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The Wooden O Symposium is a cross-disciplinary conference that explores Medieval and Renaissance studies through the text and performance of Shakespeare's plays. Scholars from many disciplines present papers that offer insights into the era of William Shakespeare.

The symposium is conducted the first week of August in Cedar City, Utah, and coincides with the Utah Shakespearean Festival's summer season. Three plays from Shakespeare's canon are performed each summer in the Adams Memorial Shakespearean Theatre, a unique performance space modeled after the Globe Theatre, Shakespeare's own "Wooden O."

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The Truncated Passive:
How Dr. Faustus Avoids Laying Blame
or Taking Responsibility

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I n 1943, Leo Kirschbaum, writing in *Review of English Studies*, said, "The Christian view of the world informs *Doctor Faustus* throughout—not the pagan view."[1] Neither the beliefs of the critic, nor of the playgoer, nor of the playwright himself is relevant. As Kirschbaum exclaims, "There is no more obvious Christian document in all Elizabethan drama than *Doctor Faustus*." To Kirschbaum, the "hierarchy of moral values which enforces and encloses the play" is perfectly clear, and "Faustus is a wretched creature who for lower values gives up higher values."[2]

What is this "Christian view of the world?" What "hierarchy of moral values" does it presuppose? God has revealed himself in (an all-good) creation—in nature and in human life—thus permitting human beings to know something of him; yet they disobeyed him (beginning with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden) and have continued to disobey, which has led to the fallen nature of the world. Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection had the redemption of human kind—the reward of a new and better world—as their goal. Redemption is a gift through God's grace, not anything that any man can either earn or deserve. Those who are redeemed, who experience God's loving grace, seek to do his will—to obey him, to love him, to worship him—and to witness to the grace they have experienced by modeling God's love to others. The Bible and church tradition provide a methodology for conducting one's daily life and a procedure for worship. They also serve as guides in issues of morality and hierarchy.

This Christian view of the world can be fine-tuned by remembering that Marlowe's *Faustus* was written and re-written, performed, and published over and over between 1592 and the 1642 closure of the London theatres. During this fifty-year period, Protestant Elizabeth's reign came to an end, and her nephew James I, then his son Charles I, took the throne. The official religion

was the moderate Church of England, but the country was undergoing constant criticism from Europe's Roman Catholic kings and from other Protestant sects, specifically the Puritans, who incited the 1642 Civil War. The rules for conducting one's daily life and procedures for worship were much debated. The Roman Catholics staunchly defended doing things as they had always been done, while the Protestants discarded various practices as part of their protest.

Thus, *Doctor Faustus* was first performed for officially Protestant royalty, nobility and commoners in an officially Protestant country. Even though the action takes place in Wittenberg, a university town in Germany—not in England—it is assumed that everyone there is Protestant as well. Certainly the play lacks the emphasis on the sacraments as the process for reuniting a repentant sinner with God: the Sacrament of Penance—involving contrition, confession, satisfaction and amendment of life—as well as Holy Communion and Extreme Unction at the time of death, which were so important to Roman Catholic *Everyman* a century earlier. Rather, it focuses on Faustus' ignorance or misunderstanding of redemption. In the first scene when he takes up Jerome's Bible, his eyes fall upon *Romans* 6:23, then *1 John* 1:8. He translates, "The reward of sin is death.../ If we say that we have no sin, / We deceive ourselves, and there's no truth in us" (1.40-43).[3] He stops to interpret without reading verse 9: "If we acknowledge our sinnes, he is faithful and iust, to forgiue vs our sinnes, & to clense vs from all vnrighteousnes.."[4]

From scene one then, Faustus rejects the study of divinity unfairly, having observed the fallen world, but not the resurrected one. In the 1616 edition, Mephistophiles takes credit for not letting Faustus read further in *1 John*,[5] but the audience is left wondering how a doctor of divinity could be so ignorant about God's grace and its role in redemption. Paul had provided a lengthy discussion of this principle in the fifth chapter of *The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romaines*; in verse 17, he concludes, "For if by the offence of one [Adam], death reigned through one, muche more shal they which receiue the abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousnes, reigne in life through *one, that is* Iesus Christ." Paul asserts in 7:6, "But now we are deliuered from the Law, being dead vnto it, wherein we were holden, that we shulde serue in newnes of Spirit, and not in the oldenes of the letter." When Faustus read *Romans* 6:23, he was excerpting words taken out of the middle of Paul's three-chapter explanation of grace.

Convinced that sin, and therefore death, is inevitable,[6] Faustus

deliberately embraces sin by invoking Mephistophiles[7] through a ritual which, by mocking Holy Communion and other church traditions, is flagrantly disobedient, disrespectful and unloving toward God. After he signs his contract and is introduced to them by Lucifer, he cultivates the practice of the seven deadly sins, which are destroyers not only of their victims but also of their perpetrator. Accustomed to instant gratification, he glances up the Great Chain of Being and imagines himself becoming a god. In scene 1, lines 62-63, Faustus exclaims, "A sound magician is a demi-god. / Here try thy brains to get a deity!" The Bad Angel in its initial appearance encourages him: "Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky, / Lord and commander of these elements" (1.76-77). It is not Jove, the Roman Chairman of the Olympic Council, that Faustus is challenging, but "Jove-ah," Jehovah.

Faustus' instant success as a magician blinds him to what he has done and to what he is continuing to do. One way of measuring this blindness is to examine how Faustus uses the passive forms of transitive verbs. Full passives give the same information as the active transitive clauses of which they are transformations, but truncated passives[8] allow the speaker to hide the doer of the action from his hearer(s). When I discovered that there were only four examples of the full passive, but eighty-one examples of the truncated passive in Marlowe's *Faustus*, and that thirty-seven of these occur in the speech of Dr. Faustus, I was intrigued. Two past participles, *curst* and *damnd*, are the most numerous in truncated passive constructions: one occurs seven times and the other twelve times. These two verbs have the most significance for Marlowe's Christian view of the world; they also occur, as we shall see, in meaningful active clauses. Thus, I shall concentrate on them in this paper.

Let us begin by reviewing a what today's dictionaries say of these two verbs: *To curse* means 'to call evil or injury down on; to afflict.' *To damn* originally meant 'to condemn as guilty'; then, over time, it underwent generalization to mean 'to condemn as bad or inferior.' However, in theological contexts, the verb is very specific; it means 'to condemn to eternal punishment in hell.' It is this theological definition of the verb *to damn* that fits Marlowe's play.

Some of the branches of descriptive linguistics provide us with additional clues regarding the nature of these two verbs. Semantics tells us that the relationship of these two verbs to each other is the relationship of superordinate to hyponym.[9] The hyponym, *to damn*, is a word whose meaning contains all the same feature values as *to curse*, plus some additional feature values. It is

certainly true that one way 'to call evil or injury down on' someone is 'to condemn [him or her] to eternal punishment in hell.' The two verbs are not synonyms because one is more specific than the other.

Pragmatics tells us that these two verbs belong to the subclass of performative verbs called "Declarations."[10] They are utterances used to change the status of someone. This means that saying the word is the same as performing the act which the verb signifies; indeed, the act can be performed only with words. A clause containing an explicit performative must have a first person subject, its verb must be present active indicative, it must be positive, and the noun phrase representing the verb's object must be specific.[11] However, when these verbs are used in the passive voice, indicative mood; in the imperative or subjunctive mood; or with second- or third-person subjects—as they are in Marlowe's play—the surface structure obfuscates these verbs' ability to perform the acts they signify.

Because modern usage of these verbs tends to ignore their ability as performatives—we say, "Damn it," when the car won't start, using the clause as an expletive—I will examine their role as performatives, in terms of how they are used in the Bible.

In *Nombers* [sic] 23:8, the prophet Balaam asks, "How shal I curse, where God hathe not cursed or how shal I detest, where the Lord hathe not detested?" In *Deuteronomie* 27, Moses, following God's orders, institutes a blessing and cursing ceremony to be used the day the twelve tribes cross the river Jordan into the Promised Land. The substance of the Ten Commandments is rephrased into twelve curses, which the Levites are to proclaim aloud and to which the people are to answer, "Amen." Each of these begins with a jussive subjunctive; for example, *Deuteronomie* 27:15 affirms, "Cursed be the ma[n] that shal make anie carued or molte[n] image, which is an abominacion vnto the Lord, the worke of the ha[n]ds of the craftesma[n], and putteth it in a secrt place: And all the people shal answer, & say: So be it." By saying, "So be it," the people affirm that the agent who will carry out the curse on the violator is God himself.

In *Deuteronomie* 28, there is a list of blessings for obedience and parallel curses for disobedience; both sets use passive jussive subjunctives. The curses are summed up and the agent named in 28:20: "The Lord shal send vpon thee cursing, trouble, and shame, in all that which thou settest thine hand to do, vntil thou be destroyed, and perish quickely, because of the wickedness of thy workes whereby thou hast forsaken me." The *Wisdome of Iesus the*

sonne of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus 21:27 preserves the proverb, "When the vngodlie curseth Satan, he curseth his owne soule." A devout man leaves cursing up to God. Thus, for "I curse John Smith" to be an explicit performative, the first person pronoun must refer to God. If the first person pronoun refers to a human being, that person is really saying, "I ask God to curse me."

The process of damnation is described in *S. John* 5:27-29: "And hathe giuen him power also to execute iudgement, in that he is the Sone of man. Marueile not at this: for the houre shal come in the which all that are in the graues, shall heare his voice. And they shal come forthe, that haue done good, vnto the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euil, vnto the resurrection of condemnacion." Now let us imagine the trial of evildoer #101. His evil deeds (sins) are enumerated, and the Son of man (Jesus) passes judgment, saying, "I damn you," meaning 'I condemn you to eternal punishment in hell.' Here *damn* is used as an explicit performative; the first person pronoun can refer only to Jesus, the Son of Man, since according to the Christian tradition, He alone has the authority to damn someone. Now let us look at how the evildoer has gotten himself into this predicament. It would be possible to imagine him admitting, "I damn myself by my evil deeds," meaning 'I acted so as to cause Jesus to damn me.' This is a statement of fact and an admission of the evildoer's guilt, but the verb is not being used in its performative sense.

The seven instances in which *curst* appears in *Doctor Faustus* bear the inflection for the future passive indicative (one example) and the jussive subjunctive (six examples). The twelve instances in which *damn'd/damnd* appears are inflected for the present passive indicative (six examples), the future passive indicative (two examples), the periphrastic subjunctive formed with the modal auxiliary *must* (three examples), and the passive infinitive (one example). Having marshaled the evidence, we are now ready to ask—and answer—the questions toward which all this has been leading. Can we identify the missing agent and rephrase these truncated passives as full passives? Can we then hypothesize what these passives looked like in their active, transitive forms? And finally, why was it that Dr. Faustus chose to speak in truncated passives? Was it that he did not know who the agent was? Was it that he did not wish to place blame or take responsibility? Or was the agent obvious to everyone involved?

Let us attempt to "un-transform" these passives constructed with *curst* and *damnd*. There is one major concern in the play—the damning of Faustus. Information relevant to that may be provided

by what the opening scenes say about the relationship between sorcery and damnation and about the damning of Mephistopheles. I am going to begin with these topics and use quotations from scenes 3 and 5 in the order in which they occur in the play script; examining their contexts will let us identify an agent and then hypothesize the active clause from which the passive was formed.

Having performed the act of conjuring, Faustus is rewarded by the appearance of Mephistopheles. His success immediately goes to his head. Faustus asks, "Did not my coniuring speeches raise thee?" Mephistopheles explains, "That was the cause, but yet per accident"; he employs the passive infinitive of *to damn* in his explanation: "Nor will we [devils] come vnlesse he vse such meanes / Whereby he is in danger *to be damnd*" (3.49-50). The subject pronoun *he* is used as an indefinite pronoun; it has no specific antecedent. The adverb *whereby* modifies the verb *is;* it refers back to *such meanes.* The context explains what these *meanes* are: "to abjure the Trinitie, / And pray deuoutly to the prince of hell"(3.52-53). This is "the shortest cut for coniuring" (3.51), the process by which a human being gets the devil's attention and by which the devil hopes "to get [that individual's] glorious soule"(3.48). Thus, the individual places himself "in danger to be damnd," but this speech does not actually explain how one becomes damned.

Next, Faustus asks who Lucifer is and how he and his associates, specifically Mephistopheles, became damned. Mephistophiles replies, "[We are v]nhappy spirits that fell with Lucifer, / conspir'd against our God with Lucifer, / and *are for euer damnd with Lucifer*" (3.69-71). A few lines earlier, Mephistophiles explained how Lucifer, once an Angel, became the "prince of diuels." He says, "O by aspiring pride and insolence, / For which God threw him from the face of heauen" (3.66-67). Thus, the context has told us that it was God against whom Lucifer and the spirits conspired; it was God that threw Lucifer (and by implication, the spirits) "from the face of heauen" (3.67). This suggests that the agent in the passive clauses should be the noun "God." The story of the defeat of Lucifer and his cohorts is familiar from Church tradition. Although Mephistopheles doesn't specifically say so, the pride and insolence of Lucifer was shared by his associates; subsequently, all who took this attitude shared the same fate. The same agent could be assigned to Faustus' question, "Where *are you* [pl] *damn'd*?" (3.72) were it untransformed.

When Faustus boasts, "Thinkst thou that Faustus is so fond, / To imagine, that after this life there is any paine? / Tush these are

trifles and mere olde wiues tales" (5.129-31), Mephistopheles indignantly responds with our fourth citation: "For *I am damnd and am now in hell*" (5.133). The context does not identify an agent.

Now let us look at the use of *curst* as part of an exorcism performed in scene 7 and at how both Mephistopheles and Faustus regard that word. On line 76, Mephistopheles says, "*We shall be curst with bell, booke, and candle.*" The fact that Mephistopheles fears being so cursed suggests his belief in the effectiveness of exorcism. Faustus' response to Mephistopheles is a bit of doggerel: "How? Bell, booke, and candle, candle, booke, and bell, / Forward and backward, to curse Faustus to hell" (7.77-78). In its *form*, this couplet implies that Faustus is belittling the effectiveness of exorcism. In its *content,* this couplet suggests that Faustus is asking himself the same agent question we are asking.

Lines 83-93 of scene 7 give us the dirge, the ritual of exorcism itself, beginning "*Cursed be hee* that stole away his holinesse meate from the table. *maledicat dominus.*" Simply adding *let* and rearranging the English do not help us. We must turn to the Latin for the answer we are seeking. *Maledico* is a third conjugation verb meaning 'to speak ill, to slander, abuse or revile.' It is inflected for the present subjunctive, third person singular. *Dominus*, meaning 'lord' or 'master,' is a nominative singular second declension noun, the subject of the verb. Taken together, the two words mean 'Let the Lord revile [him.]' Thus, we see that the agent is the Christian God. This is an imprecation, a prayer asking God to place evil and misfortune on the specified recipient. The friars' ability to exorcise arises not of themselves but from the power of the God they serve, a thoroughly orthodox bit of church tradition.

Now we are ready to investigate the process by which an individual human being is damned. The first quotation we looked at told us how an individual could become "in danger to be damnd"; now we shall actually see it happen. I shall discuss the nine quotations in which the subject pronoun refers to Faustus. There are five in scene 5, one in scene 13, and three in scene 14.

At the opening of scene 5, Faustus, speaking to himself, says, "Now Faustus *must thou needs be damnd*, and canst thou not be saued?" Here Faustus is questioning himself, using two truncated passives. He answers his own questions: "What bootes it then to thinke of God or heauen?" (5.1-3) This suggests that the missing agent from the passive clauses is "God," or "heauen" as a metonymy for God.

Later in scene 5, Faustus is talking with Mephistopheles. Still not quite able to grasp what he has gotten himself into, Faustus asks, "Why? thinkst thou then *that Faustus shall bee damn'd?*" (5.125) Mephistopheles' reply, "I of necessitie, for here's the scrowle, / Wherein thou hast giuen thy soul to Lucifer" (5.126-27), suggests that the "scrowle," which Faustus has just signed with his own blood, is going to be the agent of his damnation.

Faustus' flippant remark, "Nay and this be hell, *Ile willingly be damnd here*" (5.134-35), offers no new clues regarding the agent missing from the truncated passive. He speaks here with some levity—clearly his view of "here" is different from Mephistopheles' view of "here." Then Faustus changes the subject to demand a wife. Sixty lines later, Faustus, talking to himself, observes, "My hearts so hardned I cannot repent, Scarce can I name saluation, faith, or heauen" (5.189-90). He concludes, "Faustus, *thou art damn'd*" (5.192). These lines suggest that he blames his hardened heart as the agent of his damnation.

Having participated willingly in a discussion of the cosmography of the day, Mephistopheles defends his refusal to change the topic, get into cosmogony and answer the question, "[W]ho made the world?" (5.233). For him to answer this question would be inappropriate because it would enhance the power of God, hence subvert Lucifer's kingdom. Mephistopheles' parting advice is, "Thinke thou on hell Faustus, *for thou art damnd*" (5.239). He means, 'Don't ask about what you, in your altered status, cannot know.' Mephistopheles, being very business-like, views the signed scroll as an irrevocable legal document, literally conveying Faustus' soul to Lucifer. If asked about his use of the truncated passive, he would probably point to the scroll as agent.

As Mephistopheles exits the stage, Faustus mumbles behind his back, "I, goe accursed spirit to vgly hell, / Tis thou hast damn'd distressed Faustus soule" (5.242-43). Here we see our verb being used in the present perfect active indicative. Faustus saves us the trouble of hunting for an agent; he states that it is Mephistopheles who has damned him.

Now we move ahead to scene 13, where we find Faustus is talking to himself, "Wretch what hast thou done? / *Damnd art thou Faustus, damnd*, dispaire and die" (13. 44-45). His words come in response to the Old Man's attempt to guide Faustus into repenting "his loathsome filthiness" (13.38) and seeking the "mercie…of [his] Sauiour sweete" (13.42). However, Faustus believes that he cannot repent and that Hell has a rightful claim on him. The missing agent from the truncated passive is Faustus's inability to repent,

which leads him to despair. Ever-handy Mephistopheles then gives him a dagger so that he can slay himself. This is not the first time that the opportunity to commit suicide—which, according to the teachings of the Christian church, is the quickest way to get to Hell—has been offered Faustus. However, Faustus does not slay himself; he continues to debate with himself: "I do repent, and yet I do dispaire: Hell striues with grace for conquest in my breast" (13.60-61).[12] At this point, Mephistopheles loses patience with Faustus's vacillations; he insists that Faustus sign another document renewing his contract with Lucifer, again using his own blood.

In scene 14, the last citations using our two verbs in passive constructions occur. In his parting discussion with the three "Schollers," Faustus analyzes his situation and identifies an agent, using for the second time an active verb in the present perfect indicative: "A surffet of deadly sinne ...hath damnd both body and soule"(14.8). Thus, we may insert the subject from this clause into the agent slot in the truncated passives that closely follow it. In lines 51-52, he says to himself, "Now hast thou but one bare hower to liue, / *and then thou must be damnd perpetually.*" In line 61 he says, "The diuel wil come, and *Faustus must be damnd.*" Incidentally, it is appropriate that Faustus should settle here, at the end of the play, upon this explanation for his dilemma since it directly refers back to the quotation from Jerome's Bible in scene 1, where Faustus excerpted too tightly from *Romans* and stopped reading the first chapter of *1 John* too quickly.

Just eleven lines before Faustus is dragged off by devils and the play ends, he says, "*Curst be the parents* that ingendred me" (14.96). This jussive subjunctive occurs toward the end of a paragraph in which Faustus begs God, "Let Faustus liue in hel...and at last be sau'd" (14.86-87). Then he talks to himself, saying, "Why wert thou not a creature wanting soule?" (14.89). Thus, it appears that the agent for the jussive subjunctive is Faustus himself. As the Bible warns numerous times, dishonoring one's own parents calls God's curse on oneself.[13] This line is negated by one immediately following, with active imperative forms of the same verb: "No Faustus, curse thy selfe, curse Lucifer, / that hath depriude thee of the ioyes of heauen" (14.97-98). Faustus decides *not* to curse his parents but rather to curse himself and Lucifer. Again Faustus is calling God's curse upon himself when he curses himself. Cursing Lucifer is fatuous.

Let us now summarize what identifying the agents has shown us. When the two first meet, Mephistopheles warns Faustus about what he is getting into: that conjuring—abjuring the Trinity and

praying devoutly to the prince of hell—places one in danger of being damned. When Mephistopheles is telling his own story, the agent of damnation is God. The process began with Lucifer's pride and insolence, which led a group of "vnhappy spirits" to conspire with Lucifer against God, to fall with Lucifer, and to be damned with Lucifer. However, let us look more closely at Mephistopheles' method of presentation: Lucifer was the one who exhibited pride and insolence; the unhappy spirits got caught up—somehow—in his conspiracy, hence suffering his punishment. Mephistopheles is telling a half-truth; he is careful not to say anything about his willful involvement. He is not going to model taking responsibility in front of Faustus because he does not want Faustus to think responsibly about what he is doing.

The greatest irony lies in Mephistopheles' emotional speech: "Thinkst thou that I who saw the face of God / And tasted the eternal joyes of heauen, / Am not tormented with ten thousand hels, / in being depriv'd of everlasting blisse?" This speech in scene 3, lines 76-79 occurs before Faustus signs his contract with Lucifer. It describes Mephistopheles' former situation, but Faustus's future situation; Faustus still has the opportunity "to see the face of God" and "taste the eternal joys of heaven," but he places no value on the things which Mephistopheles, having lost them, considers most precious.

The agents whom Faustus blames are several. In scene 5, he blames God (heaven) for his damnation, but God, we know, does not damn without good reason. Faustus needs to look closer to home. Next, he blames the scroll, a lifeless sheet of parchment. Who wrote the words of the agreement? Who signed his name to it? Then, he blames "his hardened heart." Why is his heart hardened? Is not a man responsible for his own heart? Faustus is looking desperately for someone or something to blame. The next handy candidate is Mephistopheles; after all, he is the one who responded to the original conjuration, and he is the one who insisted that the contract be written. In scene 13, Faustus blames his predicament on his inability to repent, ignoring the fact that he, like all men, has free will. He willed himself into the contract with Lucifer, and he willed himself into his non-repentant stance. In scene 14, Faustus blames a surfeit of deadly sins—it is true that by the end of the play he has committed all seven of them—but he does not accept responsibility by saying, "I have damned myself by my surfeit of deadly sins," meaning 'I have acted so as to cause Jesus to damn me.' It is his inability to feel remorse, to repent, and to make amends that keeps them on his record. Finally, he curses

his parents, then changes that to cursing himself. At this point, he appears to be placing the blame squarely where it belongs and to be taking responsibility for his own actions. However, because the last item on his curse list is "Lucifer," his audience is forced to conclude that, even at the point of death, he continues to cast about for someone or something to blame and does not understand that he has asked God's curse on himself.

The parade of truncated passives has facilitated Faustus's fooling himself. On those rare occasions when he doubted what he was doing, and questioned with himself or Mephistopheles regarding his status, he did not think about it long enough to name an agent, make the clause a full passive, and transform it into its active equivalent. By the time he muttered, "curse thyself," in a feeble attempt to take the blame for his actions, it was too late.

Notes

1. Leo Kirschbaum, "Marlowe's *Faustus*: A Reconsideration," *Review of English Studies* 19 (1943): 229.

2. Ibid, 229.

3. Christopher Marlowe, The *Tragicall History of D. Faustus (A Text)*, ed. Hilary Binda (Tufts University: English Renaissance section of Perseus Digital Library:2000) http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/faustus.html. All references to *Doctor Faustus* are to this edition of the 1604 printing, unless specifically labeled otherwise. References are to scene and line numbers

4. All quotations from the Bible are taken from *The Geneva Bible A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

5. In act 5, scene 2, lines 90-93, of the "B" text (printed in 1616), Mephistopheles takes credit for this oversight: "Twas I, that when thou wer't i'the way to heauen, / Damb'd vp thy passage, when thou took'st the booke, / To view the Scriptures, then I turn'd the leaues/ And led thine eye." Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragedie of Doctor Faustus (B Text)*, ed. Hilary Binda, (Tufts University: English Renaissance section of Perseus Digital Library:2000). http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/faustus.html.

6. Scene 1, lines 44-45.

7. In *Leuiticus* 20:6, God tells Moses to say to the Israelites, "If anie turne after suche as worke with spirits, & after sothesaiers, to go a whoring after them, then wil I set my face against that persone, and wil cut him of from among his people." Earlier in *Leuiticus* 19:31, God had instructed Moses to say, "Ye shal not regarde them that worke w[ith] spirits, nether sothesaiers: ye shal not seke *to them* to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God." Dr. Faustus precisely disobeys this injunction; he defiles himself and in the end is "cut...off from among his people."

8. Anita K. Barry. *English Grammar: Language as Human Behavior* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.: 2002), 139.

9. Frank Parker and Kathryn Riley, *Linguistics for Non-Linguists* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 38.

10. Stephen C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991), 241. Declarations are "institutionally-based illocutions like christening,

pronouncing man and wife, finding guilty and the like, which require the full panoply of the relevant social arrangements." This dependence on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions, criticized by some linguists, validates the way this label is used within this paper.

11. Parker and Riley, *Linguistics*, 20.

12. It is curious to see Faustus talking familiarly of "grace" at this point. What does he mean by it? Has he now remembered what scene 1 showed him forgetting?

13. *Exodus* 21:17, *Leviticus* 20:9, *Deuteronomy* 27:16, *Proverbs* 20:20, *Proverbs* 30:11, *Matthew* 15:4, *Mark* 7:10. In chapter 2 of *Iob*, his wife says "Blaspheme God and dye." Instead, in chapter 3, Job curses the day of his birth and the night of his conception—not the parents that gave birth to him—and remains blameless.

On Fashionable Education and the Art of Rhetoric: Reflections of a Not-Indifferent Student in *Love's Labour's Lost*

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As in the case of *The Taming of the Shrew*, the conventional Renaissance conflict between the attractions of sex and study is evoked at the start of *Love's Labour's Lost* and, similarly, as the latter's plot unfolds (in the true spirit of romantic comedy), love wins out persistently over learning as the healthy and natural focus of the young and vital. Still, the love relationships of *Love's Labour's Lost* (with the possible exception of the Berowne/Rosaline intrigue) seem, when compared to those of Shakespeare's other comedies, uncharacteristically shallow, or at least minimally developed, while the implicit debate over the proper fashioning of young men for effective court and public life—and especially the proper training of them in the art of rhetoric, or courteous and persuasive discourse—is more or less continuously sustained in the dialogue.

This paper will attempt to distill the play's subtext of commentary on the state of English education. In effect, the author (perhaps the greatest success story of Elizabeth's humanist educational reforms and of a system that was offering unprecedented opportunities to lads of middling socio-economic status) takes a hard—at times critical, at times loving—look at the language arts curriculum that was then being rigorously promoted in the grammar schools, the universities, and the Inns of Court. With the help of current historical scholarship, I shall seek to describe this curriculum accurately and, from the testimony of the play text, to chart where discernible Shakespeare's posture and attitudes in relation to it. Finally, what a man thinks about education seems to me of not-negligible relevance to his overall world view and life philosophy. Perhaps some insight into the character and values of Shakespeare—the ultimate mystery man—may be gleaned from the internal evidence provided by this under-appreciated play.

The controversy over the extent of Shakespeare's education has, of course, raged more or less continuously since Ben Jonson's notorious reference (amid an otherwise glowing First Folio tribute) to the bard's "small *Latine*, and lesse Greeke." As T. W. Baldwin remarked at the start of his exhaustive and still definitive survey of the sixteenth-century culture of scholarship that Shakespeare was born into, "A brilliant aphorism is a dangerous thing."[1] Taken out of context, Jonson's apparent dismissal of his rival's learning, together with his supposed emphasis on Shakespeare's peerless sympathy with Nature, effectively spearheaded the romantic characterization that prevailed for the next three centuries: Shakespeare the poet of nature, the naturally gifted, self-taught genius, whose heightened, superhuman sensitivity and receptivity to the world enabled him to take in—osmosis-like—everything he needed to know and, in fact, everything there is to know, about life.

The notion persists today. No doubt we all continue, at some level, and to some degree, to buy into it. And in fact, anyone who has had any real experience with formal education knows that it cannot perform miracles: no set program, no strict system, no distinct methodology of instruction, however progressive or enlightened, could have alone produced that infinitely fertile and flexible, transcendent mind. Nonetheless, it seems simply obtuse not to acknowledge the very significant role that rigorous formative training in the language arts must have had in Shakespeare's development as a poet and dramatist. Classical purists like J. A. K. Thomson have continued to maintain that by Jonson's standards, and by the university standards of the time, Shakespeare was indeed an indifferent or even a poor scholar.[2] After all, we have no definite record of his attending, let alone graduating from, the Stratford grammar school (it has been merely speculatively assumed for centuries that he must have); and through the lens of Thomson's aggressive skepticism, most of the allusions and verbal parallels taken for evidence that the bard knew his Latin authors prove tenuous and unconvincing.

It does not follow, Thomson insists, that Shakespeare knew Mantuan (i.e., Johannes Baptista Spagnuoli, 1448-1516) well simply because his pedant character, Holofernes, misquotes the first line of Mantuan's first Eclogue (a standard text in the lower forms [i.e., grades] of the grammar schools). Thomson argues that much of Shakespeare's classical content could have been gleaned from the English literature of his time (which was full of classical references and lore), from recent English translations like Golding's

Ovid (1567) or North's Plutarch (1579) (which the playwright certainly utilized),[3] and from popular collections of Latin proverbs like Erasmus's *Adages* or the *Pueriles Sententiae* (a distillation of seminal maxims from diverse classical authors), which Elizabethan schoolboys were routinely forced to memorize.[4]

In the most current (2004) assessment, however, Colin Burrow has cited Thomson as a notable exception to the now firmly orthodox opinion extending from Baldwin, that "Shakespeare read more Latin at school than most classics undergraduates do at university today" and was "by modern standards a learned author."[5] Even if his direct knowledge of the Latin and Greek classics can be challenged, and even if the extent of his formal schooling remains unprovable, the play texts themselves demonstrate mastery of such a rich range of verbal formulas, strategies, figures, and tropes as to imply strongly, if not to confirm absolutely, the deliberate rhetorical training that formed the heart of the Elizabethan school curriculum. As Baldwin observed,

> William Shakespere was trained in the heroic age of grammar school rhetoric in England, and he shows his knowledge of the complete system, in its most heroic proportions. He shows a grasp of the theory as presented by the various texts through Quintilian. He shows a corresponding grasp upon all the compositional forms of prose for which the theory prepared. And this is true whether or not Shakespere ever went to school a day. Manifestly, the sensible thing to do is to permit him to complete Stratford grammar school, and there is every reason to believe that he did.[6]

Of course, the grammar school in Elizabethan England— especially the relatively inclusive, provincial type that Will Shakespeare, as the son of a glover, might have had access to— was a fairly recent phenomenon. It had evolved out of the extremely vital and transformative educational movement initiated by the earlier (Continental and) Tudor humanists. Originally, the focus had been on improving the leisure class. As social historian J. H. Hexter has observed, "In the sixteenth century there was a great deal of complaint about the education of the aristocracy and . . . the Jeremiahs of the time were all saying pretty much the same thing. The well-born were ignorant, they were indifferent [or even hostile] to learning, and they preferred to stay that way." Gentlemen were investing too much of their time and interest in vain, macho pastimes like hunting, hawking, and duelling. They counted fashionable dancing, "dress, dining, drinking, and gadding about"

as "noble attainments," and thought that (in the words of one anonymous period commentator) "the study of letters was for rustics."[7]

Shakespeare clearly participated in the general humanist complaint against the undereducated nobility with their decadent, mindless indulgences, their courtly pretensions, and their snobbish anti-intellectualism. One need only consider Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek of *Twelfth Night* as satirical types—the one lazy, care-less, and eternally sodden; the other aspiring (pathetically) to woo a lady, "cut a caper," and further his reputation as "a great quarreller"—both superfluous gentlemen, neither of much use to his king or country. Notwithstanding Toby's specious claim that his friend (and victim) "plays o' th' viol-de-gamboys [a primitive cello], and speaks three or four languages word for word without book [i.e., he has memorized a few foreign phrases in the hope of impressing polite company]" (1.3.25-27),[8] Sir Andrew's self-rebuke says it all: "What is *pourquoi*? Do, or not do? I would I had bestowed that time in the tongues that I have in fencing, dancing, and bear-baiting. O, had I but followed the arts!" (1.3.90-93).

Again, the meteoric rise of the English grammar school as a sixteenth-century institution was clearly tied to broader humanist efforts to reform (what was at least perceived to be) an embarrassingly ignorant and uncultivated aristocracy. Modeled after the amazingly ambitious and famously successful experiment of St. Paul's School in London (founded by John Colet in 1509, but notably shaped by Colet's close friend, the great Dutch humanist, Erasmus), the grammar school proliferated throughout England in the course of the century, becoming an increasingly prominent and prized fixture of both town and country life. Also during this period, an entire genre of book dedicated to the education of children emerged. The trend began with the publication of Erasmus's *De ratione studii* (*On the Method of Study*—c. 1512, which served as a virtual blueprint for the St. Paul's curriculum and methods),[9] his *De pueris instituendis* (*The Education of Children*—1529), and Englished versions of classical models such as Thomas Elyot's *The Education or Bringing Vp of Children translated out of Plutarche* (c. 1633). Early- and mid-century native English examples, like Elyot's *The Governor* (1531) and Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster* (1570), tended to focus on preparing the young well-to-do for effective leadership and service to the state,[10] while with the gradual democratization of the grammar schools, some later specimens of the type (e.g., William Kempe's *The Education of Children in Learning* [1588] and John Brinsley's *Lvdvs Literarivs: or The Grammar*

Schoole [1612]) catered more broadly to the common student. That solid competence in Latin grammar and rhetoric was the foundation of any legitimate program of study, and would naturally translate into vernacular eloquence, was the assumption, if not the explicit contention, of them all.[11]

It is not clear that there was any direct correlation between the persistent protests of the humanist intelligentsia to a perceived decline in upper-class literacy, the flood of deliberately corrective literature they produced, and the actual change in societal attitudes that apparently occurred; but as Hexter remarks, "Beginning some time in the reign of Henry VIII, the scions of the titled nobility of England swarm into those citadels of clerkly training, the English universities." The former presumption that learning was the province of a beggarly clergy and that nobles should follow more active and sanguine pursuits had been replaced by "the proposition that all gentlemen worthy of the name must be clerks, deep in learning and intellectual virtues."[12] The King and his three courtly cohorts in *Love's Labour's Lost* are, of course, noblemen of this later-sixteenth-century stamp—all reasonably adept rhetoricians from the start (albeit still rather foolish men), clearly products of the superb early speech and language training by then readily available either in the grammar schools or through private tutoring. Their ambition to continue their development in the rarefied atmosphere of a proposed "little academe" reflects, perhaps, something of the actual upper-class university fever of the time that Hexter has documented.

One can only speculate, of course, about Shakespeare's attitude toward his college-educated friends and acquaintances and toward the University Wits who were his chief literary and professional rivals; but there seems to be more than a touch of bemused satire in the opening portrait of these naive, not-particularly-scholarly-by-nature men, who, in their intense self-consciousness and intellectual vanity, presume they might elude "cormorant devouring time" and purchase an eternal fame through the pursuit of higher learning. Clearly, we are meant to see immediately (and Berowne's internal resistance serves to confirm) that there is something out of balance, something inherently antisocial (even antifeminist and homosocial, hence the Princess's bitter knee-jerk response?), about the insulated all-male academic community that the King and company aspire to form. It is as if Shakespeare were commenting on the new fashion of learning among the elite. The aristocracy, now duly (or at least superficially) educated, are no longer as rough and uncultivated as they once were. In fact, there may be a growing

social concern (which Shakespeare projects into his play) that the pendulum has shifted too far the other way—that boorishness and blank ignorance have been replaced by foppishness and learned affectation, that the English nobility have been subtly unmanned in the process of being reformed. After all, this is a play wherein the elite men—too voluble and witty for their own good—finally prove unworthy, and are essentially rejected (a very unorthodox ending for a comedy).

If Shakespeare is indeed toying with the notion that too much education could have an emasculating effect, this might help to explain the play's many references to Hercules, who (in Ovid's portrayal) was the archetypal man of action, not words (the same to whom the articulate scholar, Hamlet [in his own mind, at least] pales by comparison).[13] It may also inform the rather unconventional hunting scenes (4.1-2) in which the naturally assertive, but nonetheless genteel, Princess assumes (with comic reluctance) her awkward role as huntress[14] (by apparent default of the men?). Indeed, she is later credited with the only confirmed kill, while it is never actually clear that the men even participate. In fact, later events suggest that they had all withdrawn (perhaps to their private studies, before the hunt began) to write sonnets! O pride of manhood, where is thy shame?

But to return to the humbler topic of formative childhood education, of which Shakespeare, a presumed alumnus of the "King's Free Grammar School" at Stratford, should have had some direct knowledge: even at the superficial level of imagery, references to the common experience of Elizabethan schoolboys abound in *Love's Labour's Lost.* The bard, like many another English lad of his day, would have begun his formal language training at the age of six with his *hornbook*—a tablet-like rectangle of wood, to which was fixed a parchment leaf containing "alphabets, large and small," perhaps a table of "vowells and syllables . . . and the Lord's Prayer," protected by a clear, more-or-less waterproof layer of horn.[15] In act 5, scene 1, Moth introduces the schoolmaster Holofernes appropriately as one who "teaches boys the hornbook" (line 44), then uses the primitive teaching tool as the basis for his subsequent riddle and jest:

> *Moth*:   What is a,
>   b, spelt backward with the horn on his head?
> *Holofernes*: Ba, *pueritia* [childishness], with a horn added.
> *Moth*:   Ba, most silly sheep with a horn. —You hear his
>   learning. (5.1.44-48)[16]

Later, adding to Rosaline's cynical commentary on Berowne's

encomiastical verses, the Princess and Katherine remark that they are "beauteous as ink. . . . Fair as a text B in a copy-book" (5.2.41-42). Copy-books were elegant penmanship manuals, of which Beau Chesne's *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands* (1570) was the first English example.[17] What the women mean is that there is little more to Berowne's words than the ink on the page (i.e., the emotional content cannot be trusted), that the performance, though seemingly polished, compares to a child's mindless, slavish copying of letters from a set (and perhaps second rate—a B-text) model; Berowne's seductive rhetoric of praise is thus dismissed as a passionless, mechanical imitation of the hackneyed Petrarchan type.

Again, Holofernes rails against "such rackers of orthography" as Don Adriano de Armado, who renders "'dout', *sine* [i.e., without] 'b', when he should say 'doubt'; 'det', when he should pronounce 'debt'—'d, e, b, t', not 'd, e, t'" (5.1.19-21). One suspects that the nebulousness and idiosyncrasy of English spelling in pre-Johnsonian times must have exasperated schoolboys and playwrights alike. In order to rectify the problem, educational reformers like John Hart, author of *Orthographie* (1569), and William Bullokar, author of *The Book at Large* (1580), proposed new spelling systems whereby the word as written might be brought into clearer and more consistent accord with its common pronunciation.[18] But as Keir Elam remarks, "The irony of Holofernes's borrowing is that he perfectly reverses the principles of Bullokar and the other spelling reformers. . . . [The] *absolute authority of sound* becomes for Holofernes the *absolute tyranny of writing*, especially in the case of latinate words: it is speech that has to obey the dictates of spelling."[19] Obviously, Shakespeare himself knew better than to fight the irresistible tide of usage as Holofernes attempts to do here. Still, the dramatist shrewdly recognized the ridiculous preoccupation with (and anxiety over?) correct spelling and speech that grammar school culture might easily inspire—especially in the naturally compulsive personality.

The "orthography" passage is just one of many that serve to establish Holofernes's close relation to the foolish pedant type of the *commedia dell' arte*.[20] In the broader sense, he fits the mold perfectly. He quibbles over straws and strives to impress (and to cover his limited knowledge?) with classical name-dropping and textbook jargon (as in his "orthography" tirade or when he speciously complains that Nathaniel has botched the reading of Berowne's sonnet by failing to observe "the apostrophus" [4.2.120]). It is the very habit of this schoolmaster's being to adopt a public posture of authority and to correct others constantly,

particularly on the finer points, be they of grammar or of deer hunting. He is relentlessly critical, yet we gain no confidence in his discernment, as the criteria on which he bases his complaints and protestations remain vague and/or obtuse. Most of his judgments seem driven by a kind of professional or competitive jealousy, as when he summarily dismisses Berowne's rather good sonnet as "only numbers ratified [i.e., metrically correct], but for the elegancy, facility and golden cadence of poesy, *caret* [it is lacking]" (4.2.121-22), or when he censures (however justly) an absent Armado for "draw[ing] out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument [i.e., being wordily vacuous]" (5.1.16-17). Our response seems likely to be, "Physician, heal thyself!"

While critical of others (surely more out of habit, or a deeper insecurity, than out of real malice), Holofernes seems, simultaneously, at the surface, remarkably self-satisfied. He takes great delight and pride in his supposed cleverness and intellect, as demonstrated, for instance, in (what must strike *us* as) his embarrassingly stilted and artificial "extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer" (4.2.56-61). The pedant's tendency, here and elsewhere, is to fixate on a single rhetorical principle and simply *beat it to death*—as in this specific case of appallingly strained alliteration or in his more general (but no less immoderate) pursuit of copious diction (more on this later). The sad (or rather comic) truth of the matter is that he is intellectually incapable of assimilating and/or synthesizing the enormous system of codified rhetoric that he aspires to practice and teach. Still, Holofernes fancies himself a much more dimensional (and effective) thinker and ingenious wordsmith than he actually is. Drawn out from his usual guarded posture of false humility by Nathaniel's flattery, he confesses cognizance of "a gift that I have . . . a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions. . . . begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater* [i.e., "one of the membranes protecting the brain"][21] and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion. . . . I am thankful for it" (4.2.65-71), he adds. Actually, as Thomson and a host of critics and editors have observed, in practice Holofernes's memory is just not that good,[22] as his misnomers, his misquoting of Mantuan, and his numerous Latin errors[23] persistently indicate. And in fact, the quality that he most celebrates in poets, and implicitly in himself (as the rhapsodical account of his creative process above attests)—the power of invention—is the same of which he proves most consistently and

conspicuously deficient. Alas, self-knowledge is not his strong point.

In Holofernes, Shakespeare exploits the obvious ironic potential of a rather vain man who critiques others, but is himself notably error-prone. The schoolmaster's narrow-mindedness and intellectual rigidity, indeed his marginal competence as a rhetorician and scholar, are regularly revealed in his discourse. Nevertheless, on closer and fuller inspection, he proves *so much more* than a mere pedant, and it is, of course, in this breaking of the type that Shakespeare most clearly demonstrates his genius for characterization. For example, Holofernes (in spite of his Biblical namesake) is manifestly not the tyrant figure and child-beater that audiences of the time were probably expecting to see in a typical schoolmaster. One could perhaps charge him with being verbally abusive, as when he chastises Dull for twice mistaking "*haud credo*" (Latin for "I do not believe it")[24] for "auld grey doe" and insisting that the deer the Princess killed "'twas a pricket" [a "buck in its second year"] (4.2.11-12; 20-21). "Twice-sod [i.e., "boiled"] simplicity, *bis coctus* ["twice cooked"]!" Holofernes exclaims. "O, thou monster Ignorance, how deformed dost thou look!" (4.2.22-23). Still, this pedant's bark is much worse than his bite; in fact, his first impulse is (rather generously) to excuse and rationalize (albeit in a patronizing way) the constable's miscue:

> Most barbarous intimation ["annoucement"]! Yet a kind of insinuation ["introduction to a speech"], as it were, *in via*, in way, of explication ["detailed . . . description"], *facere* ["to make"], as it were, replication ["reply"], or rather *ostentare*, to show, as it were, his inclination, after his undressed ["unkempt"], unpolished, uneducated, unpruned ["unrestrained"], untrained, or rather unlettered, or ratherest unconfirmed ["uninstructed"] fashion, to insert ["thrust in"] again my *haud credo* for a deer. (4.2.13-19)

If the exchange provides any indication of his classroom manner (as I believe it does), Holofernes, even amid his reproofs, seems prone to look for—and discover—good intentions (and even sound reasons) in his students' mistakes. He is disposed to see the best in people (perhaps an extension of his attitude toward himself)— and especially in the weakest, the least capable, the most ego-challenged. Thomson calls him a "humbug,"[25] but he is a remarkably humane humbug when it comes right down to it.

In short, one senses a palpable element of underlying humanity and good will in Holofernes's character. His creator no doubt had, as most of us do, a soft spot in his heart for one or another

of his former teachers, and he probably (as was his common practice?) deliberately integrated the stage stereotype with something of his experience with real men[26]—and with the literary portrait of the *ideal* schoolmaster as propounded by the Humanists. Roger Ascham, after all (in *The Schoolmaster*), had consistently maintained (against the prevailing opinion of the day) that "young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating to attain good learning."[27]   And most if not all of the sixteenth-century writers of educational theory, in keeping with their expressly Christian motives and reasoning from Quintilian's insistence (in *Institutio Oratoria*, considered the Bible of rhetoric at the time) that "no one can be an orator who is not a good man,"[28] had placed extreme emphasis on the importance of moral character in tutors and pedagogues.   In fact, this usually came before professional expertise in the list of desirable teacherly attributes.   Thus Sir Thomas Elyot (in *The Governor*) counsels parents to "assigne vnto hym [their child] a tutor whiche shulde be an auncient & worshipfull man in whom is aproued to be moche gentilnes mixte with grauitie and as nighe as can be suche one as the childe by imitation folowynge may growe to be excellent. And if he be also lerned he is the more comendable."[29]

Even under the direction of an essentially gentle soul like Holofernes, *grammar school* in Elizabethan times must have been incomparably more rigorous than it is today. The curriculum was founded on the medieval trivium of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and less centrally on the quadrivium of math, geometry, astronomy, and music. The program of study was divided into "forms" or grades (the number of these varied from school to school, but typically there were between five and eight). These in turn were usually grouped into a lower and an upper school. The first years focused on developing fundamental skills of reading, writing, and penmanship, but especially on mastering Latin grammar through rote memorization and intense and interminable drill. I need only refer you to the famous (and hilarious) Latin lesson scene from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (4.1), wherein the determined Welsh parson, Sir Hugh Evans, attempts to examine young William amid Mistress Quickly's ignorant, intrusive babble, as evidence that Shakespeare knew something of the process.

William Lyly's Latin Grammar served as the primary textbook in the lower schools. The work was actually the product of collaboration between Lyly, the headmaster of St. Paul's School (which, as already noted, had set the standard for English grammar schools early in the sixteenth century), John Colet, the school's

dean, and Erasmus[30] (of whose immense contribution to English education we *still* shall have much more to say).[31] Lyly et al's book was later (around 1540) sanctioned "by Henry VIII for exclusive use by all 'schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this our realm'"[32] and remained the standard Latin school text for the next two centuries. Scholars have identified numerous echoes of Lyly's Grammar scattered throughout Shakespeare's canon, from the Evans/William exchange cited above to Chiron's response to a Horace quotation in *Titus Andronicus*: "I know it well: / I read it in the grammar long ago" (4.2.22-23),[33] which, were he an *Elizabethan* youth, he would have, for Lyly had excerpted the passage twice.

The Elizabethan upper school was probably even more rigorous than the lower, as emphasis shifted from grammar to more advanced studies in logic and especially rhetoric. William Kempe, in *The Education of Children* (1588), provides a vivid and detailed description of a typical upper school course of study:

> First the scholler shal learne the precepts concerning the diuers sorts of arguments in the first part of Logike, (for that without them Rhetorike cannot be well understood) then shall followe the tropes and figures in the first part of Rhetorike, wherein he shall employ the sixth part [i.e., year?] of his studie, and all the rest in learning and handling good authors: as are Tullies [Cicero's] Offices, his Orations, Caesars Commentaries, Virgils Æneis, Ouids Metamorphosis, and Horace. In whom for his first exercise of unfolding the Arte, he shall obserue the examples of the hardest poynts in Grammar, of the arguments in Logike, of the tropes and figures in Rhetorike, referring euery example to his proper rule, as before. Then he shall learne the two latter parts also both of Logike and Rhetorike. And as of his Grammar rules he rehearsed some part euery day; so let him now do the like in Logike, afterwards in Rhetorike, and then in Grammar agayne, that he forget not the precepts of arte, before continual use haue ripened his understanding in them. And by this time he must obserue in authors all the use of the Artes, as not only the words and the phrases, not only the examples of the arguments; but also the axiome, wherein euery argument is disposed; the syllogisme, whereby it is concluded; the method of the whole treatise, and the passages, wherby the parts are ioyned together. Agayne, he shall obserue not only euery trope, euery figure, aswell of words as of sentences; but also the Rhetoricall pronounciation and gesture fit for euery word, sentence, and affection.[34]

I don't know about you, but I'm exhausted just thinking about it!

For classical guidance in the art of rhetoric, Elizabethan teachers and students turned to Cicero (106-43 B.C.) and Quintilian (c. 35-95 A.D.)—the ultimate authorities. The Ciceronian model had recognized five "offices" or parts of successful oratory: *invention* (establishing a topic and gathering relevant materials), *disposition* (organizing the content logically and purposefully), *elocution* (choosing appropriate and/or effective wording to suit the topic, audience, and circumstance), *pronunciation* (skill of actual speech delivery), and *memory* (capacity for mental storage and recall—crucial to smooth, assertive performance).[35] The system evolved, however, under the shaping influence of Early Modern thinkers like French philosopher Petrus Ramus and (inevitably) Erasmus. Thus, in the sixteenth century, "elocution, or style, became the centre of rhetorical theory, and in Ramist hands it was almost solely concerned with figures of speech."[36] Erasmus, although a stalwart champion of the inclusive classical tradition from Aristotle to Quintilian, nonetheless (unintentionally) added fuel to the fire with his *De Copia*, "a handbook describing how to achieve a rich and eloquent [i.e., a *copious*] style," partly through the constructive use of rhetorical figures. Originally offered (along with *De ratione studii*) as a gift to Dean Colet and the St. Paul's School, it became "one of the most influential books of the sixteenth century" and "went through 150 editions before 1572."[37]

The rhetoric manuals in English that appeared with increasing frequency from the mid-century onward (mostly pastiche translations of the Latin authorities), more or less reflected the new specialized emphasis. Some popular examples, like Thomas Wilson's *The Art of Rhetoric* (1560), continued to present a comprehensive scheme in the Ciceronian mode (albeit with notable stress on style), but others, like Dudley Fenner's *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike* (1584), showed distinct Ramist influence, and some, like Richard Sherry's *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550) and Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), were entirely devoted to exposition of the tropes and figures.[38]

That Shakespeare, whether through training or assimilative genius, became deeply skilled in their use, is evident enough. I dare say that few of us today are equipped to recognize occurrences of *Antimetabole* ("The specular inversion of word or clause order, usually within a sentence or verse [AB:BA]"), *Dicaeologia* ("A figure in which the speaker excuses his deeds or words on the grounds of necessity"), *Epenthesis* ("The addition of a phoneme, syllable or letter to the middle of a word"), *Hysteron proteron* ("A scheme . . . comprising the reversal of the logical, temporal or syntactical order

of discourse"), *Ploce* ("The repetition of a word in a different sense or function after an interval"), or (one of Holofernes's favorites) *Soriasmus* ("A vice of language . . . consisting in the mixing of languages as a show of supposed learning"), but for those who are interested, I recommend perusal of Keir Elam's *Shakespeare's Universe of Discourse: Language Games in the Comedies*, wherein the author identifies and meticulously analyzes the bard's use of more than twenty classical figures (including those just mentioned) in *Love's Labour's Lost* alone.[39]

As William C. Carroll observes in another fine rhetorically-based study, *The Great Feast of Language in* Love's Labour's Lost, "Two figures of speech receive special emphasis in the play, repeatedly used or abused by virtually every character. The most obvious is synonymy, what [George] Puttenham [in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589)] called "the Figure of store". . . . [S]ynonymy is the addition or substitution of "the same name" [i.e., a synonym] for the original name. It is the figure most consistently mocked in the play, especially when used by the low characters to prove their learning. . . . The second major figure of *Love's Labour's Lost* is paronomasia, the pun."[40]

Moth proves the play's most irrepressible punster, perhaps, but the figure is so persistently and generally employed—and so ubiquitous in Shakespeare's writing elsewhere—as to require no special illustration here (and besides, Herbert A. Ellis covered the subject definitively some years ago).[41] The prevalence of synonymy, however, is arguably a more idiosyncratic feature of this particular play, and deserves further comment. It virtually defines the character of the pedant, Holofernes, who cannot refer to the sky without adding "*caelum* . . . the welkin, the heaven" or mention the earth without confirming it with "*terra*, the soil, the land" (4.2.5-7).[42] In fact, Puttenham presents *synonymy* as a highly potent and useful device that "doeth much beautifie and inlarge the matter," and employs a passage from Virgil to illustrate.[43] Its apparent (albeit superficial) accordance with Erasmus's broader principle of copiousness probably encouraged its fashionable overuse as satirized, but even the great Humanist himself had been forced to concede that the technique "is more suitable for exercises than real speeches; it is a very trying form of variation if you get into the habit of expressing the same idea over and over again in different words with the same meaning, without any change in the shape of your sentence."[44] (This from the man who had [also in *De Copia*] devised "148 alternative methods of saying 'Dear Faustus, thank you for your letter'.")[45]

In fact, the cautionary distinction Erasmus draws in the opening paragraph of *De Copia* between a truly rich and abundant style and mere wordiness prepares us beautifully for the satirical portraits of both Holofernes and Don Armado:

> The speech of man is a magnificent and impressive thing when it surges along like a golden river, with thoughts and words pouring out in rich abundance. Yet the pursuit of speech like this involves considerable risk. As the proverb says, 'Not every man has the means to visit the city of Corinth.'[46] We find that a good many mortal men who make great efforts to achieve this godlike power of speech fall instead into mere glibness, which is both silly and offensive. They pile up a meaningless heap of words and expressions without any discrimination, and thus obscure the subject they are talking about, as well as belabouring the ears of their unfortunate audience. In fact, quite a few persons of no real education or understanding have, heaven help us, undertaken to give instruction in this very subject, and these, while professing a mastery of *copia*, have merely revealed their own total lack of it.[47]

While Holofernes is the most conspicuous and colorful abuser of synonymy in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Armado is an equally proficient murderer of the King's English through his relentless *periphrasis*,[48] or circumlocution. His two formal epistles—the first addressed to the King, complaining of Costard's violation of the no-sex edict (1.1.226-264); the second, a love letter to the "base" but irresistible Jaquenetta (4.1.61-86)—are more than a bit slow in getting to the point, but they nonetheless betray evidence of the kind of precise, highly formulaic structural organization that was routinely studied in conjunction with epistle- and theme-writing in the upper schools. In fact, Baldwin makes a fairly convincing case for Armado's following Aphthonius's[49] six-part scheme for narration in the first letter. According to this textbook authority, a properly (and elegantly) constructed narrative should establish in turn the "Person doing," the "Thing done," the "Time, about which," the "Place, in which transacted," the "Mode [or manner], in what way," and the "Cause, because of which."[50] And something very like this framework (albeit comically askew—see Baldwin's analysis) is clearly reflected in Armado's account: "*I . . . betook myself to walk. The time, when? About the sixth hour. . . . Now for the ground, which?. . . . thy park. Then for the place, where?. . . . thy curious-knotted garden*" (1.1.226-239).[51] Elsewhere, Baldwin identifies the standard *divisional* formula for persuasion (based on Quintilian and a host of others) in Armado's second letter (elaborately framed around the proverbial "Veni, vidi,

vici") and in Boyet's rallying speech to the Princess as she prepares to deliver her father's official complaint/appeal to "Navarre" (2.1.1-8).[52] Again, "much of the fantastic learning of the play consists simply of a literal application of the standard methods of writing themes, of construing Latin, or of achieving copiousness of diction."[53]

And it wasn't all mere pedantry and mindless drill, after all. Recent scholars have begun to appreciate more fully the dynamic potential and pedagogical soundness of many Elizabethan teaching methods, especially those practiced in the upper schools.   In "double-translation," a technique popularized by Roger Ascham in *The Schoolmaster* (1570), students would render a Latin text into English, then, after the original was removed, attempt to reconstruct it accurately from their own English versions.[54] Thus, as Burrow remarks, "the older boys would not simply read Ovid, Virgil, or Cicero. They would in theory write them too."[55] Upper school rhetorical exercises, while still essentially imitative, seem to have frequently integrated what we might call today a *creative* element. A rich variety of discourse forms, including poetry, was clearly practiced. Imaginative role-playing seems to have been a common element in assignments: students might be required to compose letters or speeches by famous figures set in specific circumstances, expressing particular emotional states, or frames of mind—after the manner of Ovid in his *Heroides*.[56] Finally, in the highest forms, they would be expected to engage regularly in rigorous and spirited debate, "to argue . . . on either side of the question" à la "To be or not to . . . be."[57]

In short, the language arts curriculum of Shakespeare's time was complex and ambitious. One wonders how many Elizabethan students—or schoolmasters for that matter—were fully equipped for the challenge, how many could wrap their minds around it all. Despite their heroic efforts, Holofernes cannot seem to get past the words and sounds; Armado sticks on the forms and patterns. It is, finally and ironically, Berowne, the cavalier wit, the apparently indifferent, even reluctant scholar, the student of "women's eyes," who comes closest to achieving a copious style in the true Erasmian sense. Responding to his colleagues' appeals to "prove / our loving lawful and our faith not torn" (4.3.280-81) (an appeal that sounds suspiciously like a school theme proposal), he delivers a magnificent tribute to the power of erotic love that serves as the rhetorical climax of the play:

> A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind.
> A lover's ear will hear the lowest sound

> When the suspicious head of theft is stopped.
> Love's feeling is more soft and sensible
> Than are the tender horns of cockled snails.
> Love's tongue proves dainty Bacchus gross in taste,
> For valour, is not Love a Hercules,
> Still climbing trees in the Hesperides?
> Subtle as Sphinx, as sweet and musical
> As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair.
> And when Love speaks, the voice of all the gods
> Make heaven drowsy with the harmony. (4.3.308-319)

Alas, it is a speech that only Shakespeare (or perhaps Ovid) could have written for him—a "great feast" of language indeed, a triumph of eloquence! Erasmus would most certainly have approved.

Still the matter beneath the words remains vain enough: it is a "salve for perjury" (4.3.285), after all.[58] In the end, *Love's Labour's Lost* remains, in its sheer verbal richness and complexity, a monumental testament to Shakespeare's love of learning and his irrepressible passion for wordplay. Yet it is also a testament to what strikes me as his unusual humility among geniuses: he was not so in love with his own consummate powers of discourse, with his own "sweet smoke of rhetoric," as to allow it to cloud his moral vision—or blind him to the more essential human virtues of honesty, civility, and good will. Style is finally no substitute for substance, nor words for actions. The King and his Lords may win the day in the war of words; but in a wonderful comic twist, it is Holofernes and Armado who subtly emerge as the moral victors, justly rebuking their persecutors for their lack of courtesy, humility, and reverence in the pageant of the Nine Worthies. The play leaves us with a cautionary reminder that education brings with it formidable powers—and formidable responsibilities. On the one hand, the pursuit of learning serves to strengthen one's mental capacities and to expand one's consciousness. On the other hand, to adopt foreign personas is, at some level, to practice insincerity; to argue on both sides—to invite moral ambivalence. Getting too caught up in the game of wit and rhetoric, one may lose sight of the very compassionate human values that define the Christian gentleman.

Notes

1. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (1944; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), 1: 1.

2. J. A. K. Thomson, *Shakespeare and the Classics* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1966), 33-36.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 18-19; see also Charles G. Smith, *Shakespeare's Proverb Lore* (1963; reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 5.

5. Colin Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," chap. 1 in *Shakespeare and the Classics*, ed. Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 9-10.

6. Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, 2: 378. Drawing evidence more specifically from *Love's Labour's Lost*, T. S. Baynes expressed a similar firm belief in Shakespeare's direct school experience: "One main object of the comedy being to satirize pedantry, to expose the tasteless display of learning, the mere parade of scholastic technicalities, the writer must obviously have had some personal knowledge of the thing paraded in order that the satire may be relevant and effective" (qtd. in Baldwin, 1: 464).

7. J. H. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance," *The Journal of Modern History* 22, no. 1 (March 1950): 1-2.

8. This and subsequent quotations from *Twelfth Night* are based on J. M. Lothian and T. W. Craik's (second series) Arden edition (1975; reprint, New York: Routledge, 1994).

9. See Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, chapter 4.

10. This trend of addressing the gentry specifically continued in such works as Richard Mulcaster's *Positions* (1581—also known as *The Training Up of Children*; reprint, New York: DaCapo Press, 1971) and Henry Peacham's *The Complete Gentleman* (1622; reprint, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962).

11. The following modern and facsimile editions of works listed in this paragraph were consulted: Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, trans. Brian McGregor, ed. Craig R. Thompson, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 24: 661-91; *De Pueris Instituendis*, trans. Beert C. Verstraete, ed. J. K. Sowards, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 26: 291-346; Sir Thomas Elyot, trans., *The Education or Bringing Vp of Children* (1533), reprinted in *Four Tudor Books on Education* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1966), 1-48; Elyot, *The Governor* (1531; reprint, Menston, England: The Scholar Press Limited, 1970); Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, ed. Lawrence V. Ryan (1570; reprint, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974); and William Kempe, *The Education of Children in Learning* (1588), reprinted in *Four Tudor Books on Education* (see citation above), 181-240.

12. Hexter, "Education of Aristocracy," 4.

13. See Ovid's account of Achelous and Hercules, *Metamorphoses* (Book 9, lines 1-103), trans. Arthur Golding (1567; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1965), 223-26. While I suspect that Shakespeare had the Ovidian character particularly in mind here, scholars have noted the tremendous store of symbolic meanings Hercules had accumulated by the early modern period, all of them potentially relevant to the play. For example, Louis Adrian Montrose explores Hercules's symbolic function as "a moral hero" in *"Curious-Knotted Garden": The Form, Themes, and Contexts of Shakespeare's* Love's Labour's Lost (Salzburg, Austria: University of Salzburg, 1977), 28-34; William C. Carroll describes how, in later Renaissance manifestations, the Greek hero became associated with the arts, and how "the so-called Gallic Hercules . . . was known specifically for his eloquence" in *The Great Feast of Language in* Love's Labour's Lost (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 236-241; note also that Erasmus used the image of Hercules conquering the Centaurs (i.e., savagery) as a parallel to his own campaign against

modern barbarism in *Antibarbari* (*The Antibarbarians*), trans. and ann. Margaret Mann Phillips, ed. Craig R. Thompson, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 23: 18.

14. Actually, as H. R. Woudhuysen remarks in his introduction to the (third series) Arden edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, UK: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1998), "Hunting deer was a particularly apt occupation for a princess, since in England the right to kill deer was the monarch's alone and, as events at Kenilworth in 1575 and at Cowdray in 1591 showed, Queen Elizabeth enjoyed this sort of sport" (38). A print from George Turberville's *The noble arte of venerie or hunting* (1575), portraying a smartly-dressed Queen Elizabeth preparing to dispatch a fallen stag with a knife (and implying her inheritance of her father's robust character and appetites?) is also reproduced therein (39).

15. George A. Plimpton, *The Education of Shakespeare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47-50.

16. All quotations from *Love's Labour's Lost* are keyed to H. R. Woudhuysen's (third series) Arden edition. See citation above.

17. Cited in Plimpton, *Education of Shakespeare*, 68-69.

18. Ibid., 125-26. John Hart's, for instance, substituted "a script *d* for *th*" and "a figure resembling our numeral 8 for *sh*."

19. Keir Elam, *Shakespeare's Universe of Discourse: Language-Games in the Comedies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 262-63.

20. G. R. Hibbard (introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1998], 16) refers to the play's "fantastical pretenders to fashion and learning: Armado, Holofernes, and Sir Nathaniel" as "well-established stage types, or rather, by the time the play is over, wonderfully original variants on established stage types that go back ultimately to the Italian *commedia dell' arte*, the Braggart, the Pedant, and the *Zani*." See also Carroll, 28-29.

21. Woudhuysen, introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost*, 191n.

22. But see Burrow's fascinating argument that slippage of memory proves, at times, a transcendent principle, both in the play and more generally in Shakespeare's own creative process. Of course, it serves as the basis for a good deal of verbal humor, but it also opens gaps for the active imagination to fill in, and functions, Burrow suggests, to revitalize the dead matter of drill, allowing for new formation and synthesis of the eternal conventions and commonplaces of the school curriculum.

23. In the course of his thorough review of Holofernes's miscues (66-74), Thomson concludes that "Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin [though still perhaps quite limited] was at any rate sufficient to tell him that these were errors. He must mean that Holofernes did not know his subject" (67).

24. This and the following quoted word glosses are from Woudhuysen, 186-87nn.

25. Thomson, *Shakespeare and the Classics*, 67.

26. Richard Mulcaster (c. 1530-?; tutor to Spenser and headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School in London), John Florio (1545-1625; lexicographer and translator of Montaigne), and George Chapman (c. 1559-1634; classicist, translator, and playwright) are among the more prominent figures who have been advanced as possible real-life models for Holofernes (see Plimpton, 26; Thomson, 66-67). Baldwin gives the fullest account of teachers active in the

Stratford grammar school during the relevant years (chapter 22). It seems probable that even Shakespeare's favorite teachers (whoever they were) were no match for him intellectually, and so the author's relation to his character here may well reflect the ironic pattern of his actual school experience, in which the student was infinitely superior in wit and true verbal adeptness to the professional rhetorician. Such a pattern can also be seen in the Moth/Armado dynamic, where the young servant/prodigy (the "tender juvenal") consistently displays his fresh, spontaneous, yet technically sophisticated verbal dexterity (which includes stunningly original employment of many textbook figures and tropes) while his master/mentor (the "tough señor") more often than not bogs down in mere pretentious verbosity.

27. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, 7. In the preface to this work, the author describes at some length a debate he had with various Privy Council members over the place of corporal punishment in education (5-12).

28. Quintilian, *Quintilian on the Teaching of Speaking and Writing,* ed. James J. Murphy (Carbondale and Edwardville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 19.

29. Thomas Elyot, *The Governor*, (folio) 21.

30. Plimpton, *Education of Shakespeare*, 83-90; Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, gives a much more detailed and thorough (albeit discursive) account of the book's history in his chapters 5-8.

31. Baldwin devotes three full chapters (4 through 6) to explicit discussion of Erasmus's direct influence on the English system, remarking that "he who wishes to understand the principles upon which the sixteenth-century grammar school was founded in England would be very unwise to begin anywhere else than with Erasmus" (1: 77). Not only did the famous Dutchman provide the foundational theory (in *De ratione studii*) and the principle textbooks (in Lyly's Grammar and *De Copia* [see discussion below], which Baldwin cites as "twin pillars of the system at Paul's" [1: 99]), but he also supplied a wealth of supplementary texts, including *Adagia* (his aforementioned compendium of sententious Latin proverbs), *Parabolae sive similia* (an illustrative collection of similies), *Colloquia* (dialogues modeling a practical colloquial style), and *Ciceronianus* (of which the subtitle translates, *A Dialogue on the Best Style of Speaking*). Erasmus also produced numerous editions of classical authors designed for school use. For example, he edited the standard collection of Cato, and later of Terence, he produced Latin translations of Aesop and Lucian, and he provided the "notes . . . which remained standard throughout the latter half of the century in the grammar school collection of Cicero's moral philosophy" (Baldwin, 1: 100-101). More recent scholars have almost invariably echoed Baldwin's assessment of Erasmus's importance. Cf. Emrys Jones in *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1977), who maintains that "without humanism . . . there could have been no Elizabethan literature; without Erasmus, no Shakespeare" (13).

32. Quoted in Plimpton, *Education of Shakespeare*, 87; see also Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, 164.

33. H. R. D. Anders, qtd. in Plimpton, 90. Baldwin remarks that "No wonder the Elizabethan dramatists, even Shakespere, could quote at will . . . learned tags from Lily's Grammar—by their time the only approved one—with full expectation of being understood. He who knew not that knew nothing. It was the very foundation of all learning and was treated accordingly" (1: 136).

34. William Kempe, *The Education of Children in Learning* (1588), reprinted in *Four Tudor Books on Education* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1966), 232-33.

35. Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, 2: 9-10.

36. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s.v. "rhetoric" (vol. 26—Macropaedia).

37. Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," 11.

38. These works are available in the following modern and facsimile editions: Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric*, ed. Peter E. Medine (1560; reprint, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Dudley Fenner, *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike* (1584), reprinted in *Four Tudor Books on Education* (Gainesville FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1966), 143-180; Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550; reprint, Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1961); and Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577; reprint, Menston, England: The Scholar Press Limited, 1971).

39. Elam, *Shakespeare's Discourse*. The term definitions are quoted from Elam's glossary, 309-317.

40. Carroll, *Great Feast*, 20-21.

41. Herbert A. Ellis, *Shakespeare's Lusty Punning in* Love's Labour's Lost (Paris/The Netherlands: Moulton/The Hague, 1973).

42. Cf. G. R. Hibbard, 32. Armado, of course, proves equally prone to this sort of verbose redundancy, as in his written report of finding Costard, *"that low-spirited swain, that base minnow of thy mirth—* . . . *That unlettered small-knowing soul—* . . . *That shallow vassal—* . . . *Sorted and consorted* . . . *With a child of our grandmother Eve, a female, or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman"* (1.1.240-253).

43. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (1589; reprint, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 214-15.

44. Erasmus, *De Copia*, trans. Betty I. Knott, ed. Craig R. Thompson, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 24: 320.

45. Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," 16.

46. Knott's annotation seems helpful here: "The proverb refers to the exorbitant price charged by the famous Corinthian courtesan Lais, who would receive no one, however distinguished, if he could not pay" (Erasmus, 24: 295n).

47. Erasmus, 24: 295.

48. Hibbard, introduction to *Love's Labours Lost*, 32.

49. Francis R. Johnson identifies Aphthonius, author of *Progymnasmata* (which became a standard Latin composition handbook/exercise manual in the Elizabethan schools), as "a teacher of rhetoric at Antioch during the latter half of the fourth century." See Johnson's introduction to Richard Rainolde's *A booke called the Foundacion of Rhetorike* (a freely adapted and indirect English translation of Apthonius) (1563; reprint, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945), iv-v, x-xiv.

50. Qtd. in Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latine*, 2: 311.

51. Ibid., 2: 310-314.

52. Ibid., 2: 92-96.

53. Virgil K. Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning: An Inquiry into the Growth of His Mind and Art* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1964), 85.

54. See Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, 83-87.

55. Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," 13.

56. See Baldwin's characteristically dense but thorough treatment of the standard upper grammar school curriculum, stressing epistle, theme, and oration writing based on (and often in dialogue with) classical models—chapters 38-40.

57. Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," 10, 17.

58. Berowne's speech proves especially ironic in light of his subsequent castigation of "honey-tongued Boyet" (5.2.315-334), and his final professed (seemingly penitential) repudiation of rhetorical flourish in what amounts to another impressive (albeit hollow) demonstration of the same:

[Berowne]:	O, never will I trust to speeches penned,
	Nor to the motion of a schoolboy's tongue,
	Nor never come in visor to my friend,
	Nor woo in rhyme like a blind harper's song.
	Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
	Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
	Figures pedantical: these summer flies
	Have blown me full of maggot ostentation.
	I do forswear them, and I here protest,
	By this white glove—how white the hand, God knows!—
	Henceforth my wooing mind shall be expressed
	In russet yeas and honest kersey noes.
	And to begin: wench, so God help me, law!
	My love to thee is sound, *sans* crack or flaw.
Rosaline:	*Sans 'sans'*, I pray you. (5.2.402-416)

Direct Address in Shakespeare: Unlocking Audience-Centered Moments in Performance

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S hakespeare's plays provide abundant evidence that Elizabethan players directly addressed the audience. Obvious examples include the first and final speeches of *Romeo and Juliet*, Puck's epilogue to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (as well as Peter Quince's prologue for "Pyramus and Thisbe"), and also the speeches opening and closing Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. Other textual moments that could potentially utilize direct address are soliloquies and asides. In this article, we will demonstrate that the idea and use of direct address also includes non-monologue text and that this convention is a viable aspect of Shakespeare performance.

We will define *direct address*, especially as it differs from *soliloquy* and *aside*; discuss moments of direct address we utilized in *1 Henry IV* and *Henry V*; and review the tools used in rehearsal to discover moments of direct address, as well as moments and audience reactions created during production that we believe are authentically Elizabethan.

Lacking obvious choral speeches, *1 Henry IV* does not appear to require or offer moments of direct address. Falstaff's meditations on honor and life might play well as direct address, but few other opportunities are obvious from a reading of the text. *Henry V* is the opposite extreme: a play structured around five choral monologues obviously delivered directly to the audience. Our recent mainstage production of *1 Henry IV* at Western Illinois University revealed extraordinary moments of interaction between audience and actors. Our subsequent lab production of *Henry V* further demonstrated the power of direct address, its exceptional use within the structure of the play through the Chorus, and its presence in the play beyond the choral monologues. Hidden within these texts are myriad clues for vigilant actors to use in directly addressing the

audience—to challenge, question, and otherwise involve them. Pursuing these opportunities in production resulted in theatrical events that fully engaged the audience.

A definition of *direct address* as it differs from other terms is necessary. Literary and theatrical scholars use the terms *aside*, *soliloquy*, and *direct address* interchangeably to describe character speeches or monologues. A monologue, for purposes of this discussion, is a speech by any character of four or more lines of prose or poetry. St. Augustine coined the term *soliloquy* from the Latin roots *solus* and *loqui*, meaning 'talking to oneself'; a more modern definition is 'speaking alone.' A soliloquy is a speech given when a character believes he or she is alone or is sufficiently consumed in his or her own thought to be effectively alone.[1]

Another category of speeches exists—choral prologues, epilogues, and interludes, as we see throughout Shakespeare's *Henry V*—which do not fit the definition of soliloquies as they *acknowledge* and *speak* to the audience.[2] These speeches are monologues that accomplish more than revealing inner feelings of the character, for example, or furthering plot, or endowing scenery. They require the active participation of the audience. This element of participation is the crux of direct address, an aspect of performance that is different from aside or soliloquy and can happen outside traditional monologues.

In an aside, the speaker addresses certain thoughts to the audience, never forgetting the presence and proximity of others.[3] Bernard Berkerman divides asides into two categories: "conversational," addressed by one figure to another; and "solo," spoken by one figure in the presence of others, but unheard by them.[4] The purpose of the aside, both in conversational and solo forms, is to alert the audience to thoughts, information, and motives of characters which would not be gleaned from the action of scenes. This information is typically a contradiction of the apparent action occurring in a scene, clarifying subtextual action for the benefit of the audience. Examples from Iago in *Othello*, Richard in *Richard III*, and Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* are illuminating: we hear these characters plotting and we recognize their lies as they play out. The audience sees the "true" motivation of the characters who offer these asides. The audience is aware of the multiple layers of performance—perceived and actual truth within the greater "lie" of the theatre event. Asides create a frank relationship between characters and audience, as well as complicity: not only does the audience understand more about the drama, they are *participants* in the drama.

The activity of the audience establishes the differentiation between an aside and direct address. For our purposes, all forms of direct address are asides, but not all asides are direct address. The character may be including, but not directly engaging the audience. Single lines embedded within scenes between characters, but intended to be directed at the audience, we will refer to as *petite asides* or, as the case may be, *petite direct address*.

In moments of direct address, the audience turns from a passive listener into a verbal *actor*. The most prevalent modern form of audible audience response is laughter, but it may include shouting statements to actors, booing, hissing, or any other verbal response which involves the action of the scene being presented. This does not include insults as to the abilities of the actor, but insults can become unavoidable when an audience is fearless about participating. The texts of *Hamlet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* offer examples of theatre audience behavior, which we suggest Shakespeare modeled on actual Elizabethan theatre experiences.

In *Hamlet* 3.2, Hamlet comments on his play, *The Mousetrap,* with the ironic rudeness of a groundling. Hamlet speaks with Ophelia about the play itself between acts, criticizing, "Is this a prologue, or the posy of a ring?"[5] He also interrupts the scene between the Player King and Player Queen. Hamlet becomes a choral character, invading the action of the play through commenting, foreshadowing, and criticizing: "You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife" (3.2.241-42). Similarly, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'s act 5 meta-play, "Pyramus and Thisbe," the characters watching make jokes, comment upon the action, and criticize the quality of the play. Their commentary is continual, creating a model of the direct address interactive theatre experience.

Direct interaction between actor and audience is a longstanding aspect of western theatre. Greek playwrights Aristophanes and Menander wrote specific scenes designed to accommodate audience response. Though little is known about audiences of medieval morality plays and biblical dramas, there is evidence that even during the sermon-like material, the audience was vigorous. In *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation,* we see that audience brawling became such a problem that the Church and the cities of York and Chester joined their authorities and posted proclamations banning violent behavior and the wearing of weapons to performances.[6]

The need to prohibit weapons seems ludicrous to a twenty-first century sensibility thoroughly ingrained in modern theatre etiquette. Because of our contemporary assumptions about the behavior of theatre-going, the existence of direct address and response is difficult to locate within texts: we lack context and permission. The gentrification of the theatre event, as well as the perception of theatre as frozen art—a static event intended for passive viewing—is partially to blame. However, contemporary examples of less etiquette-driven theatre behavior exist.

In 2004, the Alabama Shakespeare Festival toured a production of *Macbeth* to U.S. Military bases. In the article "Operation *Macbeth*," Kent Thompson, director of the production, describes the typical audience response from military personnel:

> The Maxwell audiences would prove characteristic of audiences on the road. They were rowdy. They laughed, they oohed and aahed. I was particularly taken with a pair of African-American servicewomen sitting in front of me. When Lady Macbeth laid into her husband during the banquet scene ("Are you a man?"), they started with vivid vocalizations. There were children of all ages, including babies in arms. Sodas in cups were served at intermission, so there was a lot of ice-clinking during the cauldron scene in Act 4. There was a constant traffic of audience members in and out of the theatre during the show. But when the drama intensified, the audience grew quiet and rapt. And at the end, they jumped to their feet, cheering and clapping. They treated the Witches like rock stars. Remi, Howard, Sonja Lanzener (a Witch) and Kathleen McCall (Lady Macbeth) came out front in costume to meet audience members. As I watched them talk with fans, I thought that this responsive, rowdy audience, not used to live theatre, was a lot more like Shakespeare's audience than the ticket-buyers at ASF. They hadn't learned our theatre etiquette, which has made our usual audiences so well-behaved and quiet. It was refreshing.[7]

The absence of modern theatre etiquette allowed the natural provocative nature of the text to affect the audience, and the audience to respond accordingly. The audience "had permission" to interact with the players and the play.

It is difficult to find direct address in modern drama. Robert Schwartz points out that direct address is a device not employed in modern realistic drama: the work of Ibsen, Chekhov, and, by extension, Miller, Williams, and O'Neill, are theatrical texts which can largely be understood from a reading of the text. It is primarily

in the older forms of drama that "the spectator remains a potential actor and the actor a potential spectator."[8]

We found that the presence of actors and an audience uninhibited by modern theatre etiquette can bring this crucial difference to light in a way textual analysis cannot. Our primary tool to break down modern theatre etiquette was based on a set of guidelines, found in Patrick Tucker's First Folio Cue Script Technique (hereafter FFCST). In this technique, actors receive scrolls with only their own lines, stage directions, and two iambs of cue line for each exit, entrance, or line. The text is that of the First Folio with original spelling and punctuation.[9]

FFCST casts light on the use of text as a tool to govern staging and action, and prevents individuals from considering the plays of Shakespeare as primarily written literature. A text intended for performance requires performance in order to be adequately discussed. FFCST also calls upon the actor to be aware of the audience, include them, and engage them. The application of FFCST in *1 Henry IV* and *Henry V* required the actors to apply the text to their bodies and the stage: for example, adjusting their spatial relationship with each other, using other actors, referencing other characters, and suiting action to the word. Essentially, the actors' bodies were directed by the text. The text was illustrated to the audience, with their active participation.

The development of our ideas and observations concerning direct address began with experiments in the First Folio Cue Script Technique during rehearsal of *1 Henry IV*. The tenets of this technique, based on the work of Patrick Tucker and practiced in performance by the New England Shakespeare Festival, include the following guidelines:

1.   The words *thee, thou, thy* and *thine* connote familiarity or intimacy, which can manifest physically in performance through close proximity. Actors should keep more distance when using y*our, you,* and *yours*.

2.   The adjectives *this* and *these* indicate literal possession of or contact with the noun they modify; the adjectives *that* and *those* indicate distance. If actors are not touching the modified object when they begin a line containing the word *this*, they should be touching it by the time they speak the word. The converse is also true.

3.   As Hamlet instructed the players, action should be suited to the word. This precept applies both for the actor who is speaking, if he or she is describing his or her own physical activity, and for other actors who hear implied stage directions in lines.

Shakespeare is well known for writing sparse stage directions (*The Winter's Tale*'s "Exit pursued by a bear" [3.3.57] being a notable exception), and instead delivers specific instructions through the text. Actors must listen to the words as they are working to discover what physical actions they should perform.

4.   Include the audience whenever possible.   Our modern conventions of lighting and act curtains were not in use when Shakespeare wrote, and the plays were constructed accordingly. Twentieth-century ideas of passive viewing, exemplified by contemporary relationships to television and film, did not influence sixteenth-century audiences' response to performances. Theatre-going was an interactive experience for the Elizabethans—and because it was in broad daylight, the actors could see the audience as well as the audience could see them.   Interaction with the audience was inevitable, and an integral aspect of the event.

It should also be noted that the actors *read* from their cue scripts during the first week of *1 Henry IV*, and during the lab production of *Henry V*. We needed actors to pay close attention to the rules and the text simultaneously and be prepared for any possible response from the audience.

Never intending the Western Illinois University *1 Henry IV* to be performed strictly according to the technique's guidelines, the production team spent the first week of rehearsal exploring the text with the FFCST. The intent was primarily educational, but it was understood that the experience would illuminate the text for production team and actors alike. In rehearsal, we suspended the notion of a backstage, wanting to encourage participation from the "audience" of actors waiting to join the action onstage. Actors were permitted to enter from the audience if necessary. The process was aided and abetted by the willing support of the actors; a strong camaraderie developed among the cast, who supported one another during the experiment. They responded enthusiastically when the script called for anything. Having been instructed to respond to stage directions they heard, the actors applied this to their role as audience members as well, answering questions posed directly to them by onstage characters or providing sound effects that were implied by the text. Out of this spirit, a petite direct address was found in act 1, scene 3 when the actor playing King Henry delivered his line, "Shall our coffers then be emptied to redeem a traitor home?" (1.3.84), to cast members sitting in the audience. They obliged, answering with a resounding, "No!" We continued to receive this response from audiences in performance as well.

The most noteworthy discovery during the *1 Henry IV* experimentation with FFCST came in act 4, scene 2. Falstaff, in a monologue that immediately precedes his conversation with Hal and Westmerland, describes his ragtag soldiers, but never uses the words *these* or *here*, which would indicate their presence onstage with him. Nor is there a stage direction specifying the entrance of soldiers, as shown in *King Lear* or *Macbeth*. The specificity of his description and the vividness of the language implies that the emaciated troops were an unachievable stage effect. Shakespeare is extra-precise with language describing unachievable effects, as we see often in his descriptions of celestial bodies, weather, and settings running the gamut from oceans to forests to palaces.

When Falstaff finishes his speech Hal enters, and the language shifts. Hal refers to the soldiers with a demonstrative, asking, "Whose fellows are *these* that come after?" (4.2.54-55). The actor playing Hal, working within the parameters of FFCST, must justify using the demonstrative *these*. If the soldiers were offstage and out of view, the word should be *those*, indicating distance. *These* mandates proximity. With no other resource at hand, the actor playing Hal used the nearest resource available, crossing downstage as close as possible to the audience, and indicated them as *these*. Westmerland, a few lines later, calls the soldiers "*pit*iful rascals" (4.2.57), and Falstaff comments that they will "fill a *pit*" (4.2.59) when they die. This recurring use of the syllable *pit* in reference to the soldiers complements Hal's audience reference. The three actors were elevated above their audience, as they would have been in Elizabethan England also, looking down in the "pit" from which "mortal men" stared back at them.

In this brilliant moment, the actors can delight the audience by including them, attain a laugh through the insult, and issue a somber social comment on the lower classes, from which both Falstaff's soldiers and the Elizabethan groundlings would have come: they are "good enough to toss; food for powder" (4.2.58-59). This instance is historically reminiscent of a scene in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Aristophanes often employed direct address through insulting the audience for comic effect. In *Frogs*, after Dionysos has reached the underworld and is looking for landmarks Herakles has warned him to expect, he indicates these landmarks by gesturing to the audience, referring to audience members as "dung," "parricides," and "oath-breakers."[10]

During the run of the production, we observed that the play lost momentum during act 2 scene 5, the tavern scene. The actors were working well and the scene played, but the audience was not

fully engaged. Recalling the FFCST experiments early in the rehearsal process, we realized that every scene prior to 2.5 had some instance of direct address. We looked again in 2.5 for opportunities for direct address and found two that worked wonderfully well. First, Falstaff's line, "Let them speak" (2.5.157), which had previously referred to Bardolph and Peto, would now be a reference to people sitting in our audience. Hal's subsequent line, "Speak, sirs, how was it?" (2.5.159), was also redirected to the house and required a response. The scene further included the audience when Hal invited Falstaff, "Do thou stand for my father," to which Falstaff responded, "Shall, I?" (2.5.342-44). Falstaff addressed this interrogative to the audience and waited for an audience member to respond in the affirmative. The effect of these direct addresses was electrifying. The scene no longer lost momentum; rather, it brought the audience more fully into the fold, acknowledging their role as significant contributors to the theatrical event—demanding their participation and attention.

These examples are similar to the opening comic sequence in Aristophanes' *Wasps* between Xanthias and Sosias; the scene as written indicates the audience was familiar with the form of improvisational comedy in which the performers reacted to comments shouted from the audience.[11]

We applied our discoveries and ideas about direct address from *1 Henry IV* to a lab production of *Henry V*. We felt the production would (1) illuminate the text through performance in ways textual analysis would not, (2) further solidify our understanding of the concept by introducing a character who speaks only in direct address—the Chorus, and (3) illustrate examples of direct address, either in petite or full examples within the body of the play, separate from the work of the Chorus. We utilized FFCST. Fourteen actors were triple-cast to fill the roles. The actors had experienced FFCST previously from rehearsal of *1 Henry IV* or from coursework at Western Illinois University.

The resulting event was exciting and educational. FFCST and the interaction of the actors with their audience illuminated the text in many ways. Before discussing the major structural device and perfect example of direct address, the Chorus, we will discuss a few findings from within the fabric of the play which reinforce our growing definition of direct address. As a general rule, longer speeches (the exhaustive explanation of the Salic Law by Canterbury, for example, [I.2.33ff]) had turning points when the actors began directly addressing the audience. These were

reminders to the audience that they were active participants: the actor checking in with the audience to make sure they were coming along.

A good example of petite direct address occurred in the traitor scene, act 2, scene 2. FFCST staging introduced a surprising element of comedy to this scene: the use of the words *we* and *thou* caused shifting stage pictures between the king, the lesser lords, and the traitors. The king used a petite direct address with the audience in reference to the traitors: "See you my princes and my noble peers, these English monsters" (2.2.81ff). The description of the traitors' crimes brought boos and hisses from the audience. We also found in this scene that Henry's final monologue, beginning "Now lords for France" (2.2.178), was addressed entirely to the audience, involving the audience in his victory, and implicating them in his resolve to press the English claim to the French throne.

In act 2, scene 4, Exeter's address of the French Court also used petite direct address. When Exeter warned the French, "You'll find a difference, as we his subjects have" (2.4.134), the use of the word *we* in the text directed him to include the audience. He did so, and they rumbled in response. The text had set them up to identify with Exeter, the sole English character in the scene, as their emissary, and to respond with favor to his words.

The primary and most powerful example of direct address functioning in *Henry V* is through the Chorus, the central interactive/inciting character. He is the perfect user of direct address. He initiates the audience into the conventions of the play; he enables great leaps of time, space, and character; and he requires that the audience actively empower the super-reality of the play. In acclimatizing the audience, the Chorus makes them complicit in the dramatic action of the play. The Chorus humbly acknowledges doubts about the verisimilitude of the production—instead of covering up the theatrical experience, he enhances it, making the audience his partners.

The necessity of this partnership is clear: the playwright must accomplish a significant transformation with the audience. The goal is to occupy and engage the audience to the point where they are not critical of the title character's behavior. The new king had recently spurned Falstaff, Shakespeare's most successful and endearing character, turned his back on a life of ease and tavern-lazing, and put down a self-proclaimed rightful heir to the throne to become king.

The power of the Chorus and his direct address abilities become clear as the Chorus functions as the king's ardent public

relations manager. Shakespeare makes a great show of the new-found god-like qualities of King Henry. His transformation was initiated in *1 Henry IV*, when young Prince Hal resolved that he "will henceforth be more [him]self" (3.2.92-93), and foreshadowed to the audience by an awestruck Vernon: "I saw Harry with his beaver on" (4.1.105). In *Henry V* the process of transformation is fully realized, and the king's methods of achieving it cannot be discounted, criticized, or questioned. There is no character remaining equal to the task. The only character who might have served the purpose—Falstaff—is quietly put away. By eliminating Falstaff from the equation, Shakespeare ensures that the new king's inconsistencies are not clear to an audience, even though textual analysis might reveal them. An audience in a theatre does not have that analytical critical distance, and if the text can sweep the crowd along in the fervor of the play, they cannot question or compare— they can only react as they are coached to react. In this, the primary coach is the Chorus.

From the Chorus's first entrance, the audience is groomed for active participation. The Chorus uses the three elements indicative of direct address: (1) commands: "Admit me" (1.0.32); (2) interrogatives: "Or may we cram within this wooden O?" (1..0.12-13); and (3) address by name: "gentles all" (1.0.8). By identifying himself as a mere commentator to great deeds, the Chorus forges the links of the dramatic action without detracting from the size and magnitude of the principal characters. His instances of direct address are more focused than we experienced with Falstaff—it is a formally structured assault on the audience. Falstaff was an agent of action both within the play and with the audience— sometimes guide and sometimes mischief-maker. In contrast, the Chorus sets the stage, engages the audience, and allows the great and mythic characters to act out their history. The Chorus elevates the historical events and characters to mythic proportions, making certain that the audience is along for the ride. He claims the events of the play are too great to fit into the theatre. He asks the audience "gently to hear, kindly to judge our play" (1.0.34) and invokes their "imaginary forces" (1.0.38) to assist in making the story real. It is these imaginary forces he uses to great effect.

Using FFCST with an eye toward interacting with the audience *as the text dictates* helps show the power of direct address. Among FFCST's tenets, one of the most useful to the Chorus is that which requires that references to characters and items have parallel action onstage. For example, in the opening monologue, when the Chorus indicates "the war-like Harry" (1.0.5), the actor playing Harry enters

the playing space. At "Two Mighty Monarchies" (1.0.20), Harry and the French King take their places on opposite sides of the stage. As the instigator, the actor playing the Chorus slavishly suits the action to the word and expects audience response and interaction, to the point of waiting for answers to questions or signs of participation before continuing with his text. Each monologue is filled with examples of the power of direct address to engage the audience.

Throughout the play, the reappearance of the Chorus consistently reinforces the participatory aspect of direct address. For example, in the second Chorus monologue, he announces, "Now all the youth of England are on fire" (2.0.1), and suiting action to the word, the audience cheered and rumbled. It was obvious that they recognized their place in the world of the play. Following the FFCST convention of allowing pronouns to dictate proximity, the Chorus walked into the house and talked to audience on the lines, "What mightst *thou* do, what honor would *thee* do" (2.0.18-19) and "O England, model to *thy* outward greatness" (2.0.16). The dramatic action of the play, the mounting war between France and England, directly impacts the commoners of the realm. The Chorus brings this conflict quite literally to the audience.

Continuing this trend, the third Chorus monologue is a virtual soundscape. The Chorus acts as a maestro playing the responsive audience with these evocative words all suggesting participation from them: "Upon the hempen tackle ship-boys climbing"; "Hear the shrill Whistle which doth order give / To sound confus'd" (3.0.8-10); "creeping Wind," "furrowed Sea" (3.0.11-12); and "now the devilish cannon touches" (3.0.33). In our laboratory setting, the audience and actors answered the Chorus' every command; actors suited action to the word, and audience provided aural atmosphere. It was into this martial and vital atmosphere that King Harry and his entourage entered for act 3, scene 1. They strode onto the stage and the king himself invoked direct address, speaking "Dear friends" to the audience. The spectators that were endowed as "England" and "the youth of England" in the previous Chorus monologue, the king himself addressed as his army. The Chorus and all other actors have told of his might, his power, his knowledge. The audience has watched him in scenes, experienced his potency, but now, they meet him face to face. As his subjects and his army, the audience willingly follows his instructions:

> Now set the Teeth, and stretch the Nostril wide,
> Hold hard the Breath, and bend up every Spirit
> To his full height. (3.1.15-17)

Here half the audience stood; the king continued:

> I see you stand like Grey-hounds in the slips,

The rest of the audience rose to their feet.

> Straying upon the Start. The Game's afoot:
> Follow your Spirit; and upon this Charge,
> Cry,

In an electrifying moment, actors and audience echoed the king as commanded, shouting together:

> God for Harry, England, and Saint George! (3.1.31-35)

The Chorus had groomed the audience to function as King Harry's de facto army.

The play then moves into battle sequences, and the audience is fully aware of its role in the play—they are part of the victorious army watching Harry's ascent to power. This play is not constructed to reveal an unexpected truth, or question established norms or forms; it is a familiar story that reinforces an ideal of national pride, honor, and a lionized leader. The structure of the play and the playwright's conscious use of direct address, especially through the Chorus, support this reading of *Henry V*.

Parallels between the Chorus in *Henry V* and Falstaff in *Henry IV* are appropriate, as both are primary examples of the efficacy and use of direct address. However, the role Falstaff plays in *Henry IV* is inappropriate within the context of *Henry V*. The rejection and elimination of Falstaff in *2 Henry IV* was structurally (and politically) necessary to formalize the relationship between the audience and actor and, therefore, control any direct address commentary on the action of *Henry V*. The Chorus prepares the audience to see Henry in a light Falstaff never would allow. The "mad wag" (1.2.39) assumes the port of Mars. The honor of war, dismissed as a "mere scutcheon" in *1 Henry IV* (5.2.138), is instead a celebration of patriotism and faith in the king in *Henry V*.

Prince Hal has effectively thrown off his previous father figures in *Henry IV*—both Henry IV and Falstaff are dead and forgotten, while the new king has total command of his troops and audience. His new role has been enabled by the Chorus, who involves the audience in the action, grooms their responses, and overrides their objections. The Chorus serves the king and his mythic reputation. Falstaff was an antithesis: fun and clever, but ultimately politically inconvenient.

The lab production of *Henry V* furthered our conception of direct address as a playwright's tool, as well as an actor's

performance tool. It demonstrated that Shakespeare as a playwright intentionally and meaningfully utilized direct address in dramatic, thematic, and structural ways. *Henry V* was an experiment that gave us a control sample and additional definitive examples of direct address. We conclude that the power of direct address, as a convention for the production of Shakespeare, can restore a vitality and immediacy to the work which is lacking in modern productions as a result of theatre-going etiquette.

Notes

1. Morris LeRoy Arnold, *The Soliloqies of Shakespeare: A Study in Technique* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1965), 2.

2. Ibid., 3.

3. Ibid., 4.

4. Cited in Jean E. Howard, *Shakespeare's Art of Orchestration: Stage Technique and Audience Response* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 53.

5. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* in *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition,* ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: Norton and Company, 1997), 3.2.135. Subsequent references to Shakespeare's plays from this volume will be noted in the text.

6. Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby, eds., *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1983), 68.

7. Kent Thompson, "Operation *Macbeth*: How the Alabama Shakespeare Festival Took the Front Line in a New Cultural Campaign," *American Theatre* 22 (February 2005): 78.11.

8. Robert Schwartz, ed. *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theatre: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function,* by Robert Weimann (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 7.

9. Patrick Tucker, *Secrets of Acting Shakespeare: The Original Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

10. Kenneth McLeish, *The Theatre of Aristophanes* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1980), 88-89.

11. Niall W. Slater, "Making the Aristophanic Audience," *American Journal of Philology* 120, no. 2 (1999): 355-56.

"The Lightning Which Doth Cease To Be:" The Human Experience of Time in *Romeo And Juliet*

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his essay will interrogate the formulation of time in *Romeo and Juliet* and will root this investigation in Augustinian temporal concepts. It will suggest that a conscious artifice pervades the time schemas of the play and will seek to establish how this artifice relates to the play's application of Augustine's figuration of time.

There is an enthralling capacity to the love narrative at the heart of *Romeo and Juliet*, which leads Julia Kristeva to term it, partly in ironic response to the common perception of the play, "the most beautiful love dream in the Western world."[1] Kristeva goes on to investigate the subconscious violence that disrupts this "love dream." In this way she calls on post-structuralist techniques that seek out "the totality [that] has its centre elsewhere."[2] Kristeva locates the displaced centre of "the totality" (love in *Romeo and Juliet*) in "hatred at the very origin of the amorous surge[, a] hatred that antedates the veil of amorous idealization."[3] Thus, she finds no element of parody in the play, but rather roots the destabilization of the love narrative in realistic psychological impulses in the protagonists. I propose a similar project: to look at the way the overt love narrative is subverted in the play. However, in a manner perhaps closer to Bakhtin's utilization of the concept heteroglossia (if it is not overly anachronistic to apply a theory developed to analyze the novel to early modern drama), I would suggest there is a parodic element in *Romeo and Juliet*, especially prevalent in the temporal structures of the play, that deliberately undermines the realism of the love narrative.

The experience of time presented in Sonnet 129 is a useful introduction to the temporal themes of *Romeo and Juliet*.[4] The sonnet approaches the problem of man in time by recounting a moment of lust, which the poem's speaker uses as a moment of heightened perception to investigate the temporal meaning of experience. The

sonnet demonstrates that due to the temporal mutability of memory our deepest instincts can appear in retrospect as baseless illusions. Within the sonnet, the meaning of the impulse to action is reinterpreted as the speaker works back into past time, tracing first the departure from and then the approach to the vital moment. The loosening of the speaker's orientation in time reaches its apotheosis in the third quatrain of the sonnet, where the event (the moment of lust) is repeatedly redefined from shifting temporal perspectives:

> Mad in pursuit and in possession so,
> Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
> A bliss in proof, and proved, a very woe,
> Before a joy proposed, behind a dream.[5]

Working forward through memory, the "mad" of pursuit in the present, which we might understand as the past of the event itself imagined as the present, reaches over into the present "possession" of the moment. However, when the speaker tries to work backwards through time—"Had, having, and in quest to have"—the meaning of experience is confronted with an odd reversal: The most recent event in time, the future of the event itself, must be rendered in the past—"had"; the event itself is located in the progressive—"having"—to convey its "now-ness"; and the most distant past of sensation that the event entails, the anticipation of the moment, is rendered as a present that defines itself by reference to the future—"in quest to have." Thus, the subject's experience of time is oriented around the moment of heightened perception, negating the moment of telling that the sonnet's existence proposes. Yet the onward flux of time that works to distance the speaker from the moment renders this meaning illusive. This distancing, as a feature of poetic investigation, is marked in the reduced clarity of the adjective usage, where "mad," denoting a specific mental state at certain specific points of the experience, becomes "extreme," denoting a general impression of the whole of the experience.

As the speaker perseveres and attempts to define this extremity, understanding is fractured. The meaning of the moment is destabilized in the perception of the speaker, so that the lust as a past event becomes "woe"; yet this meaning is refuted by the lingering impression of the "bliss in proof" of the moment itself that the speaker seems to recall. This uncertainty proves fatal to the ability of the speaker to investigate the moment in poetry. In a final attempt to reach back, the speaker cannot locate the experience

as it was felt when present, but only the meaning before it was enacted in time—"a joy proposed"—and the elusive form it seems to retain in memory after it has become past—"a dream." On one level, then, Sonnet 129 makes a protest against the constant tendency of human experience in time to become severed from the events which engender its meaning.

In making an acute examination of the effects of poetic investigation on the human experience of events in time, the sonnet concisely broaches temporal themes investigated in *Romeo and Juliet*. This essay will expand an exploration of similar thematic acuity in Shakespeare's early tragedy, first, in applying Augustine's temporal conceptualizations as investigative paradigm; second, in interrogating the implications of the play's deliberately problematized plot chronology; third, in relating the self-conscious artifice of Shakespeare's verse to Augustine's conception of poetry in time; and finally, in tracing the pessimistic metaphorical figuration of time encoded in the utterances of the play's characters.

An anxiety with the human experience of time, similar to that in Sonnet 129, informs a central discussion of St. Augustine's *Confessions.* In Book Eleven, Augustine establishes a paradox of time based on the insubstantiality of the concepts *past, present* and *future.* Both *past* and *future* are by definition nonexistent: the *past* meaning is no longer, the *future* meaning not yet. Located as an infinitely narrow division between the *past* and *future*, the *present* meaning proves equally elusive, for the defining characteristic of the *present* is its tendency constantly to pass. It exists only by immediately ceasing to exist. The implication seems to be that time has being only because it tends to non-being.[6] Where, though, does one locate human consciousness in this shimmering, fluid present that has a tendency to constantly negate the meaning of itself and that slips from one's grasp as soon as one attempts to conceive of the qualities of its existence?

A vital first step in Augustine's constitution of time from apparent nonexistence is the identification of, besides the presence-of-the-present, a presence-of-the-past and a presence-of-the-future. In this conceptual schema, the past is existent in the present as memory, and this takes the form of conceptualized lines of action that, projected forward into time, anticipate future events in the present.[7] Of course, in making this formulation Augustine commits himself to an investigation solely of the time of human consciousness. The succession of events in the world that we perceive is an internally performed organization, a triumph of human imagination. Yet one might also note the anticipation of

phenomenology in Augustine's system, whereby all we know of time in the world is a projection of perceptual data onto the mechanism of consciousness.

While these philosophical preliminaries may seem initially to have little to do with early modern drama, the influence of the fifth-century theologian on Renaissance, and more specifically Shakespearian, thought is well established. William J. Bouwsma looks at the utilization of Augustinian conceptions in the Renaissance, finding key strands of Augustinian thinking in Petrarch and Boccaccio (who nearly gave up public life to join an Augustinian monastery) and in justifications for Protestant Reformation, especially Calvin.[8] Bouwsma also suggests Augustine's unknowable God leads to the secularization of the late sixteenth century of the kind Machiavelli propounds, because it implies the affairs of the world should be based on solid realities.[9] Meredith Gill finds Augustine one of the key thinkers for early modern scholars: "Renaissance readers encountered him long before they knew Plato."[10] Whether or not Shakespeare drew directly on Augustine or on Renaissance temporal structures influenced by Augustinian theology, it seems clear that Augustinian concepts, such were their importance to the period, can aid us in an understanding of time in *Romeo and Juliet*. Ann Livermore indicates that this prevalence of Augustine in Renaissance thought arrives mostly via Erasmus and Vives (Thomas Thorpe, publisher of *Shakespeare's Sonnets,* also published Vives' *Commentaries on The City of God*).[11] Livermore also finds numerous thematic links, even signs of parallel imagery, in Shakespeare's plays and Augustine's theology. Though she does not specifically mention *Romeo and Juliet*, she notes Augustine's influence is "to be seen chiefly in plays where Shakespeare was re-working and strengthening older plots,"[12] a category that certainly includes his treatment of the tragic Veronese lovers.

On occasion critics seem to tend unwittingly towards an Augustinian reading. For example, Vimala Herman discusses the confusion Juliet suffers when she must take Friar Lawrence's distilling liquor:

> O, look! Methinks I see my cousin's ghost
> Seeking out Romeo, that did split his body
> Upon a rapier's point. Stay, Tybalt, stay!
> Romeo, I come...[13]

In Juliet's confused blurring of chronology, Herman finds past, present and future "intermingled in the domain of the 'present'."[14] Without acknowledging it, Herman has hit upon exactly the formulation Augustine uses to escape his paradox of time.

A close analysis of the Prologue of the play serves as introduction to the application of Augustinian temporal concepts in *Romeo and Juliet.* While seeming to attribute a tragic destiny to the lines of action of the kind Augustine proposes, the Prologue also examines the role that human imagination plays in the understanding of time. The play is established as an artifact, a product of "toil" (line 14) given at least a figuratively physical existence: "we lay our scene" (line 2). This laying down of the play-space proposes a present moment in the meta-dramatic existence of the play as staged artifact. As the Prologue progresses, it appears that this play-artifact is constituted as a meeting point of the lines of action in time. The "ancient grudge" and the products of the Capulet and Montague "loins" (lines 3, 5) meet in a coalescing of past potential in the present of the play's enactment. As art-artifact, though, the anticipation of future that these lines of action propose is not configured as potential, as Augustine suggests, but as certainty: "Doth with their death bury their parents' strife" (line 8). This cursory sketch of the play's ending at the very start establishes for the audience that "How will it happen?"—not "What will happen?"—is the significant question to be answered by the play, and therefore, that the principle concentration of the play will be the manner in which these lines of action merge. This application of Augustinian concepts within a structure that demonstrates awareness of its own artifice is characteristic of Shakespeare's treatment of time in *Romeo and Juliet.*

In apparently making a claim for tragic destiny as responsible for the play's events, the Chorus encapsulates, in a present moment of telling, the entire lives of the protagonists: "From forth the fatal loins of these two foes / A pair of star-crossed lovers take their life" (lines 5-6). The bleak vision of human existence proposed in these two lines is perhaps clearer if we note the similarity of a later image proposed by Samuel Beckett: "They give birth astride a grave."[15] In fact, in starting at the very point of conception, Shakespeare's couplet, even more thoroughly than Beckett, traces the inevitability of his protagonists' path to death. Not only does Shakespeare present here an introduction to the dramatic compression his play will utilize, but he seems also to introduce the relationship of poetic compression of the human span to an understanding of the present existence of past and future.

In returning, near the end of the Prologue, to a meta-dramatic discussion of the length of the play's fictional events as "now the two hour's traffic of our stage" (line 12), Shakespeare signals not

only the indifference of his dramatic compression to the Aristotelian Unity of Time, but also projects forward to an actual future, external to the events of the play, when the drama will finish. Thus, the play establishes itself as an artifact able to leave the constraints of chronological time, a projection into chronological time of the human consciousness of time. "Now" is also significant here: The Prologue seems to claim that these "two hours" will function as a kind of extended present.

Problematic plot chronology is an important motif in the destabilization of time in *Romeo and Juliet*, though it must be conceded that this is not a paradigm accepted by all critics. Following a measured degree of disagreement in the nineteenth century, understanding of the play's time span has achieved a level of consensus, at least in recent popular criticism. In the introduction to the New Penguin edition of the play, T.J.B. Spencer explains the play in terms of "five dawns," finding "Shakespeare gives very precise indications"[16] of this time structure. J.L. Halio also proposes the "five dawns" temporal hypothesis in his book-length guide to the play, as does Brian Gibbons in the introduction to the Arden edition.[17] If one follows the Spencer formulation, though, there appears to be a piece of carelessness in Q2, the "good" quarto, for in introducing the vial of distilling liquor, which he gives to Juliet to induce a death-like state, Friar Laurence notes, "And in this borrowed likeness of shrunk death / Thou shalt continue two-and-forty hours" (4.1.105-106). His forecast proves mistaken if we impose the "five dawns" hypothesis onto the play, for in this time schema Juliet awakens on the night of her proposed wedding day, about twenty-four hours after taking the potion.

Spencer notices this, finding it, in his introduction, to be the "only serious discrepancy"[18] in Shakespeare's version of the tragic lovers. However, when the watchman stumbles into the newly opened Capulet tomb at the end of the play, after Romeo and Juliet have committed suicide, he is astounded at "Juliet bleeding, warm and newly dead, / Who hath lain thus two days newly buried" (5.3.174-75). In his commentary on the text, Spencer notes this pronouncement of the watchman to be consistent with Friar Laurence's directions regarding the length of the potion's effect. He fails to note, however, that it is entirely inconsistent with the time schema commonly used to understand the play, which he employs in his introduction, to propound the theme of four "momentous and breathtaking"[19] days.

The internal consistency of these features, Friar Laurence's "two-and-forty hours," verified by the watchman's "two days newly

buried," suggests not a discrepancy, at least not of the kind that Spencer proposes, but an extra day: a day unaccounted for by the "five dawns" hypothesis. But what other evidence do we have concerning the chronology of the play's final days? When Balthasar first reaches Romeo in Mantuan exile he says, "I saw her laid low in her kindred's vault / And presently took post to tell it you" (5.1.20-27). An audience might be inclined here to understand that his viewing of the funeral procession leads him to immediately set off for Mantua, thus supporting the "five dawns" hypothesis. However, ambiguity is added if we note that in early modern usage, *lay/laid* can be used intransitively, for example, in Francis Bacon: "Nature will lay buried a great time."[20] Balthasar could mean either that he saw Juliet being laid as part of the funeral, or that he saw her lying in the tomb (if perhaps it was open in some viewing capacity).

If we find sufficient ambiguity in the meaning of Balthasar's words to propose one day of non-action, followed by a glooming dawning on Friday morning, instead of the commonly accepted Thursday, we must alter our conception of the incessant rush of time that criticism commonly affirms the protagonists are caught in. If, however, we find insufficient ambiguity in Balthasar's words to doubt the "five dawns" hypothesis laid out by Spencer, we are faced with an even more radical instability in the time schema of the play, one that figures as a chronologic antinomy, a dual time system informed in each case with localized textual support, yet which is globally inconsistent.

We might argue, as scholars have, that this time inconsistency suggests merely that the play was rapidly written, or that a young Shakespeare unconcerned with publication overlooked these details. Of course, we might also ascribe the difficulty to unreliable printing practices or the sources of the printed material (possibly made from Shakespeare's foul papers, or the unreliable memories of actors). There will probably always be issues of textual doubt concerning Shakespeare's plays. We cannot be certain we have his finished intention before us in T.J.B. Spencer's New Penguin edition, or even that Shakespeare ever conceived of drama as being something that should be definitively, authoritatively finished the way Jonson did in publishing his *Works* in 1616.

Often critics have sought to brush away the difficulties that a close reading of the play broaches, with arguments grounded in the problem of textual doubt. Granville-Barker, for example, claims this level of engagement with the detail of the play to be "futile," as Shakespeare was only intending a general "effect,"[21] and Grant

White finds there is "no vainer"[22] activity than this type of critical practice. Such claims, however, sit uneasily with the very obvious focus on specific details of time in the play (Driver counts 103 specific references to the actual time of the action taking place).[23] Certainly, we must be careful if we use the potential for textual doubt as a method of suppression each time we uncover details that do not fit our preconceived vision of the plays: in this way one might merely balk at the very complexities which reveal the limitations of one's conceptions. If one maintains a commitment to detailed reading and is not ideologically opposed to a considered form of "Bardolatry," one might find the chronologic destabilization consistent with the design of Shakespeare.

Arguments against the intentionality of this problematized chronology are also weakened if one considers the unusual focus Shakespeare directs to these two days, the Wednesday and Thursday that fall at the end of his play. Capulet's opinion veers between the suitability of these two days for the proposed date of his daughter's marriage. At first he decides, on Monday evening, just hours after his daughter's marriage to Romeo,

> Well, Wednesday is too soon.
> A' Thursday let it be. A' Thursday, tell her,
> She shall be married to this noble earl.
> Will you be ready? Do you like this haste? (3.4.19-20)

In his last comment Capulet seems almost to address the audience, with a reference to the way he, as agent, has sped along the plot of the play. He boasts at his haste, yet is unaware that the play, in staging Romeo and Juliet's marriage a day after their first meeting, has already set the pace of a more rapid romance. When Juliet consents, on Tuesday evening, Capulet suddenly decides to move the wedding forward to Wednesday: "I'll have this knot knit up tomorrow morning" (3.4.118). There seems little narrative effect generated by this shifting wedding date except the direction of audience attention to the very days the play's uncertain chronology problematizes.

This direction of audience attention is sustained for several scenes. Repeatedly, characters stress the plan for the Thursday wedding. In fact, through scene 3.4, when Capulet and Paris make specific plans for the wedding, to 4.2, when the wedding is moved forward to Wednesday, "Thursday" is mentioned fourteen times in connection with the wedding. For one reason or another, Shakespeare worked hard to draw audience attention to this Thursday. It so happens this is the very day the play works to both

introduce and deny the ambiguous extra day. Whether or not a critical explanation can be devised to account for the apparent inconsistencies, it seems clear, in the repetition of "Thursday," that a primary concern of Shakespeare's text is to foreground the site of these temporal difficulties.

The incessant rush of time that seems to drive forward the plot of *Romeo and Juliet* is a commonplace of criticism, but critics unwilling to find in the play a parody of its own artifice have tended to downplay traces of the time schema of Arthur Brooke's *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* that Shakespeare trails throughout his *Romeo and Juliet*. Critics have employed the term "double time"[24] (coined by Raymond Chapman) to review these repeated instances of chronologic inconsistency, similar in form to the often noted double chronology of *Othello*. The destabilizing this inflicts upon the play narrative, though, is not always fully investigated.

Shakespeare seems especially to have lent to the Capulets an incongruence of reaction that follows from incorporating directly aspects of Brooke's plot into his much compressed time scheme. For example, as in Brooke, repeatedly they decry Juliet's excessive tears following Romeo's banishment, which they believe stem from grief for lost Tybalt: "Evermore weeping for your cousin's death? / What, wilt thou wash him from his grave with tears?" (3.5.69-70). This protest from Lady Capulet seems less reasonable if one considers it comes little more than twelve hours after Tybalt's death, perhaps even before his funeral.

Equally, Capulet's position regarding his daughter's marriageability, which veers wildly enough in Brooke's poem (but over the course of around five months), is arguably even less internally consistent in Shakespeare, where the changes are affected over the course of about thirty hours. Early in the play he expresses concern to a suitor, Paris, for his daughter's youth:

> She hath not seen the change of fourteen years.
> Let two more summers wither in their pride
> Ere we may think her ripe to be a bride. (1.2.9-11)

He seems a gentle, understanding father (quite unlike Egeus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example), a father concerned for his daughter's desires: "But woo her, gentle Paris, get her heart. / My will to her consent is but a part" (1.2.16-17).

This is quite at odds with Capulet's anxiety to wed his daughter on the Monday evening of the play, just one day later:

> Things have fallen out, sir, so unluckily

> That we have had no time to move our daughter
> Look you, she loved her kinsman Tybalt dearly,
> And so did I. Well, we were born to die. (3.4.104)

Here the caring father of act one has significantly changed to one who seems, in the use of the verb "move," to objectify his daughter. This Capulet implies that the unhappy deaths of Mercutio and Tybalt have stalled the marriage process, yet a day earlier he indicated no sense of urgency. The metrical division created by the internal rhyme, "And so did I. Well, we were born to die," also emphasizes the trite nature of Capulet's moralizing and its insufficient gravity as a platitude spoken the very day of Tybalt's death. While making tragic moves, Shakespeare is encoding farce in the insufficient grasp of events that he gives his characters. This inappropriate lightness is replicated a few lines on by Paris, "These times of woe afford no time to woo" (3.4.8), where the absurd, alliterative slant rhyme points to Shakespeare's parodic tone. We might note that these absurdities are grouped around time motifs: the absurd speed of events and attitudes in the play suggest some alternative time schema lingering behind events, and the brevity of these aphorisms somehow mirrors this narrative rapidity on a stylistic level.

The play also seems to indicate a lackadaisical attitude to time in institutional Verona. After his failure to deliver the vital message to Romeo in exile, Friar John explains he did not manage to leave Verona because, having believed him to have visited a plague house, the "searchers of the town" confined him, "sealed up the doors, and would not let us forth, / So that my speed to Mantua was there stayed" (5.2.8, 11-12). If one postulates that Friar Laurence dispatches Friar John immediately after giving Juliet the distilling liquor, which is at the very earliest around noon on Tuesday, and Friar John returns shortly before Romeo enters Juliet's tomb, in the "five dawns" hypothesis on Wednesday at around midnight, the plague quarantine has detained him a maximum of thirty-six hours. However, as the standard quarantine period in sixteenth-/ seventeenth-century Italy was forty days (the word derives from the Italian *quaranta,* for forty), this detail points to an artificial compression in Shakespeare's version of the story. Taken together, these traces of an original time schema destabilize the heuristic framework supplied by the paradigms of the overt love narrative.

A curious parallel exists between Augustine's escape from his paradox of time and the poetic treatment of time in *Romeo and Juliet.* Augustine works towards his final formulation of "time as a distention of the soul"[25] with an extended analysis of the meaning of poetry in time. The pronouncement of a long syllable, Augustine

suggests, presents a problem to a conception of time not rooted in the soul, for at the point of sounding the long syllable, the outer boundaries of the tone are not yet established. It has a starting point, now past; but without having reached an ending point, we cannot establish the syllable as having passed. Therefore, there is an extended present in the consciousness of the speaker at the point of sounding a long tone. Augustine builds from this awareness to think about the relationship of the successive units in poetry. The speaker of poetry is confronted with the internal division of the poem into syllable, word, line and stanza units, yet the music that the speaker is conscious of depends on an apprehension at one moment of all the units of the poem that have already passed. There can be no poem unless we keep a "psychic impress"[26] of all the units together in the distended present of the soul. Augustine also suggests that the speaker of the poem runs over in anticipation all the units of sound to come at the moment before pronouncing the poem, and holds in imagination all that has passed and all that is to come as the poem progresses. We grasp the poem in its wholeness, and this interconnection of meaning and music illustrates the way events in time for us are a function of consciousness.

These ideas can be useful in approaching the sonnet that Romeo and Juliet make together upon first meeting at the Capulet party. If one understands the four lines of verse that Juliet makes merely as a conventional response to Romeo's four-line verse introduction, common especially in Shakespeare's comedies, then in reality the dialogue is fashioned into a sonnet purely by the insistence of Romeo's rhyming replies. From the third quatrain of the sonnet, the following interchange does not imply the creation of verse any more stylized than much of Shakespeare's iambic pentameter:

> *Romeo:* Have not saints lips, and holy palmers too?
> *Juliet:*   Ay, pilgrim, lips that they must use in prayer. (1.5.101-102)

It is Romeo's insistence that develops the conceit and rhyme scheme into sonnet form: "O, then, dear saint, let lips do what hands do! / They pray: grant thou, lest faith turn to despair" (1.5.103-104). This pattern is continued into the couplet, where Juliet's apparent passivity is mimicked in taking the first line—it is not a couplet unless a satisfactory second line is provided, which Romeo's fulfills. The creation of a sonnet that they have enacted, then, has been due to the determination of Romeo to shape their first meeting to poetic form. As the sonnet closes, just before they

take their first kiss, Juliet must be caught in an odd feeling with regard to the unfolding experience. She sees how Romeo has fashioned their opening exchange, itself an enchanting display of courtly wit, but perhaps only intuitively she also perceives his wit has offered her a novel experience of time. The sonnet, by taking its meaning in all the interaction they have thus far made, gives to Juliet an extended present moment in a way she has perhaps never known before. In Augustine's understanding of poetry as it is apprehended by the soul, since she began speaking to Romeo time has literally ceased to move forward. After such an experience, it is no wonder she submits so readily to be kissed.

Juliet, though, quickly develops misgivings to this technique. After he kisses her a second time she replies, "You kiss by th' book" (1.5.110). Perhaps Juliet realizes the way Romeo engineers the wondrous experience of time that she has recently undergone. He has stopped time for her, but he has done so by making their experience art, an artifice. His wit, delightful at the moment of experience, upon reflection is exposed as a typical courtly practice, merely a sophisticated variation of the love verses a young noble woman such as Juliet would have received in excess. Surely, we must share Juliet's ambivalence at Romeo's success in our evaluation of the love narrative unfolding, whether or not we long for a purely sentimental drama.

The manner in which the encoding of artifice in the play's problematic textual details works to interrogate the sentimentality of the love narrative is concisely illustrated by observing the variance between Shakespeare's text and the long stage tradition of the play. This dissimilarity perhaps peaked with Garrick's modifications made for his 1748 production, which were played far into the nineteenth century, where as well as an altered tomb scene and much reduced punning, Rosaline was cut "to render Romeo's love more uniform."[27] Surely, there is a parallel to be drawn between Garrick's unwillingness to stage Shakespeare's problematic details and the critics' unwillingness to consider the full implications of the play's textual manipulations of time. One might argue that to determinedly ignore the parodic elements that Shakespeare's play seems to encode is to miss the extent to which the play examines the role of artifice in artistic representation.

Certainly, Rosaline presents a complication to the love narrative. The rapidity of Romeo's love for Juliet is highlighted with consideration of the apparently sustained nature of his feelings for Rosaline, which we can deduce from Montague's observation of his son's love melancholy: "Many a morning hath he been

there seen / With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew" (1.1.131-32). Many critics note the way Romeo, in the early scenes of the play, seems a parody of the stereotypical unrequited lover. A comic Romeo, foolishly caught up in feelings irrelevant to his destiny, though, was not to neoclassical tastes. Criticism commonly explains that Romeo's patently artificial feelings for Rosaline are introduced to suggest a contrast with the genuine in his love for Juliet. Does this neat idea, though, stand up to a close examination of the play?

It is true that the popular travesties of the nineteenth century imply the play as a whole has an excess of sentiment. But it is eminently arguable that the play itself encodes an attack on sentimental love in its parody of the sonnet sequence, which achieved rejuvenated popularity in early modern England following the 1591 publication of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*. Romeo's lovelorn behavior, itself based around a disrupted appreciation of time, is parodied by Mercutio, who remarks, "Now is he for the numbers that Petrarch flowed in" (2.4.38-39). This meta-dramatic remark seems placed in case the audience does not realize the origin of the satire at hand. As a contribution to the disruption of the "reality" of the play this causes, Wells suggests we imagine *Titus Andronicus* performed with a copy of Ovid on the stage.[28]

In *The Sonnets* Shakespeare also seems keen to parody this type of Petrarchan element. The speaker of Sonnet 130 repeatedly denies the similes applied by other sonneteers: "My mistress eyes are nothing like the sun/ Coral is far more red than her lips red."[29] In fact, it seems Romeo's love for Juliet in the balcony scene does not move very far from the artifice that Shakespeare so evidently felt was ripe for parody. In the famous first line (quoted above), the speaker of Sonnet 130 does not accept the solar qualities Romeo, like other Petrarchan sonneteers, finds in his paramour: "Juliet is the sun" (2.2.3). To Romeo's claim that Juliet's voice is "softest music" (2.2.166), Sonnet 130 suggests, "Music hath a far more pleasing sound" (line 10) than the voice of a lover. The speaker of Sonnet 130 would be equally cynical to Romeo's claim that Juliet is "a winged messenger of heaven" (2.2.28): the commitment to realism in the line, "My mistress when she walks treads on the ground" (line 12), seems both to acknowledge the merely figurative nature of love sonnets (obviously Romeo does not really believe Juliet can fly), yet maintains that this type of figurative approach, in choosing patently impossible tropes, is an inferior apprehension of the love object. By the standards of Sonnet 130, Romeo's commitment to the figures of the sonnet

tradition, steeped in artifice, undermines his claims to sincerity of feeling. In light of this, can we really establish a significant difference between Romeo's approach to Juliet and to Rosaline?

The question of time is vital to the jaded inauthenticity that permeates Romeo's love talk in the balcony scene. The artifice of Romeo's conceits is matched in the non-naturalistic rapidity of the deepening of their love, which takes them from strangers to a proposition of marriage in about five minutes of stage time. Just as she experiences ambivalent emotions upon kissing Romeo, so too Juliet is doubtful in the face of all Romeo's artful protestations of love in the balcony scene. Her anxiety at the gap opening between her experience and the narrative pace of events culminates in one of the play's central images of time:

> I have no joy of this contract tonight.
> It is too rash, too unadvised, too sudden;
> Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be
> Ere one can say "It lightens." (2.2.117-20)

The flash of light in darkness is a figurative repetition in Shakespeare's text that appears to have no precedent in Brooke's poem. It occurs five times in *Romeo and Juliet*. In complaining of the speed with which Romeo drives forth their love, Juliet conjures a vision of human consciousness caught in time. Like the speaker of Sonnet 129, it is the intensity of feeling inspired by love/lust that opens Juliet's perception to this mechanism. In this state, Juliet perceives the present moment as a lightning flash in the dark. Because of the process of thought-in-time, the moment is gone before one can understand what has happened. The implication of this is that, because of the incessant onward flux of time, man's consciousness of his experience is of something constantly running away from him, contingent on the vagaries of imperfect memory, never correlating with actual experience. Rather than Kristeva's idea that love in the play leads Shakespeare "to accentuate the *present moment*,"[30] we might suggest instead it is the very impossibility of the present moment that is accentuated. As a side note, one might find that the quibble, whose frequency in the play so troubles neoclassical critics, is a stylistic representation of this gap between experience and consciousness. In a punning dialogue, understanding lingers behind as speech runs on, providing a succinct demonstration of thought-in-time.

Whether or not Shakespeare intends to directly address Augustine's theory of time, the image of lightning at night presents a literalization of the very paradox of time with which Augustine begins his meditations on temporality. Just as Augustine escapes

from the pessimistic implications of his paradox by examining man's experience of poetry, so too Romeo uses poetry to manipulate Juliet's perception of time. Considered this way, we might find Juliet's ambivalence to Romeo's poetry and her use of the lightning metaphor indicate, in the philosophical system of the play, a refusal of Augustine's escape from his paradox of time. By representing it as a lightning flash, Juliet signals her perception of their love as an extended present moment, yet rejects the extended present as a mechanism for escaping the distancing of man from his experience by time. Of course, this perception comes to Juliet because of the patently artificial pacing of the events of the play she experiences. At the heart of this issue, then, is a paradoxical evasion: Juliet refutes Augustine's conception of the human experience of time, but only because her experience of events is temporally artificial.

As a dramatic demonstration of the elusive moment of experience that the lightning image suggests, we might consider a gap at the very centre of *Romeo and Juliet*. If we take Sonnet 129 as our guide, the consummation of the marriage vows should be considered the moment of the most heightened experience of the protagonists, yet this moment is absent. Just as the moment of lust in Sonnet 129 proves ultimately unrecoverable by the action of memory, so in *Romeo and Juliet*, this love scene must remain unstaged. Juliet's anxious wait for the moment—"Gallop apace you fiery footed steeds.../ Spread thy close curtain, love performing night" (3.2.1-5)—is followed, in the play's references to the moment, by the erotic symbolism of the second dawn parting: "Night's candles are burnt out" (3.5.9). The key interaction between Romeo and Juliet, then, the consummation of their marriage, is dramatically configured as before/after. As Belsey puts it, calling on Lacan's conception of desire as unable to name itself, "Desire is what is *not* said."[31]

One might argue that this is more due to the practicalities of Elizabethan censorship than the modesty of the Chamberlain's Men (at least, if we go by the profusion of bawdy puns in the play), yet one of the reasons Shakespeare studies attract so much attention is Shakespeare's ability to turn the limitations of the stage to his advantage. He cannot stage the love scene, but its central importance, staged as elusive before/after, emphasizes the human experience of existence in time. "The centre," as Derrida states, "is elsewhere."[32] Like Juliet's lightning flash that is unrecoverable from time, this non-scene is characterized by its absence. Rather

than the moment, the audience sees distance build between the protagonists and their experience of the moment.

Augustine's lines of action are radically disturbed by this conception of the present moment. We might see that it is the very un-recoverability of where the lines of action issue which forces onto the characters of the play such an obsession with whence they lead. When Romeo finds Juliet in the tomb, for example, he speaks of "a lightning before death" (5.3.90). We might see this as an extension of the implications of her lightning image. Where before "lightning" was a symbol for thought that is constantly running behind actual experience, here the very impossibility of grasping the moment itself has illuminated that which is inevitable in the future. Death is the only corollary that will answer the problematized time the play locates as human experience.

Certainly, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that the idea of death permeates *Romeo and Juliet*. Perhaps this should not surprise us, for in the short span of the feud-contextualized narrative there are three violent outbursts and five deaths. Death lingers, too, in memory, as Susan, the child of the Nurse. With the apparently concurrent births of Juliet and Susan, "Susan and she.../ Were of an age" (1.3.19-20), Shakespeare makes retrospective play with the concept of future potential. At the point when the Nurse speaks, Susan is long dead, and Juliet alive. Juliet, as long as she lives, will remind the Nurse of the unfulfilled lines of action of her daughter's potential, for Susan, the future-in-the-present, which Augustine uses to escape his paradox of time, has proved an insubstantial nothing.

Indeed, in a play so concerned with temporal lines of action, one would be surprised to find no consideration of the inevitable vanishing point, which all our lines of action anticipate. However, the repeated application of death as figurative paramour of Juliet signals some oddity in the collective imagination of the characters. This figuration is made on at least five separate occasions in the second half of the play, when the diffuse metaphoric occurrences of death seem to focus on this image. One might argue the temporal vision of time that the play impresses upon the characters forces them to this, though Shakespeare rather problematizes this tidy formulation by also giving the idea to Juliet in act one of the play: "My grave is like to be my wedding bed" (1.5.135). As the play progresses, though, the idea assaults the consciousness of the audience in the frequency of its application: "I'll to my wedding bed / And death, not Romeo, take my maidenhead!" (3.2.36-37); "I would the fool were married to her grave!" (3.5.140); "Make the

bridal bed / In that dim monument where Tybalt lies" (3.5.201-202); "Death is my son-in-law. Death is my heir" (4.3.38); "Shall I believe / That unsubstantial death is amorous" (5.3.112-13).

Working from a psychoanalytic position, Julia Kristeva explains that this pervasive death demonstrates "love is supported by hatred."[33] For this reason she finds the suggestion in the play of "death's immanent presence within love."[34] Kristeva's idea, though, fails to take account of the consciously artificial nature of the play's temporal compression and the poetic manipulations of time that the characters impose upon one another. Indeed, there appears to be no hatred in any of the quotations, except Lady Capulet's frustration with her daughter. Instead, one might suggest the peculiar way they personify death as lover is due to the elusive non-scene of love at the centre of the play. The unstaged love consummation is literally reconfigured in the imaginations of the characters, with the inevitability of time, death, in one of the lead roles. This, then, is a conscious artifice: the naturalism of the characters' speech is abandoned for figures that emphasize the play's temporal vision.

In the very final scene, the play seems to emphasize its status as art-artifice. As the "two hours' traffic" of the play draws to a close, Montague and Capulet vow to raise statues of their unfortunate offspring "in pure gold" (5.3.299). If we consider the play as a Queen Mab-like dream, "inconstant as the wind" (1.4.100), what are we to make of this invocation of solidity within the dream, as the dream-space evaporates into nothingness?

Stanley Wells claims that "academic" critics interpret this as Montague and Capulet "revealing false, materialistic values."[35] In fact, there does not appear to be such a marked consensus. Brian Gibbons, for example, finds this a positive proposal that "symbolizes the alchemical transmutation of worldly wealth, property, earth, into the spiritual riches of the heart and imagination."[36] It is true that David Lucking finds some ambivalence in this final gesture: "It is profoundly ironic that a play that depicts the movement from art to life should end with the triumph of art."[37] It seems, though, that Lucking makes an error here. Surely these statues do not represent the transformation of life into art, but rather an artistic construct (statue) within an artistic construct (play) that has already worked to highlight its own artifice. These statues are not a transformation, but a deepening of irony, an emphasis on the awareness of artifice. Lucking is right to recognize irony, but in locating it in an apparent reversal in the presentation of the symbolic entities "art" and "life," he seems not to account for the meta-dramatic irony of these semi-

permanent artifacts projected forward into the future of an imaginary time, as that imaginary time comes to a close.

Again, the play emphasizes its own status as artifact-in-time. Indeed, the concurrence of time motifs with meta-dramatic features in the play indicates an inter-twining of Shakespeare's account of the human experience of time and the medium in which he works. But how is one to marry the self-conscious artifice with the handling of Augustinian time in the play? On one level *Romeo and Juliet* seems to deny, or at least problematize, Augustine's account of the human experience of time, but repeatedly this denial is contingent on a non-naturalistic dramatic staging which seems to refute its applicability to human experience. Shakespeare's characters agonize over the lightning-flash, the unrecoverable moment of experience, but within a chronologic structure that emphasizes its own artifice. They propose art-artifacts whose invocation of future-in-the-present is negated by the ending of the chronologic projection in which they exist.

It is possible there is no escape from this paradoxical evasion, though in closing one might tentatively hypothesize that the dramatic projection of imaginative time into chronological time tends towards a particular framing of the investigation of the human experience of time. If this is so, at least as far as *Romeo and Juliet* is concerned, perhaps Shakespeare emphasizes the artifice of his medium to demonstrate the vision of time that it has provided him.

Notes

1. Julia Kristeva, *"Romeo and Juliet*: Love Hatred in the Couple," in *Shakespearean Tragedy*, ed. John Drakakis (Harlow: Longman, 1992), 302.

2. Jacques Derrida, "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," in *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. David Lodge and Nigel Wood (Harlow: Longman, 2002), 90.

3. Kristeva, "Love Hatred," 305.

4. It is likely, using the "early words" "late words" dating technique, that Sonnets 129 and 130 (also used in this discussion) were written between 1591 and 1595, roughly contemporary with *Romeo and Juliet* (1595-96).

5. William Shakespeare, "Sonnet 129," in *The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett and William Montgomery (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 766.

6. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. William Watts (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912), 11.14.

7. Ibid., 11.18.

8. William J. Bouwsma, "The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought," in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformation*, ed. Hieko A.

Oberman and Thomas J. Brady (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 35-45.

9. Ibid., 46-47.

10. Meredith J., Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7.

11. Anne Livermore, "Shakespeare and St. Augustine," *Quarterly Review* 303 (1965), 181.

12. Ibid., 192.

13. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet,* ed. T.J.B. Spencer (London: Penguin, 1996), 4.3.55-8. Line references in the text refer to this edition.

14. Vimla Herman, "Discourse and Time in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,*" *Language and Literature* 8:2 (1999), 158.

15. Samuel Beckett, *Waiting for Godot: A Tragicomedy in Two Acts* (New York: Grove, 1953), 103.

16. T.J.B. Spencer, introduction to *Romeo and Juliet,* by William Shakespeare (London: Penguin, 1996), 32.

17. J. L. Halio, *Romeo and Juliet: A Guide to the Play* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998); Brian Gibbons, introduction to *Romeo and Juliet*, by William Shakespeare, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1980).

18. Spencer, introduction to *Romeo and Juliet*, 33.

19. Ibid.

20. Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. s.v. "lay."

21. Harley Granville-Barker, *Preface to Romeo and Juliet* (London: Nick Hern Books, 1993), quoted in G. Thomas Tanselle, "Time in *Romeo and Juliet,*" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 15 (1964), 358.

22. Richard Grant White, *Studies in Shakespeare* (New York: AMS Press, 1973), quoted in Tanselle, "Time in *Romeo and Juliet,*" 358.

23. Tom F. Driver, "That Shakespearian Clock: Time and the Vision of Reality in *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest,*" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 15 (1964), 364.

24. Tanselle, "Time in *Romeo and Juliet,*" 354.

25. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, 11.26.

26. John M. Quinn, "The Concept of Time in St. Augustine," *Augustinianum* 5 (1965), 20.

27. David Garrick, *Plays of David Garrick: Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), quoted on The Royal Shakespeare Company, "Romeo and Juliet Stage History Webpage," RSC, http://www.rsc.org.uk/romeo/about/stage (accessed September 18th, 2005).

28. Stanley Wells, "The Challenges of *Romeo and Juliet,*" *Shakespeare Survey: An Annual Survey of Shakespeare Studies and Production* 49 (1996), 6.

29. Shakespeare, "Sonnet 130," *The Complete Works,* 767.

30. Kristeva, "Love Hatred," 300.

31. Catherine Belsey, *Desire: Love Stories in Western Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 18.

32. Derrida, "Sign, Structure and Play," 90.

33. Kristeva, "Love Hatred," 305.

34. Ibid., 300.

35. Wells, "Challenges," 3.

36. Gibbons, introduction to *Romeo and Juliet.*

37. David Lucking, "Uncomfortable Time in *Romeo and Juliet,*" *English Studies* 82 (2001), 126.

A. C. Bradley's Concept of the Sublime
in *Romeo and Juliet*

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For the sake of "long love," Friar Lawrence advises the about-to-be-married Romeo and Juliet to "love moderately" (2.6.14).[1] Harold Bloom, referring to "the erotic greatness of Juliet," claims that "her sublimity is the play."[2] Moderation and sublimity appear to be at odds.[3] My discussion of sublimity in *Romeo and Juliet* teases out five characteristics in a lecture by A. C. Bradley, who used Edmund Burke's 1757 *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* as his springboard. He published an enlarged revision of "The Sublime" in 1909 in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, a collection of essays not included in his 1904 *Shakespearean Tragedy*. Disappointingly, he doesn't use any examples from Shakespeare in this essay, though he does apply "sublime" to Antony's love in his "*Antony and Cleopatra*" essay.

Whereas Burke (and Kant) hold that the beautiful and the sublime are different species (partly because of the transition from the beauty of the eighteenth-century neoclassic style to the sublimity of the nineteenth-century gothic style), Bradley makes the sublime a mode of beauty. He doesn't attempt to define "beauty," but regards it in its broadest sense of what satisfies aesthetically and is distinct from goodness and truth—though, as we'll see with the first characteristic, it's difficult to keep these separate. Next, he suggests five modes of beauty in ascending order: the pretty, the graceful, the beautiful (a narrower application of "beauty" used for comparison), the grand, and the sublime. Many people, he observes, evaluate the latter most highly, but he doesn't claim that this ascent is necessarily in value; also, he acknowledges that an object may possess more than one mode of beauty and that observers may disagree about an object's mode.[4]

Objects belong to one of four categories: physical, such as the sky or sea; vital, i.e., plant or animal nature; works of art; and moral or spiritual figures, ideas, or qualities. (Locating the sublime in an object as well as in ourselves as subjects is antithetical to

Burke and Kant, who placed it solely in observers' mental responses.) Flowers, Bradley says, tend to be pretty, graceful, or beautiful; I would add that a ten-foot sunflower is grand and a field of them as far as the eye can see, sublime. Similarly, he places a village church and a cathedral at opposite ends of the scale.[5] In the play, Juliet advances from the Nurse's "Thou wast the prettiest babe that e'er I nurs'd" (1.3.60) to Montague's implication of her sublimity in "There shall no figure at such rate be set / As that of true and faithful Juliet" (5.3.300-01).

Moving to Bradley's first characteristic, why does the cathedral rank as sublime? Because it impresses us with "greatness, and more—of exceeding or even overwhelming greatness." This greatness—which must remain coupled with beauty in its widest sense—is "of extent—of size, number, or duration."[6] In the play, the night qualifies as sublime. The lovers have no Arden to which they can escape, so the starry night is their transformative space. They pledge themselves to each other under the cloak of the "blessed blessed night" (2.2.139). Juliet tries to hasten "love-performing night" (3.2.5) after her wedding: "Come, gentle night, come loving black-brow'd night, / Give me my Romeo" (3.2.20-21; also 3.2.10-11). The couple kisses for the last time as they recognize night's shelter is receding.

Fate, an actual power in the play (or a powerful idea), is also overwhelming. For Bradley, "Fate or Death, imagined as a lurking assassin, is not sublime, but may become so when imagined as inevitable, irresistible, *ineluctabile fatum*."[7] The Chorus refers to the "star-cross'd" lovers (1.1.6); when Mercutio dies, Romeo refers to the day's "black fate" (3.1.121); when he kills Tybalt, he calls himself "fortune's fool" (3.1.138); when both her parents reject her for refusing to marry Paris, Juliet sobs, "Alack, alack, that heaven should practice stratagems / Upon so soft a subject as myself" (3.5.209-10). When Balthasar tells Romeo of Juliet's apparent death, Romeo exclaims, "Then I defy you, stars!" (5.1.24). In the tomb, Romeo "shake[s] the yoke of inauspicious stars / From [his] world-wearied flesh" (5.3.111-12). We might alternatively understand this force as cosmic love or Christian providence working out its own ends. God's love, permeating and governing the universe, expresses itself in sexual love to counterbalance hatred, violence, and chaos in society. Even though the lovers are destroyed, the families (in some interpretations) are reconciled and civic peace is restored.[8] Thus, seeing Romeo's corpse, the Friar tells Juliet, "A greater power than we can contradict / Hath thwarted our intents" (5.3.153-54).

Working with fate or providence is what Harold Goddard terms "a fountain of wisdom somewhere beyond time"; it is the source of the characters' dreams, visions, and premonitions.[9] Romeo alludes to both pagan and Christian concepts when he agrees to go to the Capulet revels. Though his "mind misgives / Some consequence yet hanging in the stars" that will lead to "untimely death," yet he submits: "He that hath the steerage of my course / Direct my suit" (1.5.106-07, 111, 112-13). Later, when Juliet asks from the balcony how he found her, he replies that love lent him counsel (2.2.81).

In contrast to night and fate is the excessive but non-sublime patriarchal power displayed by Capulet. When his daughter refuses to obey him, he explodes, "Beg! Starve! Die in the streets! / For by my soul I'll ne'er acknowledge thee, / Nor what is mine shall never do thee good" (3.5.192-94). Overwhelming, yes, but such wrath is contrary to aesthetics as well as morality.

Instead of physical power or greatness in extent, the sublimely beautiful may consist of virtue extraordinary in quality and quantity, i.e., in moral or spiritual power. Bradley's example is a prose poem by Turgenev (Tourgénieff). Walking home from hunting with his dog, the author noticed a baby sparrow on the ground fluttering its wings; it had fallen from the nest above. As the dog approached it, a parent bird dropped down and with desperate cries flung herself at the dog's open mouth—repeatedly until she died. Turgenev reflected on his and the dog's response to the sacrifice: "My dog stood still, and then slunk back disconcerted. Plainly he too had to recognise that power. . . . It was really reverence I felt before that heroic little bird and the passionate outburst of its love." Bradley advocates, "This sparrow, it will be agreed, is sublime." How? In the bird's love and courage that prompted her to leave the safety of the bough; in her persistence in the literal teeth of extreme danger until her heart gave out; and in being so tiny compared to the dog.[10]

Juliet's sublime behavior proves her sublime love for the sublime object that Romeo is to her. Gently raised, she is at first circumspect in asking the Nurse the identity of the young man who would not dance (1.5.127-33). Soon, however, she fulfills the "ay" she gave to the Nurse's husband about falling backward and forgets her promise to her mother: "No more deep will I endart mine eye / Than your consent gives strength to make it fly" (1.3.98-99). Her feelings for Romeo cause her to flout propriety on the balcony: "I should have been more strange" (2.2.102). When Romeo accepts her presumption of marriage, she promises, "All

my fortunes at thy foot I'll lay, / And follow thee my lord throughout the world" (2.2.147-48). She and Romeo are untouched by the bawdiness that surrounds them. In contrast to Sampson and Gregory's crudity about maidenheads, Juliet petitions the night, "Learn me how to lose a winning match / Play'd for a pair of stainless maidenhoods" (3.2.12-13). Modest about the sexual act—grateful for the dark to hide her blushes (3.2.14-16)—she also eagerly anticipates it:

> when I shall die
> Take him and cut him out in little stars,
> And he will make the face of heaven so fine
> That all the world will be in love with night,
> And pay no worship to the garish sun. (3.2.21-25)

Brian Gibbons explains that "Juliet quibbles on *death* as also meaning sexual ecstasy: she prays that Romeo may share the experience with her, in death like a rocket soaring up into the night sky and exploding into innumerable stars." He highlights her selflessness: "Romeo will experience a metamorphosis into shining immortality, yet she seems to think of herself as mortally ephemeral—if she thinks of herself at all—in this moment of intense adoration of her lover."[11] The couple's is a love "in its divine sense." For Goddard, "passion it is, of course, but that contaminated term has in our day [c1950!] become helpless to express it. Purity would be the perfect word for it if the world had not forgotten that purity is simply Greek for fire."[12]

Shakespeare stresses Juliet's tender age in an era when women tended to marry in their early- to mid-twenties.[13] "Juliet," as Isaac Asimov points out, is the diminutive for "Julia."[14] The 2005 Utah Shakespearean Festival director of this play, Kate Buckley, emphasized Tiffany Scott's sparrow-like petiteness as Juliet to Phil Hubbard's mastiff; we believe that Capulet's bite would equal his bark in the matter of this upwardly-mobile marriage to Paris.

The test of Juliet's love comes when she must decide between her family and Romeo after Tybalt's death. She severs herself from her parents and then from her closest caregiver, the Nurse: "Thou and my bosom henceforth shall be twain" (3.5.240). Is this growth from timid child to courageous woman-in-love in just two nights and two days believable? Besides the transforming power of eros, Northrop Frye suggests the loneliness of Juliet's childhood and her consequent self-reliance. Her parents are "Sir" and "Madam"; her siblings and a possible playmate, Susan, are dead; she has probably often wanted the Nurse to "stint" her loquacity

and ribaldry; the Friar is available—for confession.[15]   And then
there is Tybalt, whom the Nurse claims is her best friend (3.2.61)
and who kissed her in front of the family in the 2005 Utah
Shakespearean Festival production.   Because of the custom of
fostering boys from age five or six with a relative, he would have
been brought up with Juliet as a brother;[16] in this production, we
first saw Juliet when she and Tybalt were chasing each other across
the stage.   So she also chooses between loyalty to "my dearest
cousin and my dearer lord" (3.2.66).

Is Romeo's love as sublime as Juliet's? Bloom alludes to "the
heroic effort of Romeo to approximate her sublime state of being
in love."[17] Why only "approximate"? Though Juliet is surely two
or three years younger than Romeo, she seems more mature to
him and to the audience. Standing on the balcony above him, she
has the misgiving that their commitment is "too rash" (2.2.118);
nevertheless, knowing that Jove laughs at lovers' perjuries (2.2.92-
93), she instructs him that honorable intentions mean marriage
(2.2.143-44). He leaves and returns in response to her directions;
he continues the falconer analogy she begins. At the wedding
ceremony, he looks to her to elaborate verbally on their joy, but
she corrects him: comprehending what they mean to each other is
more important than such ornament (2.6.30-31). Juliet's love also
enables her to see, on her own, that the outcome of the duel could
have been worse: "Back, foolish tears . . . / My husband lives, that
Tybalt would have slain" (3.2.102, 105), whereas the Friar labors
to make Romeo grasp this fact (3.3.136-37). Finally, the bride sends
the groom a ring, via the Nurse, before he comes to consummate
the marriage (3.3.142).

For Goddard (who doesn't use "sublime"), Juliet was all for
love and so could pass her test in choosing Romeo over her clan.
Romeo, however, is a divided soul who fails his test in the fight
after the wedding. In love with the world, the new bridegroom at
first lets Tybalt's insult slide over him. But as Mercutio provokes
Tybalt to a fight, Romeo descends to the level of law: the Prince's
prohibition. Then he falls to preventive violence when he draws
his sword (as Goddard imagines the scene) to separate the men
and, finally, after Mercutio's death, to vengeful violence against
Tybalt. Thus, Romeo "falls back on the testimony of all history,
that only force can overcome force." What would Goddard have
Romeo do? Romeo should disregard his culture's code of honor
and the love in male friendship that supersedes, temporarily,
heterosexual love. Before it's too late, he should recognize the
mistake in his words, "O sweet Juliet, / Thy beauty hath made me

effeminate / And in my temper soften'd valour's steel" (3.1.115-17). Rather, he should persevere for "the miracle whereby beauty melts violence into love!"[18] Is that too sublime a sentiment for the play's and our world?

Because the sublime's greatness can consist of moral or spiritual power, it would be incongruous to substitute "sublime" for "excessive" in phrases about the Nurse's garrulity, Rosaline's chastity, Mercutio's obscenity, Tybalt's pugnacity, Capulet's fury, the apothecary's penury, or the friar's cowardice.

So far, we have seen one characteristic of the sublime: beauty accompanied by greatness. Bradley asks, following Burke, if "we ought at least to go beyond the adjective 'exceeding' or 'overwhelming,' and to substitute 'immeasurable' or 'incomparable' or 'infinite.'"[19] Memorably, Juliet exalts, in what Bloom calls "an epiphany in the religion of love":[20] "My bounty is as boundless as the sea, / My love as deep: the more I give to thee / The more I have, for both are infinite" (2.2.133-5). At their wedding, Romeo calls on Juliet's skill to describe their joy, "if the measure of thy joy / Be heap'd like mine" (2.6.24-25). She demurs and concludes in a Zeno-like paradox, "They are but beggars that can count their worth, / But my true love is grown to such excess / I cannot sum up sum of half my wealth" (2.6.32-34). In her despair, she laments, "Romeo is banished, / There is no end, no limit, measure, bound, / In that word's death. No words can that woe sound" (3.3.124-26). When she uses a number, she still means an immeasurable amount. In the balcony scene, Romeo tells Juliet to send a messenger by nine in the morning. She agrees and sighs, "'Tis twenty year till then" (2.2.169; also 3.5.44-47). Finally getting the information from the Nurse about the fight, Juliet wails, "Tybalt is dead and Romeo— banished. / That 'banished', that one word 'banished', / Hath slain ten thousand Tybalts" (3.2.112-14).

In contrast, grounded in the courtly love tradition, Romeo and his friends cannot help but make comparisons. When Benvolio urges Romeo to "examine other beauties" (1.1.226) (as Capulet asks Paris to do, 1.2.30-33), Romeo returns, "Show me a mistress that is passing fair; / What doth her beauty serve but as a note / Where I may read who pass'd that passing fair?" (1.1.232-34; also 1.2.84-101). Besides ranking her against living beauties, the lover must declare his mistress fairer than the greatest historical and literary beloveds. Mercutio teases Romeo that, juxtaposed to Rosaline, "Dido [is] a dowdy, Cleopatra a gypsy" (2.4.42-43) and so on. At the feast, Romeo finds that Juliet's beauty eclipses Rosaline's: "Did my heart love til now? Forswear it, sight. / For I ne'er saw true beauty till this night (1.5.51-52).

After Bradley briefly reviews conflicting interpretations of literary critics and philosophers about infinity, he concludes that while these metaphysical questions are necessary for a theory of the sublime, they are beyond the scope of his lecture. For his purposes, "the greatness is only sometimes immeasurable, but it is *always* unmeasured."[21]

Related to this second characteristic are the concepts of embodiment vs. transcendence. The beautiful, for Bradley, fits perfectly in a sensuous form whereas the sublime threatens to break out of its present manifestation to fulfill its expression or is "utterly uncontainable."[22] Romeo and Juliet first speak to each other in an exquisite sonnet; she recognizes, though, that this is "kiss[ing] by th' book" (1.5.109). Later that evening, in broken lines of blank verse, they alternate images of falconers and birds with the bliss of forgetting anything but the fantasy they are building together.

> A third characteristic of the sublime lies in Bradley's question below: Would a mountain, a river, or a building be sublime to us if we did not read their masses and lines as symbols of force? Would even the illimitable extent of sea or sky, the endlessness of time, or countlessness of stars or sands or waves, bring us anything but fatigue or depression if we did not apprehend them, in some way and however vaguely, as expressions of immeasurable power—power that created them, or lives in them, or *can* count them; so that what impresses us is not the mere absence of limits, but the presence of something that overpowers any imaginable limit?[23]

What power enables Juliet (and Romeo) to feel and act in a state of sublimity? Cupid wasn't helping Romeo to score with Rosaline, but then, as Frye notes, "the God of Love . . . [swoops] down on two perhaps rather commonplace adolescents and [blasts] them into another dimension of reality altogether."[24] Because medieval courtly love is a parody of Christian experience, many of the same terms are used, e.g., "heretic" (1.2.93), "saints" and "pilgrims" (1.5.92-109), "bright angel" (2.2.26), "baptism" (2.2.50), and "heaven" (3.2.33, 40). Romeo's name even means "pilgrim to Rome."[25] In this religion of love, "joining the loved one in death qualifies the lover as one of Cupid's saints and ensures that the two meet in [Paradise]."[26]

Courtly love sometimes cooperates with Christianity (as we saw in the power of cosmic love earlier) and sometimes conflicts with it. As an example of the latter, Juliet flirts with blasphemy in her adoration of Romeo: "Swear by thy gracious self, / Which is the god of my idolatry" (2.2.113-14). Paul N. Siegel, in "Christianity

and the Religion of Love in *Romeo and Juliet*," traces the interaction of these two traditions through all the versions of the couple's story. Because Shakespeare has so skillfully and subtly blended them, he says, critics can argue both that the lovers are innocent victims (e.g., George Lyman Kittredge and J. Dover Wilson) and that they are sinners guilty of mortal sin and therefore condemned to hell (e.g., Roy W. Battenhouse and Nathan A. Scott, Jr.). More moderate critics assign the lovers responsibility without damning them (e.g., A. C. Bradley and Harley Granville-Barker).[27]

Probably Bradley's most controversial variation on qualities of the sublime is (what I'll call) the fourth one: the two-step phase of the experience which he contrasts with the single step of perceiving or imagining something graceful or beautiful. In the latter, Bradley says, "There is in us an immediate outflow of pleasure, an unchecked expansion, a delightful sense of harmony between the thing and ourselves. . . . Something in us hastens to meet it in sympathy or love. Our feeling, we may say, is entirely affirmative. For though it is not always untouched by pain (for the thing may have sadness in it), this touch of pain or sadness does not mean any disharmony between the thing and us, or involve any check in our acceptance of it.[28]

Certainly, Romeo's first sight of Juliet is pure pleasure and reaching out to her: "O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright. / It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night / As a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear . . . The measure done, I'll watch her place of stand, / And touching hers, make blessed my rude hand" (1.5.43-45, 49-50). In continuing the sonnet with him and letting him kiss her, Juliet delights in the first encounter, too.

In contrast, the apprehension of sublimity in an object has two stages: negative and positive. Burke held that the distinguishing trait of the sublime is that it "is always founded on fear." Believing this "impossible to accept," Bradley modifies this negative stage: "If only for a fraction of a second—there is a sense of being checked, or baffled, or even stupefied, or possibly even repelled or menaced, as though something were affecting us which we could not receive, or grasp, or stand up to." Temporarily, it "makes us feel our littleness." For the experience to remain aesthetic, however, there can't be practical fear for one's body: one would feel terror and would fail to attain imaginative sympathy and then self-expansion with the object. But the more prominent the negative aspect and the greater one's sense of powerlessness, then—in the positive, second stage—the more glorious or majestic (in antithesis to graceful) the object is and the more uplift the experiencer gains.[29]

In the play, there are several of these double apprehensions. When the lovers learn each others' identities, both are "checked": Romeo says, "My life is my foe's debt" (1.5.117); Juliet, "My only love sprung from my only hate" (1.5.137). But in the balcony scene, they quickly doff their clan identities and soar on their passion. How seriously does each take the feud? Juliet trembles, "The orchard walls are high and hard to climb, / And the place death, considering who thou art, / If any of my kinsmen find thee here" (2.2.63-65). Asimov proposes that Tybalt, who takes it seriously indeed, would have spread his poison to his impressionable cousin. And he wonders if Juliet is being manipulated: "Romeo may well have recognized the romanticism of the young girl who feels the thrill of loving the family enemy; who loves the risk and danger and sadness of it; and perhaps he would not dream of throwing cold water on that feeling."[30]   It didn't seem to bother Romeo that Rosaline was a Capulet, but then his love fantasy was otherwise out of reach. In his first appearance on stage, he is jolted out of his melancholia when he exclaims to Benvolio, "O me! What fray was here? / Yet tell me not, for I have heard it all" (1.1.171-72). The feud, it seems, is ancient and recent, virulent and prevalent.

Twice, the Nurse dismays Juliet by delaying vital news. She looks sad and acts weary while postponing the supremely positive message that Juliet's greatest desire will be fulfilled at Friar Laurence's cell that afternoon (2.5). Later, she lets Juliet surmise that Romeo has been slaughtered before promising to bring him to her chamber for their wedding night (3.2). The next morning, Juliet is sunk by the couple's present circumstances and wonders if they'll meet again. Romeo focuses on the future where love triumphs: "I doubt it not, and all these woes shall serve / For sweet discourses in our times to come" (3.5.52-53).

Another example has a longer negative phase that demonstrates Juliet's sublime love for Romeo. She feels Burkean terror at taking the Friar's potion as she reviews his integrity and her possible physical and emotional responses when she is in its grip (4.3.24-57). Waking up in the tomb with the Friar by her side is the self-expansive, positive phase; she has survived the ordeal and everything in the hideous tomb seems in order: "O comfortable Friar, where is my lord? / I do remember well where I should be, / And there I am" (5.3.148-50). She doesn't yet know, of course, that Romeo is dead on the ground.

Romeo's comparable negative phase passes quickly. When he awakes from his joyful dream of Juliet to the dire news from

Balthasar about her "death," he immediately takes care of business and remembers in detail the little shop of horrors of the wretched apothecary. From knocking on the door until lying again with Juliet, he's on a high.[31]

Bradley dismisses a fifth characteristic of the sublime: Burke's darkness or vagueness that increases terror because the observer can't see or imagine what terrifies him, e.g., "the pestilence that walketh in darkness." Eager to allay terror, Bradley says that a good illustrator, such as Blake, can diminish the obscurity and, hence, this aspect of sublimity.[32] Burkean darkness does, however, pervade the play. There is the tenacious, infectious feud that the Prince is powerless to control. Meanwhile, outside Verona, the plague prowls. For the lovers, the fact of banishment is incomprehensibly appalling. Juliet's life is bounded by the walls of her home, but Romeo's is almost as limited by the city walls: "Banishment! Be merciful, say 'death'. / For exile hath more terror in his look, / Much more than death" (3.3.12-14).

Surprisingly, Bradley doesn't mention a related characteristic of the sublime that provokes much discussion about the play. But Burke writes that just as ideas of pain are more powerful than those of pleasure, so "death is in general a much more affecting idea than pain" in occasioning the sublime.[33] Frye believes that "the *Liebestod* of Romeo and Juliet, their great love and their tragic death, are bound up together as two aspects of the same thing."[34] *Liebestod*, Jill Levenson explains, is an ambiguous term that can mean "love in death," "death in love," "love's death"; or the desire or compulsion for love that becomes a compulsion for death. For the Elizabethans, the connection between the two was the little death or orgasm whose quantity shortened the life span. Typically, the *Liebestod* plot pits two young lovers against impossible obstacles which they secretly try to circumvent, but an accident or misjudgment dooms them.[35] But what deaths, according to Maurice Charney! No tragic flaw of their own is to blame; rather, these martyrs or heroes who prove the intensity of their devotion for each other are too beautiful and idealistic for this world. Their end is not a tragedy but a celebration;[36] Romeo's fifth-act dream comes true—somewhere else.

As with the paradise vs. perdition debate, here again is disagreement, this time about the sanity or sickness of the lovers. Bloom declares, "I think that I speak for more than myself when I assert that the love shared by Romeo and Juliet is as healthy and normative a passion as Western literature affords us. It concludes in mutual suicide, but not because either of the lovers lusts for

death, or mingles hatred with desire."[37] Ivo Kamps, in the Modern Language Association's *Approaches to Teaching* the play, aims to debunk the high school notion "that Romeo and Juliet are a match made in heaven and that the play is the greatest love story ever told."[38] He uses renaissance texts on pathologies that detail how love deceives the eyes, imbalances the humors, destroys the reason, and causes social isolation.

Certainly death, even suicide, is never far from the lovers' consciousnesses, making the sublime's negative aspects more prominent. At his first sight of Juliet, Romeo sighs, "Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear" (1.5.46). When Juliet asks the Nurse to find out Romeo's name, she says, "If he be married, / My grave is like to be my wedding bed" (1.5.133-34). Just before the wedding ceremony, when Romeo should be looking forward to a long and happy marriage, he tells the Friar, "Do thou but close our hands with holy words, / Then love-devouring death do what he dare: / It is enough I may but call her mine" (2.6.6-8). In her "Gallop apace" speech (3.2.1-4), Juliet recklessly wishes for night and Romeo at any cost. Phaeton, too, is young, passionate, and doomed. Eager, but incompetent at controlling the mighty, headstrong horses drawing the chariot of the sun, he sets earth, sea, and heaven on fire until Jupiter slays him with a lightning bolt. Romeo equates banishment with death (3.3.20-21) and then insouciantly declares in the aubade scene, "Let me be taken, put to death" (3.5.17-18). Both Romeo and Juliet display their knives and willingness to use them to the Friar (3.3.106-07, 4.1.66-67).

But the stronger images are of their life and light against death and darkness, as Caroline Spurgeon sums up: "In *Romeo and Juliet* the beauty and ardour of young love is seen by Shakespeare as the irradiating glory of sunlight and starlight in a dark world. The dominating image is light, every form a manifestation of it; the sun, moon, stars, fire, lightning, the flash of gunpowder, and the reflected light of beauty and of love; while by contrast we have night, darkness, clouds, rain, mist, and smoke.[39] The two lovers actually emit light to each other. The light Romeo sees shining through the window is from Juliet (2.2.2-3). Juliet is confident that "lovers can see to do their amorous rites / By their own beauties" (3.2.8-9).[40] Perhaps it is more accurate to say that as they construct a new world with their love and their poetry amidst the violence of Verona, they cause each other to shine.

Bradley uses an example from Longinus that he says has been used in most discussions of the sublime ever since: "God said, Let there be light, and there was light." The idea of the first and

instantaneous appearance of light, and that the whole light of the whole world, is already sublime; and its primary appeal is to sense. The further idea that this transcendently glorious apparition is due to mere words, to a breath—our symbol of tenuity, evanescence, impotence to influence material bulk—heightens enormously the impression of absolutely immeasurable power.[41]

Given a choice, wouldn't the lovers have settled for a long, beautiful marriage instead of a short, sublime one? Which do we prefer as readers and playgoers? Is Maria in *West Side Story* less sublime than Juliet because she will continue living after Tony's death? And what of Heloise and Abelard who led productive lives in their respective monasteries after their tragedy? Goddard reasons, "Cynics are fond of saying that if Romeo and Juliet had lived their love would not have 'lasted.'" Of course it wouldn't in the cynic's sense. You can no more ask such love to last than you can ask April to last, or an apple blossom. Yet April and apple blossoms do last and have results that bear no resemblance to what they come from—results such as apples and October—and so does such love.[42]

Notes

1. Brian Gibbons, ed., *Romeo and Juliet: The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Methuen, 1980, 1988). All references to the play are to this edition.

2. Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1998), 89. Bloom does not explain what he means by "sublime" in this essay. It would be an interesting exercise to see if his application of "sublimity" to Juliet derives from such works as *The Anxiety of Influence* and *Agon.* Certainly, soon after her mother raises the prospect of marriage, Juliet seizes the idea and runs with it—but away from Lady Capulet's concept of wife- and mother-hood.

3. Shakespeare probably knew the word "sublime." In the late fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, it was used as a verb for the process of heating a substance to vapor, then cooling the purified matter to a solid. Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, it also meant exalting a person to a high office or honor (*Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition, s.v. *sublime*). The first modern edition of Longinus's first-century *On Great Writing (On the Sublime)* was produced in Basle in 1554. Though the first English translation wasn't printed for another hundred years (Longinus, *On Great Writing* [*On the Sublime*] trans. and intro. G. M. A. Grube [Indianapolis: Hackett, 1957, 1991, vii]), *sublime* was used as an adjective by the 1590s for lofty ideas and heroic actions expressed in the stateliest style (*Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition, s.v. *sublime*). Edmund Burke's 1757 *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* was followed in 1763 by Kant's *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* and in 1790 by his *Critique of Judgment.* Dozens of philosophers and literary critics who have continued the conversation include Schiller, Hegel, Coleridge, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Croce, Samuel Holt Monk, Thomas Weiskel, Jean-François Lyotard, Neil Hertz, and Frances Ferguson.

4. A. C. Bradley, "The Sublime," *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1909), 37-40.

5. Ibid., 43-43, 47-48, 62-63. If you've been to the North or the South Rim, do you think the Grand Canyon should be bumped up to the Sublime Canyon?

6. Ibid, 41, 42.

7. Ibid, 47.

8. Paul N. Siegel, "Christianity and the Religion of Love in *Romeo and Juliet*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 12 no. 4 (Autumn 1961): 383.

9. Harold C. Goddard, *The Meaning of Shakespeare*, vol. 1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951, 1960), 123.

10. Bradley, "Sublime," 44-46, 63.

11. Gibbons, *Romeo and Juliet*, 170 n.21.

12. Goddard, *Meaning of Shakespeare*, 119.

13. Peter Saccio, *William Shakespeare: Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, Part II, Lectures 19-20, prod. The Teaching Company, 1999, audiocassette.

14. Isaac Asimov, *Asimov's Guide to Shakespeare* (New York: Wings Books, 1970, 1993), 480. There were many comments from audience members in the morning-after-the-play literary seminars and from reviewers about how convincingly young the actors looked and behaved, especially Tiffany Scott as Juliet. Kate Buckley, the director, removed all references to Juliet's age in the play.

15. Northrop Frye, *Northrop Frye on Shakespeare*, ed. Robert Sandler (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 18.

16. Leslie Brott, Actors' Roundtable, The Wooden O Symposium at the Utah Shakespearean Festival, Cedar City, 3 August 2005.

17. Bloom, *Shakespeare*, 89.

18. Goddard, *Meaning of Shakespeare*, 132, 129, 131. In the USF production, Romeo didn't carry a rapier. He dueled with a dropped one and killed Tybalt, it seemed, by strangling him.

19. Bradley, "Sublime," 58.

20. Bloom, *Shakespeare*, 91.

21. Bradley, "Sublime," 59.

22. Ibid., 59, 62,

23. Ibid., 48.

24. Frye, *On Shakespeare*, 19.

25. *11,000 Baby Names, Meanings and Origins* (<http://www.BabyNamesWorld.com>, 2003).

26. Siegel, "Christianity and Love," 372.

27. Ibid; 371. Siegel also lists the following critics as sympathetic with the lovers: F. S. Boas, R. G. Moulton, George P. Baker, C. H. Herford, Raymond M. Alden, Allardyce Nicoll, E. K. Chambers, Elmer Edgar Stoll, Thomas Marc Parrott, Hazelton Spencer, William Allan Neilson, Charles Jarvis Hill, H. B. Charlton, and Ian Duthie. Those condemning passionate love (in line with orthodox Christian ethics) are H. Edward Cain, Franklin M. Dickey, and Charles Jasper Sisson. Among the moderates are Oscar James Campbell and Donald Stauffer.

28. Bradley, "Sublime," 51.

29. Ibid., 58, 54, 52, 54, 54-55.

30. Asimov, *Guide to Shakespeare*, 486, 488.

31. E. F. Carritt, a professor of aesthetics, ethics, and political theory, and a contemporary of Bradley at Oxford, savaged his colleague in an essay with the same title, "The Sublime," in *Mind*, Vol. 19 no. 75, July 1910. While making the sublime a species of beauty instead of its antithesis does avoid difficulties, Carritt says that it also renders the concept too vague—especially when Bradley has not provided a philosophy of beauty and when he allows moral force to be included in the concept of the sublime. Carritt's *Theory of Beauty* was first published in 1914; the sixth edition, in 1962.

More specifically, Carritt disagrees with the doubleness of apprehension. He has different responses to Bradley's examples (such as siding with the dog rather than the sparrow); he doesn't always have the "check" phase; sometimes the positive phase comes first. His examples are mostly natural phenomena, works of art, and Prometheus with only glancing references to other literary characters.

32. Bradley, "Sublime," 56-57.

33. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. and intro. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 36.

34. Frye, *On Shakespeare*, 26.

35. Quoted in Jill Rutherford, "Q: Who Says That *Romeo and Juliet* Is More Than Just Another Love Story? A: University of Toronto English Professor and Shakespeare Scholar Jill Levenson, Who Wrote the Book on It" (<http://www.news.utonoronto.ca/bios/00/levenson.htm>, 12 February 2000).

36. Maurice Charney, *Shakespeare on Love and Lust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 80-81.

37. Bloom, *Shakespeare*, 93.

38. Ivo Kamps. "'I Love You Madly, I Love You to Death': Erotomania and *Liebestod* in *Romeo and Juliet*," in *Approaches to Teaching Shakespeare's* Romeo and Juliet, ed. Maurice Hunt (New York: Modern Language Association, 2000). 38.

39. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, "The Imagery of *Romeo and Juliet*," *Shakespeare: Modern Essays in Criticism*, rev. ed., ed. Leonard F. Dean (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957, 1967), 73-74.

40. Perhaps this is not so unusual a phenomenon. During the Actors' Roundtable for *Romeo and Juliet* at the Wooden O Symposium in August 2005, the actors discussed performing in the indoor Auditorium Theatre vs. the outdoor Adams Shakespearean Theatre and, in the latter, in the early evening light vs. the night. When they felt that one or more members of the audience were sympathetic to their characters, they saw light in those areas of the seats. For example, in the 2003 production, Leslie Brott as Queen Elizabeth received this support when Henry Woronicz as Richard III was asking to marry her daughter.

41. Bradley, "Sublime," 57.

42. Goddard, *Meaning of Shakespeare*, 139.

Seeing Shakespeare for the First Time All Over Again in the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery

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On Thursday April 21, 2005, international news broke that one of the best known and previously believed to be contemporaneous portraits of William Shakespeare was, in the words of the London Associated Press's subhead, a "fraud."[1] Named for its longtime owner Sir Desmond Flower, who originally bequeathed it to the Royal Shakespeare Company, the Flower Portrait depicts the Bard wearing a broad white collar and traditional Elizabethan dress. Widely reproduced on many covers of the plays, the painting has long been regarded as one of the most accurate representations of what Shakespeare might have looked like.

What explains the sudden reversal of fortune regarding the date of composition for the piece? There have been rumors dating back to the turn of the twentieth century surrounding its authenticity. However, such claims had never been taken seriously by connoisseurs until a recent routine analysis uncovered chrome yellow paint from around 1814 on the painting's surface. According to Tarnya Cooper, the sixteenth-century curator at England's National Portrait Gallery, the correct composition date for the piece most probably belongs to the nineteenth century: "We now think that the portrait dates to around 1818 to1840, exactly the time when there was a resurgence of interest in Shakespeare's plays."[2] Of course, the actual attribution of the Flower Portrait to the nineteenth century rather than the sixteenth still does not change the fact that the image depicted in the painting does resemble the Droeshout engraving—the image that art historians regard as the most accurate likeness of the Bard (as well as the image that appeared on the cover of the First Folio in 1623). Yet the recent burst of publicity surrounding the piece's actual composition date reminds us, however subtly, of the unique persistence of a still image in the public's mind.

While the Flower Portrait's recent nineteenth-century attribution strikes a chord among the Associated Press's general readership about the pitfalls associated with too readily accepting *any* conventionalized image of Shakespeare, given all that still remains unknown about him, it also reminds the director, the actor, and the scholar of a similar set of popular preconceptions that have long surrounded the production of his plays in terms of how his characters might have dressed, looked, moved, and spoken on the stage. No doubt, these beliefs can be as persistent and as erroneous as the longstanding belief in the Flower Portrait's sixteenth-century authenticity. As a result, it is often the case that when an audience is asked to see a Shakespeare production that employs new staging or directing innovations, they, much like the curators of the nineteenth-century Flower Portrait, are put in the unique position of seeing it for the "first time" again.

A fine example of this phenomenon is the production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at this year's Utah Shakespeare Festival. Here Lysander and Hermia and Demetrius and Helena appear to be clothed in late Victorian, or possibly Edwardian, garb rather than Elizabethan dress. This choice of costuming was also the case in the most recent movie version of the play starring Kevin Kline and Michelle Pfeiffer, wherein a Victorian setting is made explicitly deliberate to the audience.[3] The fact that both productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* lend themselves to a Victorian context, or to a period production at all, obviously speaks to the rich imaginative elements of the play. Yet the malleability associated with Shakespeare's work does not stop there. To return again to the productions this year at the Utah Shakespeare Festival, it is also interesting to consider the production history of *Love's Labour's Lost.* Ironically, *Love's Labour's Lost,* which was the least performed Shakespeare play after the Restoration (the closest it ever came to being staged was a musical version that David Garrick wrote but could never raise sufficient funds for), is actually the most oft produced play today using an eighteenth-century setting.[4] (Perhaps this period choice is due to the Enlightenment's Neoclassical emphasis on learning and scholasticism?).[5] H.R. Woudhysen, the editor of the Arden edition, even describes the play's genre as a "Restoration or Enlightenment comedy avant la lettre—as was done with the BBC version" in his most recent introduction.[6] So whether one is speaking of the misdating of the Flower Portrait or the preferred Enlightenment and Victorian setting and costuming for plays like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *Love's Labour's Lost,* Shakespeare not only transcends his time but actually seems to

capture the essence of other centuries better than many artists who actually post-date him.

However, the longstanding associations of certain Shakespeare plays like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *Love's Labour's Lost* and certain Shakespeare images like the Flower Portrait with centuries to which they do not belong, raise a number of issues affecting a general audience's interpretation and conception of the Bard that are not frequently considered in scholarship (probably because they are much too difficult to tease out in their entirety). Thus, when an audience attends a festival, such as this one, they usually come with a certain set of expectations about what they will see, due in large part to the mass-produced images of the plays that they have already had contact with—exemplified by the Flower Portrait or the two film versions mentioned above. Inevitably, some of their expectations are met, while others are hopefully challenged and then possibly revised. And according to many critics, including Michael Dobson, the process wherein a general audience comes to know Shakespeare through a set of popular images available to a mass market audience might be said to have initiated in the course of the eighteenth century.[7] Indeed, one of the best examples of the ever increasing popularity of the Bard among the masses of Londoners during this time is the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery.[8]

The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery (which opened in 1789) commissioned over thirty-seven of the most famous artists in the eighteenth century, including Joshua Reynolds, James Barry, Benjamin West, Joseph Wright, Angelica Kaufmann, James Northcote, John Opie, and Henry Fuseli, to produce a total of one hundred and sixty-seven paintings that were all said to capture the most famous scenes from the plays in a unique collection of still images.[9] The efforts of the gallery's founders, John and Josiah Boydell, are noteworthy for two reasons: first, they were the first Englishmen to employ Shakespeare as the inspiration to initiate an English School of Historical Painting and, second, they were the most successful businessmen in the eighteenth century to market images of Shakespeare's plays through a gallery and domestic subscription service that came at a fairly modest price.[10]

Additionally, the Boydell Gallery is worthy of our observation at this particular historical moment for another reason, too. Artistically speaking, the gallery has long been disparaged by art and literary critics alike, precisely as a result of its immense appeal and untimely democratic scope. In his massive pictorial history of the plays entitled *Shakespeare and the Artist*, W. Moelwyn Merchant describes the Boydell venture thus: "It is an unhappy irony that

the most ambitious attempt to illustrate Shakespeare should give the general impression of a massive irrelevance, an important by-way in this history. For the Boydell undertaking, generous, even visionary in its scope, and attempting to include the work of every significant artist of the day, shows no creative link with the theatre and very little organic continuity with illustration and painting in the last half-century."[11] Merchant then describes the collection's specific limitations: "too few of the Shakespeare Gallery pictures are gathered in any one place to give an adequate impression of the whole body of work, but, in spite of the monotony in the engravings, the first impression given by an examination of the total of 170 illustrations is a failure of style, an absence of any unity of vision and of interpretation of Shakespeare."[12]

In my opinion, Merchant's dismissal of the gallery's significance, based on what he sees as a lack of "unity," is unfair given the aims that the founders established for the collection. Furthermore, despite the fact that many critics have dismissed the significance of the gallery's largess on aesthetic and artistic grounds, I believe the exhibition does have something to offer, not only in terms of the sheer beauty of many of its most innovative images, but also in terms of how post-eighteenth-century audiences have come to associate Shakespeare with what Frederick Burwick calls the so-called "stage features" of the plays.[13] So, in this essay, I would like to revisit the Boydell Gallery in order to discern what, if any, are its contributions to the construction of a popular image of Shakespeare in the public's imagination and to consider how, if at all, the gallery might have influenced what the public expected to see when they did visit the theatre to see a Shakespeare play.

Today, the idea for the Boydell Gallery is part and parcel of Britain's more famous literary lore. On an evening in November of 1786 at a dinner party of eight gentlemen at the Hampstead home of Josiah Boydell, a spirited debate arose over the veritable absence of an English School of Historical Painting and the necessity of soon founding one in order to compete with commercial artistic markets on the Continent and abroad.[14] After the dinner was over, Alderman John Boydell, Josiah Boydell (his nephew), and the bookseller George Nichol arranged for a prospectus to be written outlining the details of an impending business arrangement. According to Merchant, the aims of their original scheme were as follows:

1. To commission two series of Shakespearean oil-paintings, one large, and the other small, from the principal artists of the day.
2. To build a Gallery for their permanent exhibition.

3. To publish without text, an Imperial Folio collection of engravings from the large pictures.
4. To publish a Folio edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works with the utmost typographical magnificence, and to embellish it with engravings of the smaller pictures.[15]

The plan, although explicitly ambitious, seemed at first as though it would be famously successful, and for a time it was.

In June of 1789, the Shakespeare Gallery opened its doors to much anticipation at a specially built exhibition space in the Pall Mall and, for the first few years, it was quite literally the "talk of the town."[16] It commenced operation with a mere thirty-four paintings, and at the Academy Dinner that year, "the Prince of Wales…at the instigation of Joshua Reynolds and Edmund Burke, proposed a toast to 'an English tradesman who patronizes art better than the Grand Monarque, Alderman Boydell.'"[17] (It is also worth noting that after this event, John Boydell was frequently referred to in the press as "the Commercial Maecenas" of England.[18]) The initial reviews of the gallery were all positive, and the preliminary subscription list included clients numbering over six hundred (even during the very first year of the gallery's operation).[19] By the next year, thirty-three more paintings were added to the gallery's collection as well as the beginning of the production of the engravings. By 1791, the unbound texts of the plays were well underway, and soon the subscription list topped nearly fourteen hundred.[20]

From the start, the gallery employed Shakespeare as its starting point to inspire an English Grand Style of painting that might compete with older continental traditions.[21] In "The Shakespeare Galleries of John Boydell and James Woodmason," Robin Hamlyn describes the optimism that surrounded the early years of the gallery's artistic production: "For artists generally there was all the air of a historic moment in British art having at last arrived, together with all the promise of future glory."[22] If the excitement surrounding the gallery's altruism seems to be characterized, at least to the modern reader, by a certain naiveté, it is all the more surprising to learn that much of the enthusiasm surrounding the aim of establishing an English School of Historical Painting actually originated as much from the project's financiers as it did its artists.

In the original catalogue that accompanied the premier exhibition, John Boydell famously describes his intentions for the collection: "I hope the subscribers will be satisfied with the exertions that have been made…especially when they consider the difficulties that a great undertaking like the present has to encounter

in a country where historical painting is still in its infancy. To advance that art towards maturity, and establish an English School of Historical Painting, was the great object of this present design."[23] However, there was one crux in all of this early, earnest design. Since, as Boydell admits, the success of the venture "depended on the subscription and other sales of the prints," it soon became clear that trouble was brewing when both of the Boydells repeatedly fashioned themselves more as founders of a national school of painting than as patrons of their artists or commercial distributors of their prints.[24] Thus from the beginning, the gallery was explicitly associated with the installation of Shakespeare as the national poet and the best object of England's so-called new School of Historical Painting. However, the execution of its actual business plan was not always as clearly intentioned. Winifred Friedman, the foremost expert on the often murky and certainly complex financial details of the Boydell venture, asserts that as the actual administration of the Gallery evolved, some neglect did occur in the overseeing of the subscription service—its actual bread and butter.[25] Soon, many customers became disenchanted with the casualness of both the firm's records as well as the ever-changing nature of their business relationship to the artists, engravers, and printers. At its height, there were some 1,384 subscribers listed on the firm's invoice, but the vagueness associated with the financial details of the print service, coupled with the apparently poor quality of the engravings ultimately contributed to the enterprise's slow but certain demise.[26]

When the French Revolution cut off the gallery's access to more lucrative commercial markets on the Continent, the venture met its final challenge. After years of struggle, coupled with too many highs and lows, the Shakespeare Gallery folded in 1804. In order to reinstate some of the losses, a new plan was drawn up to liquidate what remained of the firm's assets. Unfortunately, on December 10, 1804, John Boydell passed away, leaving Josiah with the burden of overseeing the firm's last days. By then, an idea was already well underway for a massive lottery that would both raise money to pay off the firm's debts and liquidate its holdings. Over twenty-two thousand tickets were sold for what was to be the Boydells' swan song. Winifred Friedman describes the lottery thus:

> On January 28, 1805, the drawing took place at Cooper's Hall, Basinghall Street. The grand prize went to the holder of the sixty second ticket drawn which was number 8004. The Gallery premises, all of the Shakespeare pictures, large and small, and the Banks sculpture were won by Mr. Tassie, the successor to his father's medallion business. He had

> brought the winning ticket from Mr. Caldwell, the engraver,
> who had been keeping this particular one for himself—
> and was afterwards much chagrined that he had ultimately
> parted with it.[27]

However, in many ways, everyone who participated in the contest was a winner; after all, even "the holders of the 21,938 undrawn tickets were entitled to prints valued at one guinea each."[28] (Additionally, the first sixty-one tickets drawn each received a modest prize.) But in the end, it was Mr. Tassie who walked away with both the bulk of the gallery's collection and, to some extent, the now defunct dream of having an English School of Historical Painting based on Shakespeare in the first place.

When Josiah Boydell finally had his day in court in order to confront the subscribers who defaulted on the print service, he was unsuccessful in his attempt to recoup any promised funds. Yet despite the problems that the gallery met in its seventeen-year run, the firm ultimately emerged with its reputation intact, even though it lost its final suit. When the court ruled that, ultimately, it was the Boydells who had failed to fulfill their obligations, Josiah is reputed to have later replied that "the testimony had shown the memorable manner in which the House, had carried on the Shakespeare work… [In the end, I] fee[l] that the firm [is] now on higher ground in respect of reputation than ever."[29] So while the firm floundered financially, it did produce some of the most compelling and influential images of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century, and it is to a few of these that I would now like to turn.

Upon arriving at the Boydell Gallery, a guest would first see the Banks sculpture of Shakespeare. Here Shakespeare is portrayed as seated between the Dramatic Muse on his left and the Genius of Painting on his right (figure 1). The painting muse on his right is pointing him out to the gallery's visitors rather than facing him and making it known to all who enter that Shakespeare is the proper subject for her brush. Interestingly, the facial likeness on the sculpture does not resemble the Droeshout engraving, and Shakespeare is depicted as rather aloof from the muses who are celebrating him. The frontispiece beneath his feet reads, "He was a man take him for all in all; I shall not look upon his like again." This epitaph makes explicit note of Shakespeare's honored role in English literary culture and distinguishes him as unparalleled to other artists who come either before or after him. Simultaneously, though, it also points out the "natural" aspects of Shakespeare's poetry in terms of its twin genius and humanity by referring to him as "a *man* take him for all in all" (i.e., what Samuel Johnson

Figure 1: *The Alto Relievo*

Figure 2: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, act 4, scene 1.

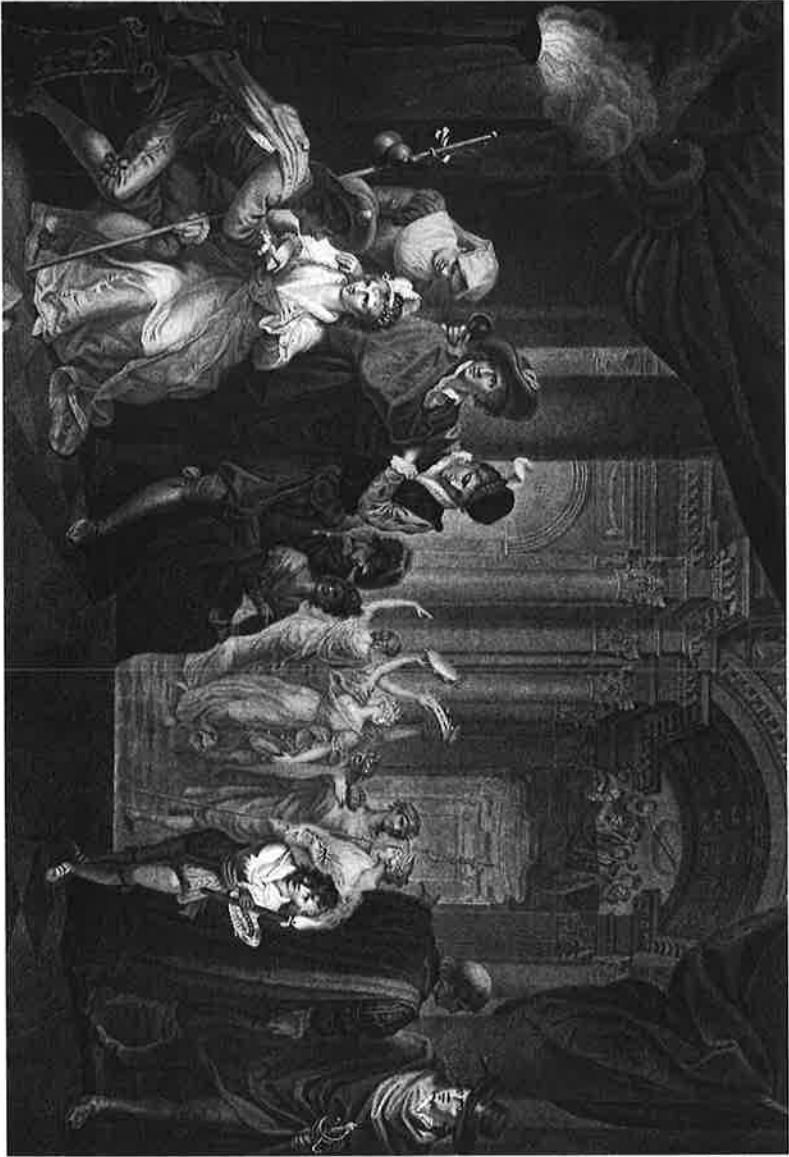Figure 3: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, act 4, scene 1.
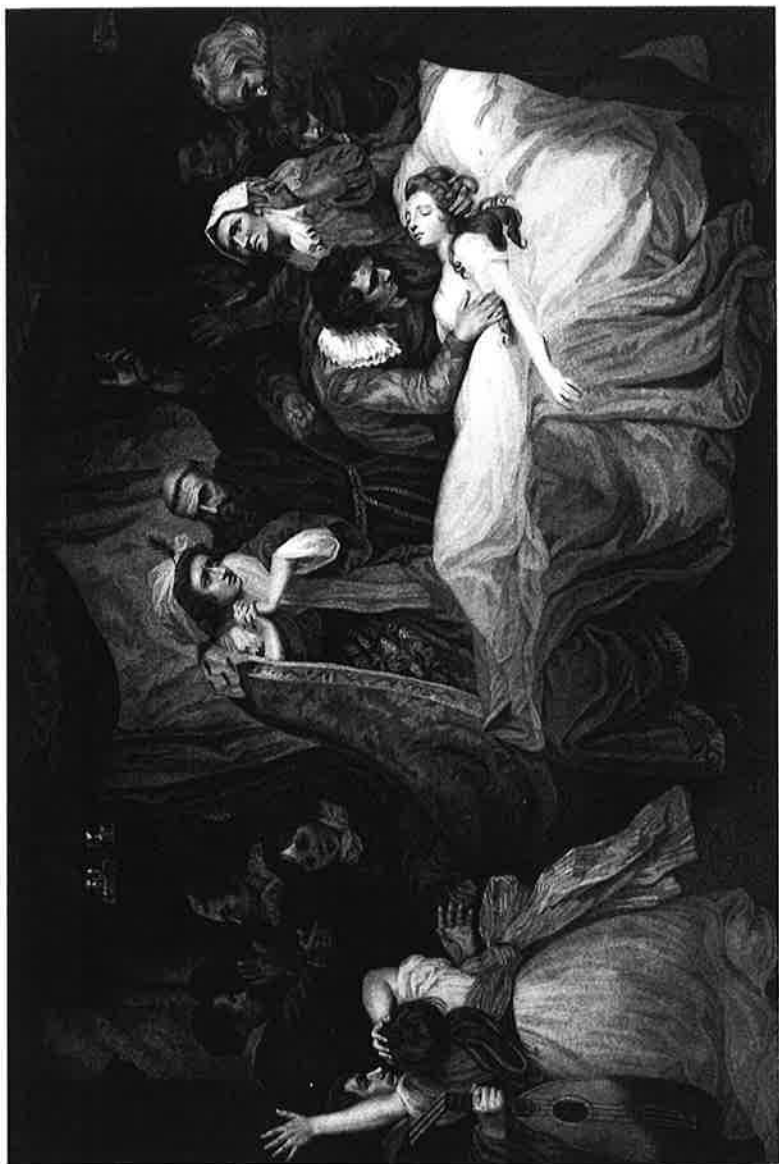
Figure 4: *Romeo & Juliet*, act 1, scene 5.

Figure 5: *Romeo & Juliet*, act 4, scene 5.

Figure 6: *Romeo & Juliet*, act 5, scene 3.

Figure 7: *Love's Labour's Lost*, act 4, scene 1.

poetry in terms of its twin genius and humanity by referring to him as "a *man* take him for all in all" (i.e., what Samuel Johnson meant when he praised the Bard as "the poet of nature, the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life").[30] It is important to remember that, as John Boydell explained in the original catalogue, the intention of the gallery was to establish an English School of Historical Painting; thus, the blatant physical and intellectual force exuded from the poet's actual physical stature in the Banks piece, as well as the adoration of the muses who surround him, all suggest that English painting is a new artistic force to be reckoned with.

Inside the gallery, the paintings were arranged in no particular order. Boydell did not place any constrictions on the artists to paint particular scenes from the plays, and often artists would duplicate the same scene twice by reinterpreting it in a new or different manner. It is interesting to note that not all of the plays are represented, and of the ones that are, they are not all represented equally (i.e., an equal number of scenes from each play). Even more surprising, some of the artists chose to render scenes that never appear on the stage. One example is James Northcote's imagining of the murder of the princes (as described by Tyrrel) in act 4, scene 3 of *Richard III*. Since it was up to the artist's discretion to paint what he or she wanted, it is important to remember that the gallery did not initially represent popular taste so much as artistic preference. However, it wasn't long before the actual dissemination of the Boydell Shakespeare images did affect how people thought the plays should look.

Probably the most famous commissioned artist in the group was Henry Fuseli. In all, he produced seven drawings for the Boydell exhibition, including two of the most famous scenes from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Fuseli was a Romantic painter who is reputed to have drawn his first Shakespeare sketch at fifteen.[31] In 1770, while still in his twenties, he left for Rome and studied painting there for nine years. Upon his return, he won his first commissions with Boydell, and by 1786 he was an artistic force in his own right (in 1799 he was made Professor at the Royal Academy). Today, his so-called "Rome notebook" is considered by many art historians to be the richest source of sketches from the plays in the eighteenth century. Generally speaking, "[Fuseli's] Shakespearian drawings fall into two classes, the studies of single scenes in line or line with wash, and those generally called the 'Sistine fantasies,'" which are more imaginative in scope and vision and include the images inspired by *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[32]

The painting in figure 2 of act 4, scene 1 depicts a wood, Titania (in center) arching her hand over Bottom (seated center) with Puck on his shoulder. The Puck figure is rendered as a devilish fellow while the fairies all exude a complacent serenity in their shy smiles. Bottom is portrayed as holding a tiny man in his left palm, so as to suggest that humanity in its most traditional sense is apart or separate from this beastly creature; thus, amidst the forest communion of goblins, fairies, wood nymphs, and demons, mankind is something to be marveled at in a miniaturized form, rather than studied in any empirical fashion. In this print, man is the exception to the supernatural dream world that the play inspires, and the dwarfing of the human body only makes this point more evident by its contrast to the overwhelming images of phantasmagoria that surround it.

In the second painting (figure 3), Fuseli depicts act 4, scene 1 a bit differently. Instead of illustrating the psycho-dramatic development of the play symbolically by miniaturizing a tiny man, he actually renders the transformation explicit by portraying Bottom as a man in labor who is wearing a painful expression of anguish and exhaustion. By moving the viewer's eye counter clockwise over Bottom's shoulders, Fuseli elaborates on the literal transformation that is occurring here by depicting the various stages of man. Here there is also a darkened Puck, again holding his hands over his mouth, and a somewhat forlorn, perhaps anxious, Titania—this time seated center—looking away from the birthing event. On all sides of the print, the sinister aspects of the forest creatures are highlighted in a myriad of fanciful faces that all suggest a mix of pleasure and pain, glee and sorrow, attention and carelessness. In both of the paintings, the psychological elements of the play's dream motif are emphasized over the literalness of the play's events. In both cases, a dream-like state is induced for the viewer by the details of the prints. Thus, it only takes one shy, quick glance to experience the disorienting imaginative journey that the audience is taken on in the course of the play. Once again, since the mental components of the play are being embraced in both of these Romantic portrayals, it comes as no surprise that a period setting would later be rendered irrelevant to the play's actual staging, when the interior drama of the man to beast transformation is emphasized instead.

If Fuseli is a good example of the Romantic influence on the gallery's collection and the subsequent stage interpretations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that followed the eighteenth century (most of which also emphasized the play's fantastic staging, costuming,

and set design in their productions), it is also important to remember that the Boydell prints also included more deliberate portrayals of famous Shakespeare scenes. In William Miller's *Romeo and Juliet* (figure 4), he renders the Capulet home for the Boydell audience. In the left corner of the picture, Romeo is seen grasping Juliet's reluctant hand while his friends look on for protection. The hall is decidedly neoclassical with its grand marble columns, stone tile floors, and mural ceilings. While Romeo and Juliet are clothed in Elizabethan garb, the dancers in the background are costumed in Greco-Roman togas complete with laurel wreaths on their heads and tambourines in their hands. The festivities of the gathering are emphasized in the center of the piece, but the scene is actually being played out to its left. Here Juliet's expression is rendered somewhat ambivalent, and her body is positioned a bit stiffly in comparison to Romeo's more engaging posture. It is also interesting to note the billowing velvet curtains that appear in the upper right and left corners the painting; their presence openly invokes a stage-like feel and frames the theatricality of the Capulet's opulent masquerade with an explicit allusion to future productions of the play.

The eighteenth century's citizens were no strangers to the notion of grand, wealthy gatherings, and the masquerade-like atmosphere of the Capulet hall suggests both the excesses associated with such events in the eighteenth century and the potentially tragic outcome of the unsuitable romantic pairings that did often occur there.[33] In the eighteenth century, the masquerade carried a specific cultural currency and was usually thought of as something to be approached with great apprehension. Thus it comes as no surprise that both Miller and the gallery's guests might be drawn to considering this scene in particular from the play, given all of the controversy and debate that surrounded such events in the periodical and fiction writing of the day.

The technique of imparting a still image with either an allusion to its present context (i.e., the masquerade) or future staging (i.e., as evidenced in the billowing stage curtains found in the Miller print) is not limited solely to the Miller print, though. Indeed, the tactic is invoked again in John Opie's imagining of act 4, scene 5 of *Romeo and Juliet* (figure 5). Here the stage curtains at the top of the piece, as well as the center staging of the bed on a raised platform, are emphasized by the light shining on Paris, who is leaning over a sleeping Juliet. And while the lighting in the print initially focuses on Friar Laurence center stage, the eye is soon drawn to a sleeping Juliet on the far right, thanks to the lines of

the billowing curtains. Again and again in the Boydell gallery, scenes are framed by parted curtains that seem to suggest the actual staging of the plays by meta-dramatically encasing the image. However, I am certainly not the first to note this innovation.

In "John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Stage," Frederick Burwick finds much evidence that many of these still images translated to, if not actually initiated, many staging and directing practices in the eighteenth century that are now traditionally associated with a Shakespeare production. For Burwick, some of these features include "stage settings, costuming, acting, gesture, and expression"[34] Taking all of these components into consideration, Burwick asserts that the Boydell images might have actually suggested to their guests how a play might look, or how it should look, if they were to see it.[35] Coincidence or not, many of the "stage features" that Burwick observes in many of the Boydell prints (for example, the use of a raised platform to construct a "stage upon a stage" in a bed prop—as is used in both the Opie [figure 5] and Northcote prints [figure 6]) were also soon documented in post-Romantic London productions.[36] Thus, it was not long before life began imitating art in the eighteenth century—at least in terms of how some elements of the Boydell prints soon intersected with the actual productions of the plays.

While it is impossible to tell which came first (i.e., did the gallery affect the eighteenth-century "stage features" of setting and costuming that are now associated with most Shakespeare productions, or did it merely reflect their ever increasing popularity?), it is important to understand that for many of the visitors who toured the gallery, their stage expectations were, in a sense, concretized by the power of the image before them. For many citizens of the eighteenth century, this was the closest they would ever come to seeing many of these Shakespeare plays "performed." And, as noted above, many of the most prominent artists who participated in the gallery only encouraged this association with elements (i.e., the billowing velvet curtains or the "stage upon a stage") that only reinforced the relationship between the still images and the theatre in the public's mind.

In the final image from the collection of prints illustrating *Romeo and Juliet* that I would like to look at, James Northcote depicts what he ironically calls a "monument" belonging to the Capulets (figure 6). Here Juliet is portrayed as reaching out to the friar, framed by a light and dark contrast that, again, resembles stage curtains on either side of the piece; furthermore, Juliet's awakening occurs in front of what appears to be a mausoleum of sorts that is

placed center stage and that is reminiscent of the "stage upon a stage" seen earlier in the Opie print. Again, as in most of the prints in the Boydell collection, all of the characters are robed in Elizabethan garb, and while this is common practice for a Shakespeare production today, it is significant to note that this was not always the case. In fact, Burwick argues that it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that costuming began to depart from contemporary dress (this was true even for the Roman plays).[37]

Thus, as repertory theatres slowly expanded their holdings in order to include more historically accurate pieces (a movement that was not realized in full force until after the 1790's), it is no small coincidence that the Boydell Gallery simultaneously exemplified

> the first full scale attempt to illustrate scenes from Shakespeare's plays in historically accurate costuming. For some of the Boydell artists—we might name Fuseli, Peters, among others—'period' costuming was an ambiguous, if not totally irrelevant matter. Other Boydell artists, however, were more closely allied with [such] interests. For John Opie [the painter of the *Othello* print we just saw] as well as Gavin Hamilton, historical costuming was the subject of conscientious research and preparatory sketches."[38]

But the connections between the "stage features" of the Boydell prints and post-romantic productions are not merely limited to the setting, staging, and costuming that Burwick speaks of in his article and that I have noted here. Many of the Boydell prints also reflected unique eighteenth-century aesthetic preferences in such categories as beauty and landscape design.

In the last Boydell print (figure 7), William Hamilton captures the famous eighteenth-century stage actress Sarah Siddons as the Princess in *Love's Labour's Lost*.[39] This is ironic, since as I noted at the beginning of this essay, this play was actually the least performed in the course of the eighteenth century. However, Siddon's appearance in the picture does suggest Hamilton's admiration for the actress's talent and beauty as well as his obvious desire to see her perform the role. Yet there are other features of the print, namely the inclusion of the majestic oak tree on the far left (a recurrent symbol of gentry wealth in the landscape design of the late eighteenth century) and the rendering of the famous Brownian park in the background, that all suggest the play's unique Enlightenment association even then, despite its veritable absence in the London theatres. (Additionally, it is also important to note, again, the billowing stage curtains that are realized at the top right

plays that had not been popular for many years by lending them new visual contexts that made them seem more relevant to contemporary preference than they might have before.

All in all, then, the Boydell Gallery reminds us of the persistence of a still image in terms of what an eighteenth-century audience has already seen as well as what they might expect to see when they do go to the theatre. The Boydells' massive aim not only to establish a English School of Historical Painting, but also to convey some of the most famous Shakespeare scenes to the masses of Londoners who might not ever be afforded with the opportunity to see all of the plays in their full scale production, was thus ultimately successful, at least in the sense of generating a popular interest in the Bard and thus affecting what the public wanted to see. Of course, the exact relationship between the gallery's images and the London stage is hardly a simple one. What is clear, though, is that the Shakespeare Gallery, despite much of the recent critical disdain associated with it, was a monumental moment in terms of its celebration of Shakespeare as England's national poet. Thus, as Frederick Burwick asserts, there should be no doubt that whatever its exact correspondence is to the productions that followed it, the Boydell Gallery certainly did affect the later staging and directing of the plays in its way—not to mention the sheer popularity of Shakespeare.[40] And it accomplished this feat through the persistence of the visual imagery that the gallery installed in the public's consciousness which allowed a spectator either to see a still version of a Shakespeare play for the first time or to marvel at the Bard's transcendence—all over again.

Notes

1. "Fair is Foul: Shakespeare Portrait Is a Fake," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, OH), April 21, 2005.

2. Quoted in *The Plain Dealer,* April 21, 2005.

3. *William Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream*, VHS directed by Michael Hoffmann (1998; Beverly Hills, CA: Fox Searchlight Pictures and Regency Entertainment, 1999).

4. H.R. Woudhysen, introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost*, by William Shakespeare, The Arden Shakespeare Series, ed. Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, and David Scott Kasten, (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, UK: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd, 1998), 1-106.

5. Ibid., 94.

6. Ibid. In the introduction to the play, Woudhysen cites this film version— *Love's Labour's Lost,* VHS, directed by Elijah Moshinsky (1984; Paramus, NJ: Time Life Video, 1984).

7. Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3.

8. All of the images used in this paper have been digitally scanned (with permission by Ayer Company Publishers) from *The Boydell Shakespeare Prints: With an Introduction by A.E. Santaniello* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968). In deciding which of the prints to talk about in my essay, as well as to reproduce here, I settled upon all of the large plates from the collection that correspond to this year's productions. These include, in order of their discussion in the essay, plate I, *The Alto-Relievo: In the Front of the Shakespeare Gallery, Pall Mall*, executed by J. Banks, R.A., engraved by B. Smith; plate XX, *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act IV, Scene I: A Wood* (Titania, Queen of the Fairies, Bottom, Fairies attending & co.), painted by H. Fuseli, R.A., engraved by P. Simon; plate XXI, *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act IV, Scene I* (Oberon, Queen of the Fairies, Puck, Bottom, Fairies attending & co.), painted by H. Fuseli, R.A., engraved by T. Ryder; plate XLI, *Romeo and Juliet, Act I. Scene V: A Hall in the Capulet's Home* (Romeo, Juliet, Nurse & co. with the Guests and Maskers), painted by W. Miller, engraved by G.S. and J.G. Facius; plate XLII, *Romeo and Juliet, Act IV, Scene V: Juliet on Her Bed* (Friar Lawrence, Capulet, Lady Capulet, Paris, Friar, Nurse, Musicians, & co.), painted by J. Opie, R.A., engraved by G.S. and J.G. Facius; plate XLIII, *Romeo and Juliet, Act V, Scene III: A Monument Belonging to the Capulets* (Romeo and Paris dead; Juliet and Friar Lawrence), painted by J. Northcote, R.A., engraved by P. Simon; plate XIX, *Love's Labor Lost, Act IV, Scene I: A Pavilion in the Park, near the Palace* (Princess, Rosaline, Maria, Katherine, Lords, Attendants, and a Forester), painted by W. Hamilton, R.A., engraved by T. Ryder.

9. Robin Hamlyn, "The Shakespeare Galleries of John Boydell and James Woodmason," in *Shakespeare in Art*, ed. Jane Martineau et al (London: Merrell, 2003), 97-115.

10. Winifred Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery: Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976). This text is actually a reprint of her 1974 Harvard dissertation, the first full-scale attempt to address the Boydell Gallery's historical, artistic, and literary significance. Furthermore, Friedman remains the foremost expert on the topic still today.

11. W. Moelwyn Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 66.

12. Ibid.

13. Frederick Burwick, "John Boydell's *Shakespeare Gallery* and the Stage," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 133 (1997): 54-76.

14. This story is widely reproduced in virtually all of the articles on the Boydell Gallery that I consulted. For two versions, please see Hamlyn, 97, and Merchant, 68.

15. Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, 69.

16. Winifred Friedman, "Some Commercial Aspects of the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 396-401, 397.

17. Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, 69.

18. Hamlyn, "The Shakespeare Galleries," 99.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.; see also Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, 69.

21. Hamlyn, "The Shakespeare Galleries," 99.

22. Ibid.

23. Quoted in Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, 68.

24. Friedman, "Some Commercial Aspects," 398.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 400.

28. Ibid.

29. Quoted in Friedman, "Some Commercial Aspects," 401.

30. Samuel Johnson, "The Preface to Shakespeare," in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature, The Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, ed. Lawrence Lipking, 7th ed., (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2000), 2727.

31. Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, 78.

32. Ibid., 79.

33. The masquerade was a constant source of anxiety and awe in eighteenth-century culture, so it should come as no great surprise that Miller would choose to illustrate this event from the play. For more information on the symbolism associated with the masquerade, see Terry Castle's *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986).

34. Burwick, "John Boydell's *Shakeskpeare Gallery*," 55.

35. Ibid., 59.

36. Ibid. Burwick writes of this innovation in relation to eighteenth-century productions of *Othello* specifically, but it is also evidenced in both of the prints from *Romeo and Juliet* collection that I am addressing here. If I remember correctly, I believe that the 2003 Utah Shakespeare Festival also employed this type of prop in its production of *Othello*.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., 60.

39. Ibid., 64.

40. Ibid., 55.

Peter Quince's Parcell Players

Christopher Scully
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> "'Ninus' tomb, man! Why, you must not speak that yet; that you answer to Pyramus. You speak all your parts at once, cues and all. Pyramus, enter! Your cue is past; it is 'never tire'."

> *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 3.1.93-96[1]

Peter Quince's directorial challenge might be difficult for a modern reader to understand. Francis Flute, his leading lady, has demonstrated an ample amount of enthusiasm by volunteering to be in the play which Quince and his fellow mechanicals hope to present before Duke Theseus. His enthusiasm, however, has led him to commit a major error in his preparations. Flute, it would appear, has memorized every line on the part given to him by Quince, without considering whether each was to be spoken aloud or intended simply as a cue. Quince's rehearsal, had it not been interrupted almost immediately after this bit of instruction, would surely have been a long and tedious affair: Flute would have been forced to "unlearn" the cue lines for his part, one by one, as each of his speeches came up.

The humor here relies on a knowledge of how Elizabethan professional actors prepared their performances. The members of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, the first company to perform *Midsummer*, would not have been given full copies of the new play to read over, discuss, and rehearse like a modern cast. Rather, each actor would have been given only his own part, written out most likely on a long roll of paper. Each of his speeches would have been preceded by the final few words of the previous speaker's part, serving as a cue.[2] Each actor would then have studied his roll privately to memorize his lines. Rather than several weeks of group rehearsal, the company most likely would have met only once, for perhaps an hour or two, possibly on the day of the first performance, to run through entrances and exits and complicated sequences of movement, such as dances or fights.[3] This is the rehearsal at which the mechanicals are laboring when Flute's problem is revealed. His error has been a quintessentially amateur

one. He has failed to recognize the conventions and techniques of a particular field: in this case, the rules governing his written part itself.

Midsummer also offers opportunities to observe how working from rolls, and without the benefit of group rehearsal, required early modern companies to ensure that actors in the company could be, in an anachronistic term, "self-directed." One manifestation of this concern can be found in the internal stage directions embedded in many of Shakespeare's plays; an actor who knows only the lines and cues for his part and has only limited opportunity for rehearsal needs to be prompted somehow about business necessary to the play. In this context, Quince's line, "Here are your parts," delivered near the end of the mechanicals' first meeting, is evidence not only for the use of actors' rolls by his company, but also as a prompt to the actor learning the part of Quince: "Here are your parts" lets him know not only that he needs parts for all of the "actors" as props from the top of the scene, but also that he is to distribute them only at this point, near the end of the scene, and not as he assigns each role individually. It is not hard to imagine an intended blocking for this scene, with Quince making the rounds to each mechanical and only bringing them together as a group at the end of the scene to distribute the physical parts themselves. In addition, at the play's first performance (and even, likely, at later performances), the actors in the roles of Bottom and the other mechanicals, having only their own parts as a reference, would not have known for certain in what order Quince would call their names; this certainly would have encouraged an eagerness and alertness as each actor (and, from the audience's perspective, each character) listened for their turn.

Another intriguing consequence of playing from actors' rolls comes in the suggestion of false entrances. Consider two entrances by individual mechanicals that are "delayed," in a sense, by intervening dialogue. During the rehearsal in the woods, just before Bottom re-enters wearing the ass head, his cue line is given three separate times. The actor playing Bottom would have worked from a roll that listed, "And by and by I will to thee appear" as the last line of one of his speeches, then "never tire" as a cue for his next line, "If I were fair, Thisbe, I were only thine" (3.1.82-98). "Never tire," however, is spoken by other actors three times between Bottom's two speeches (91; 96; 97). Considering that he has to exit and re-enter to deliver his next line in the ass head, it is possible that Bottom here might make two false entrances, far upstage and out of the sight of Quince and Flute, only to turn back when he

realizes that the other actors are continuing on with other speeches. In addition to creating a moment of ludicrous dramatic irony, this re-entering would allow the audience to enjoy first the sight of Bottom transformed and then the reactions of his fellows as two separate comic moments.   In contrast, during the eventual performance of *Pyramus and Thisbe* before Theseus, Bottom breaks in at one point to explain the on-stage action to the audience, "unexpectedly" delaying Flute's re-entrance. Shakespeare is careful, however, not to give the actor playing Flute false cues. Here is the sequence:

> *Pyramus:* O wicked wall, through whom I see no bliss,
>   Curs'd be thy stones for thus deceiving me!
> *Theseus:* The wall, methinks, being sensible, should curse
>   again.
> *Pyramus:* No, in truth, sir, he should not. "Deceiving me" is
>   Thisbe's cue: she is to enter now, and I am to spy
>   her through the wall. You shall see it will fall pat
>   as I told you. Yonder she comes.
>   *Enter Thisbe* (5.1.178-185)

Here, even though Flute's cue is, as Bottom asserts, "Deceiving me," the cue for the actor playing Flute is "Yonder she comes." No false-entrance is implied here, as Shakespeare has made certain to differentiate between the cue line for the play and the cue line for the play-within-a-play.

The mechanicals are not being lampooned, in other words, for their schedule of rehearsals or their general approach to learning a play; in these respects, they mirror fairly closely how Shakespeare's own company, the most successful of its time, would have prepared the very play in which they appear. Rather, they are laughable because as a group (with the exception, presumably, of Quince, who has drawn up the parts) they do not understand the codes embedded in a dramatic text which stage players regularly deciphered. Plays written to be learned from cue-scripts follow specific patterns and utilize characteristic techniques that facilitate actors' private preparation of their parts.[4]   Flute's failure to understand one of the most basic of these techniques, the cue-line, suggests that he has little hope of deciphering any others.

While *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a somewhat fantastical play, appearing to be set in ancient Athens, merchant-class London, and the faerie-world of the English countryside all at the same time, the similarity of Quince, Flute, Bottom and the other mechanicals to medieval amateur performers has been noted by several observers.[5] The members of Quince's troupe are all

professional craftsmen who join together solely for this one performance. Their professions—they are variously a carpenter, a weaver, a bellows-mender, a tinker, a joiner, and a tailor—all echo or duplicate the guilds which customarily produced the Corpus Christi plays in cities throughout England. While it is wise to keep in mind that Shakespeare was writing a comedy and not an historical treatise on the production techniques of medieval theatre, the mechanicals' preparations are in some ways quite consistent with what we know about the preparations for much of medieval theatre.[6] Modern production practice has generally caused us to fail to recognize and appreciate fully just how different these preparations were in an era prior to the triumph of psychological realism as an acting goal.

While it might be rash to employ the mechanicals as a template for understanding how the medieval guild members in the Corpus Christi plays prepared their performances, closer examination of the record reveals a preponderance of evidence that suggests the use of actors' parts was in fact widespread prior to Shakespeare's theatre. The technique was used both in England and in the rest of Europe, not only by what we would term amateurs, but also by professional actors. A number of manuscripts have survived which are either clearly actors' parts or seem to be derived from them. In addition, various records document the use of cue scripts in the preparation of plays. Internal evidence from some plays also suggests the existence of actors' parts. While the mere existence of these parts is interesting in its own right, the consequences for our understanding of the nature of medieval acting is more significant. An appreciation of how cue-script acting may have shaped medieval performances may help us better understand how (and what) these performances communicated to their audiences.

In his discussion of French medieval play manuscripts, Graham Runnalls offers a production process for medieval theatre which explains how and why actors' parts may have been created. The production process, according to Runnalls, would have begun with a dramatist writing out his play in a rough draft. When the play was felt to be sufficiently complete, he would give what he had to a scribe, who would then write out a master "fair copy." At this point, assuming some sort of production was imminent, arrangements would be made to provide the actors with what they needed to prepare. Since "it was not possible for every participant to have a complete copy of the play," due to the "cost and time" involved, Runnalls concludes that a more streamlined approach was employed:

> A scribe copies out the roles, referred to variously as the *roole*, or *rollet*, or *roullet*, for the actors; each actor was given a manuscript which contained only that actor's lines. But each of his speeches was preceded by the last line spoken by another actor immediately before the speech; these were the cue-lines. The actor used his role during rehearsal — and possibly even during performance.[7]

After individual parts had been copied, a master copy may have been made for producers, which featured expanded stage directions, but only suggestions of full speeches.

Runnalls's suggestion of practice in this case is borne out by the existence of actual documents. A number of actor's rolls exist for French *mystère* plays, many of which have been published in various locations.[8] Since the roll was a common format for government and church record-keeping, it appears to have been a natural choice for writing down an actor's part. Most of the extant rolls have a common appearance. Often made of multiple pieces of parchment stitched together, they are usually long and relatively narrow. The lines to be spoken appear on only one side of the paper. The bottoms of the rolls were customarily nailed into small, round pieces of wood. The actor's lines are written down the left-hand margin, while the cue lines (which are customarily only one word) are indented, at least halfway across the sheet, in order to be set apart visually. Occasional stage directions or notes may be written in the margins. Finally, the cue word usually (though not without exception) rhymes with the final word of the next speech's first line;[9] in this way, each actor's first line of a speech completes a couplet begun by his cue line, a technique perhaps intended to aid memorization.

Allowing for variations in the sizes of the pieces themselves and the spacing of the writing, the French rolls seem to be very similar to Edward Alleyn's part for *Orlando Furioso*, the prime example of an Elizabethan actor's roll. It is interesting to note, as well, that professional theatre parts in the English theatre remained in essentially this form throughout the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries.[10] These similarities suggest the existence of a common working method which French *mystère* guild members, Elizabethan players, and later English professional actors shared. Judging from what they were given to prepare themselves, these actors were expected first and foremost to learn what to say and when to say it; unlike some modern approaches to acting, the emphasis was on speaking and not on listening or reacting. An actor prepared by means of a cue-script might only hear the play

once, or perhaps not even at all, before performing it. Under these circumstances, it was crucial for that actor to prepare not only what to say, but also what to do when he was speaking, on his own, without concerning himself with what other actors might be doing on stage. It was just as important, however, that the playwright give his actors a fighting chance: it was crucial for him to utilize techniques which would facilitate the memorization of lines and indicate as much as possible to the actor any necessary stage movements.

While French *mystère* actors' rolls and Elizabethan professional players' rolls do a good job of suggesting medieval English theatre practice, they do not on their own prove the existence of rolls during that period. Few prototypical actors' rolls in English have survived, but a broad range of extant manuscripts point to the widespread use of the technique. In addition, some manuscripts appear to have been influenced by the layout and content of actors' rolls. The thirteenth-century *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* (British Library MS Add. 23986), a brief manuscript which has been missing from the British library for some thirty years, [11] seems to have been written down by someone who was either working from actors' parts or was familiar with the way in which these parts were laid out.[12] Although the *Interludium de Clerico* has been variously described as part of a minstrel's repertoire, an actor's part, or a dramatic fragment,[13] it is difficult to tell exactly how this particular piece of text was used.

Whatever its original purpose, certain of its features show an affinity with actors' rolls. The *Interludium* is written on a vellum roll three inches wide by twenty-four inches long. Regular, repeated wear patterns on the sides suggest that for at least some of its life, the roll was, in fact, rolled up. More importantly, the layout of the text resembles the format used for actors' parts. A line separates each individual speech and also isolates a particular word or phrase in the familiar "cue" location. Strangely, the words so isolated are not cues, but rather the beginning of the speech which follows. While the *Interludium* most likely was not a part for an individual performer in a dramatic representation, its physical layout does seem to have been influenced by similar techniques.

A similar example is provided by the mid-fifteenth-century Northampton *Abraham and Isaac* (Dublin, Trinity College MS D.4.18, cat. no. 432, ff. 74v-81r). This text does appear to be dramatic in nature. In this case, each speaker's name is written on the right side of the page above a separating red line. Again, while the presence of two speakers (and, in this case, the physical appearance

of the manuscript) clearly rules this text out as an actor's part, the solid line and positioning of the speech heading once more suggest an affinity with theatrical practice.

Other manuscripts retain more than simply a resemblance to actors' parts. The *Dux Moraud*, a fifteenth-century manuscript held in the Bodleian Library (MS Eng. Poet. f.2[R]), is comprised of two long, narrow pieces of parchment which were at one point stitched together. The two pieces, which together are nearly three feet long and only four inches wide, contain a series of speeches separated by horizontal lines. Norman Davis describes the roll as an actor's part: "The text is not a complete play or a continuous extract from one, but a record of the part played by a single actor. The name of the part, or of the play, is given at the head. A line marks the end of speeches, but there are no cues to relate it to other parts."[14] While the absence of cues from this fragment is obviously confusing, taken as a whole the *Dux Moraud* certainly appears to have been created as an actor's part. The manuscript contains the lines to be spoken by a single actor, in order, divided into discrete speeches. In addition, the physical shape of the manuscript seems predicated on utility.

The Ashmole Fragment (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 750, f. 168r) provides direct evidence that the cue line/full speech format was known in medieval England. The fragment in question, written some time in the fifteenth century, consists of a few lines from a character named "Secundus Miles," squeezed in at the bottom of a page of unrelated writing. Two brief speeches for the character are recorded. Each is preceded by a brief cue of three or four words, written in one case in the center and in the other at the right side of the above line. Both cues are set off by slash marks (/) before and after. Although this fragment appears in a book-shaped manuscript which contains a number of other types of writing, the presence of cues indicates strongly that these two speeches were copied directly from an actor's part; cue lines would only have been copied into a manuscript in this way if they had appeared in that form on an original piece of writing.

Even these last two fragments, which point strongly to the existence and use of actors' rolls, are, of course, only indirect evidence; rather than the actual rolls in the expected formats, we have what might be copies of the rolls from which either the physical shape or the cues themselves have been lost. It should not be surprising, however, that such little physical evidence remains of these highly practical pieces of writing. As Andrew Taylor argues, any manuscript which was actually used by someone

preparing a play would be extremely unlikely to continue to exist once it had outlived its usefulness. Although Taylor examines mostly the likelihood of locating the manuscripts used by minstrels in preparing their performances, his points might be applied to actors as well. While discussing the collection of writings maintained by a late sixteenth-century stonemason/storyteller, he underscores the limited chances of this "manuscript" having survived:

> This is just what one would expect most minstrels' working texts to be: a fistful of songs and ballads accumulated slowly over the years, copied down on different sheets and scraps of paper or parchment, and then not even bound but simply piled together and placed in a leather wrapper. Such manuscripts must once have been common, but their chances of surviving into the present century were negligible.[15]

Actors' parts would have served the same purpose as a minstrel's bundle, namely, as tools to aid performance and not as ends in themselves. As such, they would have been particularly ephemeral bits of writing: once a performance had ended or a production had passed out of repertory, there would have been no obvious reason to keep the individual parts of a play. It is remarkable in this situation that the little evidence we have of their existence has managed to survive.

In the case of the Corpus Christi plays, it is easy to understand why no actors' rolls exist. Despite the importance of the productions to individual cities, the irregular year-to-year schedule and the apparent re-editing of the plays would have contributed to the loss of these parts. Created most likely on inexpensive paper (unlike the Registers, which were often on parchment), parts for the cycle plays would not have been very durable.[16] In addition, they would have been distributed to individuals for private study and use, which would have lasted potentially right up to and into the performance itself; given the festive nature of the day of performance, it is not hard to imagine how difficult it would have been to collect the parts again afterwards. The incompleteness of the parts themselves also would have discouraged their preservation: as the Ashmole Fragment demonstrates, one person's part of a play is usually of little apparent use. Most importantly, perhaps, the longevity of the cycle and the diffuse control over the particulars of the performance combined with other elements to create a situation in which revision and modification was a regular occurrence. A. M. Lumiansky and David Mills conclude that choice

and change were standard features of the performances: "What emerges from a study of the manuscripts is a sense of flexibility and an awareness of the responsibility that lay with both the civic authorities and the guild producers for determining the cycle-form from one performance to the next."[17]   Creating individual parts for each year's performance would have been a way to easily incorporate changes and variations into the actual production.

Even though there are no extant actor's parts from the Corpus Christi plays, evidence of their use does exist in the financial and civic records surrounding the cycles.   Account books of various guilds feature numerous entries indicating that the standard method employed by members in preparing the pageants was the use of parts written out for individual actors.   In these records, however, actors' rolls are not referred to as "rolls" or as "parts," but rather as "parcells."   The word was used as early as 1421, in the Saddlers' Charter,[18] but is most frequently found in sixteenth-century documents.   The Smiths, Cutlers, and Plumbers' records of 1560-61 indicate a payment made for "paper to Coppy out the parcells of the booke," and an expense incurred for the "deliveringe forth of the parcells."[19] The guild appears to have taken responsibility both for physically creating a part and for delivering it to the proper actor. The Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers, and Stationers' Records of 1567-68 list adjacent entries for the "Coppying of oure orygenall" and for "Coppying A parsell,"[20] suggesting strongly that although a guild might have its own copy of the play to be performed, it was not the means by which individual actors learned the play.   The cost for copying a part, according to this entry, was about a third the cost (iiij d as compared to xij d) of copying out the entire play. The "Shepherds" play, which the Painters at one time performed, had nine characters alone; the difference in cost between creating parts and creating full texts for the entire cast would have been significant. Other records indicate that the price paid by the Painters et al. was relatively expensive: copying two parcells cost the Smiths ii d,[21] and the copying of an unspecified number of "parceles" cost the Coopers vj d.[22] The relatively high cost of the parcell copied for the Painters may indicate that it was a particularly long part; if so, the savings involved in using parts instead of originals would have been even greater.

Other internal evidence suggests that the Chester cycle may have been written with an awareness of or an intention to facilitate the use of what might be called "parcell playing." The use of verse itself, although common to most of medieval drama in English, can certainly be seen as a mnemonic device which would

have made it easier for actors who only possessed portions of a given play to remember their lines.[23] Rhythm and rhyme appear to have been used in a number of ways to help the occasional actors of Chester master their parts.   One technique involves the placement of single lines. In the "Nativity" play, Octavianus delivers a speech of nearly one hundred lines, after which Preco responds and begins a dialogue.   Much like an orchestral timpanist faced with hundreds of measures of rest before a fortissimo entrance, the actor playing Preco has a difficult challenge: how to wait out a very long stretch and come in at precisely the right moment. Fortunately, the playwright has provided him with a verbal cue. After twelve full stanzas, Octavianus delivers a single line directed to Preco: "Have donne, boye! Art thou not bowne?"[24] Two elements here would help the actor. First, Octavianus has not used the "bowne" rhyme yet in the speech (although other rhymes have been repeated); in this way, the sound alone would help the second actor.   In addition, Octavianus's line is in fact the beginning of a new stanza and thus rhymes with the next actor's line. Rather than ending a stanza with the second actor's cue and thus eliminating the possibility of rhyme, the text makes things easier. The actor playing Preco would have a parcell which likely would have looked like this:

> --------------- bowne
> All readye, my lorde, by Mahounde.
> Noe tayles tupp in all this towne
> shall goe further withowten fayle.

In addition to the sense of the scene (Octavianus's line is directed at him) and the sound (his cue is the first time Octavianus uses an "-owne" word), the actor playing Preco is thus further aided by a cue line which rhymes with his next line, much in the manner of the French rolls discussed earlier. While it is impossible to prove that this is a result of writing plays with actors' parts in mind, it certainly may be seen as a complimentary technique.

In the Waterleaders and Drawers of Dee's play of "Noyes Fludd," rhyme is used more extensively as an aid to the actor. The first true exchange of dialogue (after a series of long speeches) occurs in lines 96 through 104 between Noe and his Wife:

Noe:	Wife, in this vessell wee shal be kepte;
	my children and thou, I would in yee lepte.
Noes Wife:	In fayth, Noe, I had as leeve thou slepte.
	For all thy Frenyshe fare,
	I will not doe after thy reade.
Noe:	Good wiffe, do nowe as I thee bydd.

> *Noes Wife*:   By Christe, not or I see more neede,
>   though thou stand all daye and stare.

Here the stanza, rather than the individual line, aids the actor. Both of Noe's Wife's lines and Noe's own entrance in the middle of the stanza are cued by rhyming words, making the entire sequence easier to remember. This "interlocking" of stanzas is used throughout the cycle in a number of places, perhaps again to aid the actors in remembering not only their lines but the order in which they come.[25]

Another technique which would have facilitated parcell playing is found in sections of the plays in which multiple speakers repeatedly deliver their lines in the same order. This sequencing would have addressed one of the most difficult aspects of acting from cue scripts. In most cue scripts, including those discussed above, no indication is given as to who will speak the cue, only what will be said. An actor prepared with a cue script needs to be aware constantly of every word being spoken by every character so as not to miss his cue.[26] While this level of concentration would be easy to achieve for professional players who performed every day, it may have been too much of a challenge for a guildsman-turned-occasional player. Particularly in the case of less prominent parts, which likely were assigned to less talented performers, assistance in finding cues would have been very helpful. The passages where multiple characters (such as the sons and wives in "Noe," the Jews in "Antichrist's Prophets," and the Kings in "Antichrist") customarily speak in sequence would have provided all but the first actor with an important aid: the knowledge of exactly who would be delivering his cue. With this knowledge, an actor could focus his concentration and be less likely to miss a line and require assistance from a prompter.[27] Like the other techniques mentioned above, sequencing would be a tremendous advantage to actors who were performing plays with a thorough knowledge of only their own part.

For medieval plays not produced by the guilds, little exists in the way of external evidence regarding actors' parts. Internal evidence, however, both direct and indirect, strongly suggests that some plays were produced by parcell playing. The fifteenth-century morality, *The Castle of Perseverance*, makes a direct reference to parcells in its Banns:

> Grace if God will graunte us, of his mikyl mirth,
> These parcellys in propyrtes we purpose us to playe
> This day sevenyt, before you in syth,
> At _____ on the grene, in ryal aray.[28]

While the Banns here may simply be suggesting that there will be various characters presented in the play, the technical sense of the word in the guild records is likely also intended. For the *Castle*, actors' parts would likely have been the cast's primary means of learning the play. To begin with, the play is immense—some thirty-six hundred lines long—making both writing out full copies of the script and teaching by rote very impractical. In addition, the presence of thirty-five speaking roles would also have discouraged the use of full texts. If, in fact, actors' parts were the primary technique employed in the preparation of the play, *The Castle of Perseverance* would provide a very early example of their use.

Considering that *The Castle of Perseverance* may have been performed by an early touring professional company,[29] it is tempting to look to other plays which are thought to have been performed by strolling players for evidence of parcell playing. Although no direct link exists between actors' parts and *Mankind*, certain aspects of the play suggest their use in the preparation of the play. This raucous morality seems to have been designed for a compact traveling company which Bevington calls "the ancestors of the Elizabethan acting company."[30] Although better than one hundred years separate this presumed company from the first permanent London companies, it is nevertheless possible that the Elizabethan use of actors' rolls may have been an inheritance from this early troupe. The most convincing argument for parcell playing in *Mankind* is found in the frequency and nature of internal stage directions. An actor who has only his own part may or may not have separate stage directions which accompany his dialogue, but frequently will have lines of dialogue which make clear what should be physically happening on stage.[31] These internal directions are crucial to an actor whose preparation involves mostly private study, as opposed to instruction given by a director.

One section in the middle of *Mankind* demonstrates how internal stage directions would have worked. Beginning at line 529, Titivillus explains and carries out his plot to frustrate Mankind, who very quickly falls victim to the devil's devices. Throughout this section, which demands specific physical actions from both characters in order to be intelligible, each character is given lines which are intended not only to make the action clear to the audience, but to the actor preparing the part as well. At line 532, Titivillus announces that "this borde shall be hidde under the erth prevely." Shortly thereafter, Mankind enters and begins attempting to work his fields. At line 544, he says, "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, now I will begin." These lines clearly instruct the actor to

cross himself and to start work; the audience does not need either line, since the actions themselves would carry the same weight without being reinforced with spoken lines.   After becoming frustrated, Mankind says, "Here I giff uppe my spade" (l. 549); then, "Here, in my kerke, I knell on my kneys" (l. 553); and finally, "My bedys shall be here for whosummever will ellys" (l. 564). While none of these actions is extraordinary in this context, it is important to remember that the absence of a director and the likely lack of repeated group rehearsal requires an actor to "self-block." Putting behavior directly into the dialogue ensures that the stage movements necessary for the play to make sense will be carried out.

Theatre which is prepared from cue scripts yields performances which are markedly different from what modern theatergoers expect. These productions tend to be less unified, since each actor often has only a vague idea of the entire play; there may be less interaction amongst actors on stage, since all of them have frequently done the majority of their preparation in private; and there is often need for prompting, when someone following a complete copy of the play must remind an actor of his next line.[32] While lack of unity and the need for prompting might now be seen as destructive to a production's effectiveness, it does not appear that previous ages necessarily viewed them as such.[33] It should also be remembered that an actor who knows only the two or three words of his immediate cue in any particular scene certainly will make a great effort to follow the action on stage so as not to miss that cue, thus creating a certain type of focus on the stage. Also, the boost in confidence and enthusiasm that modern cue script actors report would no doubt have been noticed by medieval audiences. Acting from parts seems to infuse performances with a level of excitement not usually found in modern, directed productions. The audience for the Chester Corpus Christi Trial play, for instance, probably knew just how few times the Fletchers, some of whom might have been their friends and neighbors, had met prior to performing their play. This knowledge probably encouraged a supportive environment, one in which audiences not only pulled for performers to do well, but were acutely aware of the difficulty of their task.

Most discussions of medieval acting do not take into account how the plays were prepared, but instead concentrate on more immediately recognizable influences. Glynne Wickham's summary is representative:

> A broad style was also demanded of the actor in his bodily
> movement by the directness and intensity of the emotional

content of the text. . . .The crudeness of this style (which appealed so strongly to Bottom the Weaver) was tempered on the other hand by the rigid formality of liturgical practice out of which this acting had grown. The paradox that arises in consequence is an acting style that derives in part from the stylized rhythms of priestly devotions and in part from the spontaneous and childlike emotionalism of the peasant.[34]

While the texts of the plays and the enactment of religious ritual are certainly valid places to look for influences on medieval acting, words like "crudeness," "formality," and "childlike" certainly imply a negative opinion of an acting style which was obviously much different from that to which we have become accustomed. What is necessary to better imagine what medieval acting looked like is a more thorough awareness of how actors of the period prepared. Some form of cue script—roles, rolls, or parcels—was used by the actors of French *mystère*, English Corpus Christi plays, and pre-Elizabethan professional moralities. The few actual physical texts documenting this technique, when they exist at all, have been largely considered by those interested in the study of manuscripts. A more thorough evaluation of how they were employed, however, can be of great benefit to those who are interested in the actual performance of medieval drama. Recognizing both the limitations and the advantages of parcell playing might help us better understand the acting styles of Chester guildsmen, early strolling players, or even Bottom the Weaver and Francis Flute themselves.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Harold F. Brooks, Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen and Co., 1979). All references are to this edition.

2. W. W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* (Oxford: University Press, 1931), 173-87. Greg's description of Alleyn's personal copy of his part from Robert Greene's *Orlando Furioso* provides the best Elizabethan evidence of an actor's roll.

3. Tiffany Stern, "Rehearsal in Shakespeare's Theatre," chap. 2 in *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

4. Patrick Tucker, *Secrets of Acting Shakespeare: The Original Approach* (London: Routledge, 2002). See in particular pp. 197-222.

5. See, for instance, Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), 176; and Clifford Davidson, "What Hempen Home-spuns Have We Swagg'ring Hgere?: Amateur Actors in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Coventry Civic Plays and Pageants," *Shakespeare Studies* 19 (1987): 87-99.

6. Stern, "Rehearsal," 28-34.

7. Graham Runnalls, "Towards a Typology of Medieval French Play Manuscripts," in *The Editor and the Text*, ed. Philip E. Bennett and Graham A. Runnalls (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 98.

8. See Elisabeth Lalou, "Les Rolets de Théâtre Étude Codicologique," in *Théâtre et Spectacles Hier et Aujoud'hui: Moyen âge et Renaissance. Actes du 115e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifique, 1991), 60-62. Lalou lists the published French actors' roles in an appendix.

9. Graham Runnalls, "An Actor's Role in a French Morality Play," *French Studies* 42 (1988): 400.

10. Stern, "Rehearsal," 61.

11. M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Word: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 143.

12. Norman Davis, *Non-Cycle Plays and The Winchester Dialogues: Facsimiles of Plays and Fragments in Various Manuscripts and the Dialogues in Winchester College MS 33* (Leeds: University of Leeds School of English, 1979). My comments on the *Interludium*, as well as the Northampton *Abraham and Isaac*, the *Dux Moraud*, and the Ashmole fragment, are based in part on examinations of facsimiles of these manuscripts published in Davis's work.

13. Andrew Taylor, "The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript," *Speculum* 66 (1991): 69; Carol Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Drama," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 825n; and Davis, *Non-Cycle Plays*, iii.

14. Davis, *Non-Cycle Plays*, 69.

15. Taylor, "Minstrel Manuscript," 73.

16. For paper parts, see Lalou, "Les Rolets de Theatre," 53. For the Registers, see Clifford Davidson, "Material Culture, Writing, and Early Drama," in *Material Culture and Medieval Drama*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), 2-4, on the York Register.

17. A. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 86.

18. Clopper, Lawrence M. *Records of Early English Drama: Chester* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 13.

19. Ibid., 66.

20. Ibid., 81.

21. Ibid., 66.

22. Ibid., 108.

23. Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 152-75.

24. A. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle,* 107, l. 273. Subsequent references to lines in the cycle will be made in the body of the text.

25. Some examples include "Abraham," ll. 145-60; "The Last Supper," ll. 129-40 and 181-92; "Nativity," ll. 445-68.

26. See Tucker, *Secrets*, 6-16.

27. Clopper, *Chester*, lvi; Philip Butterworth, "Prompting in Full View of the Audience: A Medieval Staging Convention," in *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alan Hindley (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepolis, 1999).

28. David Bevington, ed., *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), 803, ll. 131-34.

29. William Tydeman, *English Medieval Theatre, 1400-1500* (London: Routledge, 1986), 78-85.

30. Bevington, *Medieval Drama*, 901.

31. Tucker, *Secrets*, 17-24.

32. Stern, "Rehearsal," 98-112.

33. Consider that admission to the premiere of a play in an Elizabethan theatre, which would likely be the first time the entire cast performed the entire play together, cost twice as much as admission to a later performance.

34. Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 176.

Pedagogical Pragmatism and Student Research in the Early Modern Period

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ot surprisingly, many undergraduates do not realize there is a difference between Anglo-Saxon and early modern English. I once overheard a student say that she refused to take Shakespeare because she didn't understand "that old English stuff." Her comment made me unhappy, not because she was misinformed and perhaps uninterested, but more because it reflected the trend of many American English departments' decision to offer and require fewer courses before the nineteenth century because of lack of student interest. Even when they are available, many students enroll as a last resort and just hope to pass because they believe they cannot understand the language. I teach both Renaissance Literature and two Shakespeare courses and do not have enrollment issues because my department produces a large number of teachers, and one of the state requirements is a drama course.

Since Shakespeare is often what they identify as the area in which they are least prepared to teach, my courses are always full. However, the students are often worried about their ability to handle the material, and they identify that they are taking the course for reasons other than interest. Thus, one of my basic goals when teaching the early modern period is to help students recognize that people who existed in other times and other places are worth working to know about, even if they speak, look, and act very differently than we do. I want them to know and have the pleasure of a whole new alternate reality, which is waiting out there for them, just four hundred years old; but there is a growing gap between the Renaissance and now, and with every year that passes, Shakespeare becomes more foreign to students. Nevertheless, my experience suggests that students will invest heavily in early modern studies when the course includes more than dates, symbolism, themes, and rhyme schemes, as important as those things may be.

One way I have engaged students in the early modern period is by assigning work outside the parameters of analyzing literature

or writing position papers. For example, in a semester-long, weekly assignment, students choose an early modern persona and write about an event or life experience from their persona's perspective. This assignment forces them into source materials, teaches them about how much basic electronic information is available, and does not require a "right" answer or response. As long as they meet the basic requirement, they can write in any format or genre they wish, whether journal entry, letter, or basic report form. The assignment also begins the preparation for the long research project designed to interest students in their research, to allow them a great deal of latitude regarding writing style, and to let them take advantage of personal preferences and individual skills and interests. The following essay describes this assignment's genesis, details the classroom preparation required, gives examples of student work, and, finally, clarifies what I believe it accomplishes.

I had been teaching for some time when I first published on Shakespeare and pedagogy. My first essay analyzed how my feminist approach to teaching Shakespeare affected syllabus formation, assignments, and class environment.[1] However, I had not yet developed new assignments designed to move beyond the stereotypical reading journals, five-page essays, and the longer research assignment. As time went on, I became increasingly frustrated with the poor results of the paper that usually concludes most semesters. My students and I were all bored with the same tired topics that grow from Shakespeare courses taught from a feminist, cultural, materialist orientation. I read an endless stream of writing on, for example, strong female characters, the patriarchal nature of early modern England, marriage, and wife abuse.[2] Students continued to use inappropriate, useless, or ancient sources—anything that "might" meet requirements—instead of looking for information from which they could actually learn, even after I began to require a lengthy research proposal.

This proposal included a detailed project description, a research plan, a list of class members working on similar projects, and an extensive annotated bibliography. However, I still imagined an entirely different kind of research project that would still require upper-division writing and research skills, but would also potentially provide more satisfying experiences for students and encourage them to become interested in older literature. The assignment I finally developed asks students to choose any Shakespeare play(s), character(s), issue(s), or combination of the above and develop a rhetorical strategy based on a current communication genre that must preserve early modern cultural logic, but which would also

help twenty-first-century audiences/readers to understand Shakespeare.   In other words, Juliet can't decide to give up men altogether, go to college, and have a junior year lesbian experience, followed by a successful career in business.

The assignment reads as follows:

> People sometimes have trouble reading and understanding Shakespeare, partly because we can only find meaning in a text that makes sense to our own context, or place in time and space. For example, our culture is not as interested in or competent at textual literacy as it once was, but we have gained other forms of literacy, such as visual and technological literacies. All literacies are historically specific and have conventions and forms, or what can be called discursive formats, that they use to create dialogue or script. One way to communicate a time period or literacy from the past is to translate it into one that is more current and thus more familiar. This is just another way of saying, if you want to communicate with someone, you have to speak their language.

Before students can begin this project, they need a basic understanding of New Historicist and postmodern conceptions of time, history, narrative, and meaning.[3] I strongly emphasize the New Historicist perspective that although we cannot recapture or reproduce what it meant to live in Shakespeare's world, we can become informed readers through the use of cultural artifacts such as literature, domestic conduct texts, speeches made by monarchs, travel literature, popular news pamphlets, and descriptions of food, fashion, and medicine—all of which help us to make that connection, to create meaning and articulate it. Students are also asked to consider the perspective that literature might be historically and culturally determined, a concept they learn through Laura Bohannon's "Shakespeare in the Bush."[4] This essay challenges notions of Shakespeare as omniscient genius whose work expresses universal values based on a likewise universal human nature.   In the essay, the Tiv do not produce the expected interpretation of *Hamlet* that Bohannon is leading them to, which builds students' confidence in their own readings that do not necessarily reproduce standard critical perspectives. At the very least, I encourage them to juxtapose traditional interpretations to the actual text that they are reading.

We read Charles Panati's history of plumbing and human waste disposal, which ranges from hot and cold running water in ancient Egypt to chamber pots in early modern England, which were dumped out the windows; we also learn that Queen Elizabeth

refused to use the "newly invented" toilet because it smelled! This essay, although entertaining, helps students to consider, through a concrete example with evidence, the possibility that history may not be a record of steady progress.[5]

We also practice reading Shakespeare in class, and with the help of a basic text like Tobi Widdicomb's *Simply Shakespeare*,[6] students learn that ignoring punctuation makes it almost impossible to understand Shakespeare's basic syntax and meaning. We watch film adaptations because they are performances specifically designed to get audiences to the theater, to sell tickets, just as were Shakespeare's plays.[7] We read Linda Fitz's "'What Says the Married Woman?' Marriage Theory and Feminism in the English Renaissance"[8] and Lynda Boose's "Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member,"[9] both of which prepare students to read primary texts in collections such as the *Bedford Companion to Shakespeare*, those by Kate Aughterson, or from microfilm copies I have put into a course packet.[10]

As you can see, it takes a good bit of preparation before students can begin the research project; however, I still introduce it very early in the semester as an integral piece of the process of learning Shakespeare, rather than just an assignment tacked on at the end. Students are often confused at first, if not downright panicked or angry, because many of them have mastered a formula for pumping out ten-page research papers. In an effort to manage their anxiety, they frequently try to fall back on interpreting the assignment as one based on an interpretation of Shakespeare as the master of universal human nature. However, we return to New Historicism's basic principles, and when I remind them that such a project is a guaranteed "F," they give up rather quickly.

My biggest challenge is getting them to take that first leap of faith into the unknown, which I encourage by emphasizing the assignment's almost complete freedom of combination and choice, and lack of constraints. One student, in her concluding reflection, justified her focus on Friar Lawrence thus: "I chose not to write about Romeo and Juliet . . . because I'm tired of hearing about them. I thought it would be interesting to look at an alternative important character from the play" (Miki Aberle). Students are encouraged to listen to the constant echoing between Shakespeare's plots, themes, characters, and lines that they hear when listening closely. As they consider how to productively recombine and re-present what most interests them in the period, they are allowed to let the texts interact with each other in almost infinite ways. I show them how Shakespeare can be read as unconstrained and

diverse combinations, rather than discreet packets of dialogue and character.[11]

Students can work in any genre: from script writing, to episodes of daytime TV, legal cases, newspapers, journals, music, art, electronic or digital projects—almost anything they can think of—and often, there are early modern analogs for these genres. I seldom have to say "no" to a student's idea because the research proposals, which must include current criticism, cultural background reading, and primary sources to support the project's rationale, will reveal whether an idea is feasible. All students begin by describing their ideas, and the entire class is invited to make suggestions and comments and ask questions; everyone takes notes that record each person's name and ideas so that they can locate each other as their work progresses or perhaps changes.

Students form research teams based on similar interests, topics, ideas, or formats, which makes them each others' immediate resource, whether they are having a problem or just need to locate a checked out library book. We discuss efficiency: if three people are using similar sources, they are encouraged to meet at the library, divide the list, and collate their findings. Students have a hard time believing this is not cheating, so I explain that many people use a collaborative process when they write in professional non-academic arenas. I remind them that if they do a careful, complete proposal, a large portion of their research will be done.[12] While the proposal is no guarantee of an effective project, it considerably raises the probability of one; if it contains useless sources, vague descriptions and an unclear research agenda, the student will suffer the natural consequences of such choices.

The entire project seems to help students understand research's actual function. One student wrote, "I was much more picky about my research because I had specific ideas in my mind for my project, and in a paper, I never would have really cared.[13] Another student wrote, "I found myself reading parts of sources that I found I couldn't use because they were interesting. If you were really trying, not just doing things to get a grade, you felt disappointed with your project because it could not reflect even a portion of the things you had learned in doing the research for it." In a perfect pedagogical world, everyone would be likewise invested in their course work and eager to learn, but this is not always the case. Although I do not propose to entertain students or include only texts or assignments that "interest" them, I do depend on literature's dual ability to "teach *and* delight," because this formula gets people to invest energy, curiosity, and even enthusiasm into their work.

They enjoy the process, which results in both more learning and retention.

At this point, I want to provide some examples of how students worked both creatively and productively with this assignment.[14] John Thompson had a great sense of humor and irony, but cared about little besides cool, retro-pop culture, and becoming an author. Thus, he had neither time nor interest in another mundane, boring assignment; but he did have to pass the class, so he decided to rewrite *Hamlet* as a *Star Wars* installment. Once you think about it a little, the match is almost perfect. John felt restricted by the ten-page or 3000-word project length, and finally turned in late, as you might predict, a forty-page script.[15]

Shannon Berg took an opposite tack: because she was going to teach, she wanted to learn how to do something she was not good at, which would help her to develop an awareness of and practice at implementing multiple modes of learning; however, she seemed embarrassed to tell me about her project based on Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party*, in part because she could not draw. So many possibilities immediately began to run through my head and out my mouth that I probably intimidated her with my enthusiasm. We discussed how she could cut out pictures, use familiar advertisements and clip art, as well as design abstract, original symbols to represent characters and their relationships. Later, she came to office hours in a panic, with a handful of paper plates and page upon page of research and reading notes. She believed that the project was not working as she had planned: every time she arranged who she had thought were the important characters, other characters would intrude and demand attention, forcing her to rethink the plays, the characters, and their relationships. Thus, she thought her project had failed; but I told her that if our visit had been an oral exam, she would have passed with flying colors.

My classes regularly include many technological wizards and web masters, students who are hypertextual, hot-linked, and skilled through a variety of electronic projects.[16] Christine Robertson, whose project was published in our university's honors journal, created a web board populated by Juliet, Desdemona, Rosalind, Celia, and other young female characters. During her presentation, she told us that, one day when she was working on the web site, her roommate came in and asked what she was doing. "Talking to myself," she replied, and then thought, "Well, talking to myself if I were ten different women." Zach Chase, who worked for the university newspaper, produced an electronic newspaper called *The Andronican*, filled with reports on the Roman empire and their

military campaigns; the births, deaths, and marriages of important citizens; advertising appropriate to the Roman world, and the like.

Students have created magazines, pamphlets, and handbooks. Carolyn Rhoades' project, *The Seventeenth Century*, based on the teen magazine *Seventeen,* included cover stories on young Shakespeare female characters, advice columns, horoscopes, and reader quizzes. Kevin Poduska wrote a webzine based on *The Merchant of Venice*, which included trial updates, a money smart quiz, and an early modern point/counterpoint debate on the trial's outcome. Erica Weber created an on-line marriage-counseling site based on Shakespearean marital portraits, followed by her analysis and application of the situations to the relationship problems of imaginary twenty-first-century readers who had written in for advice.

Colleen Tierney, headed for law school, gave a strong performance as the defense attorney for Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* class trial; thus, I anticipated her using a legal format. But her women's literature class was reading *A Midwife's Tale*, which she decided to use as the basis of her Shakespeare project. She, along with Carolyn and Christine, presented their work last September at our department's annual Undergraduate English Studies Symposium. Julie Richards wanted to do a *Book of Shadows*, focusing on Shakespearean witches, but preliminary research revealed that although Shakespearean witches are few, most of Shakespeare's work was written during James I's reign, making a witchcraft project more than pertinent. She originally planned a series of spells and commentary on them, but decided to expand the book into a collection of legends of famous early modern "witches," spells, herbal medicinal recipes, and depictions of items stereotypically associated with early modern witches, such as familiars, brooms, and cauldrons. Julie established her project's connection to the twentieth century through reference to the current revival of Wiccan tradition and magic. She was happy with her progress, but had one small problem: her boyfriend, a science or computer major, kept horning in, volunteering to burn the edges of her book's pages, age them with a brown stain and candle wax—which is what I would call a happy problem for everyone.

Sometimes the learning that takes place is purely serendipitous, as in one student's trial project for *The Winter's Tale*. The defense was questioning Polixenes about his children and wife. The student was embarrassed because he could not remember his wife's name. No one in class could, at which point I was able to bring up criticism regarding Shakespeare's plays' lack of mothers. During one

student's talk-show project designed to reconcile the families of Romeo and Juliet, suddenly Rosaline (portrayed by a male volunteer in a flowered frock and work boots), jumped out of the audience, ran onto stage, and accused her cousin Juliet of stealing her man. Before this project, the class had not even realized the characters were related. Rachel Buck, inspired by a popular counter-culture comic book called *Johnny the Homicidal Maniac* by Jhonen Vasquez, wrote and hand-illustrated *Hamlet the (Reluctant) Homicidal Maniac*. She justified her borrowing in terms of Shakespeare "whom [*sic*] often used works from other authors as a starting point for his own plays." She also explained that she had replaced the traveling players in *Hamlet* with a punk rock band because early modern "actors were seen as vagabonds and all-around no good which is very much how we look at rock bands today."

Lindsay Shoemaker created a product proposal for a series of Shakespearean action figures for girls, called the "Dead Wives' Club." Her pitch to an imaginary company included a poster with three-dimensional elements that illustrated the first four action figures; she also wrote a booklet that would be sold along with each action figure so that parents (who, no doubt, had been English majors in college) could teach their children about Shakespeare's plays through the action figures, their story lines, and the accessories that accompanied each figure.

There was, that same semester, an unspoken competition between two very "type A" students. Andrea Kaplan created a very professional-looking magazine based on *As You Like It*, while Michelle Moore designed a costume catalog based on the principle that the material culture of costuming was an entry into the individual characters, the plays, and the larger early modern context. Mindy Monahann did the first collage I have ever received. Each page was an elaborately planned and executed design based on a pair of characters. Their dissimilarities were portrayed on the pages' margins, but the nearer you moved to the middle of each page, the more similarities you would see.

Several students combined Shakespeare with their interest in and knowledge of current music. Nick Brocker chose *As You Like It*, then spent countless hours going through electronic song archives to find exactly the right lyrics and music to explore and portray the various emotions and experiences of the characters. The project included music from the *Beatles* to *Pearl Jam* to *Radiohead*. During the presentation, he quietly played the soundtrack while he described his project and explained how the characters were portrayed by the songs he matched with them. Ande Lindsey

created a diverse CD that portrayed Shakespeare's female characters.[17] She wrote a nine-page guide to the CD, which included song lyrics, followed by the rationale for her choices. John Conner and Kevin Borgia co-produced a CD of original tracks and their rewrites, sung by a friend of theirs, devoted to the strange and complex sexual politics of Shakespeare's plays. They used David Bowie, Queen, Elton John, Boy George, and others. Now and then, I still listen to these CDs. I wish I could mention all the wonderful projects I have had the pleasure of reading since I began using this research project. It never ceases to amaze me what students can do when they become interested in a subject.

The final due date for these projects used to be at semester's end. While reading them, I would stop by colleagues' open doors to show them what inventive, entertaining, and thoughtful work students could produce under the right conditions; I sent e-mails to friends with students' website addresses; and I carried the projects home for my partner and our granddaughter to read. But I began to realize that the students never got to see each other's work. The solution was obvious—in-class presentations, which take time (usually the last two weeks of class), but the payoff is worth it. One student said in the final course reflection, "I also learned so much from other people sharing their projects in class in terms of that time period, its connection to our own, and additional Shakespeare plays." I try very hard to enforce strict time limits, so when Jenna Self, who was doing a *Dateline* transcript of Claudius' trial for Hamlet's father's murder, realized she had used up her alloted time, she said, "There is more, but I am out of time." Amazingly, someone looked at the clock and pointed out that we had actually finished a little early and asked to hear the rest of the transcript. How many times do students want to stay in class any longer than they have to? It certainly does not happen in my classes on a regular basis.

I have begun to realize through the course of succeeding semesters the specific and very different ways these projects benefit both the students and me, and what we seem to be learning together. The students come to understand that their own cultural experiences have direct intellectual and analytical applications: their knowledge of various media genres and formats makes possible their rhetorical analysis and representation of Shakespeare and early modern England. They also learn a great deal about the period (i.e., why it is more appropriate to set *Othello* in the White House than in a high school, as was done in the movie *O*). They become aware of distinct links between early modern culture and ours: for

example, in a newspaper or magazine project, horoscopes are culturally consonant because astrology was central to early modern psychology or study of the personality, as well as to people's daily lives.[18] They discover that Queen Elizabeth had her own official astrologer, John Dee, just as Nancy Reagan did, and they learn that modern day psychoanalysis has parallels in humoral theory. One student excitedly reported that her research on fashion and beauty techniques revealed that Queen Elizabeth was the first Englishwoman to wear a wristwatch. Students learn that financial news comes from Venice and stock reports from the Rialto. Their publications include advertisements for New World products such as tobacco and chocolate.

If students choose to write on a topic or issue as their focus rather than a single play, they have to learn basic facts about a number of plays in order to effectively combine the narratives or characters. Students who create successful projects learn how to tap, investigate, evaluate, and utilize many different informational formats, such as the library, the internet, the print resources of their own popular culture and the early modern period, as well as secondary scholarly sources. They have to make language choices: should their characters speak twenty-first-century English or the students' best rendition of four-hundred-year-old "modern" English? This assignment is particularly congenial to the use of technology, which encourages students to utilize their skills or develop new ones. Clearly, people with advanced skills are more likely to create websites, web boards, on-line newspapers, webzines, or hypertexts, but sometimes a student's idea for an electronic project is so compelling that he or she is willing to learn the skills needed to carry it out it, either at campus computer labs or, more often, from friends or classmates.

Because this research assignment is fluid by nature, I am constantly modifying it, trying to make the experience as useful as possible. I am currently considering, with input from students, putting the class into collaborative research groups, each charged with creating a semester-long project. Each group would create a project design, collaboratively work on the research, combine their knowledges and skills, write self- and other assessments, and hopefully produce more complex and complete work than they could do alone. As one student commented, "I'm not a big fan of group work, but I noticed how many projects were similar to mine, and I think it would have [been] a good idea to get together with the others and make one really great project. Maybe put a technology nerd with a technology dummie! (like me)."

I would like to work with colleagues such as Hilary Justice, who shared her student's project: Constanze Mozart's leather journal enclosed in a box covered in lavender silk and tied with a ribbon, containing family portraits that the student found on the internet and reformatted as miniatures; fire- and smoke-damaged love letters from Mozart to Constanze; and finally, an ink bottle, nibbed pen, sealing wax, and embosser. I would also like to collaborate with Jim Kalmbach's hypertext course, which would help our class to gain technological skills by working with Jim's students. I could learn how to put each semester's work on-line, which would be possible if students electronically submitted their projects.[19] Because Illinois State produces many teachers, students might be able to use this archive to prepare for student-teaching, writing lesson plans, or creating teaching portfolios.

In conclusion, I know that this assignment will continue to change because it is never a neat and tidy process (as it might appear to be in this essay): problems arise, we run out of time, and some people still manage to make Cs and Ds. It has also taken me awhile not to feel guilty for not assigning a traditional final paper. I worry that the project might be more fun than scholarly (God forbid): what if the students think I am a push-over? Then I remember that to sustain a discursive form that combines multiple time periods, often many characters and at least several plays, and to carry it out for at least 3000 words is probably a more complex task than writing a paper.[20] If a student tries to complete the assignment with some simplistic pretense, it is immediately apparent to me, but more important, to the entire class during presentations. If there is one thing most of us hate, it is looking bad in front of our peers.

I also remember that this project allows students to build on their own interests and knowledges to create bridges that demonstrate the relevance of studying truly unfamiliar literature and culture; in addition, they get to build on their own interests and knowledges as they create self-generated links, not erasure, between themselves and the past. We have all consistently learned a great deal about both worlds. We have learned how to take art that becomes more alien, difficult, and unfamiliar every year, and negotiate the text, the language, and the genre, not only for ourselves, but for a broader audience as well.[21]

Notes

1. Joan Kelly, *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). My approach included the ideas of Joan Kelly, such as perceiving the reader as ally and declaring a vantage point rather

than claiming to have the only perspective. The course's focus was on the relationship between the public world of church and state and the private domestic sphere. I also emphasize a non-competitive environment through collaborative pedagogy. The third week of class, students choose groups from four to five people, and while I openly acknowledge the awkwardness of the whole process, I promise them that by the mid-term exam, they will so heavily depend on each other that they will forgive me. Their first assignment is to introduce themselves to each other in writing, which they e-mail to me as well, so we can create address book entries and mailboxes for file storage. I encourage regular e-mail because it strengthens our relationship as a learning community; I use these group addresses to send announcements and reminders, as well as direct answers to individual questions that seem likely to apply to the larger class.

2. Another problem results from Shakespeare's cultural and thus curricular dominance: there are numberless papers to beg, buy, or downright plagiarize, and I have never believed that finding irrefutable evidence of plagiarism is the equivalent of breaking the code of an international drug cartel worth millions of dollars. Frankly, I have many better things to do with my time.

3. I use Catherine Belsey, "Literature, History, Politics," in *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama*, ed. Richard Wilson and Richard Dutton (New York: Longman, 1992), 33-44; "Reading the Past," introduction to *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (New York: Routledge, 1985); Jean Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies," in *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama*, ed. Richard Wilson and Richard Dutton (New York Longman, 1992).

4. Laura Bohannon, "Shakespeare in the Bush," in *The Informed Reader: Contemporary Issues in the Disciplines*, ed. Charles N. Bazerman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 43-55.

5. Charles Panati, *Panati's Extraordinary Origins of Everyday* Things (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

6. Toby Widdicombe, *Simply Shakekspeare* (New York: Longman, 2002).

7. The *Taming of the Shrew, Othello, Hamlet 2000, Romeo and Juliet*, and *Titus* are especially useful for demonstrating how popular culture can become an intertextual vehicle between past and present. However, this takes a great deal more time than we usually have in a semester.

8. Linda Fitz, "'What Says the Married Woman?' Marriage Theory and Feminism in the English Renaissance," *Mosaic* 13 (1980): 1-22.

9. Lynda E. Boose, "Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 179-213.

10. My thanks to Irene Taylor, a departmental staff member, who is scanning all my materials into PDF files that will be placed on my public folder so that students will have access to course material, as well as to a large body of primary sources.

11. Some students even seem to experience this freedom in regard to their own identities, or at least those they reveal in class. Each semester, I am amazed by a student who has said little all semester, who proceeds to turn in a well thought out, well executed, and strong project that depends on either a persona the student has not revealed in class or on skills I was completely unaware they had.

12. The proposal includes the following: a developed description of the project; why the student chose this topic or text (interest); what the student already knows and does not know about the subject; specifically how he or she will locate the necessary information; how the project is connected to the larger early modern English context; which other members of the class share this area of research. It also requires an annotated bibliography that includes three non-fiction general background sources on the topic that provide historical and sociological context, published no earlier than 1980; four critical articles published no earlier than 1990; and any newspaper or popular magazine articles that are helpful.

13. Unfortunately, I am unable to provide some students' names because some of these comments were written in the anonymous course evaluation that I give each semester.

14. My students sign statements that document whether or not they give me permission to use their work in an academic setting.

15. The minimum is described as a "ten-page or 3000-word limit" because of the difference in project genres.

16. One of my students, Aimee Bullinger, is currently creating a website for me that will archive all of the student early modern projects, my course materials, an extensive bibliography, and a list of early modern links.

17.
"Not a Pretty Girl" by Ani Difranco	Kate
"Daddy" by Jewel	Kate
"No Man's Woman" by Sinead O'Connor	Ophelia
"Harder to Breathe" by Maroon 5	Desdemona
"Porcelain" by Better Than Ezra	Bianca
"Everything I Do" by Bryan Adams	Juliet
"I Won't Back Down" by Tom Petty	Hermia
"Out Loud" by Dispatch	Miranda
"Daylight" by Eden's Crush	Viola
"I'm Still Here" by the Goo Goo Dolls	Rosalind
"Never Let You Down" by the Verve Pipe	Portia

18. In one project, we read that Juliet will fall in love with a handsome stranger; Orlando is told that he may not know his own strength; and Macbeth is warned to not take advice from strangers.

19. This is not always feasible because of the three-dimensional nature of some projects. However, thanks to a monetary award I recently received from the College of Arts and Science, I now have a digital camera, which I first used last semester to record such projects, and then upload them onto my computer.

20. One student reported, "Unlike the average research paper, this project demanded higher levels of connection-making, creativity, more intense research, and ultimately more work than I have put in on any assignment of comparable length. However, it was proportionally rewarding in terms of what I learned and how much I enjoyed it."

21. Currently Jeff Pietruszynski, one of my advisees, is writing his dissertation on how he has made the study of early modern literature appealing to undergraduates by helping them to locate and work with the points of similarity and difference between that world and theirs. He also has found that such an approach has a distinct application to the liberatory pedagogy that informs his classroom practices, especially in his effort to develop the critical thinking skills in his students that are necessary to sustain a democratic society.

How to Teach a Moral Lesson:
The Function of the Company Clown in
The Tragedy of Doctor Faustus
and
Love's Labour's Lost

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n Marlowe's and Shakespeare's time, the profession of actor was a problematic one. Being labeled as "vagrant"[1] and having to perform in the liberties,[2] the actor was in a precarious position, and only the patronage of a member of the court and its circle conveyed some legitimacy and respectability on the actor and his company. Having to contend with growing Puritan criticism of, say, immorality, cross-dressing, and misrepresentation of social classes[3] prompted writers such as playwright Thomas Heywood to write such tracts as *An Apology for Actors* (printed 1612), which stressed the importance of stage plays in performance as conveyors of a sound moral message, much needed by the audience. Towards the end of his tract Heywood tells the story of a woman who, during a play that touched her own situation nearly, felt moved to confess to the murder of her husband. Hamlet is aiming for just such moral purging when he plans his "Mousetrap" play to con a confession from Claudius.

One key element to conveying a moral message is to achieve audience distancing. Modern-day movie-goers expect to identify closely with one protagonist, feel his or her pain, and enjoy the process, and this effect is indeed what directors aim for. We have all been moved to compassion by such moments as the young lover's drowning in *Titanic* and wrenched by young Bruce Wayne's traumatic loss of his parents in *Batman Begins*. Renaissance playwrights strove for the opposite effect. Here, the idea was to create a distance between character and spectator, a distance in which analysis—conscious or unconscious—might thrive, criticism would bloom, and "the right conclusion" would be reached. Examples of devices which achieve alienation could be the dumb

show, which "fast forwards" the action through pantomime; the aside, which wreaks havoc with any semblance of verisimilitude; and the myriad allusions to theater, which remind us that we are watching a play and not taking part in something realistic.[4] The ultimate device was the role of the company clown, and while many playwrights explored this possibility, Shakespeare was the one to take the clown as morality-promoting device the furthest.

A clown performer has a curious, in-the-middle position. He is not quite part of the proceedings on stage, as he spends much of his time in close contact with the audience, whom he provokes to react; he is also not "one of us," as he is recognized by his fellow actors as part of their universe. The clown could be defined as a function or a catalyst, rather than a character.[5] He moves comfortably among social classes, and he relates well with the audience; *Measure for Measure*'s Pompey is an instance in point, especially in the opening of act 3, scene 2, where his paying play-going audience becomes his paying customers in Mistress Overdone's brothel. The clown appears at key points when the spectators need direction away from identification with protagonists in order to absorb the moral message; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Bottom, puzzled by Titania's amorous attentions, pronounces, "Reason and love keep little company together nowadays" (3.1.138-39), provoking our laughter and at the same time reminding us how irrational and generic the infatuation of the four Athenian lovers is. We readily accede to the wisdom the clown imparts because he gives us so much of his time and attention, and he likes and celebrates what we appreciate: creature comforts, such as food, money, free time, and sexual pleasure. The clown is the audience's guide and teacher, a perfect vehicle for conveying the moral message, mainly because our insight is gained pleasurably, through laughter.

Doctor Faustus signals immediately through its Prologue that this is a play with a moral message. Faustus is compared to Icarus, who fell to his death "swoll'n with cunning."[6] Faustus, too, is suffering from pride, the worst of the seven deadly sins. Some of his motives for selling his soul to the Devil, such as defending and strengthening his native Germany and clothing poor scholars (1.1.90-95), look noble in the first scene, but it is the glory and power of necromancy that drive him, as those are what drove his studies of medicine. "Be a physician, Faustus. Heap up gold / And be eternized for some wondrous cure" (1.1.14-15), he says of his goals for medicine, though he immediately thereafter mentions how he has been able to avert the plague as well as a "thousand

desp'rate maladies" to boot (1.1.21-22); but still it seems his real goal is to use medicine to raise the dead (23-26), though he has been unable to reach it thus far and never will succeed. As for his study of the law, he claims of reading Justinian, "His study fits a mercenary drudge / Who aims at nothing but external trash, / Too servile and illiberal for me" (1.1.34-36). The study of divinity, or religion, also falls short of his mark and is discarded as well once he sees that "the reward of sin is death"(1.1.41), and that we all, Faustus included, are sinners and subject to God's judgment on an equal footing. Faustus wants to be out of the ordinary, and he aims high; however, once he is in Mephistopheles' company, his lofty goals are turned into frivolous nonsense, sometimes even petty and spiteful acts, such as his memorable cheating of the horse-courser.

Faustus is a man we must admire for his accumulation of knowledge, his greedy curiosity for even more, and the risks he is willing to take to gain his objective. He is also a man to be pitied, mainly because this objective is removed from him by Mephistopheles and turned to frivolity at the high price of Faustus's soul. When Faustus wishes to see and examine the wonders of Rome, he is set to play silly tricks on the Pope; and when he seeks for the comfort of marriage, he is given a devil dressed up as a woman, but not a true wife. Both here and much later, when Faustus desires Helen of Troy as his lover and asks, "Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss," we feel the futility of his endeavor as "her lips sucks forth [his] soul. See where it flies!" (5.1.92-93). Faustus seems to desire the sacrament of marriage, which Mephistopheles, of course, cannot provide, and which he calls "a ceremonial toy" (2.1.152); this stabilizing, anchoring building block of society is denied him. When Faustus questions Mephistopheles about the nature of the universe, he is brushed off, and when he first desires to repent, he is diverted with Lucifer himself serving up a pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins. These can all be poignant appeals to the audience to feel for Faustus, and it can be very easy to identify with this larger-than life—albeit prideful—achiever; after all, his ambitions are so very human.

Enter the clowns! Critics speculate about the 1604 printing—closest, we surmise, to Marlowe's text—that the clown scenes were added by some other author's pen,[7] but a playwright capable of creating the antics of Barabas of *The Jew of Malta* would have no difficulty crafting this group, Our clown group is Robin and Rafe, both stablemen, initially solicited into apprenticeship in the black arts by Wagner, Faustus's servant, in a parallel to scene 1's Valdes

and Cornelius. Faustus's magician friends promise him that their gift of magic books will give him vast power:

> As Indian Moors obey their Spanish lords,
> So shall the subjects of every element
> Be always serviceable to us three...
> Then doubt not, Faustus, but to be renowned
> And more frequented for this mystery
> Than heretofore the Delphian oracle. (1.2.123-145)

Faustus immediately makes use of his books and conjures up his devil. Similarly, Wagner, in a ludicrous parallel, tempts Robin to join him through allusions to food and promises of fine clothes and money. The clown is a more reluctant convert:

> *Wagner.* Bind yourself presently onto me for seven years, or I shall turn all the lice about thee into familiars, and they shall tear thee to pieces.
> *Robin:* Do you hear, sir? You may save that labour. They are too familiar with me already. 'Swounds, they are as bold with my flesh as if they had paid for my meat and drink.   (1.4.24-29)

Even the guilders given him are misunderstood; once Robin hears them called "French crowns" (1.4.34), he believes they have no value. Also, the clown could easily be alluding here to other things French, such as the pox, as mercury-treatment for this disease made the hair fall out, creating a bald "crown." The seduction of Faustus is echoed by that of Robin, but the fantastic promises that prompt such eagerness from Faustus and probably strike the audience with awe are immediately put into ludicrous perspective by Robin's lice and diseases.

Where Faustus wants Mephistopheles to "give [him] whatsoever [he] shall ask, / To tell [him] whatsoever [he] demand[s]... / [and to] be great Emperor of the world" (1.3.96-106), Robin ultimately signs on with the would-be magician Wagner once he has seen a spectacular demonstration of a he- and a she-devil and been properly frightened, though he attempts to keep his courage up. Mainly he is persuaded because he is promised that he will be taught how to turn himself into "a dog or a cat, or a mouse or a rat, or anything" (1.4.60-61). If he may be given this gift of transformation, he may be made into "a little, pretty, frisking flea" which will enable him to "tickle the pretty wenches' plackets" (1.4.64-66).[8] Again, Faustus's lofty aims are paralleled on a most earthbound plane; while Faustus longs for power and a wife's companionship in marriage, Robin longs to get his hands, indeed his whole transformed body, under as many skirts as possible, a

goal less lofty than Faustus's, but immediately understandable to a groundling. These two seduction scenes, back to back as they are, give the audience the first opportunity to step back from Faustus and evaluate his bargain. We see that anybody can summon devils, and we see the difference in price and reward for a commitment to the dark side. Robin is not asked to commit his soul to Hell, but he instinctively knows that "all he-devils have horns, and all she-devils have clefts and cloven feet" (1.4.55-56). The allusion to the deception native to all devils is clearly stated, but the sexual context Robin places this in—all he-devils are cuckolds, and all she-devils have vulvas to cuckold them with—makes Faustus's trust in Mephistopheles' promises look increasingly misplaced.

Act 2, scene 1 is the agonizing signing of the document, which Faustus has written up himself in his capacity as lawyer. Significantly, but not surprisingly, as Faustus is already under satanic influence, this contract is unspecific and does not list any concrete goals. Faustus, of course, wants to summon Mephistopheles to do "whatsoever" at any time or place, but Faustus also wishes to be "a spirit in form and substance," and that an unspecified "he"—maybe Mephistopheles, who was too ugly to have around the house before, maybe Faustus himself—"shall be in his chamber or house invisible" (2.1.95-103), for which he offers his body and soul for twenty-four years of the Devil's service. All he gets in compensation at this point are promises of a parade of courtesans and a few books for further study, not the information or the wife he craves. Illiterate Robin, in act 2, scene 2, has stolen one of these dearly bought books and plans to "make all the maidens in our parish dance at [his] pleasure stark naked before [him]" (2.2.3-4), and to "search some circles" (i.e., conjuring circles/vaginas) (2.2.2-3) as well. He then seduces Rafe by first promising to get him drunk for free at any time, which does not impress Rafe at all, and then "Nan Spit, our kitchen maid" for his "own use" (2.2.27-28), which has Rafe immediately committed.

Again, two scenes, back to back, first wring our hearts, then show us the folly of trafficking with the Devil. Faustus has to sell his soul and dramatically sign the contract with his own blood for what he covets but does not truly attain. Rafe is asked for nothing, and does not even see a demonstration of Robin's alleged powers; still, he freely promises to "feed thy devil with horse-bread as long as he lives" (2.2.30-31) at the prospect of dalliance with a kitchen maid. The parallel between the two payments gives us perspective. Faustus is to burn in Hell for eternity in return for conjuring books and promises that turn out to be almost empty, while Rafe rashly

promises to feed an immortal devil with horse fodder forever for the favors of a wench, whose name conjures up images of grease and soot in our minds. Though this clown scene is a mere thirty-four lines in length, it works wonders with audience perception.

In act 3, scene 1 we meet a well-traveled Faustus who, so far, has been granted some of his wishes. He has ridden to Olympus's top in a dragon-drawn chariot to study astronomy and now has cosmography in mind (3. Chorus). Otherwise, he has only a grand tour of Europe and a few books in return for his bargain. Lucifer has given Faustus a book that teaches him to change shape (we are reminded of scene 4); and instead of seeing the longed-for sights in Rome, he is persuaded to make himself invisible to play a prank on the Pope. After Henry VIII's reformation of the English Church, anti-Catholic sentiment was frequently expressed on the stage, and so it is not surprising that the Pope and his entourage are targeted. Here the barb is directed at the sin of gluttony so clearly being committed in the Pope's chambers; the presence of one of Satan's main minions in this place is also delightfully comical. Faustus's activities, however enjoyable they may be to watch, are too close for comfort to what the clowns usually perform. Faustus intended to "see the monuments / And situation of bright splendent Rome" (3.1.47-48), but instead he is persuaded to be made invisible so he can snatch food and drink from the Pope's hand and finally "*hits him a box of the ear*" (3.1.80) and sends him flying from his own chambers. This scene presents activities not vastly different from what the clowns delight us with.

In act 3, scene 2, Rafe and Robin put on a show to best Faustus's. In parallel, they have made a disturbance at an inn, stealing a silver goblet, and are comically searched by the inn-keeper to no avail, because they apparently are accomplished thieves and work well together; they certainly do not need diabolical intervention to pull off this theft.[9] Just for the sheer fun of it, and maybe to create an extra distraction, Robin conjures in atrocious, homemade Latin, and in most productions I have seen is quite surprised by the result. He succeeds in summoning a disgruntled Mephistopheles, who has better things to do, and who "for [Robin's] presumption" (3.2.38) transforms the clowns into an ape and a dog, respectively. In the Great Chain of Being,[10] man is distinguishable from beasts mainly through his faculty of reason, and the references in contemporary drama to man's losing this faculty and becoming animal-like are legion; wrath and heated passion, for example, will have that effect. While dogs are praised for their loyalty in much of Renaissance literature, they are also

often, and especially by Shakespeare, referred to as being cringing, subservient, stinking creatures that are looked down upon;[11] apes and monkeys were notorious for their lecherousness. Mephistopheles chooses his animals well for our two clowns. Typically, the clowns, especially Robin, make the best of an adverse situation:

> *Robin*: How, into an ape? That's brave. I'll have fine sport with the boys; I'll get nuts and apples enough.
> *Rafe*: And I must be a dog.
> *Robin*: I'faith, thy head will never be out of the pottage pot. (3.2.41-44)

Where both were lured with promises of sexual favors, which they will be unable to obtain in their transformed state, there is always food in plenty to look forward to. Besides, neither clown has entered into a formal agreement with the Devil as Faustus has, so presumably their souls are safe.

Mephistopheles' presence in act 3, scene 2 links Faustus even closer with the clowns, who disappear after this scene; but their point has been made: the Devil has no care for humans. Faustus's was the morally wrongful choice, and indeed the rest of the play shows him engaged in futile parlor tricks. Because his folly has been exposed to us through the clowns, we can witness his miserable end and learn from it: the Epilogue further stresses the lesson.

Love's Labour's Lost is, in comparison, a light confection, obsessed with how the use of language defines us and with the foolishness of trying to deny basic human nature. We have two comic groups, one we mostly laugh at and one we laugh with; the one in which Costard moves serves to expose the folly of the King of Navarre's experiment with isolation, especially from womankind, in the name of learning.[12] Costard, along with clowns like Grumio of *The Taming of the Shrew* and Launcelot Gobbo of *The Merchant of Venice*, is a delightful example of Shakespeare's use of a servant-clown to expose the negative and ridiculous aspects of his betters to the edification of the audience.

Costard's delight in new and long words and the way he chooses to use them expose the language of those above him in station, while his infatuation with Jacquenetta mocks the lords' obsession with the French ladies. In act 1, scene 1, he is accused of being "taken with a wench," who, in his attempt to worm his way out of a sticky situation, becomes transformed into "damsel," "virgin," "maid," and finally "Jacquenetta,... a true girl" (1.1.276-306). However, all his synonymic squirming does not save him from

"the sour cup of prosperity"—Costard revels in malapropisms, too. The King's whole establishment, though reluctantly, is to be laboring under the conditions of the oath sworn by the King and his courtiers:

> *King*: Our late edict shall strongly stand in force:
> Navarre shall be the wonder of the world;
> Our court shall be a little academe,
> Still and contemplative in living art.
>
> . . . .
>
> *Berowne*: But there are other strict observances;
> As not to see a woman in that term [i.e., three years],
> Which I hope well is not enrolled there:
> And one day in a week to touch no food,
> And but one meal on every day beside;
> The which I hope is not enrolled there:
> And then to sleep but three hours in the night,
> And not be seen to wink of all that day...
> Which I hope well is not enrolled there.
>
> . . . .
>
> Necessity will make us all forsworn
> Three thousand times within these three years' space;
> For every man with his affects are born.
> Not by mind master'd, but by special grace.
>   (1.1.11-14, 36-46, 148-51)

Costard, though formally unsworn, is clearly bound as well by the King's proclamation. But as is apparent from the quotation above, the conditions of the oath are so strict that only the most untempted and devoted can abide by them, and there is already rebellion in the ranks before the oath is firmly sworn; indeed, the lords seem to swear more to please their king and to avoid ridicule than out of desire to abide by the monastic terms put down.

Costard is sent to prison for his dalliance with Jacquenetta,[13] where his jailer is to be the one who exposed him in a letter, Don Adriano di Armado, his Spanish rival in love and lust, and an expert in inflated verbiage. Natives of Catholic countries were often ridiculed on stage, with special attention to the Spanish,[14] and Don Armado is no exception. In his letter of accusation, Jacquenetta is "a child of our grandmother Eve, a female, or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman" (1.1.257-58). In act 1, scene 2 we meet him, and indeed his spoken language and inflated opinion of himself easily live up to his written communication. He confesses his love to Moth, the page, and so, when Costard is brought in in bonds, the jailor is as guilty as the prisoner, which makes a mockery of rules and regulations, a point driven home both by Moth and Costard, even as it foreshadows the fall of the lords:

Armado:	Thou shalt be heavily punished.
Costard:	I am more bound to you than your fellows, for they are but lightly rewarded.
Armado:	Take away this villain: shut him up.
Moth:	Come, you transgressing slave: away!
Costard:	Let me not be pent up, sir; I will fast, being loose.
Moth:	No, sir, that were fast and loose; thou shalt to prison.
Costard:	Well, if ever I see the merry days of desolation that I have seen, some shall see—
Moth:	What shall some see?
Costard:	Nay, nothing, Master Moth, but what they look upon. (1.2.141-53)

Costard, at least, is made to admit his liaison with Jacquenetta openly, and he submits to punishment relatively readily, where Don Armado keeps secret his infatuation and readiness to launch himself into love's snare, and thus by comparison stands out as the more culpable of the two. Berowne, earlier, at least voiced his doubts about the feasibility of keeping his oath, and thus stands as a sort of parallel to Costard, the other vocal one, which creates a foreshadowing parallel between Don Armado and the King and court.

Don Armado's interchange with Jacquenetta (1.2.124-35) soon is echoed by the interchange between Berowne and Rosaline (2.1.115-127), and these men are indeed the first two to deliver written communications to their lady loves, given to Costard to deliver—and switch. Don Armado consigns his with his customary verbal flourishes, giving Costard his liberty from his none-too-hard durance along with three farthings, which he calls "remuneration," to "bear this significance to the country maid Jacquenetta" (3.1.127-128). Costard is more delighted with his new word, which he analyzes, than with his payment: "Now will I look at his remuneration. Remuneration! O, that's the Latin word for three farthings!" (3.1.131-132),[15] and proceeds to use his new word in mini-conversations with himself and later with Berowne. The reward was negligible, but the word was enormous, just as Don Armado's protestations of love are oversized for the depth of passion they convey.

Berowne's epistle is to be delivered to Rosaline, "to her white hand see thou do commend / This seal'd-up counsel" (3.1.162-163), for which the "guerden" is "a' leven-pence farthing," better than a remuneration; though the word is shorter and less interesting, the reward is infinitely greater.[16] There is no mistaking Costard's ironic exposure of his betters. When the letters are switched, there

is more than a hint in this scene that the lovers' passion, Armado's most of all, may well be an infatuation with the words and trappings of wooing and the buzz of sexual titillation. There is, undeniably, much more to a relationship than the thrill of wooing and sexual passion; especially for society's important and elevated members such as royalty and nobility, marriage is an assurance that lineage will continue so society can remain stable, something far from the minds of these lovesick gentlemen.

Since the unexpected arrival of the French Princess and her ladies, the lords have striven for continence—some more mightily than others—but all join with Don Armado and Berowne and end up breaking their oaths of abstinence. The contents of the letters, as well as the lords' love sonnets, are revealed in act 4, scenes 1 and 3, truly delightful eavesdropping scenes where we sense an echo of how Costard's passion was brought to light in act 1, scene 1. Costard is the only lover who does not consign his feelings to paper, which omission grows ever more prudent as every other effusion of infatuation is either read aloud—the letters—or overheard—the poems. Typically, the ladies are praised and adored in pedestrian Petrarchan fashion and with such exaggeration that this somewhat outmoded medium becomes ludicrous (4.3.24-39, 57-70, 98-117). Jacquenetta, too, is seen as "fair... beauteous... lovely," but her more lowly station is never forgotten; Don Armado is the king, Jacquenetta the beggar, and "the catastrophe is a nuptial.... I am the king, for so stands the comparison; thou the beggar, for so witnesseth thy lowliness.... I profane my lips on thy foot, my eyes on thy picture, and my heart on thine every part" (4.1.61-63, 77-88). What better testament to the irrationality of love could the audience wish for as a moral lesson? At this point in the game, it seems, Costard, supplanted in Jacquenetta's fickle affections, has taken up his much safer love for rewards, language and learning, and he is the better off.

Both the French ladies and, to some degree, Jacquenetta, all seem to be aware of the fact that marriage is the goal of courting, and that a lifetime commitment is not built on Petrarchan poetry, no matter how lofty and passionate;[17] a woman needs assurance and the promise of mutual aid and comfort. The Princess, having learned of her father's death, is still pressed for a spur-of-the-moment commitment by the King "at the latest minute of the hour" (5.1.779) as she is leaving. She answers, "A time, methinks, too short / To make a world-without-end bargain in" (5.1.780-781) and sends him to a hermitage to test his love for a year, after which she will have him if, and only if, he is constant—he has,

after all, broken a solemn oath once before when he courted her. The other ladies follow suit and give fitting, year-long punishments to their suitors, while Jacquenetta, publicly known to be pregnant by now, and just maybe by Costard who was indeed "taken with her," sends Don Armado off to farm for three years "for her sweet love" (5.1.876), truly a humbling experience for the self-important Spanish lord if he, indeed, stays the course. Her pregnancy is flagrant proof of the consequences of infatuation and lust unbridled. The audience's perception of the quality of honor and love, and how socially mandated courting behavior should properly be managed, is deeply influenced by Costard in this play. We learn well from Costard's entertaining teaching.

Costard's skill with verbal acrobatics also stand him in good stead during "The Interlude of the Nine Worthies," where he represents Pompey the Big/Great because of "his great limb or joint" (5.1.119-121), another bawdy allusion. In this interlude he is working alongside two of the three pillars of a contemporary community, Sir Nathanael, the Curate, and Holofernes, the Schoolmaster,[18] who traditionally are looked up to and revered for their learning and high leadership standing. In this situation, too, Costard holds his own well and again exposes learning to ridicule as the entertainment is planned. Moth is the character who interacts with Holofernes, Nathanael, and Don Armado directly in this scene and proves a veritable acrobat with language; Costard is an interested observer and admirer:

> An I had but one penny in the world, thou should'st have it to buy gingerbread. Hold, there is the very remuneration I had of thy master, thou halfpenny purse of wit, thou pigeon-egg of discretion. O, and the heavens were but so pleased that thou wert but my bastard, what a joyful father wouldst thou make me. Go to, thou hast it *ad dunghill*, at the fingers' ends, as they say. (5.1.64-71)

Costard links the love plot to the subplot through the well-remembered remuneration, which, in a way, is returned from whence it came. His recognition and celebration of Moth as a kindred spirit, close enough to be a "bastard" of his, further endears us to our clown. Many audience members, then as well as now, will remember having been talked down to by the learned, and this is sweet revenge.

This downfall of learning persists in act 5, scene 2, when the interlude is performed. Scholarly men such as Holofernes, whose abuse of language makes even Don Armado seem lucid, and Sir Nathaniel, whose admiration for Holofernes is immense, are easily

flustered by the jeering, on-stage audience. Costard, who takes them on in dialog in the style of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'s Bottom, is able to hold his own. Typical of a Shakespearean stage audience of nobles watching a performance put on by their inferiors, these courtiers seize any and all opportunities to ridicule the well-meaning amateur thespians. Costard invariably gives as good as he gets, and when he seems humble under the onslaught, the behavior of the nobles reveals them as unkind. Costard, assisted by Moth the Page, is instrumental in giving us critical insight into the bombast with which both the socially elevated and the learned mask their lack of substance. Still, Holofernes is the one who most touchingly succeeds in exposing his betters' lack of generosity when he, having been called "Jude-as(s)" in his role as Judas Maccabæus, says, "This is not generous, not gentle, not humble (kind, benevolent)" (5.2.622).

The moral lessons presented to the audience in *Doctor Faustus* and *Love's Labour's Lost* are vastly different, but consistently Christian in value, and in both cases brought home through the use of the clowns. Robin and Rafe tell us to strive for what we can achieve without paying an ultimate price, and that those whose pride drives them to a fatal bargain come to a bad end. Costard teaches us that true nobility lies in restraint, and that nobody human can escape the human condition, however nobly born he or she may be. There are honorable and morally acceptable ways to engage in social interaction, both with inferiors and with the fair sex; and if a gentleman decides to interact with a lady romantically, he should think about mutual aid and comfort and procreation without fornication before lust drives him to places he should not go. Social class is of importance, and nobility and royalty had better not forget the standard they must be held to. A clown is popular with his audience, something like our contemporary comedy "stars," and closer to them in station than kings and learned doctors. His example teaches us, through laughter and guidance, to watch the play, be it comedy or tragedy, with more objectivity and to look for a moral message.

Notes

1. See the *Acte for the Punishement of Vagabondes and for Releif of the Poor and Impotent* of June, 1592, and E. K. Chambers's discussion in his *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), where this act is quoted.

2. For interesting background material on the period in general and the location of the playhouses in particular, see Frank Kermode, *The Age of Shakespeare* (New York: The Modern Library, 2004); Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 1996); Steven

Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1988); and Russ McDonald, *The Bedford Companion to Shakespeare* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001).

3. Though they were probably never strictly enforced, sumptuary laws existed and clearly stated what class could wear certain materials such as lace or gold embroidery on their clothing; gentlemen only could wear swords on the street. Thus, an actor dressing up as a king, or even carrying a gentleman's sword, could well be seen as offensive.

4. As just a few examples of these alienating devises could be mentioned the banishment dumb show in the beginning of act 3, scene 4 of Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*; Oberon's "I am invisible" aside (*MND* 2.1.185 in the Arden Edition; all subsequent quotes from Shakespeare will be from this edition), so brilliantly rendered in the Utah Shakespearean Festival's production of 2005 by Michael Sharon's Oberon; and Cleopatra's reference to the stage in general and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in particular in *Antony and Cleopatra*, 5.2.207-20. Even the soliloquy can be seen as such a device because it brings us into a thoroughly unrealistic situation, where the stage communicates one-way, but most personally with the house.

5. See Bente Videbæk, *The Stage Clown in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Presses, 1996).

6. Prologue 20; this and all references to "The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus" will be from *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. David Bevington (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002); "cunning" here means 'pride.'

7. A later edition adds so much to the clown scenes that they become somewhat intrusive and detract somewhat from the tightness of the play.

8. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a "placket" means a skirt as well as the one who wears it; a slit in the top of the skirt to facilitate putting it on; a slit to give access to the pocket hanging within from the waist by a thong.

9. Thieves and pickpockets were found in great numbers wherever large crowds were gathered, such as outside, or maybe even inside, a theater. This easily recognizable allusion to the audience's reality adds to the enjoyment of the scene.

10. See Arthur O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936, 1964). The mediaeval concept of the Great Chain was still clearly recognized in the Renaissance, and the idea and the images it conjured were often used emblematically on stage.

11. See, for example, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2.1.202-210 and *King Lear*, 1.4.109-111.

12. The theme of sacrificing something valuable is pertinent to both plays. The state of Faustus's soul is of utmost importance to Faustus's salvation, but King Ferdinand of Navarre's window of opportunity in which he can woo and marry a suitable mother for his male heir is of importance, not only to him, but to his entire nation.

13. The use of a rope as a prop in this scene in the Utah Shakespearean Festival's 2005 production of the play was especially ingenious as it served to stress Costard's role in exposing the sexuality rampant in the court and the pain that might follow acting upon it.

14. Bloody Mary married King Philip II of Spain, who later pursued her

half-sister Elizabeth as a marriage prospect, a very unpopular match in the eyes of the people. Besides Don Armado, one other notable Spaniard is held up for ridicule in Shakespeare's works: Portia's suitor, the Prince of Arragon, in *The Merchant of Venice*.

15. No matter whether Costard's "O!" is delivered as an expression of extreme disappointment or as if a joyful revelation has been made, the situation is pricelessly funny.

16. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a farthing is "the quarter of a penny"; Berowne gives twelve pence for the same service as elicits three farthings, less than one penny, from Don Armado.

17. Ironically, *Love Labour's Lost* is one comedy that sports somewhat rational, reason-driven ladies, and gentlemen committed to frivolousness. This is an exceptional comedy, as it does not end in marriage and social order happily restored after the irrational "ride" through the safe version of chaos that a comedy normally presents.

18. The third pillar would be the one who administers the law, in this case King Ferdinand.

What IS a "Shakespeare Film," Anyway?

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he title of this essay should be self-explanatory, intending to answer a basic question made difficult only by the fussiness and peculiarity of theory. The approach is historic, filmographic, and bibliographic, since the essay surveys early films (some of them clearly adaptations, some of them merely "derivatives") and reviews the earlier scholarship of Robert Hamilton Ball, Jack J. Jorgens in the United States, and Roger Manvell in Britain. A discussion follows of some of the later scholarship that has proliferated over the past fifty years—in particular those approaches that have expressed special interest in Shakespeare "derivatives" and films that might be considered "almost" Shakespeare.

Well, everybody knows a Shakespeare film ought to be a film intelligently adapted from a Shakespeare play, right? But the process has become pretty loose lately, and would-be popular culture "scholars" have become pretty adept at finding likely candidates far from Renaissance England. Director Ken Hughes, for example, made a movie called *Joe Macbeth*[1] updating Shakespeare's Scottish play to a twentieth-century gangster setting; but is that close enough? Or how about the movie *A Thousand Acres*,[2] based upon the novel by Jane Smiley, set in Iowa, but conceived in a fit of feminist frenzy and spun from a ghastly distortion of the plot of *King Lear*? So is either the original novel or the film adapted by Laura Jones and directed by Jocelyn Moorhouse in 1997 anything more than Shakespeare with a Smiley face? Director Delmer Daves made a Western called *Jubal* in 1956,[3] marketed as a "western take" on *Othello*. Does the mere claim make it ripe and ready for classroom exploitation? Are we so desperate to make Shakespeare "relevant"? Has the profession forgotten what it should be about? Or are we all sinking helplessly into the muck of a postmodern swamp?

Shakespeare wrote the perfect adolescent play. It's called *Romeo and Juliet*. It's not set in Florida or California or Mexico City or

"Verona Beach," Baz Luhrmann to the contrary, though Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet*[4] did manage, just barely, to hold on to Shakespeare's poetry, or at least some of it, delivered with varying degrees of competence by youngsters, including that wild *Titanic* boy, Leonardo DiCaprio, a natural heartbreaker. On the other hand, *Othello* is not an adolescent play, but teenagers can no doubt "relate to" the emotion of jealousy.

So how about wrenching *Othello* out of context and plopping the plot and a few "updated" and barely recognizable central characters down in a prep school in South Carolina, updating it to the twentieth century so that the contemporary Moor would shoot hoops instead of Turks? Cool, eh? Director Tim Blake Nelson called it *O*,[5] suggesting a metallic O—not a Wooden O, but a metallic O that reflects the circularity of a basketball hoop. This foolish thing followed the trend started by *10 Things I Hate about You* (1999),[6] which also starred Julia Stiles and could have been tagged, "*The Taming of the Shrew* goes to High School." But *Othello* is surely more problematic: not only is it far more serious, but it is also far more difficult to update and dumb down. As the only black male in an all-white high school, screenwriter Brad Kaaya presumably might have experienced some of the anguish ascribed to his angry adolescent version of Shakespeare's tragic protagonist, whose new name, Odin James, suggested the initials of yet another sports celebrity who, let's say, had trouble adjusting to a white-dominated world. Kaaya somehow thought it might be a good idea to turn *Othello* into a backcourt tragedy, without realizing that a basketball star might lack the authority and tragic dimension of the Moor, elevated to a position of military leadership. Shooting hoops instead of Turks is a less than subtle difference. So, is it *Othello*? (Not quite.) Is it Shakespeare? (Not really.) Or is it merely an abortive derivative? Will it help contemporary students somehow to understand *Othello*? Where has the poetry gone? How can this enterprise be justified?

Since the academy has discovered the movies, there has been a veritable land rush to stake out claims to any goofy movie resembling theatre, drama, or Shakespeare. We can either praise (or blame) Kenneth Branagh for the current Shakespeare Boom, which started with his film adaptation of *Henry V* in 1989,[7] a worthy effort, to be followed by others, some good, some strange, some very long and even monstrous. Branagh's *Hamlet*,[8] for example, is lavish, anachronistic, spectacular, often majestic and magnificent, and (at times) unbearably long, humping the Quarto text to the Folio, making the play more timely and, good grief, even

Churchillian (even though Blenheim Palace makes a fine backdrop for Derek Jacobi's sleazy regal Claudius). The phalanx of films led by Branagh's "mirror for all Christian Kings" has been followed by a batallion of books, the best of these probably being Kenneth Rothwell's *History of Shakespeare on Screen*.[9]

Rothwell's *History* was certainly ambitious in the way it combined the earlier research of Robert Hamilton Ball's *Shakespeare on Silent Film* and Jack Jorgens's *Shakespeare on Film*, the first really scholarly books to consider the filmed Shakespeare, though British critic and historian Roger Manvell's *Shakespeare and the Film* also provided a readable and useful survey of the topic and added as well interview material with the incomparable Laurence Olivier.[10] Rothwell then continued his survey to the Bard Boom of the 1990s, including Lurhmann's *Romeo + Juliet* and Branagh's overlong *Hamlet*, but not Julie Taymor's *Titus* (1999)[11] or Ethan Hawke's *Hamlet*[12] in modern dress or the strange wedding of Shakespeare with Cole Porter in Branagh's *Love's Labours Lost* (2000).[13] Rothwell's *History* was the culmination of a career that had started with *Shakespeare On Film Newsletter*, a periodical Rothwell founded with Bernice W. Kliman in 1976. By 1986 the "Advisory Board" included Robert H. Ball, Jack Jorgens, Roger Manvell, Maynard Mack, Sam Wanamaker of the Shakespeare Globe Center, and Louis Marder, the founding editor of *The Shakespeare Newsletter*, which incorporated the function of Rothwell's *Shakespeare on Film Newsletter*, after Ken Rothwell retired from the University of Vermont in the 1990s.

Robert F. Willson, Jr., took a far more tidy approach in his book *Shakespeare In Hollywood, 1929-1956*,[14] a little book equally interested in Hollywood as well as Shakespeare. By starting with the Douglas Fairbanks/Mary Pickford *Taming of the Shrew* (1929), Willson avoided the "Strange, Eventful History" covered by R.H. Ball in 1968. Chapters are devoted to the usual suspects, the Warner Bros. *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935), the MGM *Romeo and Juliet* (1936), the Orson Welles *Macbeth* (1948), and the Houseman-Mankiewicz *Julius Caesar* (1953).[15] The kicker comes in Chapter 4, entitled "Selected Off-Shoots," where, with amusing logic, Willson makes cases for not only *Joe Macbeth* and *Forbidden Planet* (1956) as an adaptation of *The Tempest*, but also several Western derivatives: Delmer Daves's *Jubal* (1956), the Western *Othello*, and *Broken Lance* (1954) as a "*King Lear* on Horseback." Another (off)shoot-'em-up is John Ford's classic *My Darling Clementine* (1946). Well, Victor Mature's Doc Holliday does recite the "To Be or Not to Be" soliloquy in this "classic," but John Ford is no William Shakespeare (Peter Bogdanovich to the contrary) and, besides, Jack Benny did

it better in his wartime satire *To Be or Not To Be* (1942),[16] Shakespeare truly "touched" by Ernst Lubitsch, who used tragedy for comic purposes in this stunning film—and comedy for tragic purposes when he has a Jewish actor in Nazi-occupied Poland recite Shylock's "Hath not a Jew eyes?" defense.

Just as *Hamlet* is embedded in the Lubitsch film, so *Othello* is embedded in George Cukor's *A Double Life* (1947),[17] another "Shakespeare influenced" film. Of course, "influence" is not adaptation per se, but despite a certain loopiness, this chapter poses an interesting question: What exactly is a Shakespeare "adaptation," anyway? Is *Last Action Hero* (1993)[18] a "Shakespeare-influenced" movie because of its three-minute spoof of Olivier's *Hamlet* in a classroom presided over by Olivier's widow? In *A Thousand Acres* (1997) Jane Smiley exploits *King Lear*, taking Shakespeare's concept for high drama but reducing it into a cornfed soap opera; a woman's film about a drunken and cantankerous father is the result. Can a film that utterly ignores the language of *Lear* be considered a worthy adaptation by any stretch? Robert Willson does not pose this question, but he should have.

No one should object to yet another book dealing with the filmed Shakespeare, so long as it is well informed and readable. Sarah Hatchuel's *Shakespeare, From Stage to Screen*[19] passes that test, even though it leans rather too heavily on French theory (but maybe since she teaches in Paris, she can't help it?). Hatchuel begins with a useful discussion of Shakespeare on stage, from the Globe to the Restoration to Drury Lane and nineteenth-century realism and then, inevitably, to cinema. When she poses the question "What is a 'Shakespeare Film'?" (obviously not for the first time)—well, that is a definition devoutly to be wished for and one deserving a thoughtful answer. Hatchuel cautiously defines the genre so as to avoid the supposed Shakespeare derivatives that so titillated Richard Burt (1998) and so fascinated Robert F. Willson, Jr. in his book *Shakespeare in Hollywood* (2000).[20] So, how much caution is required here. How seriously should one explore the paths and thickets of Intertextuality? Is Kurosawa's *Ran*[21] really *King Lear*? Is Jane Smiley's *A Thousand Acres* close enough to *Lear*? How close is "close enough"? What, exactly, is one to make of a film adapted from a novel that is a feminist transformation of a male-centered Renaissance play? Does Jason Robards have enough dignity and gravitas to play a mean-spirited, cornfed Lear who runs like a Deer? Sod that!

The problem of adapting Shakespeare falls under the larger umbrella of adaptation study or adaptation theory as defined most

recently by Robert Stam and his NYU graduate student Alessandria Raengo in three books clearly intended to colonize and ultimately conquer the whole field, though the focus appears to be on novels rather than drama or Shakespeare. The first book suggests a method: Robert Stam's solo enterprise, *Literature through Film: Realism, Magic, and the Art of Adaptation*,[22] fortified by *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation*[23] and then a 460-page *Companion to Literature and Film*,[24] incorporating the work of Dudley Andrew and Charles Musser (both from Yale), Richard Allen (from New York University), Tom Gunning (University of Chicago), the darlings of the Ivy League and the cognoscenti of the Society for Cinema and Media Studies, determined to show that cinema is just as valid as literature or drama ever claimed to be. By and large the superstars are saved for volume three. So 2005 was a publication date to remember, one that might prove as important over time as 1623, not merely a single Folio but *three* theoretical books!

Looking over this project, the first book seems reasonable enough. It's a commonplace that because any adaptation of a novel or play requires an interpretation, that it might be useful to teach literature through film. What drives the cognoscenti crazy is the usual assumption that "the book was better" and that cinema somehow does a disservice to literature, as is sometimes the case and more and more frequently the case when it comes to Shakespeare. They are offended, moreover, by the jargon of the usual discourse, which seems to imply a moral judgment unfavorable to cinema: infidelity, betrayal, violation, bastardization, desecration, and vulgarization. Such terms will ring familiar to those who have followed the reception of a film adaptation of Shakespeare, whose diction is, after all, elevated and poetic, even "sacred" to true devotees. Stam is horrified by the way, as he so cleverly puts it, "adaptation discourse subtly reinscribes the axiomatic superiority of literature to film."[25] Notions of "*anteriority and seniority*" assume that "older arts are necessarily better" ones. Stam lists other sources of hostility: *dichotomous thinking* presumes a bitter rivalry between film and literature; *iconophobia* recalls the Second Commandment's injunction against graven images; *logophilia*, or "the valorization of the verbal" supposes that the "text" is somehow sacred, as to some Shakespeareans it may well seem; *anti-corporeality* presumes that the "seen" will somehow be regarded as "obscene," since cinema "offends through its inescapable materiality" (a relatively silly assumption, seems to me); *the myth of facility*, which wrongly assumes that films are "easy to make and

suspectly pleasurable to watch"; more on-target, perhaps, is the *class-based dichotomy* that assumes that cinema vulgarizes and dumbs-down literature (which is surely to belabor the obvious); and, finally, the "*charge of parasitism*," that adaptations are parasites that suck out the vitality of their literary hosts, a truly goofy notion, but one that Stam claims is endemic.[26] Small wonder, then, that cinema scholars might feel slighted and inferior, but it's too bad that they should see the problem as an either/or equation.

But perhaps I have strayed too far from Shakespeare. Which brings me to another new book, this one edited by James R. Keller and a colleague at the Mississippi University for Women, entitled *Almost Shakespeare: Reinventing His Works for Cinema and Television.*[27] My response to this is that "almost" is not good enough, and that "reinvented" Shakespeare is generally little more than *pretend* Shakespeare. Why should anyone bother with something that is "almost" Shakespeare when one could just as easily have the genuine item?

After conjuring up a production of *The Murder of Gonzago* to bait his "mousetrap," when Hamlet announces to the Court that "we'll *hear* a play tonight," one supposes that Shakespeare himself might favor Hamlet's priority. The point I am attempting to make here is that if the language cannot be *heard* as Shakespeare wrote it, the play cannot be understood. So what if the language is not English? The Russian dramaturg Grigori Kozintsev directed a magnificent *King Lear* derived from the Russian translation of Boris Pasternak.[28] The original poetry will have been lost, but the plot and characters are respectfully retained, and the translation was, after all, written by a highly respected national poet. Those who know Shakespeare and have internalized his lines will have no problems following the action of the Kozintsev adaptation, whether or not they understand the Russian language. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Akira Kurosawa's *Ran*, a film set in feudal Japan, and loosely based on *King Lear*, since not only is the poetry lost, but the plot has been essentially and substantially reinvented. It is said to be "almost" Shakespeare, but I'm not sure I'm convinced. On the other hand, lacking any evidence of Shakespeare's poetry, Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood*,[29] though wildly divergent from its source in rather too many places, is much closer to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* than *Ran* is to *Lear*.

Kozintsev's film is one step removed from Shakespeare. Kurosawa's film is two steps removed, so *is* it Shakespeare? What about the adaptation of *Othello* entitled *Souli*, released in 2004, written and directed by Alexander Abela, and described by *Variety*

as "a shimmering, full-palette Madagascar-set update of *Othello*," but "transposed to a primitive, isolated fishing village."[30] Should one quibble over intertextuality, or simply accept the gushing praise of *Variety* reviewer Ronnie Scheib, predicting that "stunning imagery, sweeping primal emotions, handsomely gifted thesps and a clever recasting of the Bard in post-colonial idiom should wow arthouse auds."[31]   The dialogue, by the way, is in Malagasy and French. But for *Othello* we don't have to seek out such an exotic example. A far more ordinary domestic corruption of *Othello* can be found in your neighborhood video store under the title "*O*."

Such films, although no doubt *inspired* by Shakespeare, cannot be considered interchangeable. The language is changed and the poetry is simply gone, lost, sacrificed. That is not the case, however, with Peter Greenaway's profoundly odd, disrespectful spectacle of Renaissance iconography, *Prospero's Books*,[32] which contains the text of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, though that text is not exactly dramatized. It is recited by the most gifted Shakespearean actor still working at the time Greenaway made his film. Visually it is a bizarre feast for the eyes, a triumph of art direction (if not, exactly, of taste), but verbally it *is* Shakespeare. Of course that doesn't make it any more appealing to student viewers, who might rather be in *Scotland, PA.*

Although I may disagree with the rationale behind the *Almost Shakespeare* collection, I appreciate José Ramón Díaz Fernández's Bibliography of "Shakespeare Film and Television Derivatives" and Dan DeWeese's essay entitled "Prospero's Pharmacy: Peter Greenaway and the Critics Play Shakespeare's Mimetic Game."[33] From Jacques Derrida's essay "Plato's Pharmacy," DeWeese characterizes Prospero as a *pharmakos*, which identifies Shakespeare's character as a wizard, magician, and prisoner. Hence in Greenaway's elegantly overloaded film, John Gielgud represents Prospero as actor, writer, playwright, wizard, magician, prisoner, puppetmaster, and, ultimately, Shakespeare himself, at the end of his dramatic career, just as Gielgud approaches the end of his stage career. Greenaway himself has explained that he sees the play as "Shakespeare's farewell to the theatre—and this might well be Gielgud's last grand performance. So this may represent his farewell to magic, farewell to theatre, farewell to illusion. So using that as a central idea, there was my wish to find a way of unifying the figures of Prospero and Gielgud and Shakespeare."[34] But to expect typical students to see beyond the superficial spectacle of eccentric nudity into this unifying and cohesive elegance is to invite disappointment. Is the film too clever for a popular audience?

So what, finally, are the ground rules? Could any responsible scholar settle for diluted Shakespeare, reduced Shakespeare, stunted Shakespeare? A film that presumes to adapt poetic drama should at the very least be "poetic" in style and substance. Shakespeare's prime achievement was his poetry. He should not be valued for his borrowed plots. What a Shakespeare film looks like is of secondary importance; what it *sounds* like is of primary importance. If it doesn't sound right, then it probably was not worth doing. Let's *hear* it for Shakespeare! Surely, there is a line to be drawn between criticism and pop cultural folly. Surely, clever, imaginative young filmmakers need to be poetically challenged? Don't we have a right to demand something better than glib chatter?

Notes

1. *Joe Macbeth*, directed by Ken Hughes (Culver City, CA: Columbia Pictures Corporation, 1955), film.

2. *A Thousand Acres*, DVD, directed by Jocelyn Moorhouse (1997; Burbank, CA: Touchstone Home Video, 1998).

3. *Jubal*, DVD, directed by Delmer Daves (1956; Culver City, CA: Columbia Tristar Home Entertainment, 2005).

4. *Romeo + Juliet*, DVD, directed by Baz Luhrman (1996; Los Angeles: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 1999).

5. *O*, DVD, directed by Tim Blake Nelson (2001; Santa Monics, CA: Lions Gate Home Entertainment, 2001).

6. *10 Things I Hate About You*, DVD, directed by Gil Junger (1999; Burbank, CA: Touchstone Home Video, 2000).

7. *Henry V*, DVD, directed by Kenneth Branagh (1989; Los Angeles: MGM Home Entertainment, 2000).

8. *Hamlet*, VHS, directed by Kenneth Branach (1996; West Hollywood, CA: Sony Home Video, 1998).

9. Kenneth S. Rothwell, *A History of Shakespeare on Screen: A Century of Film and Television* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

10. For the earliest academic books treating film adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, see Robert Hamilton Ball, *Shakespeare on Silent Film: A Strange Eventful History* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1968); and Jack J. Jorgens, *Shakespeare On Film* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977). For a more popular and readable early treatment of the field, see Roger Manvell, *Shakespeare and the Film* (New York: Praeger, 1971).

11. *Titus*, DVD, directed by Julie Taymor (1999; Los Angeles: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000).

12. *Hamlet*, DVD, directed by Michael Almereyda (2000; Hollywood, CA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 2005).

13. *Love's Labours Lost*, DVD, directed by Kenneth Branagh (2000; Hollywood, CA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 2000).

14. Robert F. Willson, Jr. *Shakespeare In Hollywood, 1929-1956* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press/Associated University Presses, 2000).

15. *The Taming of the Shrew*, VHS, directed by Sam Taylor (1929; Hollywood:

Hollywood Classics, 1997); *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, VHS, directed by William Dieterle and Max Reinhardt (1935; Los Angeles: MGM/UA Home Entertainment, 1993); *Romeo and Juliet*, VHS, directed by George Cukor (1936; Los Angeles, MGM/UA Home Entertainment, 2000); *Macbeth*, VHS, directed by Orson Welles (1948; Culver City, CA: Republic Pictures Home Video, 1998); *Julius Caesar*, VHS, directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz (1953; Los Angeles: MGM/UA Home Entertainment, 1989).

16. *Forbidden Planet*, VHS, directed by Fred M. Wilcox (1956; Los Angeles: MGM/UA Home Video, Inc., 1988); *Broken Lance*, DVD, directed by Edward Dmytryk (1954; Los Angeles: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2005); *My Darling Clementine*, DVD, directed by John Ford (1946; Los Angeles: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004); *To Be or Not To Be*, DVD, directed by Ernst Lubitsch (1942; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2005).

17. *A Double Life*, DVD, directed by George Cukor (1947; Santa Monica, CA: Lions Gate Home Entertainment, 2003).

18. *Last Action Hero*, DVD directed by John McTiernan (1993; Culver City, CA: Columbia Pictures Corporation, 1997).

19. Sarah Hatchuel, *Shakespeare, from Stage to Screen* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

20. Richard Burt, *Unspeakable Shaxxxspeares: Queer Theory and American Kiddie Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

21. *Ran*, DVD, directed by Akira Kurosawa (1985; New York: Wellspring Media Home Video, 2003).

22. Robert Stam, *Literature Through Film: Realism, Magic, and the Art of Adaptation* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

23. Robert Stam, *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

24. Robert Stam, *Companion to Literature and Film* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

25. Stam, *Literature and Film*, 4.

26. Ibid., 4-7. *Dichotomous thinking* is also discussed on page 4. Additional terms are defined over three following pages: "*Iconophobia*" (5), "*logophilia*" and "*anti-corporality*" (6), "*parasitism*" (7), etc.

27. James R. Keller and Leslie Stratyner, eds. *Almost Shakespeare: Reinventing His Works for Cinema and Television* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004).

28. Kozintsev brilliantly staged and filmed both of Shakespeare's most demanding tragedies. See Grigori Kozintsev, "'Hamlet' and 'King Lear': Stage and Film," in *Shakespeare 1971: Proceedings of the World Shakespeare Congress, Vancouver, August, 1971*, ed. Clifford Leech and J.M. R. Margeson (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 190-199. See also Grigori Kozintsev, *Shakespeare: Time and Conscience*, trans. Joyce Vining (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), and *King Lear—The Space of Tragedy: The Diary of a Film Director*, trans. Mary Mackintosh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). For an intelligent survey in English of the Russian film director and dramaturg's career, see Barbara Leaming's *Grigori Kozintsev* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980).

29. *Throne of Blood*, DVD, directed by Akira Kurosawa (1957; New York: Criterion Collection, 2003).

30. *Souli*, directed by Alexander Abela (Paris, France: Blue Eyes Films, 2004), film.

31. Ronnie Scheib, review of "*Souli* (France-U.K.-Madagascar)," *Variety* (September 6-12, 2004), 34-35.

32. *Prospero's Books*, VHS, directed by Peter Greenaway (1991; Troy, Michigan: Video Treasures, 1993).

33. José Ramón Diaz Fernández, "Bibliography of Shakespeare Film and Television Derivatives," 169-89; and Dan DeWeese, "Prospreo's Pharmacy: Peter Greenaway and the Critics Play Shakespeare's Mimetic Game," 155-68; both in *Almost Shakespeare: Reinventing His Works for Cinema and Television*, ed. James R. Keller and Leslie Stratyner (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004).

34. Quoted in DeWeese, "Prospero's Pharmacy," 160.

"Wedded to Calamity": Considering Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* Against the Popular Conduct Literature of the Renaissance

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*R*omeo and Juliet has been interpreted by readers and critics alike as a tragedy for the "star-cross'd lovers" who are denied the right to freely choose and love. However, many other elements of this play would have concerned Renaissance theater patrons. Just as our opinions are influenced by television, radio and newspapers, so too were some Renaissance playgoers affected by the media of their day, conduct books. Largely due to the influence of conduct manuals, most contemporary audience members would have seen the flaws in the macrocosm that corrupted the microcosm of Romeo and Juliet's world. The collapse of the support system for the young couple begins at the top. The prince of Verona fails to control his subjects. Juliet's parents, particularly her father, sets a bad example and continually makes poor choices. The Roman Catholic Church is at fault as well, for the friar whom the pair trusts also misguides them. Lastly, because the couple has no strong adult to turn to, they are forced to rely on their own immature abilities to reason. The combined effects of all these factors result in tragedy.

Conduct literature, whether in the form of chapbooks, pamphlets, or more learned discourses, all helped Shakespeare's audience see the progressing and compounding problems that lead to the inevitable conclusion. It is hard to overestimate their influence. Chapbooks, among the most popular forms of literature available, were distributed everywhere, in open-air markets, on the streets, and throughout the countryside by peddlers.[1] Even the illiterate knew their contents well, as those who could read, read to those who could not, in taverns, fairs and elsewhere.[2] The popularity of this literature was not limited to the poor or lower classes. Upper class readers were not above spending pennies for popular works.[3]

A particular chapbook that enjoyed great success across class lines was Philip Stubbes's work, *A christall glass for christian women*.[4] The theme of *A christall glass* is similar to most of the other conduct books of the time. "Conduct books," explains historian Ann Rosalind Jones, "appear to be based on an assumption that men and women can be *produced*. They are malleable, capable of being trained—proper instruction can fashion them into successful participants in the new social setting and the etiquette belonging to them."[5] This tenet, as will be seen, is certainly a component of *Romeo and Juliet*, albeit by working in reverse.

Besides chapbooks, prescriptions for the betterment of society could also be found in pamphlets that impressed upon readers the morality of the Protestant faith juxtaposed against the evils of Catholicism. For example, a popular tract titled *A pitilesse mother* tells the tale of "a woman who in her eagerness for salvation, falls into the hands of a bloodthirsty Roman Catholic priest, who convinces her that the killing of Protestants is a good deed and that the murder of her young children will save her from heresy."[6] Other tracts, such as ones that appeared in 1599, depicted cloisters where "lascivious nuns conspire to hide the fruits of their fornication."[7] All in all, revealing the supposed corruption of Roman Catholics was a frequent and popular target in pamphlets. The perceived depravity of the Catholic faith, so proliferate in the conduct manuals, is also a component of this play.

Romeo and Juliet also explores the more complicated debates that were occurring within the conduct literature. More erudite discussions could be found in books that required a higher degree of literacy.[8] One of the most widely read books on conduct available was Edmund Tilney's discourse *The Flowers of Friendship*, which went through a total of seven editions in the late sixteenth century.[9] It was one of many conduct books to tackle issues of "love and power, and public and private duty."[10] On the surface, one might think that such conduct literature would offer a definitive prescription for society's ills. In Italy, where the play is set, conduct manuals were, in fact, explicit. Rudolph Bell unequivocally says that Italian conduct manuals advised that "the way to get along was for the husband to command and the wife to obey."[11] "No other reading of these texts could come to any other conclusion," he insists.[12]

In England, however, the expectations for moral conduct were shifting. By 1568, a woman was sitting on the throne of England and "the conduct of marriage had far-reaching consequences."[13] People had to seriously consider what it meant for society to have

a woman in power. Was patriarchy being threatened? If so, what should the conduct literature advocate? It was a touchy situation. Authors of conduct literature could not insult the queen, but they also saw the problems created by the chipping away of patriarchal authority. It is not surprising, then, that in this state of flux the conduct manuals often contradict one another. "When the texts are not able to contain the exposure of their contradictions, they become neither fully supportive of their dominant ideologies nor entirely subversive," argues Valerie Wayne. "Instead they are sufficiently open as text to be capable of multiple interpretations"[14]

This back and forth consideration of the issues of moral conduct in a time when values are changing is precisely what is portrayed in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. He appears to be considering the consequences of the new movement and the possible re-alignment of patriarchy, but does so by safely removing the conflict to another part of the world. "Let's see what happens when the old norms are removed, when people in authority do not follow the proper rules, and when young people subvert the system," Shakespeare seems to be saying. Looked at in this light, the play is less a romantic plea for choice than a warning to the populace about the dangers of upsetting the system and the problems caused by players who do not follow the established rules.

Echoes of the conduct literature and popular opinion in general can be heard in the opening scene of the play. Two servants of the Capulet household, Gregory and Sampson, are discussing women. Provoked by Gregory, Sampson remarks, "'Tis true, and therefore women, being the weaker vessels, are ever thrust to the wall" (1.1.14-15). This reference to women being the "weaker vessels" is a notion that originally comes from the Bible and first appeared in the New Testament translation by William Tyndale in 1526.[15] It is a concept hammered away at by the conduct book writers.

Ruth Kelso looked at literally hundreds of Renaissance texts and compiled her findings in *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance*. Her conclusion, based on over eight hundred documents, was that between 1400 and 1600, "even relatively progressive writers held to a theory of not one but two human races: naturally superior men and naturally inferior women."[16] Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara McManus concur with Kelso, pointing out that the "Homily on Marriage" was required by the Crown to be read in church from 1562 onward. The "Homily" stressed the natural inferiority of women.[17] In part, it reads, "The woman is a weak

creature not endued with like strength and constancy of mind.... .
[T]hey are more prone to all weak affections and dispositions of
mind, more than men be."[18] Lest one failed to get the message
from church or treatises, common proverbs also reinforced the
idea of woman as the "weaker vessel." John Ray's *Collection of
English Proverbs* lists one hundred and two Renaissance axioms about
women, nearly all derogatory.[19] Thus, hearing women called
"weaker vessels" in Shakespeare's play was hardly surprising to his
audience. It was an opinion so widely held that it is unlikely anyone
in the theater would have questioned such a statement.

What is surprising is the way in which Shakespeare shows what
can happen to vulnerable young people when patriarchy fails to
provide them adequate counsel. The problems begin at the top.
If the power of the crown had been properly exercised, the streets
of Verona would not have been in turmoil. This inadequacy of
leadership filters down the ranks and is perpetuated by two of the
city's elite families, the Capulets and the Montagues. The citizens
of Verona, siding with either the Montagues or the Capulets, are
at each other's throats. They shout, "Clubs, bills and partisans!
Strike! Beat them down! / Down with the Capulets! Down with
the / Montagues!" (1.1.70-72). Clearly there has been a breakdown
in leadership and the result is a city in chaos.

The problems of Verona are made more apparent with the
first appearance of Lord Capulet. Hearing the commotion, this
supposed leader emerges in a dressing gown, "in characteristic
rashness."[20] Contemporary audiences would have immediately
perceived this behavior as dangerous. English authors of conduct
literature advocated a society "ruled by reason."[21] To come out
into a hostile crowd looking undignified for one thing, and unarmed
for another, is undoubtedly rash. Conduct writers suggest that
"both individuals' actions and the world around them respond to
conscious efforts of control."[22] Shakespeare turns this maxim on
its ear by exhibiting Capulet's considerable lack of conscious
control. It is one of the earliest indicators in *Romeo and Juliet* that
the playwright intends to see what will happen when patriarchal
control is lax or nonexistent.

Another crack in the system appears post-haste. The Lady at
Lord Capulet's side further magnifies the man's lack of control.
As he prepares to enter the fray, saying to his wife, "What noise is
this? Give me my long sword, ho!" she replies sarcastically, "A
crutch! A crutch! Why call you for a sword?" (1.1.73-74). Lady
Capulet is denigrating her husband and committing a cardinal sin
in the eyes of the conduct writers and, by extension, their

readership: she is using her tongue as a weapon and undermining his authority.   In essence, she is calling him old and feeble and therefore incapable of fighting. Audiences would be more than aware of the terrors of the tongue from the conduct books. *All* decried a woman's shrewish behavior.   One widely distributed conduct pamphlet in England was *Pinnying of the Basket*, "a tale of the horrors that can result when women's speech degrades the authority of men."[23] Like the woman in *Pinnying*, Lady Capulet emasculates her husband through the power of her words.

Pinnying is just one example of the plethora of conduct literature that advocated silence for women.   In her essay, "Nets and Bridles: Early Modern Conduct Books," Ann Rosalind Jones argues that "the most widely disseminated female ideal was the confinement of the bourgeois daughter and wife to private domesticity in the households of city merchants and professional men....[T]he bourgeois wife was enjoined to silence."[24]   Joy Wiltenburg agrees: "The tongue serves as a symbol of potency for the shrew, and the husband's loss of even this outlet reveals his utter castration: she has usurped all his power and reversed the sexual order."[25]

Lady Capulet's derogation of her husband's authority would have been seen as ultimately his fault, not hers. He has not exercised the proper and necessary control over her. Such a position is often advocated in the both English and Italian conduct literature. In Shakespeare's home country, one of the best known pieces of conduct literature was *A godlie form of householde government*.[26] This conduct manual "conceives of the family as a social unit bound together by a hierarchically structured system of reciprocal duties, under the undisputed control of the master and husband. It singles out the family among all social formations as the institution mainly responsible for ensuring religious and moral instruction and for regulating personal conduct."[27]

Another text that took a similar position was the Englishman Edmund Tilney's discourse *The Flowers of Friendship*. Tilney frequently warns that a man's authority can unravel if he does not exercise good control and constant vigilance. For example, one portion of this text revolves around two men, one younger and one older, discussing the proper conduct of a family. During his lecture, the elder warns, "For it is a certain rule that if a woman will not be still with one worde of hir husband, she will not be quiet with as manye wordes, as ever the wise men did write."[28] Similarly, Richard Snawsel's *A Looking Glasse for Maried Folks* demonstrates the necessity for men to rule women. In his conduct

book, however, Snawsel uses a different conceit. He has a female character named Abigail gently remind men of the need for women to be kept in check. She says, "Wee are but women, and therefore somewhat bashfull, as it beseemes us, to speak unto you, being a man…yet, under leave and correction, we will do our good will to declare those things which we have learned."[29]

The position and responsibilities of men in family life was no different in Italy. Matteo Palmieri, author of several popular conduct books, equates family governance to governing a city, "with the father as magistrate."[30] Most of these opinions about the place of women in the world were a part of the thinking of audiences of Shakespeare's time. Rudolph Bell is adamant on this point. He insists that "renaissance people accepted that fathers should rule. Even treatises written by women that argue most persuasively for equality of the sexes do not go on to challenge societal norms about family governance."[31] Knowing the prevalent views on women's speech during the Renaissance, it seems likely that Lady Capulet's sarcastic remarks to her husband would have made warning bells sound in the ears of the audience. They would have felt very uncomfortable knowing that such a woman held the reins. Surely, some began squirming in their seats as they quickly realized that the supposed lord in this play was not living up to expectations.

The audience's comfort level with Lord and Lady Capulet could only go down if they were in any way measuring the behavior of the characters by what the conduct books mandated. The second scene of act one finds the Capulet household in heedless disregard of conduct warnings. A party is going to be held, complete with dancing and drinking, rude behavior and coarse talk. Some conduct authors were more restrictive than others about such indulgences. The popular tract *La pazzia del balla* (*The Insanity of Dancing*) by Simon Zuccolo warns that "dancing is akin to full-scale riot….[Women] behave just like the public prostitutes who entice clients with bittersweet tastes and touches here and there. All the while their husbands look on and allow this to continue, their horn of jealousy drowned in wine. With great pomp and vainglory these husbands lead their wives and daughters to the ball."[32] Edmund Tilney also has a good deal to say about the pitfalls of merry-making: "For dronkennesse, whiche commonly haunteth the riotous persons, besides that it wasteth thy thrifte, consumeth thy friends, and corrupteth thy body, doth also turn a reasonable creature into a brute beast."[33] Later, Lord Capulet will prove the wisdom of this advice. His remarks at the ball are boisterous and probably drunken. He bellows to the assembled throng, "Welcome

gentlemen, ladies that have their toes / Unplagued with corns will walk about with you. / Ah my mistresses, which of you all / Will deny to dance? She that makes dainty, / She I'll swear has corns" (1.5.16-20).

Lord Capulet most likely thinks he is simply being merry, but this certainly is improper speech for mixed company. Such behavior further undermines his perceived capacity to lead. The extremely popular Italian conduct book author Dr. Michele Savonarola echoes the sentiments of both Italian and English conduct writers when he chastises, "You fathers and mothers of devilish and wicked habits, how can you expect to raise your children properly? Leaving such a bad, vituperative heredity is going to be your downfall. Let it be your own moderation that beats, punishes, and warns your children."[34] Matteo Palmieri also weighs in on the role of fathers in public life. He writes, "How awful to talk and joke about our own vices in front of our children, to go about gluttonous encounters with your friends, and to sing lascivious love songs and tell off-color stories. The cautious father should be talking about good, honest things."[35]

Ignorance is probably not a valid excuse for the Capulets. There is evidence from their actions and words that they are aware of at least some of the codes of conduct. This is proven the first time we see Lord Capulet speaking directly about his daughter. In the second scene of act one, Capulet, discussing the marriage he is arranging between his daughter and her potential groom, remarks, somewhat sadly, that "my child is yet a stranger in the world, / She hath not seen the change of fourteen years" (1.2.7-8). Setting Juliet's age at precisely fourteen shows that Shakespeare, and by extension Lord Capulet, was most likely familiar with the writings of Matteo Palmieri, who divided the life cycle into six stages, the third stage being adolescence, "which begins with the termination of childhood, at the age of discretion, and ends at age twenty-eight."[36] "Counting backwards," surmises Rudolph Bell, "the reasonable age for discretion in this scheme would be fourteen, which would produce symmetrical spans of fourteen, twenty-eight, and fourteen between the age breaks from adolescence to virility, virility to old age, and old age to decrepitude."[37] Juliet is fourteen, and her father is quick to take advantage of this earliest of opportunities to marry her off to a good match.

Although the age of fourteen is the *general* guideline which marks the age of discretion, what Lord Capulet has failed to take into account is the very important distinction that the age of discretion is not a fixed age, unlike the physical onset of puberty.

Palmieri's extensive writing on the subject argues that the "age of discretion" is "a process of moral and spiritual formation that takes place over many years, and is accompanied by intellectual and physical growth and starts at different ages for different individuals, and proceeds at varying rates."[38]

To cross over from childhood to this new stage at such an early age would have required remarkable parenting, something Juliet clearly was not the beneficiary of. As Dr. Savonarola says, "the parental role is critical in providing nutritious soil for the growing seed they have planted on this earth."[39] A major failing of both Lord and Lady Capulet, if one were to ask the authors of the conduct literature, resulted in their decision to hire and retain a wet-nurse for the infant Juliet. The audience learns in scene 3 of act one that the Capulets have employed a nurse for Juliet her entire life, beyond her nursing years and plan to retain her well into the foreseeable future, evidenced here as she croons to Juliet, "God mark me to his grace, / Thou wast the prettiest babe that e'er I nurs'd. / And I might live to see thee married once, / I have my wish" (1.3.59-62).

It might come as something of a surprise to learn that wet-nursing was definitely a hot-button issue in both Renaissance England and Italy. We tend to think that wet-nursing in the Renaissance was accepted by everyone, but this is not so. "Mom should do it," insists Rudolph Bell, "is what all the popular sixteenth-century books recommend, even though it seems that no amount of insistence and argument eliminated the widespread practice."[40]

By having the Capulets in Italy retain a wet-nurse of questionable character, Shakespeare was playing with the idea of the practice in England. Audience members were, for the most part, acutely aware of the debate. One key aspect of the argument centered on the perceived shirking of duty and neglecting of the child due to the selfishness of elite women. It seems that many upper class women were claiming that their "delicate constitutions" would not allow them to breast-feed their own infants. Conduct writers thought, for the most part, that this excuse was pure hogwash. Friar Girolamo Mercurio was a leading proponent of mothers' nursing their own children. His conduct manual *La commare* (*The Midwife*) was published in Venice, in vernacular Italian, for the first time in 1596.[41] It was a shocking text, one that explained the heretofore secrets of women's bodies and the birthing process in language the common person could understand, and was made even more shocking and titillating because it was written by a

Dominican friar.[42] In regard to the hiring of wet-nurses by upper class women, Friar Mercurio made his position very clear. He rails, "The newborn is nourished in his mother's womb for nine months, suddenly is banished from the house, like some traitor or rebel. Such behavior is more inhumane than that of the fiercest tiger, who at least feeds her own young. Not only tigers, but crocodiles, bears, and asps nurse their young!"[43] It would not be surprising at all if Shakespeare knew of this work and that his audience had at least heard about the controversy.

Another conduct writer who expressed strong feelings against the hiring of wet-nurses was Leon Battista Alberti. His infamous works *I Libri Della Famiglia (The Books on Family)*, were popular and well-known conduct manuals that catered more to the upper class. These works were first published in 1443 to great success and continued to be influential and repeatedly used by scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[44] It is reasonable to assume that Shakespeare would have been familiar with such influential texts.

Like Friar Mercurio, Alberti comes down hard on elite women who excuse themselves from nursing. He writes, "I should not take on myself the trouble of finding any other nurse for them other than their own mother.... Perhaps these doctors nowadays will assert that giving the breast weakens the mother and makes her sterile for a time. But I find it easier to believe that nature has made adequate provisions for all.... I would not (employ a wet-nurse) to give a lady more leisure or to relieve her of that duty she owes to her children."[45] Not all conduct authors were quite so restrictive. Elite women and their husbands might have found some compromise in Dr. Michele Savronola's advice. He suggests that "if you are rich and can afford a servant, nurse yourself but bring in a woman to help with the tiring aspects of baby care."[46]

Audiences attending *Romeo and Juliet* would have been aware of controversies that went deeper into the reasons why mother should nurse her own children. The real problem with wet-nursing arose from the concern for the welfare of a child. Most conduct authors agreed that using a wet-nurse deprived the infant of the more esoteric nutrients needed for a successful life. What was at stake here was the child's entire future.

When thinking about the issues surrounding mother's milk, one must take into consideration the ideas Renaissance people held about the substance itself. They believed that menstrual blood was converted into milk.[47] Moreover, they believed that personality traits were passed on through the person who nurses the child.[48]

Therefore, it follows, as Lorenzo Gioberti asserts in *De gli errori popolari*, "that maternal milk affects the child positively, whereas nourishment from a stranger is not as good."[49]   Therefore, the nurse's chastisement to Juliet, "Were not I thine only nurse / I would say thou hadst suck'd wisdom from thy teat," would have carried a double meaning for those in attendance at this play (1.3.68-68). Yes, a young girl has not the wisdom of her elders and cannot rely on her own judgment, just as the nurse admonishes. But because of the debate about mother's milk, playgoers probably also thought that the ignorance of the nurse was a character trait passed on to the girl. This legacy will contribute to the tragedy.

Gioberti also reminds his readers that "nursing creates a special bond between mother and child. If the infant is sent to a wet-nurse, then the appropriate maternal bond does not develop and the child instead becomes attached to its nurse."[50] How true these words are in the case of *Romeo and Juliet*! While Juliet is respectful of her mother, her true affection obviously lies with the nurse. It is the nurse, not Lady Capulet, who showers the young girl with pet words like "lamb," "ladybird," "love," and "sweetheart," and it is the nurse to whom Juliet turns to be the go-between in her illicit affair with Romeo.

Juliet's mother is not the only parent responsible for the influence of the nurse in Juliet's life. Men were exclusively responsible for hiring wet-nurses for their children. In choosing Juliet's nurse, Capulet has made a poor choice. Though loving, she is crude and crass, often bawdy, and above all, disobedient. It was bad enough for Capulet to entrust the malleable personality of his infant to a person of questionable character, but to allow her to remain in the household as a continual influence would have been unconscionable to authors of conduct literature. If one looks at the conduct books geared toward the proper education of young women, one is likely to find advice similar to that found in Giovanni Michele Bruto's *The Necessarie, Fit, and Conveneinet Education of a Yong Gentlewoman*, which was published in English in 1598.[51] Here, Bruto advises, "It is better for fathers to find a wise matron...a girl's mind is very delicate and must not be made yet more feeble and effeminate by being exposed to things that make her forget her good reputation."[52]

The audience sees time and again that the nurse is far from a moral or educated influence on her charge. She continually uses sexual double entendres, such as, "Nay, less bigger. Women grow by men," punning on intercourse and resulting pregnancy. She is familiar with street slang, such as "flirt-gills" meaning "loose

women," and "skains-mates" meaning "cut-throat companions" (1.3.95; 2.4.150-51n). However, the audience does see these crass attributes juxtaposed against the nurse's obvious love for the girl. She undoubtedly cares for the child with a real mother's love. For instance, she warns Romeo to take care of the girl. Her pain in releasing Juliet to him is evident. She implores him, "Pray you sir, a word—and as I told you, my young lady bid me enquire you out. What she bid me say, I will keep to myself. But first let me tell ye, if ye should lead her into a fool's paradise, as they say, it were a very gross kind of behaviour, as they say; for the gentlewoman is young. And therefore, if you should deal double with her, truly it were an ill thing to be offered to any gentlewoman, and a very weak dealing" (2.4.159-67). Is love enough? Perhaps at this point of the play, audiences were wrestling with this very idea, in all of its various manifestations. Perhaps somewhere in their minds they were hearing the warnings of the conduct writers such as Edmund Tilney's advice to fathers: "Be carefull in the education of (your) children," he warns. "For much better were they unborne, than untaught."[53]

Juliet has essentially no adult to turn to for sound advice in the play. Her father has already proven himself rash, her mother distant, and her nurse loving but incompetent. The only other adult she can turn to is the friar. He is the principle adult who could have steered the young couple in a proper direction. At first, the friar seems like someone who should be trusted. He tries to warn Romeo of the temporary state of infatuation: "These violent states have violent ends / And in their triumph die, like fire and powder, / Which as they kiss consume… / Therefore love moderately; long love doth so. / Too swift arrives as tardy too slow" (2.6.9-11, 14-15). But his words carry no weight, because his actions undermine them. He marries the couple anyway, despite the fact that he knows he is violating parental wishes, as well as wedding two people who have continually demonstrated to him a blatant disregard of reason. Dr. Michele Savonarola warns people to "find a competent confessor with whom the child can develop a harmonious relationship."[54]   Friar Laurence would not have measured up.

Of course, the friar's final misdeed comes when he gives Juliet the vial that will make her appear to be dead. The vial itself is suspicious. Given the stories circulating during the Renaissance in chapbooks, tracts, and other conduct media about the evils of Catholicism in general and priests in particular, this mysterious, unexplained substance feels occult-ish. Even if one could somehow

dismiss this uncomfortable element, it is impossible to ignore the fact that Friar Laurence has been instrumental in bringing the crisis to boil.   One perhaps could argue that the friar was making a desperate bid to save her life, because Juliet was threatening to commit suicide. Unlike Juliet's nurse, however, the friar should have been grounded in morality and used his educated mind to reason with her instead of adopting such an untenable scheme.

Renaissance audiences familiar with conduct books and church teachings would also have been very troubled by just how little the friar seems to value the worth of both Romeo's and Juliet's souls. The regard for an individual's soul was a major tenet in the Reformation's doctrine.[55] Friar Laurence undeniably aids them in sin. Whether one agreed with arranged marriage or not, the friar is the one who agrees to clandestinely marry the pair and dishonor the father, which consequently results in Juliet being put in danger of being a bigamist. He resorts to what amounts to magic to "help" them further, but worst of all, when everything comes crashing down, it is his own neck he seeks to save, not Juliet's. Though he makes something of an attempt to rescue her, too, it is himself he is most concerned about. "Come, I'll dispose of thee / Among a sisterhood of holy nuns," he implores. "Stay not to question, for the Watch is coming. / Come, go, good Juliet. I dare no longer stay" (5.3.156-60). The "Watch" he should be concerned with is the eternal Heavenly Watch, not the earthly, temporal one.

No rational adult mind is ever able to give competent advice to either Juliet or Romeo. Up until this point, the discussion here has largely centered on the character of Juliet. We are not given much background on Romeo's life growing up, but it seems safe to assume that he was reared in a similar fashion to that of his child-bride. The families are obviously set up by Shakespeare as being more-or-less comparable. Both are elite. Each family has equal control of the city. Each family has an only child. Like Juliet, Romeo relies on his own immature reasoning. When these two meet, little but disaster could follow.

When Romeo appears on the stage, he is lamenting over the lost love of Rosaline. His language of grief over the woman is flowery and romantic: "Love is a smoke made with the fume of sighs; / Being purg'd, a fire sparkling in lovers' eyes; / Being vex'd, a sea nourish'd with lovers' tears; / What is it else? A madness most discreet, / A choking gall, and a preserving sweet" (1.1.188-92). Romeo does not heed the advice of his wiser, more mature friend Mercutio, who advises him to forget about Rosaline and urges him to give "liberty unto thine eyes; / Examine other

beauties" (1.1.225-26). Romeo continues for some time in his mooning misery, complaining love is "too rough, / Too rude, too boisterous, and it pricks like thorn" and that "The game was ne'er so fair, and I am done" (1.4.26-27, 39).

Mercutio, however, continues to equate love with myth, telling Romeo that "Queen Mab" has cast a spell over him. In this myth, explains Brian Gibbons, Queen Mab is the "person among the fairies whose department it was to deliver the families of sleeping men of their dreams, those *children of an idle brain*."[56] Romeo's dreaminess is contrasted with Mercutio's reason on purpose. If one approaches this play thinking about the ideology of the time, one is able to see the ridiculousness of his infatuation. This sort of ungrounded fancy is warned against time and again by conduct writers such as Alberti, who cautions, "Young men especially lack the inner strength or power to restrain themselves by thought and consideration. They have not enough maturity to resist their instant and distracting natural appetites."[57]

How true this is as we see Romeo's broken heart over Rosaline instantly repair upon meeting Juliet! His language is every bit as flowery at the excitement of his new love as it was for the loss of his old flame. He gushes, "O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright. / It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night / As a rich jewel in a Ethiop's ear— / Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear... / Did my heart love till now? Forswear it, sight. / For I ne'er saw true beauty til this night" (1.5. 43-46, 51-52). It seems that Shakespeare might once again be thinking of Alberti's words as he propels Romeo from one state of infatuation to another. Alberti writes, "Animals, driven by nature, can in no way restrain themselves. Then no more can men? Certainly not those who have no more reason and judgment than animals.... [By reason] he feels and distinguishes what things are honorable. By means of this he follows rationality after praiseworthy ends and seeks to avoid all causes of shame."[58]

Romeo is guilty of all the transgressions of reason that Alberti warns against. He follows his animal appetites instantly and refuses the counsel of friends who urge him to look at things in a rational way. Romeo decides to completely disregard every rule of his patriarchal social system. Obviously, he disrespects Juliet's family by going behind the father's back and marrying his daughter, and one wonders just what kind of a life the couple could have had if their plot had succeeded. Certainly, no dowry would be given to Juliet, and Romeo could surely expect to be disinherited. The pair had broken all the rules that would have given them respectability

and social status in a society obsessed by order. How could the young couple survive? They would soon discover that love is a thin broth for a hungry stomach. The point is that he does not look into the future, even as the situation becomes more and more dire. As Alberti says, "Enamored men act not under the guidance of reason but always in the spirit of madness."[59] It is not in the least surprising that Romeo allows his heart, not his head, to guide his hand as he brings the poisonous vial to his lips and ends his life.

Juliet also proves herself to be in complete disregard of reason and blind to future consequences. As has been shown, her upbringing completely failed to provide her examples of rational behavior. Therefore, when lust comes to her door (and her balcony) she is unarmed for the battle between fancy and reason. Without having been courted at all, and purely on the flames of infatuation, Juliet pleads (in solitude, although hoping it will be true) in these famous lines, "O Romeo, Romeo, wherefore art thou Romeo? / Deny thy father and refuse thy name. / Or if thou wilt not, be but sworn to my love / And I'll no longer be a Capulet" (2.2. 33-36).

Tilney's writings may have been reeling in the minds of the theatre patrons as Juliet uttered her infamous words. The Lady Julia, spokeswoman for Tilney's agenda, warns women that "the venom of love blindeth the eyes and so bewitcheth the senses of us poore women, that as we can foresee nothing, so are we perswaded that all the vices of the beloved are rare, and excellent vertues, and the thing most sower, to be verie sweete, and delicate."[60] Juliet is like her Romeo in her romantic delusions. She would have done well to heed Lady Julia's words, just as Romeo would have benefited from his bosom friend's sound counsel.

"You may say, perhaps, that love can only do as much and seize as such power as we ourselves concede," cautions Leon Battista Alberti.[61] Romeo and Juliet, because they refuse or are unable to reason, concede their lives. As modern readers, we tend to view this play as the ultimate thwarted romance. Would Renaissance patrons have thought the same? It is true that the debate between individual choice and parental selection was churning. But as the audience listened to Juliet's last words, then watched in horror as she plunged a dagger into her heart, then had their horror compounded as they witnessed Romeo's suicide, one wonders if the admonitions from the conduct writers might have been more than prevalent in their minds than concern for the whims of young lovers. Did they really want things to go this far?

Notes

1. Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 29.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 30.

4. Philip Stubbes, *A christal glass for Christian Women* in *Conduct Literature for Women 1500-1640*, eds. William St. Clair and Irmgard Maassen, vol. 3 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000), 1-2.

5. Ann Rosalind Jones, "Nets and Bridles: Early Modern Conduct Books and Sixteenth-century Women's Lyrics, in *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality*, eds. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse. (New York: Methuen, Inc., 1987), 41.

6. Cited in Wiltenburg, "*Disorderly Women*," 41.

7. Cited in Wiltenburg, "*Disorderly Women*," 237.

8. Cited in Wiltenburg, "*Disorderly Women*."33. David Cressy estimates that approximately thirty percent of the English population, mostly men, (although an increasing number of women) were literate in the late sixteenth century.

9. Valerie Wayne, introduction to "Rupture in the Arbor" in *The Flowers of Friendship*, by Edward Tilney (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 93.

10. Wayne, introduction to "Ideologies of Companionate Marriage" in *The Flowers of Friendship*, 2.

11. Rudolph Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 227.

12. Ibid.

13. Wayne, introduction to "Ideologies," 6.

14. Ibid., 13.

15. Anthony Fletcher. *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 60.

16. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 227.

17. Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara McManus, *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts about Women in England 1540-1640* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 78.

18. Quoted in Henderson and McManus, *Half Humankind*, 78.

19. Cited in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*, 4.

20. Brian Gibbons, ed., *Romeo and Juliet*, by William Shakespeare, The Arden Shakespeare (Surrey: Thomas Nelson & Sons. Ltd., 1997), 85, 72n. Gibbons uses these words to characterize Lord Capulet. Act, scene and line numbers refer to this edition.

21. Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women*, 260.

22. Ibid, 261.

23. Ibid, 119.

24. Jones, "Nets and Bridles," 40.

25. Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women*, 155.

26. Cited in William St. Clair and Irmgard Maassen, ed., *Conduct Literature for Women 1500-1640*, vol.3 (London: Picering & Chatto, 2000), 25.

27. St. Clair and Maassen, introduction to *Dod/Cleaver: Householde Government* in *Conduct Literature for Women*, 28.

28. Edward Tilney, *Flowers of Friendship*, ed. Valerie Wayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 123.

29. Quoted in Jones "Nets and Bridles," 60.

30. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 163.

31. Bell, *How To Do It*, 221-22.

32. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 188.

33. Tilney, *Flowers of Friendship*, 115.

34. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 168.

35. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 160.

36. Ibid., 177.

37. Bell, *How To Do It*, 177.

38. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 178.

39. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 159.

40. Bell, *How To Do It*, 125.

41. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 14.

42. Bell, *How To Do It*, 14.

43. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 127.

44. Renee Neu Watkins, introduction to *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, by Leon Battista Alberti (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 2.

45. Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Renee Neu Watkins (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 53.

46. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 128.

47. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 29.

48. Bell, How To Do It, 126.

49. Quoted in Bell *How To Do It*, 126.

50. Ibid.

51. Cited in Bell, *How To Do It*, 184, 336 n16.

52. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 184.

53. Tilney, *Flowers of Friendship*, 123.

54. Quoted in Bell, *How To Do It*, 159.

55. Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women*, 263.

56. Gibbons, ed., *Romeo and Juliet*, 109 n54. Gibbons's emphasis.

57. Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, 96.

58. Ibid, 102.

59. Ibid, 103.

60. Tilney, *Flowers of Friendship*, 128.

61. Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, 103.

Acting Shakespeare:
A Roundtable Discussion
with Artists From the
Utah Shakespearean Festival's
2005 Production of *Romeo and Juliet*

Michael Flachmann
Utah Shakespearean Festival Dramaturg

Featuring: Paul Hurley (Romeo), Tiffany Scott (Juliet), Ben Reigel (Tybalt), Leslie Brott (Nurse), John Tillotson (Friar Lawrence), and Ashley Smith (Mercutio)

lachmann: Good morning, and welcome to the third annual Actors' Roundtable Discussion at the Wooden O Symposium. My name is Michael Flachmann, and I'm Company Dramaturg here at the Tony-Award-winning Utah Shakespearean Festival. Today we have with us six actors from our extremely popular summer production of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was directed by Kate Buckley. Isn't it a wonderful show? [applause]

I'd like to start with Paul Hurley, who plays Romeo, and get each of you to talk about your roles just a little bit. In particular, I'm intrigued with the extent to which you as character feel responsible for the play's fatal conclusion. Paul?

Hurley: I don't know how responsible Romeo is for the tragedy in the play. I think there's a lot of bad luck that falls upon these two lovers. If all the events went smoothly, this play would end happily. There's a lot of miscommunication, however, and a great deal of misfortune that prevents the two from being alive at the conclusion. The tension in the production, I think, comes from the fact that every time we go see the play, we think that maybe this time things will work out. If the production is done well, we hope the letter will get to Romeo or perhaps Juliet will wake up just before he takes the poison. The tragedy really comes from the two factions warring against each other and from the fact that the deaths of Romeo and Juliet could be the catalyst that eventually

mends the quarrel between the two families. It could have been an entirely different play if everything had fallen into place properly.

Flachmann: Thanks, Paul. Ben, does Tybalt's alleged hotheadedness play a role in any of this?

Reigel: Yes, I think, maybe a little. In a lot of productions I've seen, Tybalt has had more responsibility for the tragedy than he does in this production. When you play a part, you start to identify with the character, and you begin to make excuses for him. I, of course, don't feel responsible for the end of play. That's pretty much out of my hands.

Flachmann: That's because you're dead, right? [laughter]

Reigel: Right, I'm on the slab. [laughter] I think in this production that Mercutio bears a bigger responsibility than in most. He really pushes for all these guys to go to the dance. Granted, I overreact at the party, but when I look at the situation from Tybalt's point of view, Romeo's presence there is a major insult to the entire family. I don't know what he's doing there. Then I write him a letter, which doesn't get answered, and he doesn't respond to it because, in our production at least, Mercutio intercepts the letter. And so, I think I have been insulted again by Romeo. Not only did he show up at the party, but he also didn't acknowledge my letter. That's why I go out looking for him. He does his best to apologize, which might have defused the situation, but then Mercutio forces me to fight. He doesn't really leave me much choice. Tybalt is not a nice guy by any means. He's like so many characters in this play: young people reacting too quickly, whether it concerns love, family honor, or whatever the flashpoint is at any particular moment. Tybalt has one reaction to everything, which is, "Give me my sword!" I actually think Romeo is the bad guy. [laughter] He shares a decent amount of responsibility, especially in his impetuousness. Romeo is as much a hothead as anyone in this play. He just expresses it in different ways.

Flachmann: I love it! So far, nobody is accepting much responsibility here. [laughter] Tiffany, Juliet is a very mature fourteen-year-old. Do you bear any guilt for what goes on in the play?

Scott: I don't believe so. [laughter] I think that much of the tragedy comes from this long-standing hatred between the families, the feud that's been going on for longer than any of us have been around. That's mostly what the tragedy stems from, and also, as Paul mentioned, from the bad timing, with the letter not reaching Romeo in time. I would say that Romeo and Juliet see past all the hatred. That's the wonderful thing about these two characters:

They can see beyond the tragic feud that is happening between the two families and are able to connect on a very personal, human level despite their fundamental differences. So I am not going to accept any of the blame either.

Flachmann: Thank you, Tiffany. Leslie, any guilt on the part of the Nurse?

Brott: Definitely. I lay so much of it at the feet of the culture, especially the code of honor, where insults must be answered violently. But it's also a culture that encloses women and treats them as objects. Dad is doing a really good job taking care of Juliet within this culture, marrying her to a lovely gentleman.

As the Nurse, I'm very shortsighted because I only need to deal with the moment. The Nurse is totally pragmatic. Later in the play, when Romeo is banished, I'm thrilled that the friar gets the problem all sorted out. I say, "O, what learning is. I could have stayed here all night to hear good counsel," because he thinks further down the road than I do. Later I say, "Since the case so stands as now it doth, I think it best you marry with the county," because in this world, banishment was a real problem. Romeo wasn't coming back. Juliet needs to accept this because I can't even conceive of her going outside the family compound for any reason other than Mass. And she would have gone to a private Mass in her home, most likely, rather than going out into public.

Juliet lacks the mechanics, as I do, of how to function in the outside world. I think the Nurse's pragmatism that makes her myopic is to blame for much of the tragedy. She makes the best choices she can in the moment, but she sees at the end of the play how her cultural shortsightedness helped create the tragic conclusion. So I take partial responsibility, but I don't take all of it.

Flachmann: Thank you, Leslie. John, how does the friar fit into all this?

Tillotson: It would be hard for me not to say that I bear some responsibility [laughter], but you need to remember that we have two warring factions. If it weren't for their hatred, my intervention wouldn't have to take place. I get implicated in the ultimate tragedy when I try to become peacemaker. I point the finger at everybody, including the Prince at the end. He's the one who banishes Romeo. Everybody is guilty to some degree. If I have guilt, it is only because I was trying to solve the problem.

Flachmann: Ashley, to what extent is Mercutio culpable?

Smith: Mercutio is certainly the catalyst for the tragic action of the play midway through the story. Imagine if there were no Mercutio in the script and therefore no one for Tybalt to kill

accidentally. Then there would be no reason for Romeo to kill Tybalt, for which he is ultimately banished by the Prince. The banishment, in fact, is the crucial action that propels the title characters to their ultimate doom. In order for us to empathize with Romeo's vengeful murder of Tybalt, Tybalt must first kill someone who is loved not only by Romeo, but also by the audience. It's this empathy that allows us to accept Romeo's actions and follow the play as it turns 180 degrees from comedy to tragedy.

Flachmann: Great point. I know Kate Buckley felt strongly that you guys don't know at the beginning of the play that you're trapped in a tragedy. There have been a lot of very interesting comments by audience members about how the first half of the play seems much more like a comedy or a romance, while the second half takes on much darker overtones. Does that present some challenges and complexities in the playing of it?

Tillotson: Yes, absolutely. A lot of references to death have been removed from the first half of the play through the director's cuts. It's not until somebody gets hurt that we really have a problem. Even the first big fight, although it's fairly vicious, is far from deadly, and then the play segues into a party scene and becomes much more festive.

Brott: The play has to function as a comedy in the first half so the audience will be invested in everything working out for the best. Otherwise, you see it all coming, and it's downhill from there to the bone yard. [laughter] That's why the prologue, which is not in the First Folio, has been removed from the play. Kate didn't use the prologue because it makes all the action passive voice, and the audience isn't really involved in the outcome.

Even after the death of Mercutio, we are still in romance-land at the top of part two, with all this positive, loving energy from Juliet, and then my character comes in with the bad news. Sometimes it's very difficult for the audience to turn the corner there. They have been trained to see my character in the first half of the play as overly dramatic, and the Nurse is definitely the diva of her own opera. But when Tiffany sits next to me on stage, we start to go the other way in the play. Sometimes, it's like steering a truck with a really crummy turning radius as we're trying to get that scene to change direction.

Flachmann: That must be a major acting challenge, Tiffany, to come on stage at the top of part two extremely happy and then have the scene turn tragic so rapidly.

Scott: That's right. I don't know the information that the audience knows when I come on for the second half, so one of

the play's ironies is that I'm allowed to dwell in the romance world for a little longer while everyone else is in tragic mode. It does provide an acting challenge to shift gears so quickly when the Nurse brings the news of Tybalt's death and Romeo's banishment. But the scene is written so beautifully: Juliet goes from excitement and anticipation of her wedding night, to fear that her husband has killed himself, to shock and anger that he has murdered her cousin, and to grief over Romeo's banishment. There's a lot in that brief scene for me to sink my teeth into.

Flachmann: The fight really turns things around, don't you think? It's staged in a comic way at the beginning, and then it turns deadly serious. Can you talk about that a little bit, Ben? How does the fight choreography fit into that moment?

Reigel: I think that's a challenge, not only in this production but in most productions I've seen. These two guys want to show off, they want to one-up each other, but they certainly aren't out to kill each other.

Flachmann: Do you agree, Ashley?

Smith: Yes, the fight starts out playfully, with each person wanting to embarrass his opponent. Mercutio quickly shows himself to be the better fighter because he's less concerned with form and more interested in the practicality of scoring points. But Tybalt doesn't like being humiliated, and he becomes more aggressive as the fight goes on. When Romeo steps in to part the fighters, Tybalt accidentally kills Mercutio. The fight has to start out lightly, because the action of the play up to this point has been romantic comedy. The loss of control in the fight is where the plot turns serious. Mercutio's last breath is the beginning of the tragedy.

Flachmann: Paul, you've really got three constituencies involved in making the fight scenes in a production like this: the characters themselves, the fight choreographer, and the director. How did that partnership work for this particular production? Did Chris Villa [the fight director] come in and choreograph the whole thing, or did the actors and the director have a lot of input into the process?

Hurley: For the Romeo fight with Tybalt, we choreographed that in about three minutes, and Kate loved it. That fight just happened very naturally. There was less story that had to be told in that fight. It's pretty clear: Good angry guy kills bad angry guy. The Mercutio fight had more story underneath it. We choreographed it fairly organically, and then we showed it to Kate, who would say what she liked and what she didn't like. It was a very collaborative process.

Reigel: When we got sidetracked a little in the fight, Kate would always bring the focus back to Romeo. This is still the story of Romeo and Juliet, she would say, so what is Romeo doing when you guys are fighting? We trimmed it down, which was something I resisted at first, of course, because instead of lines in this play, I have fights. [laughter] As far as making the fight playful, the crowd onstage is a big help with that. When we were first working on it, that's what was missing; as we started adding the crowd into it, their reactions helped clue the real audience into how they are supposed to feel about it.

Tillotson: Actually, I think the entrance of the friar signals that the play is going to shift from comedy to tragedy. He comes in and starts speaking about the contrast between life and death and good and evil, and none of those topics has been introduced prior to that moment in the play. I'm also the last major character (with the exception of the apothecary) who comes into the play fairly late—in our production, about one-third of the way in, forty minutes after the show has begun.

Flachmann: So, you are the most important character, then? [laughter]

Brott: Well, you see, it's a play all about this Nurse. [laughter]

Tillotson: I *am* the most important character. [laughter] My effect on the audience has been different lately because the evening has been getting darker earlier. O, here comes this serious guy. He's in dark clothes. There's a story about Alec Guinness being offered a role, and he said that he would do it if he could come in as if he were death, with a scythe. I love the image of that, but it does kind of run counter to what our director was trying to accomplish!

Flachmann: I wonder if we could talk about parents and surrogate parents in the play.

Brott: Sure. Historically, in the culture, I would have been the parent. The Nurse, or what we would think of as the nanny these days, did the parenting, and Juliet would have bonded to me as an infant because I was the person who breastfed her. Lady Capulet has a very large household to run, a position that she would need to maintain in the home with Lord Capulet, a merchant.

One of the many nice things about our production is that our Lady Capulet really cares about Juliet; so often you see the role disconnected from her daughter. Our twenty-first century view of children is that they are the icons of our attention, which was not how the culture functioned during the Italian Renaissance. Juliet's parents are doing what they are supposed to do: finding an excellent marriage for her.

Tillotson: I think my relationship with Romeo is a little different; it's more of a teacher-student bond.

Brott: You have a more mature relationship with Romeo than I have with Juliet, don't you?

Tillotson: Yes. I may have known him since he was a little kid, but our interaction has been more formal. I solve problems for him.

Brott: I try to do that for Juliet, too, but in a different way. When I say, "Romeo is a dishclout to Paris," I don't really believe that. I know the words wound her, and they make me seem disloyal, but the real message is at the very end of the speech. The gold is usually at the conclusion of the speech. When I say, "Your first is dead or 'twere as good he were," I don't see any way around this. That is the cultural reality. Romeo is not coming back. She asks me if I speak from my heart, and I say, "From my soul, too," because I have worked it out in my head that God will forgive her.

Flachmann: Tiffany, your take on that?

Scott: I believe Juliet sees the Nurse's suggestion to marry Paris as the ultimate betrayal, which I think wounds her deeply— so much so, in fact, that she vows to no longer keep counsel with the Nurse. At that point, Juliet is on her own. When she deliberately contradicts her parents and tells them she is not going to wed Paris, her behavior is terribly disobedient. She is so strong-willed with very deep convictions, and she is willing to make this incredible sacrifice for love.

Flachmann: That's awfully brave of you at that moment in the play to disobey your parents.

Scott: Yes, and Lord Capulet tells her that he's going to kick her out of the house and disown her. She can't be a member of the family anymore if she doesn't marry Paris. She is determined to be true to Romeo in the face of all this. She's very courageous and very strong in her convictions.

Flachmann: That's a pretty terrifying moment in the play. Phil Hubbard [Lord Capulet] is a wonderful teddy bear of a guy, but he is very frightening in that scene because he's a big guy on stage, and he gets awfully angry.

Scott: He does, and it's suitable, believable anger, too, which is very scary.

Flachmann: Right. I want to bring it back to Paul, if I may, and anybody else who wants to respond to this. Can you talk a little bit about speaking the verse, about the challenges and rewards of dealing with Shakespeare's poetry on stage?

Hurley: Since this is one of Shakespeare's earlier plays, the

verse is a bit easier to speak. There are very few full stops that happen midline, which basically means the lines run all the way through, and so the verse is more regular and predictable. Because of this rhythmic quality, the play drives the plot forward with more intensity and passion. When you look at the Folio text, you realize that Shakespeare hasn't broken the play down into acts or scenes. It's just one long, breathless rush from beginning to end. So when you are speaking the verse, you have to be especially conscious of always driving through each thought until you get to the end of it. You need to do all the acting on the lines and with the text. If you take too much time, especially in the second half of the script, that's when the play can really bog down.

Smith: The verse always has to keep moving. If you're going to put a little pause at the end of a verse line, it has to be treated not as a stop, but as a springboard to the next line. Actors have to understand what they're saying first and how to phrase the language so the meaning is clear; then they can take it up to speed. Pace is extremely important in Shakespeare, but many actors don't appreciate this fact. Shakespeare wrote his plays to be performed at the speed of thought. You must think as you speak. If you can do this, the audience will never get ahead of you, which can be deadly.

Flachmann: We had some good sessions earlier in the week in our Wooden O Symposium about using acting "sides" during Shakespeare's time and trusting the flexibility of punctuation in the plays. I'm interested in how free Kate Buckley allowed you to be in interpreting the punctuation, putting in pauses, and making the text flow from one line to another.

Hurley: Yes, we had a fair amount of latitude in that regard.

Brott: Shakespeare had been dead for seven years when the 1623 First Folio was printed, so his script isn't like Shaw's, where we can say, "This is the definitive text." In addition, compositors had great control over the way the text was printed. There are a lot of times in the First Folio where actors could make a huge emotional choice about the direction the character is going based on a semicolon or a question mark or an exclamation mark. As a matter of fact, most compositors' boxes of type carried many more exclamation marks than question marks. When actors interpret the Folio punctuation, we also pay attention to capitalization, though a letter is often capitalized because the compositor ran out of lower-case type.

As an actor, I'm never slavishly devoted to the Folio, which contains so many idiosyncrasies. For example, the Nurse's first

big speech about the earthquake and Juliet's age is written in prose in the Folio, but in other early editions it scans as verse with ten syllables per line.

Flachmann: Speaking about memorable monologues in the play, Ashley, you do such a wonderful job with the Queen Mab speech. How do you think it helps further the plot?

Smith: I've often seen actors play the Queen Mab speech as a "show-off" piece, a way for Mercutio to convince the audience how fantastical and mercurial he is. When it's delivered that way, it always appears to exist outside the plot, stopping the action and boring the audience. The clue to its purpose lies at the end of the speech. I see it principally as a means of coaxing Romeo to go to Capulet's party.

In order to convince Romeo to ignore his foreboding, Mercutio invents the story of Queen Mab, a fairy who makes certain types of people have certain types of dreams. As Mercutio loses control near the end of the speech, Romeo calms him by saying, "Peace, thou talk'st of nothing." Mercutio then drives his original point home, explaining, "True, I talk of dreams!" Only then does Romeo give in and agree to go to the party. The Queen Mab speech has many facets, but it's primarily a device to get Romeo to the home of his enemy so he can ultimately discover his true love.

Flachmann: You guys are speaking today, as I'm sure you know, to a group of teachers, educators, and students. Do you have any advice for us about how we ought to approach Shakespeare in the classroom?

Tillotson: It's not as difficult as it seems . . . except when I'm working on it. [laughter]

Flachmann: Thank you, John. Tiffany?

Scott: I think you should always read it out loud, which makes the language far more powerful and more accessible to those who are hearing it.

Flachmann: Ben?

Reigel: I certainly agree. I had the wonderful advantage of having parents who are in the business, so I grew up watching Shakespeare from a very early age. It was never meant to be read like literature. It was meant to be seen, to be experienced. I'm a big advocate of watching even a bad production. We were supposed to do *Pericles* at a theater I was working at a few years ago, and that was one of the few shows in the canon that I didn't know. My father was going to be playing the lead, and he didn't know it either, so we both tried to read it. He's a twenty-five year veteran of doing every lead part in Shakespeare, and he couldn't make sense

out of it, so we rented a very bad BBC version of it, which helped us understand what the play was about. I think more kids would get into Shakespeare if they got to see it before they had to read it, as opposed to the other way around.

Flachmann: Leslie?

Brott: Absolutely right! Try to maintain as much joy in the classroom as possible. There might be someone like me out there. I'm from a little, tiny town in northern California, where I'm sure people would rather have their eyes gouged out with sticks than read *The Taming of the Shrew* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in class, but my freshman English teacher was so enthusiastic that you couldn't help but sense his enjoyment of it, which planted a seed in me.

I would try to get students to read it aloud. I've been acting Shakespeare for years, and the first time I face it, I usually have to read it about fifteen or twenty times. I always read it out loud, but at home in preparation for the first rehearsal, I try to read it at least a dozen times because I get so panicky at the first read-through. These plays are meant to be spoken. When you just read it on the page, it's like looking at a symphonic score and not listening to the actual music.

Flachmann: Thanks, Leslie. Paul, any advice for us?

Hurley: I was one of those kids who hated Shakespeare in high school. We read *Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, Othello,* and *Hamlet*. I never really understood any of them until I was about twenty-one years old and I spent some time in London and got to see lots of Shakespeare productions. This was the first time when the world of that language opened up to me. There are lots of films to see and recordings to listen to. During the Renaissance, people never went to *see* a play; they went to *hear* a play. You've got to really listen to these great scripts to understand them fully.

Flachmann: How about the BBC Shakespeare video productions. Do you like them?

Brott: The BBC is state supported. British actors pay British taxes. They can do a wonderful job of it because of all the support they get.

Tillotson: I have a problem with our public television not supporting American actors. In the last couple of seasons, we have seen *Kiss Me Kate* filmed in London; we have seen *Oklahoma* filmed in London. We are not seeing enough American productions filmed in America. Our public television and our government are not supporting American actors to produce American productions of these classic plays. That's all I have to say.

Flachmann: Amen! Although I feel strongly that the work being done here at the Utah Shakespearean Festival and in other great American theaters is some of the best Shakespeare in the world right now, and I'm really proud of what you guys do. On another topic entirely, what would Romeo and Juliet be doing ten years down the road if they had survived the tragedy?

Hurley: Two boys, a girl, and a dog. [laughter]

Scott: I think it all goes back to a question we often hear in discussions about this production. Is it *love* or *lust* between Romeo and Juliet? I think it has to be love. When they first meet, they complete a sonnet together, which betrays a kind of synergy between the two. The wonderful thing about Juliet is that she is able to match wits with Romeo from the beginning. In that first meeting, you can see that the two have true love for each other, a union of souls. So I do believe that they would have had a long and happy life together were it not for the tragic events that occur.

Flachmann: Tiffany, just to refine the question a bit, don't you really teach Romeo how to be a lover? He's certainly "romantic" at the beginning of the balcony scene, but does he really know how to love someone like you?

Scott: Yes, in the balcony scene, she's not willing to hear all those empty vows, those superficial words. She wants Romeo to court her honestly.

Flachmann: Paul, did you want to respond? She leaves you so unsatisfied in that scene. [laughter]

Hurley: One of the last things they say to each other really helps us understand the direction of the play. She asks, "Thinkest thou we shall ever meet again?" and his response is, "I doubt it not, and all these woes shall serve for sweet discourses in our time to come." That is, we'll talk about this when we are old and recounting crazy things we did in our youth. I love that prescient moment when the two of them envision a possibility of being together in their ripe old age.

Flachmann: Were you all exposed to this play when you were young? And if so, how did that early experience with the script help prepare you for the roles you are playing in this particular production?

Reigel: My exposure to the play was actually very early. This was the first part I ever wanted to play. I saw my father play Tybalt when I was six. I really wanted to do the sword fights.

Tillotson: I am fortunate this summer to be doing two plays that I was exposed to as a child. The first Shakespeare play that I remember seeing was *Hamlet* at the Old Globe when I was maybe

thirteen years old. I think these early experiences with Shakespeare give all of us a common bond.

Brott: I definitely was into the romance of this play. I mean Zefferelli's production hit me like a ton of bricks. My bedroom had posters of Leonard Whiting and Olivia Hussey. I wanted their relationship to work out because I saw the movie at a time when I had just started to notice boys. Wow, they were great. I felt that big rush of emotion. The performances Zefferelli got out of these young actors and the way he cut the movie was so beautiful to look at, and the soundtrack was overwhelming. I was totally struck by the romance of the play. I still am, because who doesn't want to fall in love again that way? And yeah, I still want it to work out. And why shouldn't it? Why does life have to be mired down in tragedy and ambiguity?

I've made a lot of sacrifices in my life just to support my relationship with Shakespeare, Shaw, Williams, and O'Neill, and I've always felt it was worth it. There's nothing more wonderful for me than to hear Tiffany say, "My bounty is as boundless as the sea. My love as deep. The more I give to thee, the more I have, for both are infinite." All my sacrifices are worth it to hear those beautiful lines every night.

Flachmann: And on that inspiring note, I just want to say what a great privilege it's been to be able to talk to you actors about your lives and your craft. A session like this really rounds out the Wooden O Symposium because we see the whole other side of Shakespeare's plays, the performance aspect, which brings to vibrant, exciting life much of the scholarship we are doing. I hope the audience understands that everyone who works on these plays conducts important research, and these wonderful actors are just as dedicated to their craft as we are to ours as scholars and teachers. Thank you very much for being here this morning. [applause]

Medieval and Renaissance Studies Conference

August 7-9, 2006
• *Southern Utah University* • *Utah Shakespearean Festival*
Cedar City, Utah, USA

The Wooden O Symposium is a cross-disciplinary conference exploring Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Studies, through the text and performance of Shakespeare's plays. Scholars from all disciplines are encouraged to submit papers that offer insights and new ideas springing from the era of William Shakespeare.

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