scene has just primed them for fast pacing)'.[40] Cartwright's objection to the laments in this scene – 'They take up too much time!' – in fact endorses the rushed, hot-temperedness that the play ultimately critiques. Comparing this play to Dekker's *1 Honest Whore* later in this chapter shows how Romeo's rush to action, rather than pausing to mourn, creates the final tragedy. When characters in *Romeo and Juliet* do take time to mourn, they are rewarded with a resurrection. By showing both outcomes, Shakespeare's play sets the stage for the feigned deaths to follow, departing from the unmourned deaths in *Alphonsus of Germany*, *James IV*, and *The Jew of Malta* to examine mourning that is true and a death that becomes true.

Staging Resurrections

All staged funerals are 'fake' in a very literal sense, but those under examination in this chapter are doubly so: faked, or put on within the world of the play, brief plays-within-the-plays. The fake funeral must also be differentiated from the numerous seeming-resurrections of the early modern stage, which could comprise a book length study.[41] A brief survey of these scenes is necessary to situate the Jacobean comedies in the context of the rising 'dead' on the stage. While the plays clustered around 1604 most closely examine the funeral ritual for the feigned dead, tomb resurrections at the end of many plays provide a neat twist and comic resolution. There are also

[40] Kent Cartwright, *Shakespearean Tragedy and Its Double: The Rhythms of Audience Response* (Penn State UP, 1991), p. 57.
[41] Sean Benson takes on this task for Shakespeare in *Shakespearean Resurrrections: The Art of Almost Raising the Dead* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne UP, 2009), in which he argues that Shakespeare repeatedly evokes Christ's resurrection from the dead in 'recognition scenes' between long-lost characters.

numerous apparent deaths or false reports of death across the drama. Apparent deaths are prevalent in Shakespeare's later plays: in *Pericles*, other characters believe Thaisa is dead, and assume Marina was murdered. In *Anthony and Cleopatra*, Cleopatra sends news of her death to Anthony, while Claudio is falsely reported dead in *Measure for Measure* with the added evidence of a severed head. Imogen believes she has found Posthumus's body in *Cymbeline*, as well as drinking a sleeping potion that will fake her own death.

Both *Antonio and Mellida* (1599) and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613) follow the same pattern of young lovers, forbidden to marry by their parents, staging their own deaths and popping out of their coffins when the grief-stricken parents vow that they should be allowed to marry if they were alive. In a similar vein, Polydor rises from his tomb in the last scene of Fletcher's *Mad Lover* (1616-17), and the King, 'melt[ed]' by Calis's grief, allows them to marry. Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) features a double resurrection in *The London Merchant*, Jasper smuggled in to see Luce in a coffin, testing Luce's constancy by having the servant tell her he is dead before he emerges. He later has Luce delivered to her father inside the same coffin, but has the boy tell the old merchant it is Jasper's body inside. Jasper then enters, the merchant assuming he is a ghost, and opens his own coffin to reveal Luce. The ridiculous nature of the scene, underlined by the merchant's musical response – 'Ah ha! Art thou good at that i faith? / With hey trixie terlery-whiskin, the world it runnes on wheeles, / When the yong mans [hand's a-friskin(?)] up goes the maidens heeles' (5.3) – parodies the resurrections in vogue at the time.[42]

In Middleton's *Puritan Widow* (1606), Pieboard appears to raise Corporal Oath from the dead. Oath is assumed to have been killed by Skirmish, and when officers carry his coffin on stage, Pieboard claims he has the power to resurrect the dead. To the astonishment of everyone on stage, Oath awakes swearing. The trick is one in a series of jests Pieboard plays – all of which are explained in detail before he carries them out. Actors are aligned with false conjuring in Pieboard's instructions to his accomplice, the Captain:

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[42] David Bevington connects *The London Merchant* to *Chaste Maid*, commenting that 'the resurrection scene is so hilariously like the comic resolution of Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* that one would swear it is a satire of that play if *A Chaste Maid* had not been written later' (1072), but does not consider the possibility that Beaumont is parodying the numerous resurrection scenes in the plays preceding 1607 ('Introduction' *Knight of the Burning Pestle* in *English Renaissance Drama,* pp. 1067-73).

> ...first to spread your circle
> upon the ground, then with a little conjuring ceremony,
> as I'll have an hackney-man's wand silvered o'er o'
> purpose for you, then arriving in the circle, with a huge
> word and a great trample. As for instance, have you
> never seen a stalking stamping player that will raise a
> tempest with his tongue and thunder with his heels? (3.5.69-75)

The Captain expresses worry about the potential for unintended efficacy in pretending to conjure: 'here lies the fear on't how if in this false conjuration a true devil should pop up indeed' (3.5.105-7). If this alludes to accounts of extra devils on stage in a performance of Marlowe's *Faustus*, the suggestion is that certain acts (unlike mourning) cannot be counterfeited. To pretend to conjure risks that the circle, the wand, the stamping and words will nevertheless summon real devils. The risks of Pieboard's various jests are clear in the resurrection scene. Two men are brought onstage, 'one going to a burying and another going to a hanging', and Pieboard acknowledges the risky line he toes with the possibility of his own hanging should Oath not awaken: 'I had rather run upon the ropes than have a rope like a tetter run upon me' (4.2.269, 313-15). His false revival of Corporal Oath restores both the about-to-be-hung Skirmish and about-to-be-buried Oath to level ground, the fake resurrection actually restoring Skirmish's life. The targets of Middleton's satire in this play are the Puritans who are taken in by Pieboard's counterfeiting; but by the explicit staging of each trick, the audience is never placed in a position of gullibility. Robert Weimann and Douglas Bruster describe the pleasure of watching disguise plays: 'disguise is a practice of concealment that, in theatrical performance, allows its own process to be observed'.[43] The same can be said for these resurrection scenes when the audience is in on the trick, in a similar manner to the pleasure Sturm derived from identifying both the source material and the artistry of concealment.

In *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (1601-2, published anonymously and now attributed to Heywood) and Day's *Law Tricks* (1604), the wives are believed to be poisoned.[44] Both turn out to have ingested sleeping potions, and both awaken inside their respective tombs. In the

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[43] Robert Weimann and Douglas Bruster, *Shakespeare and the Power of Performance: Stage and Page in the Elizabethan Theatre* (Cambridge UP, 2010), p. 120.

[44] Thomas Heywood, *How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad* (London, 1602); John Day, *Law Trickes* (London, 1608). Swaen's and McManus's editions both make the case for Heywood's authorship (A. E. H. Swaen, ed., *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (London: David Nutt, 1912); Emer McManus, *A Critical Edition of Thomas Heywood's How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, Ph. D. thesis (University College Dublin, 2007). See also J. Q. Adams, 'Thomas Heywood and *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*', *Englische Studien* (1912), pp, 30-39; Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge UP, 2003), p. 182.

closing lines of *Law Tricks*, the Duke characterizes this reversal as 'turn[ing] to mirth a Sceane so tragicall', immediately followed by the question in the Epilogue that acknowledges the improbability of the events presented: 'Who would haue thought, such strange euents should fall / Into a course so smooth and comicall?' (sigs. I3v, I4r). In the final scene of Middleton's *The Witch* the supposedly dead body of the Duke elicits a confession from the Duchess, and after the bed-trick is revealed to prove her innocence, the Duke '*revives*' (5.3.125sd). All these plays share comic endings snatched from the jaws of tragedy, turning the 'tragicall' to mirth with reversals so unlikely they border on the ludicrous. While such twists are a generic feature of tragicomedy, the cumulative effect can be destablising. In her introduction to *The Witch*, Marion O'Connor describes the conclusion to the play as 'outrageous: to attempt to explain all the unexpected revelations and reversals solely as tragicomic conventions, or even yet as parodies of those conventions, is to overburden generic expectations'.[45] *The Witch*, in 1616, raises questions about the limits of such reversals by adding the bed-trick to the revival; too many turnarounds prove dizzying.

Volpone's feigned death as the last in a series of gulls has overt parallels with Quomodo's final trick in *Michaelmas Term*, with the important distinction that Quomodo's funeral is actually staged while Volpone's death is merely reported. While it is not certain which play came first, *Volpone* may be more firmly dated than Middleton's play and seems likelier to follow *Michaelmas Term* than precede it. Early 1606 is generally accepted as a first date of performance for *Volpone*,[46] and the date range for Middleton's play stretches from late 1604 to early 1606.[47] (The similarities between the two feigned death plots are incorporated into the longer discussion of Quomodo, below.)

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[45] Marion O' Connor, 'Introduction', *The Witch* in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, p. 1126.

[46] Parker's Revels edition notes that the 1605 date on the title page of could extend to 25 March 1606 in old-style dating. Peregrine's gossip in 2.1 refers to incidents recorded in Howe's continuation of John Stowe's *Annals* for 19 January 1606 (the porpoise and the whale), said to have happened 'seven weeks' before in the play (2.1.16), the Prologue claiming the play was completed in only 'five weeks' (l. 16) (p. 24). He settles on the composition of *Volpone* occurring in late January or early February 1606, and produced before 25 March 1606 (Brian Parker, 'Introduction', *Volpone* (Manchester UP, 1999), pp. 1-29; 24).

[47] The clear terminus a quo and terminus ad quem for *Michaelmas Term* are marked by the accession of James I in 1603, and the last performance of the Children of Paul's in early 1606. The *Companion to The Collected Works* dates the play November-December 1604 (p. 353).

In Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (1589-90), Barabas escapes prison by drinking a potion that makes him seem dead. The punishment of his supposedly dead body (denying him burial rites and throwing him over the walls) allows him to escape and launch another assault. This is one of the feigned deaths that attempt to take in the audience too, who presumably do not know Barabas is faking until he is left alone on stage and wakes up. He explains to Calymath (and the audience)

> I drank of poppy and cold mandrake juice,
> And, being asleep, belike they thought me dead,
> And threw me o'er the walls. (5.1.80-82)

While modern stage directions tip off a reader of the play by specifying '*Enter Officers and attendants, carrying Barabas* ***as*** *dead*' (5.1.53.1, emphasis added), these directions did not appear in the 1633 quarto edition of the play, which is the earliest surviving printed copy. The quarto stage direction reads simply, '*Enter Officer*' the only implied direction in his line describing Barabas, 'Dead, my lord, and here they bring his body'.[48]

In a similarly cheeky escape, Falstaff pretends to be dead on the battlefield in *1 Henry 4*: '*Enter Douglas; he fighteth with Falstaff, who falls down as if he were dead*' (5.4). Whether the audience knows he is faking or not depends on performance, but the 'as if he were' of the stage direction (appearing in the First Folio text) gives the game away immediately to a reader.[49] Linda McJannet traces the change in stage directions from the self-conscious theatricality of medieval stage directions, like the Anglo-Norman play *Adam*:

> *Then Abel will kneel to the east. And he will have a pot concealed in his garments, which Cain will strike violently, as though killing Abel. Abel will lie prostrate* ***as though*** *dead.* (722sd, Bevington's trans., emphasis added)

Using 'as though' addresses the performers rather than readers, directing the play rather than fleshing out the narrative.[50] Richard Hosley's distinction between 'theatrical' and 'fictional' signals is useful here: theatrical refers to the structure or equipment of the theatre ('*aloft*' or '*above*') while fictional directions refer to the dramatic fiction ('*upon the walls*' or '*before the gates*'). McJannet contrasts the medieval direction from outside the dramatic fiction with the Elizabethan style:

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[48] Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta* (London, 1633), sig. Iiv.
[49] At Shakespeare's Globe in 2012, during the World Shakespeare Festival, the audience for the Mexican *1 Henry IV* comprised over 80% of people who had never seen the play. They were amazed and delighted when Falstaff returned from the dead (Laurie Maguire, personal communication, 9 August 2014).
[50] Linda McJannet, *The Voice of Elizabethan Stage Directions* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), p. 124.

> The acknowledgment of illusion sounds strange to ears used to the voice of Elizabethan directions. "*As though dead*" looks at Abel's demise as acting and directs him how to achieve the desired effect. In an Elizabethan play, the voice of the direction typically remains inside the illusion; the conventional form is "*He dies*" or "*Dies.*" And if a direction does use the phrase, e.g., when Falstaff "*falls down as if he were dead*" (*1 Henry IV*, 5.4.76sd), the character is pretending, as well as the actor.[51]

This leads to a conflation of the theatrical and fictional stage direction, opening up a space for the actor to decide on the level of verisimilitude deployed in such 'as though' deaths: act it in exactly the same way as a 'real' stage death, or in such a way as to foreshadow the resurrection? This distinction becomes especially important for Middleton's stage directions in *Michaelmas Term*. The analysis of these earlier resurrections shows that definitely by 1604 (and even earlier), audiences have some awareness of fake funerals and interpretive experiences on which they can draw when presented with similar set-ups. Harriet Walter's account of playing Imogen (at The Other Place, Stratford, 1987 and the Pit Theatre at the Barbican in 1988) demonstrates the complexity of audience response even when we might assume from the text that they know what is going on:

> Incidentally, it is not only the cave-dwellers who believe Imogen's death, but even the audience on occasion are convinced of it – if they happened to doze off when the doctor told them that his drug was harmless and capable merely of "locking up the spirits a time / To be more fresh, reviving" (I.vi.41-2). I often heard a gasp or even a vocalized 'Oh, no' at the point when I swallowed the drug. This is one of the advantages of a little-known play. We all know about Juliet![52]

We do all know about Juliet, as did playgoers in the early 1600s, but how does what we know about Juliet come to bear on the way we interpret a young woman drinking a sleeping potion designed to feign death? Does the potential tragedy hang over the act? The intervening comedies – *Antonio and Mellida*, *How A Man May Choose A Good Wife From A Bad, Law Tricks* – offer another possibility while not negating the tragic potential. The upsurge in such scenes after Elizabeth I's death is not the appearance of a new feature, but rather exhibits a new frequency and new twists on a device already familiar in both comic and tragic modes.

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[51] *Voice*, p. 125.
[52] Harriet Walter, 'Imogen in Cymbeline' in *Players of Shakespeare 3,* eds. Russell Jackson and Robert Smallwood (Cambridge UP, 1993), pp. 201-19; 214.

'To counterfeit, and so to sin': Counterfeiting in Anti-Theatrical Tracts

What does it mean to counterfeit? As we have seen, Warwick uses the term as one of disparagement in connection with acting:

> Why stand we like soft-hearted women here
> Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage,
> And look upon, as if the tragedy
> Were played in jest by counterfeiting actors? (*2HVI* 2.3.25-8)

John Astington distinguishes between the modern usage as exclusively negative and indicating falsity, and a neutral sixteenth-century meaning sense of 'counterfeit' as to make or manufacture, especially if artistic technique was involved in the making, but concludes that the term's 'theatrical use, however, certainly seems invested with uncertainty about what it is that is being made'.[53]

A brief foray into Shakespeare's examination of the term demonstrates this uncertainty in action. The contrast in Prince Hal's elegies over the two bodies reveals how little he feels for his companion. He describes Hotspur's body as full of so much ambition that '[w]hen that this body did contain a spirit, / A kingdom for it was too small a bound', but for Falstaff, he comments 'could not all this flesh / Keep in a little life?' (5.4.88-9, 101-2). His comments for Falstaff continue to focus on his fat body, featuring 'a heavy miss of thee' and 'so fat a deer' and finally promising, 'Embowelled will I see thee by and by, / Till then in blood by noble Percy lie' (5.4.108-9). The emboweling for Falstaff is the bloody and fleshy inverse of the 'fair rites of tenderness' in Hal's 'epitaph' for 'noble Percy' (5.4.97, 100). After hearing Hal's contrasting speeches of mourning, Falstaff '*riseth up*' and launches into a long exposition on the word 'counterfeit':

> Embowelled? If thou embowel me to-day, I'll give you leave to powder me and eat me too tomorrow. 'Sblood, 'twas time to counterfeit, or that hot termagant Scot had paid me, scot and lot too. Counterfeit? I lie, I am no counterfeit. To die is to be a counterfeit, for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man. But to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth, is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed. The better part of valour is discretion, in the which better part I have saved my life. Zounds, I am afraid of this gunpowder Percy, though he be dead. How if he should counterfeit too and rise? By my faith, I am afraid he would prove the better counterfeit. Therefore I'll make him sure, yea, and I'll swear I killed him. Why may not he rise as well as I? Nothing confutes me but eyes, and nobody sees me. Therefore, sirrah (*stabbing him*), with a new wound in your thigh, come you along with me. (5.4.110-128)

Here, Shakespeare toys with different meanings of 'counterfeit': it was Falstaff's 'time to counterfeit', to put on a false appearance of death. The negative connotations of the word itself

[53] John Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge UP, 2010), p. 14.

seem to stop him in his tracks as he questions, 'Counterfeit? I lie, I am no counterfeit' – an ironic denial, since to lie is to counterfeit. He makes his case for actually dying being the counterfeit, possibly since a dead man becomes a distanced representation of a living man (playing on the idea of counterfeits as both portraits and deformed abstractions). For Falstaff, counterfeiting dying to preserve one's life seems inherently to negate the possibility of counterfeiting, since by counterfeiting death he seeks to avoid it: playing dead in order to stay alive 'is the true and perfect image of life indeed'.

Falstaff's thesis finds proof in the natural world, where thanatosis as an adaptive measure has been observed in multiple species, from beetles to snakes and opossums.[54] Biologist Georges Pasteur describes thanatosis as 'self-mimesis', since the animal is counterfeiting its dead self:

> Self-mimesis (=thanatosis) is shown by those terrestrial animals that, when disturbed, suddenly cease to move, feigning death, sometimes after abruptly turning upside down. The dupery hinges upon the animal's making itself uninteresting to the possible enemy, since most predators only catch live prey.[55]

Thus counterfeiting here becomes both less than life, a copy or imitation of death, but also the way to preserve life, feigning death a vital adaptive technique for surviving against the predators in nature and on the battlefield. The beast epic *Reynard the Fox*, the earliest versions of which date from c. 1175, features two trials of the fox: the first for attempted rape and the second for feigning death to catch predators. The image of the fox feigning death was widespread in medieval animal lore, and continued into the Renaissance – though Reynard's rape of the she-wolf, Hersent, recurs more frequently than the feigned death. *Volpone* is indebted to the 'excellent booke of morall philosophie…RAYNARD the foxe, and all the beasts', performing the iconic image of the fox playing dead with the crows gathering around the body.[56] Here, the roles of prey and predator are reversed, with the predator feigning death as a lure. Falstaff is alert to this possibility as he examines Hotspur's body, asking 'Why may he not rise as well as I' before stabbing the possible predator (5.4.124).

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[54] This is where the phrase 'playing possum', meaning 'pretending to be dead', comes from.
[55] George Pasteur, 'A Classificatory Review of Mimicry Systems', *Annual Review of Ecological Systems* 13 (1982), pp. 169-99.
[56] Ben Jonson, *The Silent Woman*, 4.4.83-91 (qtd. Parker, 'Introduction', p. 16). For the connections between *Volpone* and the Reynard legend, see R. B. Parker, '*Volpone* and *Reynard the Fox*', *Renaissance Drama* 7 (1976), pp. 3-42.

Falstaff's answer to the question 'Why may not he rise as well as I?' – 'Nothing / confutes me but eyes, and nobody sees me' – rests on the unreliability of sight (particularly in a play where everyone counterfeits), an unreliability Hal later confirms when Falstaff appears before him:

> I saw him dead,
> Breathless and bleeding on the ground. Art thou alive?
> Or is it fantasy that plays upon our eyesight?
> I prithee speak, we will not trust our eyes
> Without our ears. Thou art not what thou seemest. (*1HIV* 5.4.124-5, 5.4.131-5)

A similar confusion gives rise to an echo of this first line in *Cymbeline*, as Guiderius asserts, 'But we see him dead' as he, Arviragus and Belarius debate the status of Fidele, who has reappeared at court after they saw 'him' dead in the cave (5.5.126). Belarius's first question raises the possibility of resurrection: 'Is not this boy revived from death?'; Guiderius describes him as '[t]he same dead thing alive' (5.5.120, 123). Belarius concludes they are seeing a ghost: 'Peace, peace, see further: he eyes us not, forbear; / Creatures may be alike: were't he, I am sure / He would have spoke to us' (5.5.124-6). The tense of Guiderius's response here, 'But we see him dead' is curious: they *saw* Fidele dead at the cave, but what they currently see is precisely what they are debating.[57] Ultimately, Belarius falls back on the power of sight: 'Be silent: let's see further' (5.5.127), but with the important qualifier 'further'. Is seeing further possible in *1 Henry IV*? These plays ask what it means to 'see further' in worlds where everyone counterfeits. Is this a question of seeing through (as in past/beneath) the counterfeit as disguise? Or seeing through (as in by/with) using a form of counterfeit or disguise to uncover the truth about others?

Falstaff's 'counterfeit' hearkens back to the final line of the play-within-the-play featuring Falstaff as Hal's father, 'Never call a true piece of gold a counterfeit' (2.4.486). Richard McGuire argues that Hal's change comes from within the action of the 'play extempore', physically deposing Falstaff and transforming his own rants into plainer language. Rather than a parody or burlesque, the 'integral nature of the play-within-the-play is indicated by its effect upon Hal against this background of "counterfeiting"'.[58] Hal thus learns to take on his role as king by first counterfeiting, acting out the rejection of Falstaff that must follow. As Falstaff's actual death goes undramatised,

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[57] The Arden note to this line affirms that Rowe's emendation to 'saw' was 'specious', and that F is open multiple interpretations: 'what we see must be his ghost; unless we see him dead…[or] but we see him that is dead.' (5.5.126n)

[58] Richard L. McGuire, 'The Play-within-the-Play in *1 Henry IV*', *SQ* 18.1 (1967), pp. 47-52.

instead reported in fragmentary fashion at the beginning of *Henry V*, his counterfeit is the only staging of his death.[59] Falstaff does enjoy a theatrical resurrection after his reported death, the medieval knight appearing in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, set in Elizabethan times, but in most critical accounts this Falstaff is a weak counterfeit of his former self.[60] (Indeed, in this play, he is happy with his 'admirable dexterity of wit, by counterfeiting the action of an old woman' (4.6.110-11).)

Like *1 Henry IV*, the three Jacobean comedies take up 'counterfeiting' as a term fraught with early modern anxieties over the problems of mimesis and the accompanying baggage of post-Reformation iconophobia. Thus, 'to counterfeit' means not only to forge or imitate, but also 'to represent by a picture or image' and a counterfeit (therefore?) is defined as 'an imposter', 'misshapen, deformed'.[61] In his preface to *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, 'To the Reader', Gosson seems to conflate the performing and pretending elements of 'counterfeiting'. He complains of two of his early (and now forsaken) plays being brought to the stage by 'impudent' players who 'have got suche a custome of counterfaiting upon the Stage, that it is growen to an habite, & will not be lefte'.[62] Here, it seems as though the 'counterfaiting' is both the continued performance of those plays as well as the continuing lie that Gosson wrote them after his previous anti-theatrical treatise.

Gosson uses 'counterfeit' in the more neutral sense of painting:

> Howsoever they face it out with their owne cardes, pretending that as the Painter in his shoppe expresseth one or other by a counterfaite: so the *Poet* on stages presenteth you a picture of his owne drawing, wherein you may behold the whole life of man.[63]

Of course, Gosson goes on to refute this objection by pointing to poets who, if 'any man had displeased them, to reveng theire owne cause they studied to present him upon the stage, there did

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[59] For the report of Falstaff's death as a parody of the ars moriendi, see Kathrine Koller, 'Falstaff and the Art of Dying' *Modern Language Notes* 60.6 (1945), pp. 383-6 and Paul M. Cubeta, 'Falstaff and the Art of Dying' *SEL* 27.2 (1987), pp. 197-211.

[60] For Steven Mullaney, he is 'reduced to the only stage provided for such repeat performances – that of farce' ('Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the Late Renaissance', *Representations* 3 (1983), pp. 40-67; 64); Elgar described the Falstaff of *Merry Wives* as a 'caricature' of the former Falstaffs (Edward Elgar, 'Falstaff', *The Musical Times* 54.847 (1913), pp. 575-9; 575); Julian Budden found Falstaff a 'pale reflection of his former self' (*The Operas of Verdi, Vol. 3: From Don Carlos to Falstaff* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 420); for Oscar James Campbell, Falstaff underwent a 'humiliating metamorphosis' after being 'more or less violently forced' into an inferior play ('The Italianate Background of The Merry Wives of Windsor' in *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932), pp. 81–117; 104).

[61] 'counterfeit, *v* and *n*', *OED.*

[62] Stephen Gosson, *Plays confuted in Five Actions* (London, 1582), sig. A7v.

[63] Ibid., sig. D1r.

they ruffle, and taunt; scoffe, and nippe; thunder, and lighten, and spue up theire cunning to deface him'.[64] The objection Gosson draws here distinguishes between painters expressing counterfeits of one thing or another and the analogous playwright presenting a picture he creates, and the more insidious practice of representing real men on the stage in the course of authorial vendettas. Gosson's preface makes his concern here clear: the problem here is not simple counterfeiting, but that the play puts false representations of real men forth for judgment. Ultimately, however, any manipulation of outward signs, whether for pleasure or profit, is anathema for Gosson, who writes that 'Every man must show him selfe outwardly to be such as in deed he is', a rigid sense of identity that demands an absolute sincerity.[65] William Prynne's later polemic, *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), similarly insists on strict correspondence between inner and outer. For Prynne, the 'distinct and proper being' God has given to every creature may not be altered: God 'enjoynes all men at all times, to be such in shew, as they are in truth: to seeme that outwardly which they are inwardly; to act themselves, not others'.[66] Thomas Tuke objects to the use of cosmetics, the 'painting of the face' along similar lines. He finds face painting is 'on earth the greatest counterfet', drawing parallels between the injustice of deceiving men with 'a disguised countenance' and deceiving them with 'counterfet wares'.[67] He quotes Tertullian: 'That which is naturall, is the worke of God; therefore that, which is counterfet, is of the divell'.[68]

Prynne yokes together counterfeiting and sin in a passage that revolves almost obsessively around the word:

> If we seriously consider the very forme of acting Playes, we must needes acknowledge it to be nought else but grosse hypocrisie. *All things are counterfeited, feined, dissembled; nothing really or sincerely acted. Players are alwayes counterfeiting, representing the persons, habits, offices, callings parts, conditions, speeches, actions, lives; the passions, the affections, the anger, hatred, cruelty, love, revenge, dissentions; yea, the very vices, sinnes, and lusts; the adulteries, incests, rapes, murthers, tyrannies, theifs, and such like crimes of other men, of other sexes, of other creatures; yea, oft-times of the Divell himselfe, and Pagan Divell gods.* They are alwayes *acting others*, not themselves; they vent notorious lying fables, as undoubted truthes: they put false glosses upon Histories, persons, virtues, vices, all things that they act, representing them in feined colours: the whole action of Playes is nought else but feining, but

[64] Ibid., sig. D1v.
[65] Ibid., sig. C5r.
[66] William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix* (London, 1633), p. 159.
[67] Thomas Tuke, *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women* (London, 1616), sigs. B1v, C2v. For a broader examination of the cosmetics debate, see Frances E. Dolan, 'Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand: Art, Nature, and the Face-Painting Debate in Early Modern England', *PMLA* 108 (1993), pp. 224-39.
[68] Tuke, sig. D2r.

> counterfeiting, but palpable hypocrisie and dissimulation which God, which men abhorr: therefore it must needs be sinfull.[69]

Gosson, too, defines counterfeiting itself as the sin, in the section where he makes allowances for certain plays to be read, but not performed. Performance entails the following problematic elements not present during reading:

> If it shoulde bee Plaied, one must learne to trippe it like a Lady in the finest fashion, another must have time to whet his minde unto tyranny that he may give life to the picture hee presenteth, *whereby they learne to counterfeit, and so to sinne*. Therefore whatsoever such playes as conteine good matter…may be read out for profite, but cannot be playd, without a manifest breach of Gods commaundement.[70]

However, while Prynne's attack focuses on the 'feining' and 'dissimulation', the path to Gosson's equating counterfeiting with sin ironically depends on an actor 'whet[ting] his minde unto tyranny that he may give life to the picture hee presenteth'. To pretend to be tyrannous is more than a presented picture; giving life to that picture requires an actual mental investment in tyranny, a version of anachronistic method acting. The counterfeiting seems not only to present something dangerous that might inspire spectators to sin, but actually forces the actor into a place of real sin through his pretence.[71]

At issue here for the anti-theatricalists is the severing of the equivalency between self and actions, the terrifying possibilities unfolded by people being able to perform social roles outside their place in the hierarchy. Jonson is alert to the dangers of imitation as a distancing from the self in such public performance:

> I have considered our whole life is like a Play: wherein every man forgetful of himself, is in travail with expression of another. Nay, we so insist in imitating others, as we cannot (when it is necessary) return to our selves; like Children, that imiate the vices of Stammerers so long, till at last they become such; and make the habit to another nature, as it is never forgotten.[72]

Outside the theatre, one manifestation of this anxiety was the sumptuary laws, with the express 'intent there may be a difference of estates known by their apparel after the commendable custom

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[69] Prynne, *Histrio-mastix*, p. 156. (Prynne's italics.)
[70] sigs. G6r-G6v (emphasis added). On the antitheatricalists fear of feigning, see also Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), particularly Ch. 4.
[71] Findings in neuroscience confirm these suspicions: pretending an emotion lights up the same parts of the brain as actually feeling that emotion. (See Michael Trimble, *The Soul in the Brain: The Cerebral Basis of Language, Art, and Belief* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006).) The 'fake it 'til you make it' version of cognitive behavioural therapy works on a similar basis.
[72] Ben Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. Lorna Hutson in *The Works of Ben Jonson Online* (Cambridge UP, 2014), 784-88.

in the past'.[73] Middleton's early work is fervently concerned with this new social performativity, from children becoming unrecognizable to their own parents in *Michaelmas Term* to a courtesan playing the role of rich widow so well in *A Trick to Catch the Old One* that she gains the status of wife.

Counterfeiting in Middleton

1586 brought two significant deaths in Middleton's life, one personal and one public. In 1603, private loss and national mourning again coalesced for the playwright. These contrasting events may have influenced the way he staged mourning. On 24 January 1586, Thomas Middleton's father William was buried, his funeral attended by his family and members of his bricklayers' guild. Later that year, Sir Philip Sidney died in battle and his body returned to England on 5 November. An outpouring of elegies followed, as well as a magnificent funeral, which featured elements usually reserved for barons or royalty. One such element was the funeral roll engraving, created by Thomas Lant, which depicts Sidney's funeral procession.[74] John Stow describes this procession in greater detail, including numbers for various categories of mourners which add up to over seven hundred in the funeral procession. Stow concludes, 'And when his corps was thus conveyed into Pauls Church, where hee was honorably enterred, they honored him with a double volley of shot, and so departed'.[75]

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[73] 'Enforcing Statutes of Apparel', Statute at Greenwich, 15 June 1574 in *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* vol. 2, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven: Yale UP, 1964-69), pp. 381-6.

[74]The procession begins with thirty-two of the poor, one for each year of his life, followed by soldiers, then the family colours and members of the Sidney household. Sidney's friends appear next, in order of importance, followed by the ceremonial parts of the procession: two horses, members of the College of Arms with the attributes of knighthood, and lastly, the bier, carried by Sidney's close friends, Thomas Dudley, Edward Eyer, Fulke Greville, and Edmund Wotton. Behind the bier is the chief mourner, Sir Robert Sidney, with six assistant mourners, followed by high nobility on horseback, the deputies of the Dutch States-General, then the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the City is London. Last in the procession are the Company of Grocers and the London Civic Guard (J. A. van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur F. Kinney, *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986), p. 43).

[75] John Stow, *Annales, or, a generall chronicle of England...vnto the end of this present yeere, 1631* (London, 1631), pp. 739-40.

As London mourned Sidney, Middleton's family celebrated the remarriage of his mother, Anne Middleton, a propertied widow after her husband's death, to Thomas Harvey, a freeman of the Grocers' Company. Harvey had sailed back to England with Sir Francis Drake, after spending a year in Roanoke.[76] The couple were married on 7 November, two days after Sidney's body returned to England but before his grand funeral. The marriage was an unhappy one: fifteen years of fighting, often in the courts, culminating in Harvey's imprisonment for debt and subsequent abandonment of the family.[77]

Middleton's mother died in the same year as Elizabeth I: 1603. Anne was sixty-four or sixty-five when she died, Elizabeth seventy. Drawing direct connections between the details of Middleton's biography and his plays (like the recurring feckless sea captains who prey on rich widows that could be thinly veiled rewritings of his mother's second marriage) is critically outmoded in many ways. This is potentially especially so in the case of the playwright no critic seems to be able to introduce without addressing the looming shadow of T. S. Eliot's assertion that Middleton lacked not only a 'point of view', but any 'peculiar personality' whatsoever.[78] Chakravorty's connection of the 'undecidedness about Middleton' to the 'sparse evidence we have for his biography' seems unfounded in light of the significant pieces of biographical information available, particularly compared to other playwrights of the time.[79] Amongst the biographical evidence, it does seem worthy of note that both his parents died in the same years as two of the most prominent funerals of the age. Elizabeth I's funeral preceded the fake funerals in *Michaelmas Term* and *1 Honest Whore*. The third great outpouring of national mourning, this time for Prince Henry, preceded the fake funeral in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. Could the orchestration of the

[76] Taylor, 'Lives and Afterlives', p. 30.
[77] Ibid., p. 31.
[78] T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays: 1917-1932* (New York: Harcourt, 1932), p. 162. Swapan Chakravorty remarks on the ensuing search for Middleton's 'personality' and 'point of view' (*Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 2). For more on Eliot's influence on subsequent Middleton criticism, see Geraldo de Sousa, "Thomas Middleton: Criticism since T. S. Eliot," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 28 (1985), pp. 73-85.
[79] Chakravorty, p. 4. On direct connections between Middleton's work and biography, see for example Su Mei Kok, 'Contexts for Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*', *NQ* 257:1 (2012), pp. 89-91; R. C. Bald, 'The Sources of Middleton's City Comedies', *JEGP* 33 (1934), pp. 373–87; Richard Levin, 'Quomodo's Name in Michaelmas Term', *NQ* (1973), p. 460; John B. Brooks, 'Middleton's Stepfather and the Captain of *The Phoenix*', *NQ* 206 (1961), pp. 382–4; Thomas Cogswell, 'Thomas Middleton and the Court, 1624: *A Game at Chess* in Context', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 47 (1984), pp. 273–88; and John Robert Moore, 'The Contemporary Significance of Middleton's *Game at Chesse*', *PMLA* 50 (1935), pp. 761–8. The most recent biographical account is Gary Taylor's 'Lives and Afterlives' in the Oxford *Collected Works*.

grand funerals of Sidney and the queen following so closely after the deaths of Middleton's father and mother have cued his examination of the gap between the public show of mourning and the inner emotion of grief? The dovetailed dates offer this as a tantalizing possibility, even if only as a contextual element of these works. The very public deaths would have at least put funerals and mourning front and centre as topics of social, emotional, political and cultural reflection, also potentially providing rich material for a playwright who experienced simultaneous personal losses.

An additional and important contextual dimension is the year of death preceding these plays. 1603 was also a terrible plague year: the plague killed over one-sixth of the population of London. There were thirty-six deaths for the week of 26 May, but the weekly death toll had reached the hundreds by July. In July 1603, 1,396 people in London died from plague; in August, the death toll reached 2,539.[80]

Both the plague outbreak and Elizabeth's death and funeral form a backdrop for this upsurge in plays presenting fake funerals. Middleton's and Dekker's own writings on the plague provide more of this context. In their plague pamphlet, *News from Gravesend*, the Epistle Dedicatory refers to 'those black buckram tragedies' (l. 299), black buckram being the traditional wear for a stage presenting a tragedy, costuming the genre itself in the apparel of the actors. The invocation to the muse Physic shifts to an invocation to tragedy itself, mingling the material of writing into the material of mourning:

> ...every line
> That drops from sorrow's pen is due
> Only to thee, to thee we sue.
> ...our ink we'll mix
> With tears of widows, black as Styx;
> The paper where our lines shall meet
> Shall be a folded winding-sheet;
> And that the scene may show more full,
> The standish is a dead man's skull. (ll. 493-95, 514-19)

Here, writing itself is a tribute, as expressive of mourning as tears, a way to bury the dead as a winding sheet, and lastly, seems to be ghoulishly taking advantage of the dead. The skull that features so often as a *memento mori* on the stage, for Hieronimo, Hamlet, Hippolito and Vindice, is

[80] Judith Cook, *Dr Simon Forman* (New York: Random House, 2011), p. 174.

reduced to an inkpot, a receptacle for writers to dip their quills into when ink runs dry, an easy source of writing. The pamphlet goes on to compare the playhouses to pest-houses:

> These are the tragedies, whose sight
> With tears blot all the lines we write.
> The stage, whereon the scenes are played,
> Is a whole kingdom. What was made
> By some (most provident and wise)
> To hide from sad spectators' eyes
> Acts full of ruth, a private room
> To drown the horror of death's doom,
> That building now no higher rear:
> The pest-house standeth everywhere,
> For those that on their biers are borne
> Are numbered more than those who mourn. (ll. 934-45)

Both these sections, likely by Dekker, speak to the inadequacy of writing in general and of the playhouse in particular for encapsulating the horrors of the plague. The last lines present a hollowed out city with the dead outnumbering the living, a situation that makes mourning an impossibly overwhelming task. Middleton's contribution to the pamphlet is much more straightforward, presenting a parade of plague sufferers whose symptoms correspond to their sins. In a direct correspondence that would have pleased Gosson and Prynne, the epidemic makes the drunkard suffer with the symptoms of alcoholism, the lecher's 'leprous soul' 'bathe[d] in lust' by 'sin's hot merit' (ll. 1027-28). The plague becomes a punishment God inflicts on a sinful nation.

Middleton wrote *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinary* toward the end of the plague epidemic of 1603-4. This pamphlet features a debate between personified causes of death, followed by a series of tales that present a strange cluster of false deaths. In the first two of these instances, both victims die after being falsely reported dead. The title to the vintner's tale is, '*Of a Vintner in London, dying of a humour*'. The 'strange wine-suckler had a humour this time of infection to feign himself sick, and indeed he had swallowed down many tavern tokens and was infected with the plague of drunkenness' (ll. 323-26). After a night of drinking, he 'bade that the great bell should be tolled for him' (l. 338). Middleton infuses the tale with the language of the theatre, describing the vintner as 'the best stalker [i.e. actor] in Europe' and the conclusion to the tale, 'within few days

after, he was found to be the man indeed whose part he did but play before' (ll. 338, 349-50).[81] Middleton's early work in particular is full of theatre metaphors but the conjunction of theatrical language and death is especially consistent.

In the following tale, '*How a young fellow was even bespoke and jested to death by harlots*', the women 'gave it out that he was dead, sent to the sexton of the church in all haste to have the bell rung out for him' (ll. 380-82). When the searchers come to the house for the dead body, the young man 'hearing himself named, in such a cold shape almost struck dead indeed with their words, replied, with a hasty countenance (for he could play a ghost well), that he was the man. At which, the searchers started, and thought he had been new risen from under the table…' (ll. 388-92). The conclusion is the same as for the vintner: 'this youngster danced the shaking of one sheet within few days after' (ll. 397-98). The Host reports two possible causes for his death: 'whether the conceit struck cold to his heart or whether the strumpets were witches, I know not' (ll. 394-95). The possibility of the conceit causing the death links back to the fears of the anti-theatricalists: pretending risks the pretense coming true.

The final pair of tales feature resurrections: in the first, a 'shipwreck drunkard' passes out in a drunken stupor next to a dead plague victim, and '[t]here being little difference in the carcass, for the other was dead, and he was dead-drunk…the pest-cart coming by, they made no more ado, but taking him for the dead body, placed him amongst his companions' (ll. 528-33). A continuing motif in Middleton's plague pamphlets presents death by plague as seemingly random, 'for all his lying with infectious bedfellows, the next morning a little before he should be buried, he stretched and yawned as wholesomely as the best tinker in all Banbury…and was drunk in Shoreditch before evening' (ll. 536-40). Again, the tale is framed theatrically, with Signor Jinglespur likely alluding to Shakespeare's play with his comment, 'This was a pretty comedy of errors, my round Host', and the Host's response, 'O my bullies, there was many such a part played upon the stage both of the city and the suburbs' (ll. 541-44).

Finally, the Host recounts the following 'marvellous' event:

[81] The term 'stalking' is usually specifically associated with Edward Alleyn. See Andrew Gurr, 'Who Strutted and Bellowed?' in *Shakespeare's Times, Texts and Stages*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (1963; Cambridge UP, 2003), pp. 419-25.

> ...a man-servant being buried at seven of the clock
> in the morning, and the grave standing open for more dead
> commodities, at four of the clock in the same evening, he was
> got up alive again by strange miracle – which to be true and
> certain, hundreds of people can testify that saw him act like a
> country ghost in his white 'peckled sheet. (ll. 585-92)

At plague time especially, such resurrections were more frequent due to misdiagnosed death. This also gives rise to a curious phenomenon of audience-directed diagnosis. If a man is said to be dead, and revives like the man-servant in the Host's tale, he is now either a ghost, or marvelously resurrected from the dead, or presumed not to have been dead in the first place (like the 'dead' drunk). All these possibilities arise from the same body, and the agency in determining identity shifts from the body's inhabitant to those who tell the narrative of the awakening. If what you 'act like' is what you become – as Kurt Vonnegut warns, 'We are what we pretend to be, so we must be careful about what we pretend to be' – you depend to some extent on the audience to your acting to delineate that selfhood.[82] The four tales from *The Meeting of Gallants* give the communities surrounding the dead or presumed dead an extraordinary degree of power in determining their fates. Pretending to be dead and tolling the bell leads to actual death, while actually being mistaken for dead like the drunkard and the man-servant allows for resurrections.

In *The Nightingale and the Ant*, and the revised version, *Father Hubbard's Tales*, counterfeiting is the domain of the prostitutes who pretend to be laundresses/starchwomen (with all the ensuing puns on stiffening). The starchwoman/bawd comes into the shop and makes 'a low counterfeit curtsy', counterfeit in the sense that she appropriates the gesture of a lady, performing a gesture outside the repertoire of her social station (l. 847). Middleton's mock-almanac, *Plato's Cap*, published anonymously in 1604, refers in passing to the 'many false and counterfeit coiners that will stamp so long till they stare at the gallows' (ll. 125-27). (Stamping refers to counterfeiting coins, but also to the overacting player stamping across the stage.) When the Devil describes a performance of dying in *The Blacke Booke*, he lists the enacted physical symptoms: 'with a whey countenance, short stops and earthen-dampish voice, the true counterfeits of a dying cullion' (ll. 587-89). Middleton here again and again overlays death with counterfeiting, or counterfeiting with death, pairing the two repeatedly in his early writing.

[82] Kurt Vonnegut, 'Introduction', *Mother Night* (1966; New York: Random House, 2009), p. v.

Middleton wrote five plays for St. Paul's Boys between 1603 and 1607.[83] The first of these was *The Phoenix*, written in 1603 and most probably first performed on 20 February 1604. The old Duke introduces himself with, 'Forty-five years I've gently ruled this dukedom' (1.1.7), just as Elizabeth had reigned for forty-five years when she died in 1603. In *The Phoenix*, Justice Falso measures griefs by fees, confessing to the audience:

> I think it a great spark of wisdom and
> policy – if a man come to me for justice – first to know
> his griefs by his fees, which be light and which be heavy.
> He may counterfeit else, and make me do justice for
> nothing. (1.6.50-54)

Griefs here refer to grievances or troubles, legal suits, rather than a particular emotion (the more common usage of the word at the time), but the potential for performance in the word 'counterfeit' is made more explicit by Furtivo's subsequent report of Falso's brother's death: 'The poor pipe was the last man he took leave of in this world, who fell in three pieces / before him, and seemed to mourn inwardly, for it looked / as black i'th' mouth as my master' (1.6.66-9). The joke plays on a seeming mourning evoked by the blackness of the tobacco tar, but is also haunted by the impossibility of accessing that inward space without breaking the object apart. The blackened pipe is the only mourner in this scene, as Falso greets the news of the death with gusto since he is made executor of his brother's estate.

Phoenix, himself in disguise for much of the play, disparages the sea captain Fidelio's mother has married: 'preserve thy mother from such an ugly land- and sea- monster as a counterfeit captain' (1.7.15-16). The Captain's unfortunate wife (whom he is trying to auction off) affirms Phoenix's insult in the following scene, accusing her husband, 'You're no true captain' (1.8.29). In a later scene, still in disguise, Phoenix's exchange with Proditor aligns counterfeiting and metatheatrical language:

> PRODITOR I'll strive to bring this act into such form
> And credit amongst men, they shall suppose,
> Nay, verily believe the prince his son
> To be the plotter of his murder. (1.12.8-11)

[83] While previous accounts of Middleton have seen him moving from children's companies to adult companies as two distinct phases of development, Middleton wrote for the Admiral's Men and Worcester's Men before St. Paul's Boys (*Henslowe's Diary,* pp. 201-2, 205-7). However, this early work has not survived. Contrasting boys' plays with adult plays is also complicated by the way plays moved between the two types of company: *A Trick to Catch the Old One* was performed at Blackfriars as well as by St. Paul's Boys (G. R. Price, 'The Early Editions of *A Trick to Catch the Old One*', *Library* 22 (1967), pp. 222-3).

PRODITOR ....but I will fashion,
Nay, I will fashion it. Canst counterfeit?
PHOENIX The prince's hand? More truly, most direct;
You shall admire it.
PRODITOR Necessary mischief:
Next to a woman, but more close in secrets,
Thou'rt all the kindred that my breast vouchsafes.
Look into me anon. I must frame, and muse, and fashion.
(I.12.20-26)

The slipperiness of identity in this scene, where Phoenix agrees to counterfeit his own hand, is bewrayed in the textual error which has Proditor greeting the disguised Phoenix, 'Come hither, Phoenix' in the opening line, despite Proditor clearly not recognising him (I.12.1). Later, the agreement to 'counterfeit' is recalled by Proditor's outraged reaction to the letter Phoenix writes to the Duke reporting Proditor's treason:

'Tis forged against mine honour and my life;
For in what part of reason can't appear,
The prince, being travelled, should know treasons here?
Plain counterfeit – (I.15.81-84)

Proditor here wants to insist on a 'plain counterfeit', a clear forgery, despite the damning letter being entirely true. After Proditor leaves the stage following their initial plot, Phoenix remarks, ''Twas time to look into thee, in whose heart / Treason grows ripe' (I.12.27-28), emphasising that his own disguise and counterfeiting allows him to look into the hearts of his subjects. His father affirms this, after Phoenix reveals himself, 'State is but blindness; thou had piercing art: / We only saw the knee, but thou the heart' (I.15.179-80), presenting once again the problem of the potentially empty gesture. Here, seeing further uses the art to penetrate, the disguise to uncover, the counterfeit to reveal truth. Middleton offers a positive valence on counterfeiting here as a strategic means to find out what others really think. The alignment of this strategy with metatheatrical language offers the possibility for plays to perform a similar function as 'piercing art'.

To Counterfeit Mourning

The three plays selected from the 1604-5 cluster are not only in close proximity to Elizabeth I's death and part of the ensuing spike. They also present a counterfeit funeral with counterfeit mourners (Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*), a fake funeral cueing real mourning (Middleton and Dekker's *1 Honest Whore*), and a faked death with the pressure on the widow to perform mourning (Chapman's *The Widow's Tears*). The selection allows us to examine this scenario with the primary mourner as male (Hippolito), the primary mourner as female (Cynthia), or as family (Thomasine and the children). Two of the plays were performed by boys' companies, and one by the Admiral's Men, which further allows a test of the hypothesis that counterfeit mourning simply forms part of the mockery of passion characteristic of boys' company productions. Bart van Es contrasts the way 'embarrassing lachrymosity' is mocked by boys' companies to the way 'passion was a source of authenticity on the public stages'. [84] Fake funerals and feigned deaths are an instance of childrens' and adult companies responding similarly, with more complex contexts, contents, and effects than mocking overdone passion. While parody and mockery are undoubtedly present, counterfeit mourning also reveals what can be gained by both counterfeiting and mourning by bringing them clashing together to show what is lost when they are enmeshed.

The deceptive possibilities of counterfeiting through costume, provoking such anxieties amongst anti-theatricalists, begin in the Induction of *Michaelmas Term*, as Michaelmas Term removes his white cloak and puts on a black gown. As numerous critics have noted, he ties the 'civil black' to the evils of the city: 'We must be civil now and match our evil / Who first made civil black, he pleased the devil' – but this black gown also prefigures the black gowns worn as costumes for the fake funeral, as well as invoking the easy costume switch of the stage itself, hung with black for tragedies (5-6).[85] Discussions regarding the power of costume in elevating both the Country Wench

[84] Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford UP, 2013), p. 218. Van Es describes their plays as 'more self-consciously artistic, artificial, and skeptical than the material performed on public stages' (p. 197). This is part of a larger argument that looks at Shakespeare's artistic and financial investments in the public theatre, investments that van Es argues turned ideological as Shakespeare responded to the re-emergence of the boys' companies from 1599 onwards.

[85] 1.1.6n; Chakravorty, p. 47; Peter J. Smith, 'Tales of the City: The Plays of Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton' in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), pp. 513-25. For Alan Brissenden, malignancy springs from the very city itself: the black cloak 'indicates the pervasive dark wickedness of London, the soil from which the play's action grows' ('Middletonian Families' in *Plotting Early Modern London*, eds. Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock and Anne-Julia Zwierlein (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 27-39).

and Gruel/Lethe dominate the critical responses to this play.[86] However, the counterfeit funeral towards the end has received relatively little attention.[87]

Quomodo's motivations for staging his own death might seem unclear, especially given that he hatches this plot on the heels of declaring 'Now my desires are full for this time' (4.1.67). Volpone plots his own staged funeral in a similar moment of static satisfaction after 'all this brunt is past' (5.1.1) and over Mosca's objection, 'Here we must rest. This is our masterpiece. / We cannot think to go beyond this" (5.2.13-14). In *Volpone*, the play also seems over according to theatrical convention, as Castrone and Nano dance the jig customarily reserved for after the performance just before Volpone gives the order, 'Go straight give out about the streets, you two, / That I am dead' (5.2.60-61). Both Volpone and Quomodo decide to fake their own deaths at the apex of their successful gulling, the preceding string of successes buoying them up to play the ultimate trick. Both are cued by a desire to transcend the limits of the present – Quomodo's and Volpone's desires are only full 'for this time', and both need 'to go beyond this' to test out what will happen in a future neither of them are supposed to see.

Quomodo is doubly motivated: delighted by the land he has just obtained, his obsession has shifted from securing possession to holding onto the land for posterity; secondly, he cares deeply about the impression he makes on others, and his plot will allow him to hear the truth about himself from his community. This concern with his public reputation surfaces in his rhapsodies about his newly acquired land, showing off this land to his fellow citizens as a central part of his fantasy: 'A fine journey in the Whitsun holy-days, i'faith, to ride down with a number of

[86] Michelle O'Callaghan, *Thomas Middleton, Renaissance Dramatist* (Edinburgh UP, 2009), p. 26; Farah Karim-Cooper, 'Disguise and identity in the plays of Middleton' in *Thomas Middleton in Context,* ed. Suzanne Gossett (Cambridge UP, 2011), pp. 279-86; Ruby Chatterji, 'Unity and Disparity in *Michaelmas Term*', *SEL* 8.2 (1968), pp. 349-63; A. L. Kistner and M. K. Kistner, 'Heirs and Identity: The Bases of Social Order in *Michaelmas Term*', *Modern Language Studies* 16.4 (1986), pp. 61-71.

[87] Michael Neill describes the mock funerals as 'one of Middleton's favorite games with the supernatural – one that impudently harks back to medieval resurrection plays' ('Middleton and the supernatural' in *Thomas Middleton in Context,* pp. 295-305; 297). Reavley Gair argues that resurrections are a 'hallmark' of the Children of Paul's, tracing the device back to *The Marriage of Wit and Science* (1569-70) and through Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1599), concluding that 'Middleton was impressed by the feigned deaths which had been so sensationally effective a feature earlier in the revival' and thus included them in his plays for the same company (*The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company (*Cambridge UP, 1982), p. 153). The prevalence of similar resurrections in other playing companies suggests that they were not particular to Paul's, although Marston's influence on Middleton is certainly possible.

citizens and their wives; some upon pillions, some upon side-saddles, I and little Thomasine i'th'middle…' (4.1.73-6).[88]

The heady power Quomodo feels after seizing Easy's lands leads directly to his next plot, something he spells out himself: 'how the very thought of green fields / puts a man into sweet inventions!' (4.1.82-3). He hopes to see his daughter marry according to his wishes, to test his son's love for him and above all, to know what would happen to the land after his death, to see if his desires will remain full beyond 'this time'. His thirst is not fully quenched until he knows, as he later admits, '…having gotten the lands, I thirsted still / To know what fate would follow 'em' (5.3.39-40). For Quomodo worries that 'cozenage in the father wheels about to folly in the son' and believes that he might prevent 'that by policy, which without it needs be destiny' (4.2.91-92, 98-99).

The reactions Quomodo anticipates from Thomasine speak to his priorities: he will

> …in disguise
> note the condition of all: how pitiful my wife takes my
> death, which will appear by November in her eye and the
> fall of the leaf in her body, but especially by the cost she
> bestows upon my funeral. (4.2.108-112)

The evidence he seeks of grief is bodily but especially monetary – evidence of his concern regarding his social standing, as the funeral cost was generally seen as an indicator of social worth.[89] While she does believe he has died, Thomasine counters Quomodo's fakery with her own 'counterfeited weeping' (4.3.39-40) – counterfeited because she feels no grief. Instead, she immediately sets plans in motion for her preferred suitors both for herself and her daughter. She narrates her own performance, noting, 'I must seem like a hanging moon, a little waterish a while' and acknowledges that 'it be the part of widow to show herself a woman for her husband's death'

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[88] Middleton returns to this fantasy of the journey to the country estate in his next play, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, in which Hoard envisions his new social status after marrying Jane, who he believes is a rich widow:

> …When I wake, I think of
> her lands – that revives me…
> …But the journey will be all, in troth, into
> the country – to ride to her lands in state and order
> following my brother and other worshipful gentlemen,
> whose companies I ha' sent down for already, to ride
> along with us in their goodly decorum beards, their
> broad velvet cassocks and chains of gold twice or thrice
> double. (4.3.7-8, 11-17)

[89] Gittings, *Death*, p. 89.

(4.3.42, 57-8).[90] At the funeral, Thomasine cues herself, 'O what shift shall I make now? Oh!–' before she '*[f]alls down in a feigned swoon*' (4.4.56-7, 4.4.57.1). While Middleton's stage directions are often of a literary character, seemingly addressed to a reader and to explain the plot, here the hyper-consciously 'feigned' quality of the directions appear in Thomasine's lines as well, referring to shifts and parts. The audience is invited repeatedly to study her playing the part of widow, complicit in her counterfeiting while Quomodo remains unaware.

The stage directions for Quomodo's funeral might also be a product of Middleton's concern with narrative: '*A counterfeit corpse brought in, [followed by] Thomasine, [an old Mother,] and all the Mourners equally counterfeit' (4.4.52.0).* But by staging a staged funeral, Middleton extends his critique of the superficial city with costumed selfhood, presenting mourning in this case as potentially nothing more than a black costume and forced tears. Here we see Hamlet's horror at the ease of performing grief for the player writ large. However, reducing the play to a critique of a society in which appearance equals substance is too simplistic. In this funeral, all is not as it seems. The 'corpse' of course must be counterfeit – but if those mourning believe Quomodo is really dead, why are '*all the mourners equally counterfeit*'? The stage direction here is both literary and theatrical, giving information about the fictional world of the play as well as addressing the performers: a man not really dead surrounded by those who are not really mourning. This fake funeral exposes the truth about the mourners' attitudes towards Quomodo (at first, only to the audience and each other, not to Quomodo): his son thinks he is 'a lewd fellow', and his widow rises from her feigned swoon to kiss her new man moments after the coffin leaves the stage. While Quomodo initially believes he has pulled off yet another trick, the scene turns his counterfeiting back against him. He presents a counterfeit corpse, but those supposed to be mourning a real corpse are able to fool him into thinking the funeral emotions are real.

Thomasine's swoon, '*feigned*' in the stage direction and made explicitly false in her aside, also gets an ambiguous gloss with the Mother's line, 'do not fall like a beast for / a husband' (4.4.62-63). This seemingly addresses the beast-like lack of reason in excessive grief, but as the audience

[90] To 'show herself a woman' means to weep, of course (as Wolsey describes in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, 'I did not think to shed a tear…but thou hast forced me…to play the woman' (3.2.429)). See Dorothea Kehler for a summary of stage disparagement of the lusty widow (*Shakespeare's Widows* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 24-5).

has just been clued into Thomasine's fainting as a response to Easy's entrance, ratcheting up her performance of grief specifically for him – 'Master Easy? 'Tis. O what shift shall I / make now? Oh – *Falls down in a feigned swoon*' (4.4.56-7) – she is also falling like a beast for this new husband. Quomodo is taken in, exclaiming 'Sweet wife, she swoons' and exiting, satisfied with her performance, the instant before Easy and Thomasine join hands as they watch his coffin about to depart the stage.

Mathew Martin identifies the dramatisation of 'the queasy lightness of being at the heart of Jacobean London's fashionable world' in *Michaelmas Term* as the comic engine of Middleton's critique of essentialist conceptions of the self.[91] Martin reads the play as both enactment and critique of Stubbes's complaint about the 'mingle mangle of apparel…so that it is verie hard to knowe who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not', a world in which 'knowing becomes a form of accounting, an apprehension not of the being or a person or thing…but of how they are "accompted"'.[92] If nothing passes show in *Michaelmas Term*, '[k]nowing as accounting dissolves the division between interior and exterior, and self-knowledge becomes merely a reflexive form of the social account others take of the self'.[93] This view endorses an Aristotelian version of mimesis, art portraying a familiar world, copying our ways of knowing things rather than copying a material reality. Goffman's version of the inner self as a copy generated by social performances seems to be the only version of inwardness available in this image of London. Crucially, however, Middleton does allow the truth to pass show through the cracks of the counterfeit funeral, a device Quomodo deploys to confirm his perceived success at social performance but which ultimately exposes his self-delusion.

In the final scenes, Quomodo finds his return from the dead complicated by a community unwilling to accept him. When he discovers himself, Thomasine exclaims, 'O, he's as like my t'other husband as can be' (5.1.130), not calling him by name or affirming, 'O, my husband' – just that this person is 'as like' Quomodo 'as can be'. Easy relates their (possibly feigned) uncertainty to the Judge:

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[91] Mathew Martin, *Between Theater and Philosophy: Skepticism in the Major City Comedies of Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), p. 39.
[92] Ibid., p. 54.
[93] Ibid.

> We are not certain yet it is himself,
> But some false spirit that assumes his shape
> And seeks still to deceive me. (5.2.12-14)

Quomodo denies his crimes against Easy, to which the Judge responds, 'Then you're not Quomodo, but a counterfeit' (5.3.25). After Quomodo admits, '…now I remember me, my lord, / I cozened him indeed, 'tis wondrous true' (5.3.28-29), the Judge acquiesces, 'Then I dare swear, this is no counterfeit; / Let all doubts cease, this man is Quomodo' (5.3.30-31). In order to remove the label counterfeit from himself and regain his identity, Quomodo must admit to his own deceptions: 'I remember me', he states, emphasising that he remembers himself (and the cozenage now concomitant with his selfhood). Abject at the end of the play, set to disinherit his unworthy son, betrayed by his wife, and stripped of his ill-gotten lands, Quomodo falls apart without his role as cozener: '…for craft, once known, / Does teach fools wit, leaves the deceiver none. / My deeds have cleft me, cleft me!' (5.3.90-92). The deceiver without his deception has nothing. He is cleft, bereft of his roles, unable to perform socially in a world where selfhood is merely a reflection of social performance.

Turning to Mirth

Unlike *Romeo and Juliet*, in which Juliet's resurrection comes moments too late, in the comedic cluster the presumed-dead characters revive and face the consequences of their performances. All the plays are marked by troubled resolutions: Thomasine and Quomodo's shattered marriage forced to continue; Cynthia and Lysander stitched back together by his belief that she knew who he was all along; Hippolito and Infelice suspended in happiness before the undercurrents of Part 1 well up in full force to wash away this illusion in Part 2.[94]

[94] Anthony Covatta's overall interpretation finds the ending of *Michaelmas Term* just: 'Retribution is impressively fair in this work and is meted out quite accurately. Those who take unfair advantage are put at disadvantage. Those not responsible for their downfall are effortlessly restored to their former positions'

Parallels between *1 Honest Whore* and *Romeo and Juliet* are impossible to ignore.[95] From the patriarch opposed to his daughter marrying a son of an enemy family to the heroine awakening from her death-like sleep to discover her lover is dead, and the role of the holy man trying to bring the two young people together, the two plays demand comparison. Father Anselmo's goal, 'To turn the ancient hates of your two houses / To fresh green friendship' (1.15.8-9) revises the woeful ending of Verona's 'ancient grudge' between '[t]wo households' (Prologue 3, 1). *Romeo and Juliet* is frequently described as an aborted comedy, and *1 Honest Whore* offers a rewriting of the earlier tragedy with the hoped-for happy ending. The two lovers in this play are able to reunite because, unlike with the rushing Romeo and Juliet, time is made for mourning.

Hippolito's mourning scene comes across as overwrought, the scene expressly arranged for a mourning set-piece by the servant who enters before him, '*setting out a table on which he places a skull, a picture, a book, and a taper*' (1.10.0). When his servant asks, 'What will your lordship have to breakfast?', Hippolito replies, 'Sighs.' 'What to dinner?' the servant continues. 'Tears.' (1.10.23-26) The servant's rather flippant, 'The one of them, my lord, will fill you too full of wind, the other wet you too much' (1.10.27-8) reveals how ridiculous Hippolito is being. Here, the audience is doubly alienated from Hippolito's grief, by the parodic version of previous stage mourners (his performance incorporates elements from Hamlet and Hieronimo, the big guns of grief on the Renaissance stage), and again by the knowledge that he mourns someone who still lives. The audience discovers that Infelice's funeral is an elaborate fake in the third scene, which depicts Infelice waking up from her death-like sleep under the supervision of the doctor and her father. Hippolito does not find out the truth until much later in the play, when the Doctor reveals 'the maiden lives; that funeral, / Duke's tears, the mourning, was all counterfeit' (1.1380-81). Here

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(*Middleton's City Comedies* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1973), p. 93). But even he admits that there is 'something out of tune about Thomasine's return to Quomodo' (p. 98).

[95] While Middleton's name does not appear on the title page of early editions, Henslowe's payment for the play is to 'Thomas Dekker and Middleton in earnest of their play called the patient man and the honest whore' (*Diary*, p. 209). Macdonald P. Jackson's analysis of linguistic evidence finds characteristics of both playwrights scattered throughout the play, concluding that Middleton perhaps drafted a large portion of the play but 'Dekker was largely responsible for its final form' (*Studies in Attribution: Middleton and Shakespeare* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1979), p. 103). David J. Lake similarly discovers forms characteristic to both Dekker and Middleton in many scenes, but again finds a preponderance of Dekker. He reaches the same conclusion as Jackson, that Middleton drafted a number of scenes subsequently revised by Dekker (*The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays: Internal Evidence for the Major Problems of Authorship* (Cambridge UP, 1975), pp. 102-3 for conclusions).

mourning is not just performed, but is performed to a ludicrous degree. Van Es quotes from *Histrio-Mastix* an example of St. Paul's Boys satirising such extreme passion as Posthaste reads a play he has composed himself, 'The Prodigal Child':

> POSTHASTE [reading]: Enter to him Dame Virtue:
> *My son thou art a lost child.*
> (This is a passion, note you the passion?)
> *Oh prodigal child, and child prodigal.*
> Read the rest sirs, I cannot read for tears.[96]

Undoubtedly, Middleton and Dekker participate in a similar farcical send-up of grief in this Admiral's Men play – here modulated by the fake death device rather than the play-within-the-play in *Histrio-Mastix*.

However, despite this spoof, Hippolito's delay, his taking the time to mourn, is the reason he is able to hear the Doctor's explanation that Infelice is not dead. Contrasted with Romeo's rush for vengeance, Hippolito's grief allows him to see more clearly. *Romeo and Juliet* has a prevailing mode of rushing, from the opening brawls to Romeo's swift change of heart, the lovers' impatient haste both to marry and to die for love. In contrast, *1 Honest Whore* is punctuated by the still scenes of the funeral, Hippolito's mourning set-piece, the flurries of action contained in the subplot goading Candido, who resists reaction. Hippolito and Infelice stop to mourn each other and are thus able to be reunited. Hippolito's crazed grief can be reread (or, in the theatre, remembered) as truth, as when he insists over Infelice's hearse: 'I know she is not dead' (1.1.19). Hippolito is dismissed as being out of his mind: according to the Duke, 'he's turned wild'; a 'desp'rate boy'; a '[f]rantic young man'; 'more savage than a barbarous Moor', and even his friend Matteo accuses him, 'you're mad' and describes his behavior as 'fits' (1.1.4, 7, 19, 37, 9, 59). The fact that Hippolito's denial of death turns out to be correct undercuts the Duke's dismissal of his grief as excessive and inappropriate. Mourning, even when explicitly set up and staged, is essential to avoid what Carlin describes as 'the failed resurrection' of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which 'the witnesses assembled at the denouement see not an empty sepulcher but two forever-dead bodies'.[97] In this play, Dekker and Middleton have it both ways: mourning is simultaneously 'counterfeit' (the Duke) and genuine

[96] John Marston, *Histrio-Mastix* in *The Plays of John Marston,* ed. H. Harvey Wood, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), vol. 1 , 2.1.122-31; qtd. van Es, p. 202.
[97] Patricia L. Carlin, *Shakespeare's Mortal Men* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 11.

(Hippolito) in the opening scene, simultaneously ludicrous and efficacious in later scenes; the funeral is both a dumb show and reveals Hippolito's vision as the clearest despite his tears. As in *The Phoenix*, counterfeiting becomes a 'piercing art' (1.15.179).

Given that two of the plays here were performed by boys' companies, and the third co-authored by Middleton (whose writing for adult companies, it could be argued, was influenced by all his work writing for the boy players), the idea of a particular affinity between the mock resurrection and boy players is worth consideration. Reavley Gair's contention that the resurrections are a 'hallmark' of Paul's Boys seems unfounded given the many other occurrences. Even taking recent critical questioning of a sharp dichotomy between adults/children, is there a case to be made that child actors empty out the mourning rituals further, adding an additional layer of comedy?[98] Roma Gill describes the way Middleton 'exploits the satiric potential of the miniscule':

> ...we are still in no position to appreciate fully the satiric potential of child actors who, as they strutted and fretted on their stages, must have had somewhat the appearance of the Lilliputians, if not indeed that of Gulliver to the King of Brobdingnag.[99]

R. A. Foakes has a similar take on the *Antonio* plays:

> The plays work from the beginning as vehicles for child-actors consciously ranting in oversize parts, and we are not allowed to take their passions or motives seriously. Their grand speeches are undermined by bathos or parody, and spring from no developed emotional situation, so that we are not moved by them, and do not take them seriously enough to demand justice at the end.[100]

Bart van Es, using *Michaelmas Term* and *The Widow's Tears* as examples, concludes that these plays 'pour scorn on the idea of love that lasts beyond...death' and more broadly that the 'caustic atmosphere of satire that pervades the children's stages makes sentiment around marriage an impossible thing'.[101] Reavley Gair offers the counterargument that the tentative and provisional nature of Marston's two plays demonstrates the company's consciousness of their own inadequacy, ultimately concluding that 'hesitancy suggests a nervous uncertainty rather than a bold satiric

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[98] Cf. Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge UP, 2005).
[99] Roma Gill, 'The World of Thomas Middleton' in *'Accompaninge the players': Essays Celebrating Thomas Middleton, 1580-1980*, ed. by Kenneth Friedenreich (New York: AMS Press, 1983), p. 19, 30.
[100] R. A. Foakes, 'John Marston's Fantastical Plays: *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*', *Philological Quarterly* 41 (1962), pp. 229-39; 236.
[101] p. 218.

front' and this 'self-conscious sensitivity is used not to parody tragic action but to enhance it'.[102] While the balance of the evidence points towards the boys' companies as highly satirical and innovative, passions in miniature could also possibly be taken seriously. A generally satirical play may have scenes of sincerity, and moments of genuine pathos. David Richman's account of his decision to alter the element of audience knowledge in his production of *Chaste Maid* illuminates not only the existence of clashing tones in the text as written, but also the ways in which the effects of a parodic funeral differ based on who is in on the trick:

> ...the scene in which Moll fools her parents into think that she is dying could achieve heart-rending pathos. Such pathos would result if Moll tricked the audience along with her parents about the perilous state of her health. I could find no primary textual indications – no asides or whispered conversations between Moll and her maid – that the scene should not be played in this fashion. Yet I felt that a pathetic tone would be out of keeping with the harsh satire of the first four acts, so I sought for means of maintain a sense of irony by making the audience privy to Moll's trick. By providing the three intriguers with gestures and actions that the audience would see and the Yellowhammers would not – such as stolen kisses and stifled giggles – and by directing Touchwood Senior to employ a marked parody of a funereal manner, I staged the scene so that it would inform the audience that the young people were engaged in a conspiracy against their elders. Thus the audience was delighted, but not surprised, when the lovers sprang from their coffins in the play's final scene.[103]

The key to these scenes again relies on audience diagnosis, holding up not only the ritual but the very acting of that ritual for analysis. The mocking of passion thus does serious work in the theatre. For fake funerals in particular, we go beyond a spoof of tragedy to potentially learning what caused the tragic turn.

Chapman's *The Widow's Tears* manages a similar feat of echoing and then averting the tragedy in *Othello*.[104] The setting in Cyprus is the same for both plays (deriving from Shakespeare's source – Cinthio's story in *Gil Hecatommithi*). Philippa Berry connects the homophones in the Quarto text of *Othello* ('Cipres', 'Cipresse', 'Cypres' and 'Cypresse') to the cypress tree: 'the dark tree of mourning, death and concealment, that was planted in Mediterranean graveyards, and was

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[102] Gair, pp. 143-5.
[103] 'Directing Middleton's Comedy' in *'Accompaninge the players': Essays Celebrating Thomas Middleton, 1580-1980*, ed. by Kenneth Friedenreich (New York: AMS Press, 1983), p. 83.
[104] The date range for *Othello* is 1601-04, with an entry in the 1604 Revels Office account for a Whitehall performance providing an endpoint. Critical opinion seems to have coalesced around the later end of this range, 1603-04 (Riverside, RSC, Bevington, Norton, Oxford). E. A. J. Honigmann's Arden edition argues for 1601-02 ('Appendix 1: Date', *Othello* (1997; London: Arden, 2006), pp. 344-50).

frequently used for coffins'.[105] The cypress tree was closely associated with death and mourning in the Renaissance, and cypress imagery abounds in the elegies of the period. Spenser's elegy for Sidney exhorts, 'Never againe let lasse put gyrlond on / In stead of gyrlond, weare sad Cypres nowe' (40-41).[106] In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, his catalogue of trees in the Orpheus story, which includes multiple examples of mourners turned into trees, culminates in the story of Cyparissus, so distraught with grief over the death of his beloved pet deer that he became a cypress tree.[107] The Cyprus setting evokes not only the tree of mourning, but might set the expectation for a story of excessive or misdirected mourning.[108]

Critics have described the way Tharsalio plants the seed of doubt in Lysander's mind as similar in operation to the medieval Vice-figure, an association shared by Iago.[109] Both Vices stage shows for their victims, but Lysander is far more complicit in this action than Othello, and needs less prompting to doubt his wife's fidelity. To prove to Tharsalio that Cynthia will keep her vow not to remarry should he die, Lysander fakes his own death, then observes Cynthia's grief at his tomb by posing as a soldier keeping watch. After she has not slept or eaten for five days, he first persuades her to eat, and then seduces her. The couple eventually reconcile, Lysander believing that Cynthia knew who he was all along and unaware that she has failed the cruel test he set for her. The audience, however, knows too much, having seen Cynthia not only fall for the soldier but also agree to use her dead husband's body to save her new love's life. The play makes the audience

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[105] Philippa Berry, *Shakespeare's Feminine Endings: Disfiguring Death in the Tragedies* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 96.

[106] 'The Doleful Lay of Clorinda' in *Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram et. al. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989), pp. 578-82.

[107] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* ed. A. D. Melville (Oxford UP, 1998), 10.86-105.

[108] The cypress tree is not the only tree associated with mourning at this time, though it is the suggestively shaped weeping willow tree that lasted as symbol of grief, becoming a popular gravestone motif in Victorian times. However, Renaissance use of the willow or willow garland is associated most closely with the grief felt by an abandoned or unrequited lover. Mary Wroth uses the image repeatedly in her *Urania* (London, 1621):

> I perceiv'd her lie upon the earth, her head on the roote of a weeping willow, which dropped downe her teares into the Christalline streames, hanging part of her faire armes over it, to embrace it selfe in that cleare glasse. Shee lay betweene the body of that sad tree, and the river which passed close by it, running as if in haste to carry their sorrowes from them. (p. 205/sig. Dd3r)

Viola/Cesario's willow cabin threnody follows in this tradition, singing out rejected love songs. Desdemona's song 'Sing all a green willow…Sing willow, willow, willow' is similarly the mourning of a spurned lover (4.3.39, 41).

[109] Jackson I. Cope, *The Theater and the Dream: From Metaphor to Form in Renaissance Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1973), p.60; Thomas M. Grant, *The Comedies of George Chapman* (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1972), p. 201; Gordon Williams, *Shakespeare, Sex and the Print Revolution* (London: Athlone Press, 1996), p. 188.

unsettlingly complicit both in the test of Cynthia's widow-performance and in another uneasy reconciliation after post-resurrection.

Tharsalio dismissively aligns Lycus's sympathetic response to Cynthia with audience members who weep at 'mere fiction'. Their debate emphasises the question of performance:

THARSALIO: Write all; forget not to describe her passion at thy discovery of his slaughter. Did she perform it well for her husband's wager?
LYCUS: Perform it, call you it? You may jest; men hunt hares to death for their sports, but the poor beasts die in earnest: you wager of her passions for your pleasure, but she takes little pleasure in those earnest passions. I never saw such an ecstasy of sorrow, since I knew the name of sorrow. Her hands flew up to her head like Furies, hid all her beauties in her dishevelled hair, and wept as she would turn fountain. I would you and her husband had been behind the arras but to have heard her. I assure you, sir, I was so transported with the spectacle that, in despite of my discretion, I was forced to turn woman, and bear a part with her. Humanity broke loose from my heart, and streamed through mine eyes.
THARSALIO: In prose, thou wept'st. So have I seen many a moist auditor do at a play, when the story was but a mere fiction. And didst act the Nuntius well? Would I had heard it! Couldst thou dress thy looks in a mournful habit?
LYCUS: Not without preparation, sir; no more than my speech; 'twas a plain acting of an interlude to me to pronounce the part. (4.1.32-54)

Lycus's diction here rebounds with theatrical terminology, from his description of Cynthia's conventional stage gestures for mourning (hands on her head, disheveled hair, weeping), to terming her a 'spectacle', and pointing out not only the physical 'arras' but the theatrical device of hiding behind it to overhear. Finally, he phrases his own participation in her performance as 'forced to turn woman, and bear a part with her', invoking the stereotype of the woman's part as lamenting (as did Thomasine) but also the way the boy actor had to 'turn woman'. Tharsalio is unconvinced precisely because he equates excess or immeasurable mourning with dissembling:

> True sorrow evermore keeps out of sight.
> This strain of mourning wi' th' sepulcher, like an overdoing
> actor, affects grossly, and is indeed so far forc'd from the life,
> that is bewrays itself to be altogether artificial. (4.1.100-103)

The strange outcome of this play is that they both seem to be right. Cynthia's grief, while performed in the extreme gestures of repeated swooning, does appear to be genuine at the outset, and much is made of her weakened and famished state when she gives in to the soldier/Lysander.

Lycus's description of her weeping 'as she would turn fountain' recalls Niobe, turned to stone and mourning still.[110] The stone image comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, when Niobe's mourning turns her into a monument:

> Action, and life from ev'ry part are gone,
> And ev'n her entrails turn to solid stone;
> Yet still she weeps, and whirl'd by stormy winds,
> Born thro' the air, her native country finds;
> There fix'd, she stands upon a bleaky hill,
> There yet her marble cheeks eternal tears distil. (6.306-11)[111]

Chapman's deep familiarity with the Niobe trope can be traced back to his narrative poem *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*:

> Into which eye, most pittifully stood
> Niobe, shedding teares, that were her blood.
> Stone Niobe...
> So cunningly to optick reason wrought,
> That a farre of, it shewd a womans face,
> Heavie, and weeping; but more neerely viewed,
> Nor weeping, heavy, nor a woman shewed.[112]

Crucially, Chapman's statue is anamorphous, a seeming mourner from afar yet, like Cynthia, changing when 'more neerely viewed'. If Niobe represents the apotheosis of bereavement, Chapman demands the viewer look more closely at the visual emblems of representation. Thus, Tharsalio focuses on the performance-laden 'turning': 'My sister may turn Niobe for love; but / till Niobe be turn'ed to a marble, I'll not despair but she / may prove a woman' (4.1.130-32). Couching the exchange between Tharsalio and Lycus in metatheatrical references, from the 'moist auditor at a play' to 'act[ing] the Nuntius' and the 'plain acting of an interlude', cues attention not only to this performance but to the very nature of performance (4.1.48-50, 53). Lee Bliss describes Tharsalio as 'both actor and observer', and in many instances Tharsalio functions as an observer specifically of acting.[113] Tharsalio's invocation of 'many a moist auditor' dismisses both Cynthia's performance as 'mere fiction' and dismisses the sympathetic response to fiction as an unworthy of attention. His observation, 'In prose, thou wept'st', deflates Lycus's highly emotional account, punctuating the

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[110] By this time, Niobe is a stock-figure of mourning: Hamlet describes his ideal image of his mother as 'Niobe, all tears' (1.2.149); Troilus predicts that the news of Hector's death 'will Priam turn to stone; / Make wells and Niobes of the maids and wives' (5.10.18-19).
[111] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* trans. Samuel Garth, ed. Garth Tissol (London: Wordsworth Editions, 1998).
[112] George Chapman, *Ovids Banquet of Sence* (London: 1595), sig. B1v.
[113] Lee Bliss, 'The Boys from Ephesus: Farce, Freedom, and Limit in *The Widow's Tears*', *Renaissance Drama* 10 (1979), pp. 161-83.

'humanity…streaming through [his] eyes' with laughter. The tone of the scene changes completely with Tharsalio's dry response, and shifts to a more playful discussion.

While Quomodo reads his wife's fainting and weeping as satisfactory proof of her mourning, for Tharsalio such 'ostentation of sorrow' indicates insincerity. Tharsalio here taps into a notion undergoing transformation: that the greater the grief, the less display, and correspondingly, the less display, the greater the grief.[114] The Duke deploys this convention of mourning to silence Hippolito, stating 'funeral grief loathes words' and describing the mourners as 'those that scarce can speak' – a charge, as we have seen, that Hippolito turns on its head (1.1.16, 28-33). Tharsalio dismisses Cynthia's mourning in *The Widow's Tears* with, 'These griefs that sound so loud prove always light' (4.1.103).

The Cynthia-Lysander plot draws directly on the legend of the Ephesian widow. Petronius's *Satyricon* features a widow who weeps night and day at her husband's tomb, maintaining her fast and vigil along with her maid for five days. A nearby soldier guarding the crucified bodies of robbers tempts first the maid and then the widow to eat, and the widow spends the next three nights with the soldier. After one of the robbers' bodies is stolen, the widow offers her dead husband's body as a replacement.[115] Analysing the time structure of the Ephesian Matron legend, Dietrich Schwanitz offers a way out of blaming the widow by arguing 'death in the future can only be repealed if the past is revived'.[116] As Schwanitz explains, the 'perfect circular barter is possible because of the double aspect of time in human existence: death turns life into the past, death is imminent in the future; the past lives on, the past dies away'.[117] Again, whether the past lives on or dies away depends on those who remain: the past may only live on in their memories, and dies away as soon as it is forgotten. The predecessor assumes the successor's death, and the successor must identify his future with the predecessor's past – a reading Schwanitz notes Chapman makes impossible by making the predecessor and the successor the same man.[118] However, in dramatic terms, Lysander doubles himself, putting on a performance convincing

[114] See Introduction.
[115] Petronius, *Satyricon*, trans. Michael Haseltine (New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1903), p. 235.
[116] Dietrich Schwanitz, 'The Time Is Out of Joint, but Life Goes On: Hamlet or the Ephesian Matron', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 51.1 (1983), pp. 37-53; 39.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., p. 41.

enough for his wife to believe he is a different person and essentially replacing himself in her affections. To Cynthia, the barter is still possible, as she interacts with two men she believes to be predecessor and successor. The structure under duress in Chapman's version, as in *Michaelmas Term*, is the performed social self.

Conclusion: What the Dumb Show Shows

The opening scene of *1 Honest Whore* also speaks to the potential connection between the timing of these plays and Elizabeth I's death. One of the Duke's dismissive responses to Hippolito casts the body as an earthly vessel, introducing a theme running throughout the play that beauty signifies transience and death:

> What's beauty but a corpse?
> What but the fair sand-dust are earth's purest forms?
> Queens' bodies are but trunks to put in worms. (1.1.55-7)

Elizabeth's body, functioning at the moment the lines were spoken as a trunk for worms, haunts the scene as her funeral hangs over the fake funerals. John Stow, in the 1605 reissued version of his *Annales* (originally published in 1592) described the effect of Elizabeth's effigy: when onlookers 'beheld her stature and picture lying upon the coffin set forth in Royall Robes, ...there was such a general sighing and groning, and weeping, and the like hath not been seene or knowne in the memorie of man'.[119] Taking into account her waning popularity, the mix of positive and negative comment analysing her reign, the legacy of government debt and unresolved war, Jennifer Woodward concludes, '[t]he country scarcely mourned her'.[120] Dekker seems to come closer to Stowe's effusive account of a country in mourning in his 1603 pamphlet, *The Wonderful Year*:

[119] Stow, p. 815.
[120] Woodward, p. 88.

> To report of her death (like a thunder-clap) was able to kill thousands, it tooke away hearts from millions…She was the Courtiers treasure, therefore he had cause to mourne: the Lawyers sword of justice, he might well faint: the Merchants patronesse, he had reason to looke pale: the Citizens mother, he might best lament: the Shepheards Goddesse, and should not he droope?[121]

Note though, that even here Dekker distances all these reactions almost as though they fit into the 'as if/as though' pattern of the stage directions discussed in this chapter: the courtier '*had cause to* mourne'; the lawyer '*might well* faint'; the merchant '*had reason to* looke pale'; the citizen '*might best* lament', the question mark hanging over the shepherd – 'should he not droope?' – hanging over all these responses. When Elizabethan stage directions (which usually remain inside the illusion of the play) feature 'as though', the character is pretending as well as the actor.[122] Dekker here seems to direct the English mourning public in a grand show for the historical Elizabeth. When it comes to the funeral rites, Dekker's concerns are expressed in theatrical terms:

> Never did the English Nation behold so much black worne as there was at her Funerall: It was then but put on, to try if it were fit, for the great day of mourning was set downe (in the booke of heaven) to be held afterwards: that was but the dumb shew, the Tragicall Act hath bene playing ever since.[123]

The funeral here appears as 'the dumb show' with the mourning black 'but put on, to try if it were fit'. According to Gurr, by the time of *Hamlet* dumb shows were 'laughably archaic' and were used 'deliberately as old-fashioned devices'.[124] Dekker contrasts this old-fashioned and empty device with the longer and greater mourning that followed – yet still describes this as a 'tragical act'. The funeral seems fundamentally unable to express the country's grief. Dekker's pamphlet is not, of course, to be read as an accurate account of the national response (made clear by extreme images such as the queen's hearse as 'an iland swimming in water, for round about it there rayned showers of teares', and as the hearse was brought to Whitehall by the river, the 'Fish under water / Wept out their eyes of perle, and swom blind after…the Barge-men might with easier thyes / Have rowed her thither in her peoples eyes').[125] There are also obvious political motives for writing a heightened or exaggerated response.

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[121] Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare* (London, 1603), sig. B2r.
[122] McJannet, *Voice*, p. 125.
[123] Dekker, *Wonderfull Yeare*, sig. B2r.
[124] Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1624* (Cambridge UP, 1970), p. 174.
[125] Dekker, *Wonderfull Yeare,* sigs. B2r-B2v, B4v.

Dekker's particular concern with the theatricality of the funeral resurfaces in *1 Honest Whore*. The opening stage directions allow the funeral to function as a dumb show prologue to the play:

> *Enter at one door a funeral, a coronet lying on the hearse, scutcheons and garlands hanging on the sides, attended by Gasparo Trebazzi, Duke of Milan, Castruccio, Sinezi, Pioratto, Fluello and others. At another door enter Hippolito in discontented appearance, Matteo, a gentleman, his friend, labouring to hold him back.* (1.1)

The procession, coronet, scutcheons and garlands visually cue a highly public funeral for a member of the nobility. (The Oxford Middleton makes this connection explicit by placing the picture of Sir Philip Sidney's hearse on the page adjacent to these stage directions.) As Hippolito points out (and will later discover) all is not as it seems. He remarks on the unusual hurry for the funeral:

> On Thursday buried! And on Monday died!
> Quick haste, by'r Lady. Sure her winding sheet
> Was laid out fore her body; and the worms
> That now must feast with her were even bespoke,
> And solemnly invited like strange guests. (1.1.105-9)

For the aristocracy a delay of several weeks between death and burial was not unusual at the time, but Infelice's funeral (like Elizabeth's) has been prepared for, 'laid out', before she died. Hippolito's uneasiness over this rapid burial lingers in the following scenes, awaiting explanation. The 'dumb show' of the funeral is at first literally dumb, enacting the trope of unspeakable grief, and revealed in *1 Honest Whore* as telling show.

What do these shows tell? Tiffany Stern tells us, 'Dumb shows required interpreters because they were nuanced, and were more than simply narrative.'[126] In this chapter, I have argued that the fake funerals are marked out as nuanced spaces, more than narrative and more than mockery, asking for interpretation. Mimesis as interrogated in these three plays goes beyond the idea that art should imitate life to raise questions of performativity in social life. The performance of emotions in particular incites a potentially shared feeling in the watching audience, while performing explicitly fake funerals creates opportunities to examine exactly how emotions might be performed. Thus these comedies magnify the performative elements of mourning in order to

[126] Tiffany Stern, 'The Dumb Show in *Hamlet*' in *Shakespeare Up Close: Reading Early Modern Texts,* eds. Russ McDonald, Nicholas D. Nace and Travis D. Williams (London: Methuen, 2012), pp. 273-281; 275.

examine both the mimetic qualities of tears and the mimetic positioning of the self. Expressing emotion, literally a 'pressing out', evokes a haunting inner space that may contain a presence or an absence. If '[m]ourning ritual, like tragedy, is a performance of ambivalence on behalf of an absent presence', these Jacobean city comedies not only foreground the ambivalence of this performance but push it to its limits.[127] Scenes of mourning that are in some way counterfeit – whether the mourners themselves counterfeit mourning for someone they are actually glad to be rid of, or key players know the object of mourning is not really dead – examine the performance anxieties that go hand in hand with expressing grief. From Hamlet's famous Hecuba frustration – how can a player express the act of mourning more fluently than his own deeply felt grief – the question of how to mourn shifts to a question of why anyone should publicly perform mourning and how to do so with sincerity. In *Michaelmas Term* and in *The Widow's Tears*, mourning is scrutinized as performance and both the widows quickly give up their 'ostentation of sorrow' (4.1.105). In *1 Honest Whore*, Hippolito's mourning is also critiqued, dismissed at the funeral as excessive and mocked by his servant as he does perform to excess. However, viewing this play as *Romeo and Juliet* rewritten, mourning becomes the key to slowing down the action of the play and giving the lovers time to reunite. The decidedly more uncomfortable reunions at the close of *Michaelmas Term* and *The Widow's Tears* result from the very visible cracks in the structure of the performed self. Putting pressure on performing mourning has ramifications beyond the characters' abilities to express their grief convincingly, instead opening up what it means to enact selfhood. If mourning can be slipped on and off like apparel with no connection to an inwardly felt emotion, all outward displays provoke a nervous examination of what the truth could be. Middleton's treatment of 'counterfeit' embeds this new social anxiety in the nexus of the city, an environment both dangerous and freeing in its anonymising capabilities, a stage of possibilities for people to recreate themselves, but also a destabilizing arena that makes social interaction a series of performances and guarded guesses.

Deaths feigned before their times not only present the act of dying as a performance, but also interrupt the flow of time towards death by rehearsing that endpoint earlier, allowing a peek

[127] Susan Letzler Cole, *The Absent One: Mourning Ritual, Tragedy, and the Performance of Ambivalence* (University Park: Penn State UP, 1985), p. 1.

into an unreal future.[128] The concern rests not with what will happen to the soul after death, but rather the social and financial consequences of dying. Lysander's staged death is a test of Cynthia's constancy: how well and for how long will she perform mourning? Quomodo also wants to test the reactions of his family and community, but his concern is largely with the preservation of his ill-gotten estate. By staging Infelice's funeral and reporting Hippolito dead, the Duke aims to severe their ties to each other with the finality only death can provide. All of these schemes backfire, some comically, some uncomfortably, and some poignantly. Dying, it seems, cannot be rehearsed without unforeseeable consequences. These rehearsed deaths also allow a peek into a past both real and unreal; the real death of a monarch inciting rapid change combined with the staggering body count of 1603 forms part of the explanation for the spike in plays feigning death in the subsequent years, drawing on already constructed resources of the theatre to perform this examination.

[128] Death as performance would not be an odd notion in the Renaissance, as conduct books advised how to achieve a 'good' death. John Donne's death was famously staged, as he commissioned a portrait of himself in his winding-sheet to be hung next to his bed as he lay dying.

Conclusion

‘I hope she has done mourning now, ––––has she not?’[1]

[1] Anthony Brewer, *The Country Girl* (London, 1647), sig. C1r.

Julian Barnes' *Levels of Life* begins, rather unexpectedly for a book about grief, with a history of hot air ballooning. He describes early flights in detail, particularly the disorienting feeling of being surrounded by clouds and not knowing which direction you were going in. Early balloonists developed methods like Barnaby's speedometer, a small paper parachute attached to fifty yards of silk line that he would toss overboard and time how long the line took to run out. Later, Barnes uses these details as metaphors for grief and mourning:

> There is the question of grief versus mourning. You can try to differentiate them by saying that grief is a state while mourning is a process; yet they inevitably overlap. Is the state diminishing? Is the process progressing? How to tell? Perhaps it's easier to think of them metaphorically. Grief is vertical – and vertiginous – while mourning is horizontal. Grief makes your stomach turn, snatches the breath from you, cuts off the blood supply to the brain; mourning blows you in a new direction. But since you are now in enveloping cloud, it is impossible to tell if you are marooned or deceptively in motion. You do not have some useful little invention consisting of a tiny paper parachute attached to fifty yards of silk line. All you know is that you have small power to affect things.[2]

In reading this passage just months before submitting my thesis, I was struck by the connection of grief and verticality, a connection I'd been making and developing with regard to early modern drama. Plunging, overwhelming initial grief that knocks you breathless and stops all thought gives way to the disorienting space of mourning, where you cannot tell if you are moving on or staying still. The shock, the disorientation, the way the state of grief and the process of mourning overlap: all resonate with Renaissance representations of mourning on stage. The differences are notable too: the early modern sense of grief as heaviness, as burden finds no analogue with this unmooring, adrift above the clouds. The perspective from Barnes' balloon is solitary, unlike the communal aspects or the desire for fellow mourners we have seen in several plays. (Hamlet does not mourn alone because he wants to be alone; he mourns alone because no one else mourns.)

Barnes connects the earliest photographs taken from balloons a few hundred metres above Paris to the first photographs of earth taken from lunar orbit in 1968. Astronauts saw the first 'earthrise', as the pilot on that mission recalls:

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[2] Julian Barnes, *Levels of Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), pp. 87-88.

> I think it was the Earthrise that really kind of got everybody in the solar plexus... We were looking back at our planet, the place where we evolved. Our Earth was quite colorful, pretty and delicate compared to the very rough, rugged, beat-up, even boring lunar surface. I think it struck everybody that here we'd come 240,000 miles to see the Moon and it was the Earth that was really worth looking at. [3]

For Barnes, this perspective 'looks at ourselves from afar, to make the subjective suddenly objective'. He credits Félix Tournachon, photographing Paris from his hot air balloon, as the first to put these two things together.

He is wrong about Tournachon being first. Michel de Certeau writes of the way the 'desire to see the city preceded the means of satisfying it' since 'Medieval or Renaissance painters represented the city as seen in a perspective that no eye had yet enjoyed'.[4] For de Certeau there is a 'voluptuous pleasure' in 'seeing the whole, of looking down on'.[5] The pleasure is bodily, the thud of recognition in the solar plexus. This essay, 'Walking in the City', is a remarkable piece of pre-emptive mourning in itself, a piece written in 1980 that describes an 'Icarian fall' from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center.[6]

This desire for perspective, to be exalted, to rise and look down, as well as the vulnerability of that height echoes back through Renaissance thought, through the complex representation of vertical space on the stage. From above, we are at a distance, taking the position of a god, spectators, voyeurs: David looking down on Bethsabe. This fantasy of an encompassing viewpoint drives research. We write about performances that occurred hundreds of years ago by reading a levelled text that lies before us, alert to the dangers and the delights of so doing. Ithay extends the communal scene of mourning ever upward to celestial heights:

> Earth cannot weep enough for David's woes:
> Then weep, you heavens, and, all you clouds, dissolve
> That pittious stars may see our miseries
> And drop their golden tears upon the ground. (1011-14)

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[3] Ibid., qtd. p. 28.
[4] Michel de Certeau, 'Walking in the City', *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 157.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

Bedford asks that, 'Comets, importing change of times and states, / Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky', looking up for a recognition of our importance from this heavenly perspective, earth-wise (1.1.2-3).

In the often-quoted Induction to Middleton's *A Warning for Fair Women*, Tragedy describes herself heaving the heart upwards:

> I must have passions that must move the soul;
> Make the heart heave and throb within the bosom,
> Exhorting tears out of the strictest eyes,
> Until I rap the senses from their course.
> This is my office. (38-43)

Tragedy's purpose here causes turbulence inside the body, moving the soul, pushing tears out of the bodily container to express inner passions. Rather more prosaically, Thomas Wilson writes 'Of moving affections' in his *Art of Rhetoric*, 'Againe, nothing moisteth soner then water. Therefore, a weeping eye causeth much moisture, and provoketh teares'.[7] There is certainly a desire amongst Renaissance playwrights to provoke tears, a weeping audience testament to the playwright's skill in moving spectators.[8] What does it mean to be moved to tears? The word emotion has roots in movement, from the Old French *emouvir* 'stir up' and Latin *emovere* 'move out, remove, agitate'.[9] In the latter half of the sixteenth century, an 'emotion' was a movement or disturbance in the social sense, a public unrest or uprising. The first recorded use in the sense of a mental state or strong feeling was after 1600: 'The king entred into a strange passion…and in this emotion or rage of jealousie hardly contained he himself from killing his wife'.[10] Both senses preserve something of the Latin *emotio* (displacement), whether in political tumult and disorder or the king struggling to 'contain' a rage that threatens to get out.

This thesis has focused largely on actions, on the way emotion moves characters to move. I have also considered the way movements can produce emotion both for performer and for the audience. My overall sense of the way mourning is performed in the drama of this period hearkens back to this notion of displacement. My analysis reveals mourning as displaced in crucial ways across time and space. This occurs in a basic sense in the somatic

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[7] fol. 73v.
[8] Cf. Steggle, p. 98.
[9] 'Emotion', *OED*.
[10] 'Emotion', def. 3a, *OED*.

sense of expression, the body a container for grief and other passions. In *Henry VI*, Exeter fears what Richard may have unleashed 'had the passions of thy heart burst out', while Margaret cries out, 'No, no, my heart will burst an if I speak; / And I will speak so my heart may burst' (*IHVI* 4.1.183; *3HVI* 5.5.59-60). In many of the plays, displacement occurs in a chronological sense, mourning pre-emptively or belatedly. In some respects, this is a necessary condition of a theatre environment demanding a variety of action. *Hamlet* has revealed to us hundreds of years of impatience at watching a central character mourn for multiple acts. But this displacement in time, and the displacement of mourning onto other people, onto the act of revenge, or re-formed as fake funerals speak to a larger looming question: where do we put mourning? This query no doubt reflects some of the tumult following cultural changes in where to put the dead, displaced from purgatory, and where and how to mourn as rituals changed. The dynamic is not as simple as the drama mourning the lost rituals after the trauma of Reformation; this draws a line of connection in only one direction, facing backwards. Instead, grief is performed pre-emptively too, mourning what is to come. This functions within plays: More and Edward II and Henry VI are all mourned before their staged deaths. It also occurs between plays, as the dead Henry V who opened *1 Henry VI* later appears victorious onstage in *Henry V*. Nor does mourning onstage tell a simple linear story forward, progressing from stoic responses to increasing sympathy for mourners. Again, the drama poses the questions by questioning the poses: how and when and where do we respond to death? The plays also exhibit the displacement of this 'where' up and down the vertical axis of the stage, playwrights deploying both the resources of the theatre and the resources of the actor's body, drawing attention to the limits and the potency of both means of representation.

This thesis has argued that mourning was performed "out of joint": out of the expected time sequence, and using verticality in unexpected ways, lowering the body to take control of the gaze and the dramatic moment; framing '*above*' as advantageous even though the confined space is one we know will force the actors to descend. Tableaus of submissive gestures or positional advantage tell very different stories in motion. In order to put these scenes into action, I have relied on close attention to the remaining texts,

compiling stage directions (recognising theatrical, authorial, narrative, and implied forms) and descriptions of mourning.

Despite the admittedly fragmentary nature of Renaissance stage remnants, this project has faced riches rather than paucity in terms of evidence. This wealth of despair is hopeful for future research, and I am interested in following up on as yet underdeveloped trajectories and nascent impressions from my collection of mourning data. The most vital of these include the way communities of mourners are created in earlier plays vs. the solo, more melancholy mourners of the *Hamlet* type, and how female mourning is presented as a problematically seductive pose. My immediate goal is to finalise and make available my database of mourning plays to the academic community as a whole, a project I am modelling on the wiki-style of the Lost Plays Database.[11]

"Expressions of Grief on the Early Modern Stage" has focused closely on individual plays as case studies, centring every chapter on a revealing stage direction and examining the ways mourning was deployed within each play. I have drawn connections to other Renaissance plays, classical drama, biblical examples, and historical contexts ranging from ritual reforms to the poses taken by Elizabeth I in life and in death. My answers to the opening question – how was mourning performed on the early modern stage – have disrupted and displaced neater accounts of both linear progression and trauma, insisting on the ways mourning was represented as dislocated and transitory. This work offers a valuable alternative to seeing stage mourning simply as a response to Reformation trauma, and also corrects the widely accepted idea of an uncomplicated progression from stoicism to sympathy.

Basing chapters on gestures with individual plays as case studies meant crosscurrents played out across the thesis. For example, Tamora's kneeling as supplication appeared in Chapter 1 rather than Chapter 2; kneeling to vow revenge was discussed both in the context of kneeling in Chapter 2, and revenge in Chapter 3; Warwick's 'counterfeiting' mourning worries featured in Chapter 3 and 4. In some cases, material on

[11] *Lost Plays Database*, eds. Roslyn L. Knutson and David McInnis (University of Melbourne, 2009).

mourning surfaced from the plays in question and did not fit as neatly under the gestural rubric of that chapter (e.g., David and Bethsabe's opening love poetry setting a pattern in place for subsequent sin; mourning the nameless; the new night funeral option as it relates to *More*), but was included if it seemed integral to the dynamics of performing grief in that play in order to properly contextualise the more obvious examples.

Early on, I recognised the difficulties of a wide-ranging, theme-based thesis, but structuring my project around the plays turned out to be surprisingly effective. *David and Bethsabe* and *Titus* stood out amongst the mourning plays for the scenes of extended prostration, but the analysis of this gesture also added to the evidence for Peele's collaboration with Shakespeare. Connecting kneeling in *More* and *Edward II* alerted me more acutely to the class directionality of mourning (there are indeed no comets seen when beggars die), as well as presenting a version of mourning as rehearsal and rehearsable. Approaching the first tetralogy from a thematic perspective allowed me to see the ways the development of mourning over the three parts adds evidence to the 1-2-3 order of composition. Tracking different dynamics of mourning revealed the notable increase in fake funerals after 1603. I have linked this proliferation to anxieties over the public performance of mourning following Elizabeth I's death. This chapter also contributed an important section on what 'counterfeit' means across different early modern texts.

Each chapter has demonstrated ways specific actions expressed grief, and the ways those actions are freighted with accreted meanings from past iterations. These plays are full of tears, full of grief, and the performance of mourning both tells of and expels that grief. At times the earth seems as ready to burst with the dead as the characters with their stopped up emotions, from the way 'dead Henry's corse' threatens to 'burst his lead and rise from death' to the 'canonized bones, hearsed in death' that 'burst their cerements' in *Hamlet* and Middleton's jauntier take on the rising dead in the form of fake funeral (*1HVI* 1.1.62; 1.4.47, 48). This 'earth', this 'England', is also the stage itself, the wooden boards Richard II touches as he says, 'Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand', a horizontal

plane with the ability to crack open and allow the dead to return (3.2.6). The dead are metaphorically placed both below and above the Renaissance stage: souls fly up to heaven while bodies remain here below. Mourners must look both ways: down at the grave, up to the heavens.



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