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Walking with Vigilance: Middleton's Edge in *The Triumphs of Truth*

Scholars have frequently regarded Thomas Middleton's mayoral shows as exemplary for their moral dramatic structure. More recently, Tracey Hill has remarked upon their critical edge. Taking Middleton's first show, The Triumphs of Truth (1613), as its primary focus and drawing upon selections from his other civic writings, this article examines the ways that Middleton's attention to the peripatetic nature of these events establishes a moral and critical reflection that is uniquely captured in the printed books he and other pageant writers saw through to publication. While arguing that this aspect of Middleton's shows represents his unique contribution to the genre, the essay also explores the influences of Munday and Dekker, whose shows precede Middleton's. Middleton does not entirely reinvent the genre but instead reminds the mayor and reader to walk with vigilance during both the live and imagined event.

Thomas Middleton's canon presents its reader with a curiosity: how did the satiric playwright who wrote notoriously scandalous plays like *A Game at Chess* (1624) and *The Witch* (1616) or satires like *Microcynicon* (1597) manage to compose some of the best mayoral shows of the Jacobean era? Although this variety could speak to his talents as a writer, moral schemes find their way into all of Middleton's work and a critical edge pervades the mayoral shows as well.¹ Much as he learned from Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare for the stage, Middleton drew upon the work and ideas of his collaborators Thomas Dekker and Anthony Munday to devise entertainments for London's streets. Looking primarily at his first show, *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613), but with reference to other civic entertainments, this article explores the dialectic between the spiritual and the secular within Middleton's mayoral shows, thereby bringing moral inquiries, found in previous scholarship, into conversation with more recent approaches to the shows' political criticisms.

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Although the political theology of the era makes this intertwining of morality and political criticism readily apparent in mayoral shows and other early modern dramatic works, what distinguishes Middleton's edge from other mixtures of the political and the theological is its peripatetic nature, both in the moment of performance and on the page. Even in collaborative shows Middleton would have been responsible for composing the text and seeing it through to print, which accounts for and characterizes his unique edge in comparison to his fellow pageant writers. The attention not only to the mayor and his train's journey, but also to the governor's function as a spectacle surrounded by the crowd, marks Middleton's ability to draw his primary audience, the mayor, into an interrogative embodied experience that reminds him to be vigilant, both spiritually in terms of the eternal cosmos and politically with respect to the present year. The reader encounters a similar embodied experience through both speeches for the mayor and descriptive prose passages that leave tensions unresolved.² Middleton's edge thus leaves the mayor and reader acknowledging their limitations within the grander scope of the Christian universe while prompting them to take what action they can in the present moment. Middleton's critical edge is inspired by past traditions, but he brings his interpreters into the peripatetic moments of the lord mayor's day to impress that they need to exercise vigilance as Christian citizens.

Walking the Dialectic: Theorizing Middleton's Edge

Scholars have long regarded mayoral shows as propagandist refurbishments of the medieval moral play; instead of promoting Catholic ideology, they glorify civic officials and occasionally the crown.³ In recent years, however, critical concentration on the shows' interrogative and even subversive potential has challenged the tendency to label these texts as conservative. Angela Stock identifies the ways in which both Dekker and Middleton draw upon popular public ridicule of earlier shows to parody these conventions in their first shows and thereby highlight the merits of their own devices.⁴ Kara Northway identifies that Dekker continues his subtle criticism of previous mayors in *London's Tempe* (1629), but on this occasion his underlying commentary concerns the familial legacy of lord mayors.⁵ More direct challenges to authority could also take shape, which further complicates critics' prior dismissal of these texts as obeisant. Sergei Lobanov-Rostovsky elucidates the manner by which Middleton and Dekker, in their respective shows, focus on the mayor as someone who needs to be a good magistrate rather than merely a good merchant, thereby prompting a conscientious and reflexive model of leadership.⁶ Although the trend to regard these works as having subversive

potential has privileged Dekker's and Middleton's shows, scholarship has also directed some attention to Munday's canon as well. Roze Hentschell, for example, explores the ramifications of Munday's pageantry for the Drapers in relation to the crown's actions concerning the transformation of the wool industry, a trade that was intrinsic to national identity and civic pride.⁷ Therefore, despite having an overt purpose of celebrating London's magnificence, mayoral shows nevertheless demonstrate critical or even satirical potential. Tracey Hill's intensive study of the genre offers an apt summation of this more subtle tendency when she describes a 'critical edge' in the shows, one that manifests both through topical political subject matter and nuanced allegorical frameworks. Hill's conclusion that this dimension of mayoral shows is prominent 'especially' in 'those by Middleton' suggests that this pageant writer in particular breaks from the ostensibly propagandist model of the genre.⁸ Elsewhere, scholars praise Middleton above other pageant writers for his ability to frame a moral vision in his shows.⁹ A brief survey of this critical trend, however, suggests that the attention paid to Middleton results from his (and in some cases Dekker's) relative scholarly popularity when compared to Munday.¹⁰ Middleton began working on mayoral shows in collaboration with Munday, which complicates the desire to locate an entirely unique quality in his own pageantry. Rather than continuing to privilege Middleton as exceptional and discarding the previous moral angle in scholarship entirely, this article aims to address the manner by which Middleton's critical edge is honed through collaboration and through relation to rather than eschewal of the medieval moral tradition that pervades the extant canon of mayoral shows.

While Hill's 'edge' rests on a reading of political matters concerning Spain as taken up in Middleton's show, this article expands the understanding of a 'critical edge' by addressing not only topical sociopolitical matters but also how the moral dimensions of the text guide readers rhetorically toward humility through an interrogative engagement with the procession on the page. Scholars have often perceived this dialectic in Middleton's work as an irony unique to his 'style'.¹¹ I understand this 'edge' to be ironic in the vein of Linda Hutcheon's theorization of the rhetorical and political trope. For Hutcheon, irony encompasses 'an evaluative edge' that provokes 'responses in those who "get" it and those who don't'.¹² The propagandist appeal and the surreptitious political angles identified by critical discourse to date thus emerge as two potential responses that this ironic dialectic facilitates. The unique edge to Middleton's early work, however, retains an uneasy blending of secular and spiritual time and governance. The interrogative dimension of this edge speaks to Stock's identification of Middleton's poignant 'insistence on the conditional nature of civic honour ... on the spot, in the

show itself.¹³ As Hill has pointed out, Middleton collaborated with Munday on his first show, *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613). According to Hill, Munday ‘may have produced the ideas’, as he plotted the pageantry, though Middleton would have been responsible for the pageant book.¹⁴ What Stock refers to as this show’s insistence on honour and accountability thus illuminates Middleton revisiting earlier moral allegories through this collaboration while offering a unique vision, the further study of which contributes to recent studies of mayoral shows’ more interrogative tendencies. Inflected by this critical edge, the shows’ moral drama appears more nuanced than has been previously assumed.

More importantly, Middleton prompts his interpreters to recognize such complex morality through simulating, in his printed text, the live performances of the procession. This unique feature of Middleton’s edge materializes on the page and brings his audience and reader into the present moment of the day’s motions. His first two shows demonstrate a novel approach through his keen attention to representing and replicating the journey the mayor and his train took through the streets of London. Beyond specifically plotting this route, Middleton takes pains to make the reader feel as though they are walking in the moment with the mayor. This simulation of walking speaks to recent discoveries regarding the embodiment of print in the period.¹⁵ While scholars often discuss the hand, due to its connection with writing literature in this era,¹⁶ Andrew Gordon illuminates the important role of the foot in early modern print. Gordon’s work emphasizes that exploring the foot’s role in writing stresses ‘the need for critics to engage with the complex interactions of visual, verbal, and physical elements in the dynamic interpretive environment of the early modern page.’¹⁷ Heeding Gordon’s call, we can observe the ways in which mayoral shows, particularly Middleton’s, guide the reader through an embodied experience of the text that resuscitates the ephemeral performance. Stock suggests that his shows compel the mayor ‘on the spot’ to be cognizant of his position’s responsibilities; how Middleton accomplishes this same feat with his readers, however, is by printing the peripatetic text.

Middleton’s unique edge develops through this vicarious quality of the text. This experiential element simulates the original temporal circumstances for the reader, but additionally, Middleton pairs this peripatetic feeling with narrative content that stresses the eternal time to which the mayor is subject. The critical edge not only positions the reader between the eternal Christian time and present circumstances that the mayor faces, but also between past performance and present text. Middleton’s playful maneuvering of these gaps in time through the eye’s scanning of the text and the foot’s imagined recreation of the event generates what Jonathan Gil Harris refers to as a polytemporal rift in early modern literature,

but one that draws the reader into an embodied experience. Harris looks to John Stow's *Survey of London*, a text that Munday was later responsible for revising,¹⁸ and sees explosive polytemporal relevance through the historian's view of 'the city less as a static grid than as a dynamic, heterogeneous space, best apprehended even as it is transformed by those who walk its streets'.¹⁹ Civic pageantry accomplishes a similar feat, but through performance rather than historical inquiry. Middleton's pageantry especially rends this explosive historicity into moral quandaries concerning how a mayor ought to govern this fluid space. The simultaneity of multiple times and media generates his unique critical edge through an ironic betweenness, pace Hutcheon, that manifests both through religious morality and immediate political concerns. Middleton's interest in presenting the reader with various vantage points and disorienting descriptions augments the fragmentation of a unified perspective. Middleton's compositions of these events in his pageant books draw attention to different ways of observing — whether from the crowd's perspective, the perspective enjoyed by onlookers from windows, or the perspective held by the mayor himself — and remind readers of the multiple interpretive communities that witnessed these events. Although David M. Bergeron has aptly identified the manner by which pageant books envision an idealized performance rather than an entirely accurate account of the show,²⁰ Middleton is unique in his efforts not only to simulate a critical peripatetic experience, but also to render it into an unsettling rather than a unified reading experience. These interrogative texts therefore deny an authoritative stance and draw attention to a myriad of perspectives. Once we recognize these multiple angles and dimensions, we can see how the critical edge of Middleton's shows precipitates a limited and fractured experience of the text and its imagined performance that humbles the reader and the original mayor. Walking with vigilance therefore means governing but also reading with vigilance.

Making Middleton's Edge: Origins, Influences, and Differences

Recent attention to the critical features of mayoral shows prompts a re-evaluation of the binaries that result from assumptions about their psychomachia allegory and their relation to other early modern dramatic works. Gail Kern Paster's reading of the city in early modern drama represents a landmark study on this topic, and she aptly notes the ways in which Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* influences the genre. Paster claims that Middleton's pageants, like courtly masques, offer their interpretive communities ideal visions of states that can be attained, but her reading, fuelled primarily by her comparison of the pageants to civic comedies,

perpetuates a binary of pageantry's stark morality as opposed to subversive theatre.²¹ In fact, the distinction Middleton's shows make between the idealistic city of God, which she contends the shows' pageants promote, and the mortal city, indicates that Middleton knows that London has not achieved and cannot ever fully realize the ethereal apotheosis his drama presents to the mayor. The inability to make a heaven on earth sheds new light on Paster's conceived binary insofar as the city is neither the acme of virtue nor the nadir of sin.²² Rather, London exists in a fluctuating state between these two poles. As Lawrence Manley suggests, the urban 'landscape was increasingly understood as having a dramatic and tumultuous history, as being formed and deformed by divergent interests, parties, groups, and populations'.²³ The annual festivities of mayoral shows throughout the city contributed to this dynamic understanding of governance, encouraging civic officials to create, through their governance, a metropolis that approximated the kingdom of heaven and its ideals — all while acknowledging that London could never achieve that perfect state. Middleton conveys this inability to emulate the divine city through a turbulent, shifting, imperfect world that cannot achieve heavenly stasis. The peripatetic elements of the drama bring this moral nuance to light through their presentation of a fluctuating world that cannot match the kingdom of heaven.

The Augustinian underpinnings of civic pageantry's morality have led to the previously noted binary view of the shows purporting a city of sin in competition with a divine city, but this outlook does not necessarily pervade *De Civitate Dei*. Middleton was familiar with Augustine's tome,²⁴ and Paster is correct that there is a difference between the 'city as it ought to be and the city as it is',²⁵ but this distinction needs to be tempered by Augustine's reminder that 'the City of the Saints is aboue, though it haue cittizens here vpon earth, wherein it liueth as a pilgrim vntill the time of the Kingdome come'.²⁶ Only this ethereal city can achieve its 'originall, forme, and perfection', according to Augustine.²⁷ The inner spirit of the mayor himself can obtain citizenship in God's kingdom, but not without shedding its 'vnperfect beginnings' and maintaining a conscientious attention to his soul's condition.²⁸ We witness this dynamic throughout *The Triumphs of Truth*, even with Perfect Love's address to the mayor. Perfect Love's speech is the show's most sanctifying assurance of the mayor's virtue, given its banishment of epicureanism; however, even in this instance Middleton concludes the speech with conditional rather than certain language concerning the mayor's governance: 'And so lead on; may Perfect Brother-hood shine, / Still in Sphaere, and Honor still in thine' (D1r).²⁹ The use of 'may' in tandem with 'still' describes the mayor's virtue as provisional rather than unwavering. The distinction between

the greater collective — represented by the globe Perfect Love holds — and the mayor's smaller world reduces him to one part of a greater whole. Although Bergeron correctly notes that the epistle to *The Triumphs of Truth* flatters Thomas Myddelton, the mayor in question,³⁰ for having perfected his soul's citizenship,³¹ the pageants themselves are not actually in keeping with this dedicatory letter that prefaces the author's account of the show. Not only the conditional rhetoric of this speech's conclusion but also the motion of the show with 'so lead on' moves the mayor and reader to this interpretation. The mayor is therefore granted a position of leadership, but one dependent upon him remaining vigilant as he continues literally and figuratively on his path. The mayor must therefore maintain his holy citizenship and acknowledge that his city will not achieve the same state as his soul, which also remains susceptible to sin. The worldly motions of the pageantry augment this spiritual dilemma and compel the mayor to consider his station's responsibilities.

Middleton's show thus distinguishes between the mayor receiving his honourable title and the projected virtuous outcome that his accomplishment promises to bring about in the city. In doing so, it retains the pomp of the annual celebrations while eschewing any prideful sense of inherent or static virtue. This interpretation fits the morality of the historical and literary medieval traditions that Bergeron and Paster attribute to mayoral shows,³² but the coupling of this moral tradition with civic politics offers more complex stagecraft. Anke Bernau likens Middleton's pageantry, for instance, to the medieval mirror of princes genre. She argues that this medieval emulative literary mode of governance inspired Middleton's *The Triumphs of Honour and Virtue* (1617) and *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* (1619), for in both shows, 'history is ... a repository of worthy "examples" for the present'.³³ Bernau provides a similar reading of trans-historical engagement in Middleton's *The Triumphs of Integrity* (1623) through repeated returns to the medieval past. Bernau's analysis of the ways Middleton's shows interact with England's history and of their common emblematic figures illuminates that these techniques in the shows are not formulaic, for as Bernau points out, this reflection upon Britain's past artistic and historical traditions is 'often in the name of change', indicating that the tableaux that Middleton's shows delineate are anything but static.³⁴ While Bernau is correct in attributing these influences to Middleton's work, she overlooks Munday's influence on and collaboration with Middleton. Munday did not collaborate with Middleton on the 1619 show that Bernau examines, but he did work with Munday on his first show of 1613 as well as *The Triumphs of Integrity*, to which Munday contributed *The Golden Fleece* water show of the same year. Middleton's work is therefore not only medievalist,

but also Mundayesque. Hill identifies the influence that Munday's earlier staging of *Fame* at the Standard had not only on Thomas Dekker's *Troia Nova Triumphans* (1612) but also on Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* the following year.³⁵ Her analysis of Munday modelling John Stow's *Survey of London* in his mayoral shows likewise illuminates that the civic historical figures and the mirrors they offer interpreters do not necessarily derive immediately from this medieval tradition.³⁶ Middleton's medievalisms are therefore more likely Mundayisms, and their deployment suggests a developing dramatic tradition rather than the static moral scheme previously assumed to be Munday's standard at the Standard.

Importantly, Munday establishes a peripatetic dynamic in civic pageantry before Middleton, so Middleton's mayoral shows do not represent as sharp a break from prior mayoral shows than has been previously surmised.³⁷ Munday's *Chrusothriambos* (1611), for example, provides the reader with an historical walking tour, as Time commands legends of the Goldsmith company's past to appear before the mayor. When Leofstane, London's first magistrate and a former Goldsmith, says he will leave the lord mayor to his 'further progression', Time commands him to 'stay' (B2r–v). Following their dialogue, Time summons another Goldsmith ghost by striking a tomb with a silver wand, bringing Nicholas Fardingdon, another former lord mayor, back from the dead. The purpose, as Time puts it, is for the ghost to 'reioyce to see: This honour of thine owne Society' (B4v), which praises the lord mayor of this year, Sir James Pemberton. But through presenting these legendary civic figures as obedient to Time, Munday simultaneously humbles the lord mayor by drawing attention to the magistrate's own place in this lineage. This event therefore creates a polytemporal moment that merges past and present through performance. In this case, however, the 'untimely' quality of the text is not an isolated moment or tableaux, as in other mayoral shows,³⁸ but rather a dramatization that the mayor enters into when Leofstane asks Time if he and Fardingdon may stay to accompany the mayor on this day:

Time, that in this daies honour raisde vs both,
 Meanes not (I trust) so soone to sunder vs:
 To see that separation, I am loath,
 Be then to both so kind and gracious;
 That we may waite vpon this worthy man:
 And do him yet what seruice else we can. (C1r)

Time grants this wish, and as a result the two former civic governors accompany the newly elected mayor around London on the same route that Fardingdon himself ostensibly travelled. The implication is that the mayor's journey becomes

'untimely' in this dramatic dynamic. He is constantly aware of his own mortality in a tradition of ghosts of Goldsmiths' past and is compelled to see his steps re-imprinting those of previous generations. His foot retraces the mayors' past journeys in the streets, as Munday does on the page, and as his predecessor Stow does in *A Survey of London*.³⁹ Guided in this way, through the experience of walking the page, the reader can see this event not only as the 1611 show but also as all prior celebrations leading up to it.⁴⁰

The question remains, however: what distinguishes Middleton's deployment of these interrogative elements from Munday's? The difference is not altogether radical. Middleton's shows attend to dramatic moral dynamism rather than emblematic tableaux or chronological record to convey their morally inflected political purpose, and Middleton more consistently livens the flow of events. Embodied textual experiences are more frequent and simulate the experience for the reader of being there and walking with the mayor's train. The polytemporality of Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* thus differs stylistically from Munday's prior show, and we can most readily see his contribution through the speeches he wrote for Time and what this figure stresses differently in Middleton's show. The mayor must comprehend the difference between eternal time, which he can strive toward but never master, and mundane time, which he occupies. For example, the mayor receives reminders of the distinction between God's realm and his own as he continues to walk through London's streets and witnesses Middleton's pageantry.⁴¹ Having vanquished Error in his efforts to charm the mayor, Middleton's personification of Time communicates a similar message to Myddelton:

TIME *This Time hath brought t'effect, for on thy Day
 Nothing but Truth and Vertue shall display:
 Their Virgin Ensigns, Infidelity,
 Barbarisme, and Guile shall in deepe Darkenesse lye.
 O, I could euer stand still thus, and gaze,
 Never turne Glasse agen; wish no more daies
 So this might euer last, pittie the Light
 Of this rich Glory must be casde in Night;
 But Time must on, I go, 'tis so decreed,
 To blesse my Daughter Truth, and all her seed*

*With Ioyes Immortal, Triumphs neuer-ending:
And as her Hand lifts mee, to thy Ascending
May it be alwaies ready (worthy Sonne)
To hasten which, my Howers shall quickly run.* (C1r–v)

Time advises Myddelton that on the lord mayor's day he is safe from Error, but laments that this cannot always be the condition of his rule, for 'Time *must on*'. The world's mobility leads him to acknowledge that the moment when he '*could euer stand still*' is unattainable. His speech draws attention to the ways in which the world operates, which neither Time nor the mayor is able to sway. The natural transition from day to night limits the celebrations, thereby reminding the mayor that even Time (a greater power than himself) is subject to the cyclical conditions of the globe. These vicissitudes illuminate the imperfections of the world and thus stress the inability for anyone to wield external forces completely. Middleton cautions the mayor against pride by presenting him with a greater power (Time) that also cannot command the world. By including this personification who also fails to master worldly circumstances, Middleton dissuades the elected official from exhibiting hubris while still depicting him as a '*worthy son*'. This characterization still encourages him to maintain his duty to the city in the face of imperfection. Moreover, the speech's insistence on motion as inevitable, something that even Time cannot halt, points to the continued movement of the show's pageants and the city or world within which they are staged, thereby accentuating the mayor's inability to govern these spheres in perfect states.⁴² Whereas Munday's critical peripatetic edge relies upon a chronological record of mayoral past, Middleton's is more conceptual and spiritual, focusing on cosmic time while still addressing topical matters.⁴³ Middleton's edge is therefore defined by topical political circumstances, but its distinction from Munday's derives more particularly from this wider moral interrogative purpose and ongoing attention to motion.

Reviving Performance and Walking the Printed Page

Although Munday establishes a conscientious peripatetic tradition in his 1611 show with the walking tour guided by ghosts of mayoral past, Middleton amplifies this innovation by drawing consistent attention to the experience of walking and making the reader feel present in the theatrical moment. His frequent attention to resuscitating performance in the pageant books' prose and to the implications of the present moment in speeches written for performance defines his critical edge. Middleton's edge is therefore not better than Munday's, but

merely more consistently exercised, variegated in its technique, and apparent in its deployment. During instances where this edge is employed, the mayor's aforementioned spiritual and civic responsibilities are addressed as ongoing rather than complete, for Time will bring the lord mayor 'weekely' to St Paul's Cross to hear a sermon (C2r). Although attending a sermon at St Paul's Cross was an annual tradition for the mayor, Time's reference to this event points not only to this day but also to the mayor's repeated return to Paul's Cross over the course of the year. At Paul's the mayor can hear 'Truths *coelestiall Harmony*' again and again, so long as he bends 'a *serious Eare*' to the holy sermon (C2r). In doing so, the mayor can remain one of Truth's seed who can aspire to '*Ioyes Immortal*' and have '*Triumphs neuer ending*' (C1v). In keeping such perfection out of the mayor's reach, Middleton subtly indicates that the mayor has a duty to ensure that he and his city aim to achieve these triumphs of Truth throughout the year rather than passively and arrogantly consuming the spectacles and speeches as confirmation of his righteous appointment.

The mayor's repeated returns to religious locations to inspire vigilance are matched by other frequent topographic and peripatetic features in the text. *The Triumphs of Truth* carefully attends to embodied experiences and maintains a sharp attention to place.⁴⁴ This meticulous plotting allows the reader, who is ostensibly familiar with London, to navigate the cityscape in their mind as they read the show, effectively causing the printed text to becoming a walking tour of the city that aims to recreate the day. Middleton reminds his reader and mayor of Myddelton's earlier '*Trauels*' and '*The foot-steps of thy youth*' (A2v, A4v), in both the dedicatory epistle and the first speech, and couples these past journeys with the present journey through London's streets. We are invited to imagine the train advancing several times as they make 'haste to returne to the Citty againe' (B1v), 'all set forward' (B4r), and 'passe on to *Guild-hall*' (D1r). These examples and others cue the reader to imagine the procession of the lord mayor's day occurring presently. The text pairs movements through London streets with real-time stage directions in the descriptions of the pageants, such as when 'the Cloude suddenly rises' (C2v). Middleton's show attends not only to present peripatetic action and the mayor's past motions, but also to how his treks through London ought to be conducted. Truth commands at the conclusion that the mayor enact '*Loue in thy VValkes*' (D2v). This gesture to his future pathways means that the mayor remains accountable to exercising 'Loue' in his walks this year.

Although *The Triumphs of Truth* has received a great deal of scholarly attention, perhaps in part for this topography, we can also consider how Middleton establishes a different rhetoric of walking the page in his next show for the Grocers, *The*

Triumphs of Honor and Industry. Middleton positions the reader in the moment of performance in 1617, as the event 'begins to present itself', and directs us as though the text we read is being performed for us: 'if you giue attention to Industry, that now sets forward to speake, it will be yours more exactly' (A4v). After establishing the present reader in the original moment of the past event, Middleton begins to celebrate motion. He connects the figure of Traffic from the first pageant with the movement to the next performance as well as the 'vertue' that leads the mayor onward in his course (B1v). Things move so fast, in fact, that Middleton becomes (deliberately) caught up in the description, so much so that he neglects to mention part of the pageant and must now recall it for the reader. The experience Middleton's vantage point generates resembles the *flâneur* of nineteenth-century Paris, given the poet's fascination with aspects of the performance in live time. These distractions cause the author to neglect the original intention and thus the route he had devised. The concept of *flânerie* is not as anachronistic as may be assumed. Karen Newman identifies that the 'notion of a certain sort of pedestrian movement through city space in which the subject's attention is arrested by the spectacle of the street — the idea of *flânerie* ... date[s] from the early seventeenth century when Paris and London become major metropolitan centers'.⁴⁵ In any case, Middleton strives to make his reader feel in the moment of performance and in motion, thereby simulating the experience of pedestrian onlookers attending to the details of the spectacle that attract them, before suddenly realizing the pageantry is continuing forth through London's streets. Middleton continues to draw attention to the way in which his descriptions anticipate the next pageant: 'I arriue now at that part of Tryumph, which my Desire euer hastned to come to' (B3r). One can feel the words and pages running as the author's passions overcome him. The speed and motion of the pageants replicate themselves here in the pageant book's composition, and Middleton fashions himself as a hasty narrator in order to elicit this feeling from the reader. The conclusion to this show accentuates the sense that readers have walked the page with the author, given that 'after this dayes trouble I am as willing to take my rest' (C2r). The implication here is that Middleton's pen has walked these pages, much as the mayor has the streets, establishing a common labour that seeks rest.

Given that Middleton collaborated with Munday on this first show, we should not discount Munday's role in facilitating or influencing this dynamic. The pageant book, however, would have been written by Middleton, making these more overt efforts to complicate a unified and empowered perspective representative of his personal style.⁴⁶ Although Munday established a moral drama in his pageants as well, he did so typically through static tableaux or emblems, and when

the spectacles are enlivened, as with Fardingdon, they incline toward the civic rather than the allegorical. Middleton's drama instead plays out in the streets and brings the mayor into the morality rather than the history. Like an *Everyman*, the mayor is figuratively the central character whom audiences and readers gravitate toward — for he embodies their common mortal condition and represents their collective embodiment as the moderator of their civic body — but he is also at the centre of the spectacle, as he is literally and physically positioned between Error and Virtue. Lobanov-Rostovsky has observed that the mayor becomes a protean moral actor in the psychomachia allegory of *The Triumphs of Truth* that allows the poet to sculpt his governance through his pageantry.⁴⁷ Indeed, this staging seems to be a trend in Middleton's pageantry. In her introduction to *The Triumphs of Honour and Virtue* (1622), Ania Loomba proposes that Middleton portrays the mayor of that year, Sir Peter Proby, as this familiar character type, 'who must resist temptation in order to govern well'.⁴⁸ Although the various pageants comprising a mayoral show likely followed the train as it made its way from place to place in London's streets, Middleton takes specific care in his pageant book to present this procession as dramatic action, which it would have been to onlookers. As Ian Munro argues, the crowd in mayoral shows 'was both the inevitable and necessary frame for the public ritual, the validating presence needed to legitimate the civic values being performed by the show's passage through the space of the city'.⁴⁹ Middleton demonstrates a keen awareness of this power dynamic, but he opts to utilize it to shift the balance further in the crowd's favour. The reader is led to visualize the event from the crowd's perspective when Middleton describes the movement from the pageant comprising Truth's initial chastisement of Error to the mayor's engagement with the King of Moors:

These words ended, they all set forward, this chariot of Truth and her celestial handmaids, the Graces and Virtues, taking place next before his lordship; Zeal and the Angel before that, the chariot of Error following as near as it can get; all passing on till they come into Paul's Churchyard, where stand ready the five islands. (385–90)

The passage allows us to glimpse the ways in which Middleton cleverly crafted a show that could communicate the lord mayor's common struggle and fallen state, not only to its mayor and his train but also to the crowds who came out to watch.⁵⁰ Middleton's attention to the particular angle from which the reader views the train's movement is representative of members of the crowd gathering, particularly those who are viewing the action from their windows above. He positions the lord mayor dramatically between Truth, who leads him, and Error's

chariot, which follows closely behind him. Their order effectively portrays the mayor as an Everyman, but also as an actor who is materially and metaphorically in the middle. Although he pursues Truth, the crowd observes not a superior, but a fellow citizen who is striving to adhere to virtue and eschew vice. Hence, Myddelton acts on the city's stage for the 'many people, men, women, and children — the whole City' who, Ziuzin reports, 'watched this ceremony'.⁵¹ Rather than forming part of the staged pageant, the crowd and reader are beholding the action of the procession transpiring, and Middleton crafts this ceremony as though it were a dramatic spectacle in and of itself. The pageant book therefore prompts the reader to see the mayor as spectacle, and by doing so, Middleton empowers his crowd, who fix their '*ten thousand Eyes upon*' the mayor (D2r).

Middleton's mayor must remain vigilant as he walks not only in the city but at court as well. Unlike Munday, who focuses the mayor's train and the sites it visits in London, Middleton considers a variety of spaces and spectators. After arriving back to the city from Whitehall upon the Thames, Myddelton is greeted by Truth's Angel, who draws attention to the previous custom and the invisible spiritual action that transpired:

ANGEL *I am Truths Angell, by my Mistresse sent
 To guard and guid thee, when thou took'st thy Oath
 I stood on thy Right hand, though to thy eye
 Invisible form I did not then appeare,
 Aske but thy Soule t'will tell thee I stood neere;
 And 'twas a Time to take care of Thee then
 At such a Marriage before Heauen and Men,
 (Thy Faith being wed to Honor) close behinde thee
 Stood Errors Minister, that still sought to blinde thee,
 And wrap his subtil mists about thy Oath,
 To hide it from the nakednesse of Troth,
 Which is Truths purest glory, but my light
 Still as it shone, Expeld her blackest spite;
 His Mists fled by, yet all I could devise,
 Could hardly keepe them from some Peoples eyes,
 But thine they flew from.* (B1v)

The Angel's speech following the mayor's induction into office reveals the lord mayor's limitations as well as his own.⁵² The mundane realm lessens the ethereal power of Truth's divinity when her Angel transitions from a celestial to an earthly sphere. The Angel could '*hardly keepe*' the forces of Error at bay — risking the

contamination of the mayor's train who attended the ceremony — but manages to secure the lord mayor's virtuous state. The intervention shows that the grace of angelic mediators remains susceptible to flaw in the worldly sphere, but, more importantly, the Angel's speech relays an ethereal dramatic event that transpired without the mayor's knowledge. Hence, the speech serves the concomitant purpose of reminding him to be mindful of his limitations and to remain vigilant, for he cannot presume to have panoptic control of his polis or even of himself. As the mayor moves through the ostensibly virtuous spaces of the court, then, he remains susceptible to dangers of which he is not cognizant.

The Angel's speech continues in this vein, drawing attention to the work that lies ahead for the mayor in steps that will be physically and metaphorically taken. As Paster remarks, 'The Angel of Truth in Middleton's *Triumphs of Truth* describes the year as a series of temptations, making the magistrate's office a test of the soul to perceive illusion and deception'.⁵³ Paster's observation reminds us that Middleton's show functions not only as devout praise and flattery of the mayor, but also as a cautionary lesson concerning his year ahead. The remainder of the Angel's speech to the lord mayor conveys this reminder by foreshadowing Error's return:

ANGEL *Wake on, the Victory is not halfe yet wun,
Thou wilt be still assaulted, thou shalt meete
With many dangers, that in voyce seeme sweet,
And waies most pleasant to a worldlings eye,
To yo'n triumphant Citty follow mee,
Kepe thou to Truth, Eternitie keepes to thee.* (B2r)

The opening call signals that Myddelton must be alert not only to the condition of his soul but also to that of the city, as the verb 'wake' urges him 'To stay awake for' his 'work or active occupation; to pass the night in work, study, etc.'⁵⁴ Having pledged an oath of allegiance to the king and been officially inducted, the lord mayor now bears this wider responsibility to which the Angel directs his attention. Therefore, Myddelton must be aware that the year ahead will present perils and repeated assaults on the spiritual condition of London.

The Angel's description of Myddelton as having '*a worldlings eye*' emphasizes his relation to divine Truth; his status and worth allow him to glimpse Truth while remaining unable to achieve Truth's or her Angel's celestial vision. Middleton had previously made this distinction in his speech for Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment* celebrating James's coronation. As James D. Mardock indicates, both Dekker and Ben Jonson made deliberate efforts to simulate or record details of

performance in their separate publications to commemorate these celebrations.⁵⁵ Therefore, Middleton may also have gained inspiration for his edge from Dekker's efforts to document the events of his pageantry.⁵⁶ In his contribution to Dekker's text, Middleton has Envy throw a 'distorted and repining countenance' on virtues (2089–90), signalling the understanding that envy established an evil eye.⁵⁷ This early interest in sight and the way in which human faculties can be corrupted or are fallible carries over to this instance where the mayor's worldly eye cannot perceive what the angelic forces of the heavenly city can.⁵⁸ Indeed, the word 'eye' appears twenty-four times in Middleton's 1613 show, demonstrating a keen interest in spectacle and audience reception. The mayor's state remains marred by his existence in the mundane realm, and the pageantry's edge draws attention to the gaze of onlookers and citizens who are able to judge him for this shared mortality. The Angel's suggestion that the mayor's '*victory is not half yet won*' while still describing London as '*triumphant*' — indicating that a victory has indeed been accomplished — signals the edge of Middleton's mayoral shows: Middleton's *Triumphs of Truth* celebrates the mayor's new title, but looks toward a spiritual victory that has yet to be accomplished in the year to follow the lord mayor's day. London is thus triumphant in its installation of Myddelton into office, but it will remain triumphant only if the lord mayor can consistently channel Truth over the course of the year.⁵⁹ Prompts to Myddelton reminding him of this fact include not only warnings that he must be conscientious, but also signals that thousands of eyes are watching the steps he takes and the moves he makes.

The recurrence of Error over the course of the show flags this need to remain on guard, as Myddelton encounters him repeatedly during his journey through the city. The ongoing fluctuation of vice and virtue that Error's returns precipitate repeatedly disrupts the mayor's gaze. Previously, antagonists in mayoral shows were contained typically to one or two pageants. Critics frequently refer to Error as a unique threat in relation to these standard villains of civic pageantry. Ceri Sullivan notes that 'Error makes constant challenges' to the lord mayor;⁶⁰ Hill establishes a contrast between Middleton's Error — who 'is hardly shackled and silent' and is 'given full rein to seduce the new mayor to corruption' — and the static configurations of social evils that Munday and other writers of mayoral shows conceive;⁶¹ and Bruce Boehrer perceives a doubleness in Error's disruptive challenge to the show's civic politics, which shows that 'beneath the language of civic boosterism' is 'a stinking, poisonous haze'.⁶² These interpretations lend a complexity to the show's morality that imbues its lessons with a sustained visual oscillation between London's spiritual acme and nadir. The inability to close the gap and perfect the civic landscape during the mayor's processions through

London prompts the mayor to recognize the transitory and ongoing governance that sustains the spiritual and political conditions of the city, while nevertheless presenting him as a worthy figure to maintain this work. The repetition of Error at different sites reminds the mayor that his obstacles will be arduous and persistent; he cannot simply walk on to the next challenge and must be prepared for recurrent encounters with the city's vices.

The show visualizes for the mayor the fluctuation of vice and virtue, theatrically, in order to emphasize this need for vigilance. After Truth expels Error's mists, the veil is lifted that had covered Middleton's personification of London. London then delivers a speech commending Truth's actions and the train moves forward. They are intercepted, however, at the Cross, located in Cheapside, by Error, who, 'full of Wrath and Malice to see his Mist so chaced away, falles into [a] Fury' (C4r). At the conclusion of his brief tirade, Error commands, '*drop downe sulphurous Cloud*' (C4r), 'At which the Mist falles againe, and hangs ouer all the Beauty of the Mount' (C4v). The recurring actions of veiling and unveiling that are produced by Middleton's show provide the reader and the lord mayor with a double image of the city that the mayor must continually negotiate — one that can shine with heavenly bliss but can also be enveloped in sin — and he is not always entirely aware of his need to combat Error, nor is he in control of the counterforces, given Truth's Angel's need to remind him of the invisible threats to his soul. Only Truth is able to accomplish this task. She does so when she commands, '*Vanish againe Fowle Mist from Honors Bower*' (C4v). Truth is the apotheosis, but her purity cannot persist on earthly ground. Even Truth must persevere to undo Error's work, and her success is conditional upon Londoners remaining her friends and servants.

The printed pageant book exercises this similar technique on its readers, deliberately misleading them to imagine that all of these occurrences are happening in their present moment when the event has already passed. However, Middleton also renders the imagined performance as a deliberately incomplete and fragmented event, denying the ideal completion that Bergeron claims the Stuart pageant books strive to achieve.⁶³ Middleton's descriptions instead make a concerted effort to disrupt an entirely unified perspective for the reader. Like the lord mayor, the reader of the commemorative text again and again confronts Error, even after Truth has commanded him to vanish. The following description is provided for the reader after Perfect Love has delivered his verse:

This Speech so ended, his Lordship and the Companies passe on to *Guild-hall*; and at their Returning backe, these Triumphs attend to bring his Lordship toward Saint

Pauls Church, there to performe those yearely Ceremoniall Rites, which Antient and Graue Order hath determined, Error by the way still busie and in Action to drawe Darknesse often vpon that Mount of Triumph, which by Truth is as often disperst. (D1r)

In this passage, the intrusion of Error, who remains ‘busie and in Action’, disrupts the initial overview of the customary trajectory of the mayoral shows within the same sentence. Heightening the previous conflict between Truth and Error, the fact that we only know that Error’s ‘Darknesse’ is brought about ‘as often’ as it is ‘disperst’ leaves the reader to imagine any number of times that this oscillation occurs. Even if the printed book fulfills the desired reception of the dramatic narrative, the visual (re)imagining of events that Middleton’s text creates fragments the journey so that readers cannot readily find their footing.

Conclusion: Walking Forth

Middleton ends his 1613 show in a similar vein to his 1617 pageant book. He refers to Time cutting him ‘off rudely’ (D3r), which demonstrates Middleton’s own limitations and provides an immediacy to the termination of the pageantry’s action and his composition of the text. He frames this conclusion perhaps as a further lesson to the mayor Myddelton through presenting the patriarch Time as rude in relation to the triumphant Truth, implying the necessity to abdicate power and superiority. Readers walking forth also receive instructions, namely that the mayor is watching their movements, as Error’s collapse represents ‘a Figure or Type of his Lord-ships Iustice on all wicked offenders in the Time of his Gouvernement’ (D3r). In enacting this justice, Myddelton seems to have taken some lessons from Middleton’s pageantry. Perhaps mimicking the Angel of Truth’s surreptitious rooting out of vice, Myddelton later ‘used disguises to detect the enormities perpetuated by brewers and bakers in London’ in 1614 during his year in office.⁶⁴ In any case, the mayor seems to have been keen to emulate the theatrical spectacle of justice by bringing Truth to light as he traversed the city in disguise. Middleton’s critical edge may have influenced this state- and stagecraft. Middleton’s collaborations with Munday and Dekker as well as the civic and medieval traditions that inspired the genre also contributed to this edge, however. When considering the political and the spiritual in tandem, we can see more clearly that Middleton’s unique contribution to the genre involves a conscientious attention to the peripatetic elements of the shows, which he revives on the printed

page. Through these means, Middleton's texts still allow readers to walk with vigilance and uncover the pageant books' performative features.

Notes

This research was made possible in part by an Insight Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada with the *Map of Early Modern London* project at the University of Victoria. I wish to thank my team members, collaborators, and fellow researchers in Victoria and abroad, as well as chairs, fellow presenters, and attendees who heard earlier versions of this work at two panels organized for the Canadian Society for Renaissance Studies at the Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences in meetings at Ryerson University and the University of British Columbia. An earlier version of this article was a chapter of my dissertation, guided by Paul Mulholland, Mark Fortier, and Viviana Comensoli. I am grateful for their previous advice as well as for the suggestions and counsel of my external examiner James Doelman. The present article is what it is because of generous and detailed reviews from anonymous readers, so my deepest gratitude extends to them for their time as well as to the editorial team at *Early Theatre*.

- 1 Several scholars have analyzed the competing moralities and immoralities of Middleton's canon, but Leslie Thomson perhaps states it best when she observes the double vision that 'the coexistence of overt amorality and equally overt moralizing' produces. Leslie Thomson, *Morality and Amorality in the Drama of Thomas Middleton*, PhD thesis (University of Toronto, 1983), 1.
- 2 The article takes the term 'reader' to mean those who would have received the commemorated pageant book of the day's events. Typically, five hundred copies or fewer were printed, and the livery company commissioned the pageant writer to undertake this labour. Unlike other performance-based texts, then, these books were distributed by the company, most likely to their members, officials, and other attendees (like ambassadors). These readers were politically informed, and members affiliated with the livery company might have seen portions of the text earlier when Middleton submitted his plot (in competition with other pageant writers) for the livery company to judge.
- 3 David M. Bergeron has noted the medieval moral tradition that pervades the extant canon of printed pageant books by Anthony Munday, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, and others. David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642* (Tempe, 2003). Curtis Perry observes that the royalism of Munday's *Triumphs of Re-United Britannia* (1605) distinguishes it from other texts

- in the catalogue of mayoral shows. Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture* (Cambridge, 1997), 208. The crown could therefore be central to the mayoral show, but the genre typically glorifies the citizen in question.
- 4 Angela Stock, “‘Something done in honour of the city’: Ritual, Theatre and Satire in Jacobean Civic Pageantry”, in *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy*, ed. Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock, and Anne-Julia Zwierlein (2004; London, 2016), 142–3, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315246659>.
 - 5 Northway analyzes the pageant involving Vulcan’s forge in *London’s Tempe* as presenting the mayor with a grotesque inversion of civic governance that resembles his father’s notoriously poor reputation as lord mayor from 1609–10. Kara Northway, “‘To kindle an industrious desire’: The Poetry of Work in Lord Mayors’ Shows”, *Comparative Drama* 41.2 (2007), 179–81, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cdr.2007.0021>.
 - 6 Sergei Lobanov-Rostovsky, ‘The Triumphs of Golde: Economic Authority in the Jacobean Lord Mayor’s Show’, *English Literary History* 60 (1993), 883–8, <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.1993.0006>.
 - 7 Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (2008; London, 2016), 153, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315615219>.
 - 8 Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor’s Show, 1585–1639* (Manchester, 2010), 300, <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526125101>. Hill is specifically referring in this case to Middleton’s interest in critiquing James’s Spanish match, which sought to strengthen England’s relations with Spain.
 - 9 David M. Bergeron contends that between the civic comedy *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *The Triumphs of Truth* Middleton earns ‘an impressive Renaissance gold medal with one side depicting a large foreground of sin and corruption (the comedy) and the obverse with an equally large foreground of virtue (the pageant)’. David M. Bergeron, ‘Middleton’s Moral Landscape: *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *The Triumphs of Truth*’, in *Accompanying the Players: Essays Celebrating Thomas Middleton, 1580–1980*, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich (New York, 1983), 133.
 - 10 The resurgence in attention to Middleton’s pageantry in recent years likely corresponds with Gary Taylor’s presentation of him as a second Shakespeare with *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford, 2007), but even before the release of this tome, critical studies of Middleton’s work exceeded those of Munday’s or Dekker’s oeuvre.
 - 11 In thinking of how the term ‘style’ is used, this article applies Douglas Bruster’s notion that an authorial style emerged as commodity and as a relational enterprise between ‘authors and books, between characters and persons, and between readers and books’. Douglas Bruster, *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture: Early Modern*

Literature and the Cultural Turn (New York, 2003), 79, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-05156-1>. Middleton's epistle to the mayor presents both the mayor and himself in this manner through their shared name, thereby providing a playful insertion of authorial identity into the work that we will see continues with his next show. Pageant books are unique in that their writers saw them through to print and often provided emendations (as when Dekker remarks that the water shows of 1612 did not occur as planned) and annotations (as with Munday's and Heywood's shows). Middleton is unique in his more playful relation with the mayor and the reader while still perpetuating this trend that Bruster notes developing in the later years of the Elizabethan era.

- 12 Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (Routledge, 1994), 2, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203359259>. Although Hutcheon's theory derives from contemporary discourse around irony, the definition offered here resembles the Socratic irony that Dilwyn Knox historicizes in his study of the trope in the medieval and early modern periods. Dilwyn Knox, *Ironia: Medieval and Renaissance Ideas on Irony* (Brill, 1989), 127, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004450875>. A.A. Bromham argues for a more targeted political irony in *The Triumphs of Truth* than this article espouses. Bromham believes Middleton's irony to be less about the interrogative reflection on proper governance this article observes and more about 'a separation between City and court, and also a sense of divisions within the City itself'. A.A. Bromham, 'Thomas Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth*: City Politics in 1613', *The Seventeenth Century* 10 (1995), 5, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.1995.10555389>. This article does not necessarily dispute the presence of these criticisms and irony, but instead attends to the rhetorical framework within which they are implemented.
- 13 Stock, "Something done in honour of the city", 143.
- 14 Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, 88.
- 15 In discussing the printed playbook of Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*, Lucy Munro elucidates the ways in which alarums in the text evoke 'both mental responses ... and physical responses in the shape of noises approximating these sounds'. Lucy Munro, 'Alarums: *Edward II* and the Staging of History', in *Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade*, ed. Kirk Melnikoff and Roslyn L. Knutson (Cambridge, 2018), 77, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316422120>. A ceremonial and widely popular event like a mayoral show could very possibly elicit similar responses through retracing motions and sensory experiences in the printed pageant book.
- 16 Michael Neill has observed the ways in which the hand was linked to divine instrumentality through the act of writing, thereby privileging this member of the body.

- Michael Neill, *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama* (New York, 2000), 172.
- 17 Andrew Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint: The Material Trace in Print Culture from Drürer to Spenser', *Renaissance Quarterly* 71 (2018), 522, <https://doi.org/10.1086/698139>.
- 18 Hill points to the ways in which Munday draws attention in these later texts to his and Stow's connections with the city, thereby accentuating his role in revising and expanding the *Survey*. Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London, 1580–1633* (Manchester, 2004), 22–3.
- 19 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 2009), 100–1, <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812202205>.
- 20 Bergeron aptly identifies the commemorative nature of the printed pageant book, which leads him to regard its descriptions of performance as idealized completions of the poet's envisioned event: 'these publications do not obliterate theatrical performance or displace it so much as they complete it'. David M. Bergeron, 'Stuart Civic Pageants and Textual Performance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998), 166, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2901666>. I do not disagree with Bergeron's assessment, but rather insinuate that Middleton's ideal vision is anything but complete.
- 21 Gail Kern Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens, 1985), 125; Bergeron, 'Middleton's Moral Landscape'.
- 22 The polarity of the city between two spiritual extremes was a common outlook during the era. Donald Lupton's remark on apparators makes it clear that professions associated with civic order were prone to both spiritual poles: 'Spirituell busines is their Profession, but Carnall matters are their gaine and reuenewes'. Donald Lupton, *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into Seuerall Characters* (London, 1632; STC: 16944), *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*, K2.
- 23 Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge, 1995), 135.
- 24 In his edition of *The Ghost of Lucrece* (1600), G.B. Shand points to Middleton's awareness of the Augustinian debates concerning Lucrece in *De Civitate Dei*, as the poet seeks by contrast to neutralize it. G.B. Shand, ed., *The Ghost of Lucrece*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), 1988, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oseo/instance.00012346>.
- 25 Paster, *The Idea of the City*, 151.
- 26 St Augustine, *Of the Citie of God vvith the Learned Comments of Io. Lod. Viues. Englished by I.H.* (London, 1610; STC: 916), *EEBO*, 534.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 448.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 225.

- 29 Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are taken from the *Map of Early Modern London's* old-spelling anthology of the mayoral shows. See Janelle Jenstad and Mark Kaethler, eds, *Mayoral Shows*, in *The Map of Early Modern London* (Victoria, 2021), <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/mdtPrimarySourceLibraryMayoral.htm>.
- 30 In order to distinguish Middleton the poet from Myddelton the mayor, I use these divergent spellings, in keeping with *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Taylor and Lavagnino.
- 31 David M. Bergeron, 'Thomas Middleton, Thomas Middleton in London 1613', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 27 (2014), 29. 'Still' does imply that he has achieved this grandeur, but 'may' indicates that he risks losing this bliss.
- 32 Bergeron privileges the medieval framework throughout his pioneering study, not only in his discussions of Middleton but other pageant writers. In his chapter on Dekker, for instance, he declares *Troia Nova Triumphans* the poet's crowning achievement in pageantry because it best emulates 'the morality play structure'. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 166. Paster's analysis differs in its attention to other literary genres, and she clusters civic pageantry with courtly masques, claiming they 'are not very different' in their intentions or structure. Paster, *The Idea of the City*, 149.
- 33 Anke Bernau, 'Medieval Remains in Middleton's Writings', in *Thomas Middleton in Context*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (Cambridge, 2011), 256.
- 34 Ibid, 257.
- 35 Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, 12.
- 36 Ibid, 144–5. Munday revised later editions of Stow's *Survey*.
- 37 Curtis Perry distinguishes Dekker and Middleton's 1612 and 1613 shows from a previous tradition defined by 'conservative civic plainness'. Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture*, 210. However, Perry only examines Munday's *Triumphs of Re-United Britannia* and *Camp-bell* (1609) with the assumption that Munday's royal focus in his first show defines his style.
- 38 For Harris, 'untimely' matter constitutes 'the ways in which we physically and imaginatively rework matter to produce diverse organizations of time'. Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter*, 12–13.
- 39 Munday's show thus conveys an explosive historicity akin to Jonathan Gil Harris's understanding of an 'urban palimpsest' that Stow created in his *Survey of London*. Harris, *Untimely Matter*, 9–10. Not only does Munday enact this experience in his pageantry, but he continues to create an urban palimpsest by revising and editing Stow's initial installment.
- 40 Both *Chruso-thriambos* and *The Triumphs of Truth* are unique not only in this early feature but also in their popularity. Hill points out that the 1611 and 1613 shows

were both important enough to necessitate reprintings, as both were ‘thought worthwhile [enough] to issue a revised edition’ and ‘a printer or publisher’s decision to reprint would indicate that further demand for the work was expected’. Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, 224.

- 41 Andrew Gordon identifies that Middleton’s interest in civic memory begins with *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity*, but this broader attention to multiple dimensions of time is cemented earlier with *The Triumphs of Truth*, which highlights the debt to Munday. Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (New York, 2013), 192.
- 42 Middleton understood the concept of perfection from his personification Perfection in *The Manner of His Lordship’s Entertainment*, a civic celebration of Thomas Myddelton’s brother Hugh’s engineering of a New River project. Bergeron indicates that the speech for this ceremony perceives perfection ‘to mean both successful “completion” of the project and this project’s “flawless, faultless” character’. *The Manner of His Lordship’s Entertainment*, ed. David M. Bergeron, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), 959, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oseo/instance.00012304>. Bergeron is correct in his assessment of this invention, but in *The Triumphs of Truth* the threat of pollution with Error and the vigilance Myddelton must demonstrate render this perfection subject to change. Myddelton has achieved a benchmark and proven himself, thereby attaining perfection, but the show’s critical edge makes it clear that he must persist to maintain this condition.
- 43 Hill’s critical edge pertains to Middleton’s later civic pageantry, but topical political matters have been previously noted in the scholarship on *The Triumphs of Truth* as well. Ceri Sullivan perceives potential criticisms of Myddelton’s character, particularly with respect to nepotism and adroit governance. Ceri Sullivan, ‘Thomas Middleton’s View of Public Utility’, *The Review of English Studies* 58 (2007), 169, <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgl143>.
- 44 The *Map of Early Modern London* project uses this entertainment as the prototype to map out the route of a mayoral show because Middleton chooses to label each of the sites at which the mayoral show was performed. Lacey Marshall, ‘Critical Introduction’, *Map of Early Modern London*, gen. ed. Janelle Jenstad (Victoria, 2020), https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/TRIU1_critical.htm.
- 45 Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton, 2007), 62–3, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1j66727>.
- 46 This reading is in keeping with Heather Easterling’s examination of the composition and printing of *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604). Speaking to Middleton’s limited involvement with the pageants, Easterling concurs with scholarship’s recent

- acknowledgement of pageantry's collaborative nature, but insists that these relations were still based in rivalry. Separate printings of the events from Jonson and Dekker signal this distinction and point to the ways in which individual authorial style emerges. Heather Easterling, 'Reading the Royal Entry (1604) in/as Print', *Early Theatre* 20.1 (2017), 44, <https://doi.org/10.12745/et.20.1.2830>.
- 47 Lobanov-Rostovsky, 'The Triumphs of Golde', 891. As Sergei Lobanov-Rostovsky identifies, this trend began with Munday's 1611 show: 'the Lord Mayor was himself an "actor," whose responses to the pageantry in his honor represented a critical element of the show ... In Munday's 1611 show, *Chruso-Thriambos: The Triumphes of Golde*, the Mayor is guided through the show by the figure of *Time*, who recites a history of the mayoralty'. *Ibid.*, 881.
- 48 Ania Loomba, 'Introduction to *The Triumphs of Honour and Virtue*', *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), 1714, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oseo/instance.00012329>.
- 49 Ian Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (New York, 2005), 53.
- 50 Paster reminds us that the nature of mayoral shows means that the lord mayor, his sheriffs, aldermen, the ambassadors, and other high-ranking officials would hear the speeches delivered in the pageants, but the thousands of Londoners who crowded to watch the show would only have witnessed the spectacles, depending on where they were positioned. Paster, *The Idea of the City*, 139.
- 51 'An Account by Aleksei Ziuzin', trans. Paul Bushkovitch, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), 143–4, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oseo/instance.00012305>.
- 52 The ceremony goes unmentioned in Middleton's description of the events that occur between the water pageant consisting of five islands and the mayor and his train landing at Baynard's Castle, but anyone familiar with mayoral celebrations would be aware that this tradition had taken place. Middleton likely decided not to include it because Thomas Myddelton was already a knight. However, Richmond Barbour suggests that London's speech to Myddelton before he embarks upon the Thames — specifically her command to '*disdain all titles / Purchased with coin*' (177–8) — entails a satirical assertion of the mayor's 'namesake's civic honor over the King's notoriously vendible knighthoods'. Therefore, there exists the possibility that Middleton intentionally chose not to include this portion of the ceremonies so as to commend the Truth of the mayor by not contaminating him with the king's erroneous actions. Richmond Barbour. *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge, 2003), 88.

- 53 Gail Kern Paster, 'The Idea of London in Masque and Pageant', in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. David M. Bergeron (Athens GA, 1985), 59.
- 54 *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, 'wake', v.4a.
- 55 James D. Mardock, *Our Scene is London: Ben Jonson's City and the Space of the Author* (Abingdon, 2008), 23, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203928516>.
- 56 In the pageant book for *Troia Nova Triumphans* from the year before Middleton began writing mayoral shows, Dekker pens a correction on the final leaf clarifying that the water shows promised on the title page were in fact not successful (D1v).
- 57 Lynn S. Meskill identifies the early modern tradition of regarding envy as resultant from possessing an evil eye marked by jealousy. Lynn S. Meskill. *Ben Jonson and Envy* (Cambridge, 2009), 36. This article uses Malcolm Smut's edition of *The Magnificent Entertainment* from *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford, 2007).
- 58 Middleton was clearly invested in the visuals of *The Triumphs of Truth*, given that Guildhall records indicate that the dramatist and his collaborator, Munday, had a part to play in 'the appareling [of] the psonage in the Pageant'. *Malone Society Collections, Volume 3*, ed. J. Robertson and D.J. Gordon (Oxford, 1959), 87.
- 59 This attention to triumphs in Middleton also implicates the crowd. Susan Anderson identifies that the tradition of triumphs indicates the mayor 'bringing wealth to the place they move through'. Anderson, 'Generic Spaces in Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613) and *Michaelmas Term* (1607)', *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 88 (2015), 41, <https://doi.org/10.7227/CE.88.1.3>. While Anderson takes this to suggest the mayor's grandeur, it also reminds the mayor of this ongoing expectation and responsibility throughout his year in office.
- 60 Ceri Sullivan, 'Supplying the city', in *Thomas Middleton in Context*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (Cambridge, 2011), 87.
- 61 Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, 159.
- 62 Bruce Bohrer, 'Middleton and Ecological Change', in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford, 2012), 575, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199559886.013.0036>.
- 63 Bergeron, 'Stuart Civic Pageants and Textual Performance', 166.
- 64 Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture*, 220.