

# Early Theatre

*A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama*

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# Submissions

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*Early Theatre* welcomes research in medieval or early modern drama and theatre history, rooted in the records and documents of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. We likewise encourage articles or notes on related materials either in Europe or in parts of the world where English or European travellers, traders, and colonizers observed performances by other peoples. Although we are primarily interested in the performance history of any art, entertainment, or festive occasion of the period, we also invite submissions of interpretive or literary discussions relating to the performances themselves.

Contributions should be sent to our website <http://earlytheatre.org>. Manuscripts of **articles** (preferably 6000–7500 words, although longer articles will be considered) and **notes** (300–5000 words) should be double-spaced throughout and conform to ET/REED house style (see the Style Sheet on the *Early Theatre* website). Style guides for manuscript documents in early modern English or Latin are also available online.

If you quote from **unpublished records or documents**, you must supply photos or scans for checking by the REED paleographer. You must obtain permissions to publish for any illustrations, whether digital or photographic, that may be printed with an accepted article.

All articles must be submitted electronically to the website as **Word** documents.

We will not consider articles being simultaneously submitted elsewhere, nor will we print essays which are to appear in a book published within a year of scheduled publication by ET/REED.

*Early Theatre* uses double-blind peer review. We request that all authors remove identifying information from their manuscripts prior to submission. The website requires your email and postal addresses, abstract, and short biographical statement. All editorial correspondence should be addressed to the editors Helen Ostovich ([ostovich@mcmaster.ca](mailto:ostovich@mcmaster.ca)) and Melinda Gough ([goughm@mcmaster.ca](mailto:goughm@mcmaster.ca)).



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# Editorial

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As we announced in our June issue, this *Early Theatre* issue is the last that will appear in print. From this point forward, we will be an online-only journal. This occasion is a momentous one in terms of how far the journal has come in its eighteen years of history.

Our first three years were difficult in production terms, working with the now-defunct McMaster University Press, but we gained a superb cover design out of the experience. The first issue (1998) began what became a yearly and now much anticipated event: the Issues in Review section, a series of short essays offering a close study of a particular trending topic. And we achieved our first special issue (2000), *The York Cycle Then and Now* (co-edited by Alexandra Johnston and Helen Ostovich), based on the 1998 performance and colloquium at the University of Toronto (Victoria). That special issue was reprinted to meet demand for classroom copies.

For our fourth issue (2001), we moved to join forces with the Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies and, with the assistance of its then director William Bowen, won our first Social Sciences and Humanities Research Board of Canada grant to support the journal, under the proviso that we move to two issues a year. We had already added a book review editor for volume 4 (Karen Bamford) and an associate editor (Gloria Betcher), who oversaw the uploading of the digital archive for the *REED Newsletter*, *Early Theatre's* predecessor, and for the gradual online life of *Early Theatre on Iter*, soon to be followed by other online distributors disseminating our work. We now have a desirable string of such distributors (called 'aggregators' in the business), including our latest partnerships for worldwide circulation: JSTOR and Project Muse.

Since volume 5 (2002), we have printed Book Reviews in the June issue, and Issues in Review in the December issue. As our readers may remember, Gloria also edited volume 6 (2003) as a special issue in two parts entitled *Performance, Politics, and Culture in the Southwest of Britain, 1350–1642*. By volume 9 (2006), Roberta Barker had taken over the job of book review editor and continued this work up to volume 13 (2010), when Peter Kirwan accepted the position. Luckily, Roberta has continued to stay on as a board member. We also featured another important special issue guest-edited by Mary Polito and Amy Scott in 14.2 (2015), *Circles and Circuits: Drama and*

*Politics in the Midlands*, followed swiftly by Peter Parolin's special issue in 15.1 (2012), *Access and Contestation: Women's Performance in Early Modern England, Italy, France, and Spain*.

We have been through many publisher changes over the years, but have felt most settled with the growing Toronto-based company Becker Associates. Thanks to Adam Becker, the physical quality of the print journal improved, alongside the impressive quality of content we've been able to maintain, as this issue (among many) demonstrates.

We have notable new work in medieval drama streaming in, thanks perhaps to the energy of our new board members Theresa Coletti and Jill Stevenson. This final paper issue includes a study of the acoustics of pageant wagons in York by Mariana Lopez, and a critical reading of N-Town's apocryphal 'Marriage of Mary and Joseph' by Frank Napolitano. Early modern drama continues to be a strong focus of this journal: this issue includes an argument about Middleton's incorporation of court masque into his plays for London's commercial theatres by Caroline Baird, and a striking bibliographical history of the appearance of dramatis personae lists in manuscript plays by Matteo Pangallo. Riki Miyoshi's note addresses the longstanding uncertainty about whether the prologue and epilogue of Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding* originated with the 1664 performance or emerged with the play's staging in 1672.

Our imminent shift to solely online publication and distribution, beginning with 2016's volume 19, will allow us to continue the tradition of producing a high-quality journal while adding several features. We will be able to include more colour images, which in print have become too costly to publish. We will gain further distribution worldwide through our aggregators and the new digital cross-reference system (Digital Object Indicators, or DOIs) that we now employ. The impact of our contributors' work will become more extensive than ever before. That fact is especially exciting when we look at 18.2's Issues in Review on 'Early Modern Women Theatre Makers', with essays by a splendid team of theatre academics and practitioners, contributed to and coordinated by Elizabeth Schafer.

Finally, the editors offer their congratulations to the winners of the essay prizes for volumes 16 and 17 (see p. 9), Stephen K. Wright, Andrew Albin, and Maura Giles-Watson, and to the runners-up for standing out among such stiff competition: Louise Rayment, Eleanor Lowe, and Brett Hirsch. We also express gratitude to our team of judges for making tough decisions and for writing the commendations that accompany the prizes.

And now, a formal good-bye to paper — and hello to more trees!

THE EDITORS



# Early Theatre Essay Prizes 2015

*Early Theatre* offers congratulations to the winners of the 2015 Best Essay Prizes, awarded for articles appearing in volumes 16 and 17. For full prize committee commendations describing the winning essays, please see <https://earlytheatre.org/earlytheatre/pages/view/prizes>

## **Best article on a theatre history topic relying on REED-style records**

Winner: **Stephen K. Wright**, 'The Twelfth-Century *Story of Daniel for Performance* by Hilarius: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary', *Early Theatre* 17.1 (2014)

Honourable Mention: **Louise Rayment**, 'A New Context for the Manuscript of *Wit and Science*', *Early Theatre* 17.1 (2014)

## **Best article on the interpretation of a topic in early drama, medieval or early modern**

Winner: **Andrew Albin**, 'Aural Space, Sonorous Presence, and the Performance of Christian Community in the Chester Shepherds Play', *Early Theatre* 16.2 (2013)

Honourable Mention: **Eleanor Lowe**, 'Bound up and clasped together': Bookbinding as Metaphor for Marriage in Richard Brome's *The Love-Sick Court*', *Early Theatre* 16.1 (2013)

## **Best note on any topic**

Winner: **Maura Giles-Watson**, 'John Rastell's London Stage: Reconstructing Repertory and Collaborative Practice', *Early Theatre* 16.2 (2013)

Honourable Mention: **Brett D. Hirsch**, 'Hornpipes and Disordered Dancing in *The Late Lancashire Witches*: A Reel Crux?', *Early Theatre* 16.1 (2013)

Prizes for volumes 18 and 19 will be announced in Fall 2017.



MARIANA LOPEZ

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## **An Acoustical Approach to the Study of the Wagons of the York Mystery Plays: Structure and Orientation**

*The staging of the York Mystery Plays has been the subject of numerous research articles. Only limited attention has been paid, however, to the acoustics of the performance spaces. This paper discusses how digital technology can be applied to the exploration of the acoustical effects different types of wagon structures and orientations might have had on the spoken and sung items of the plays by focusing on their interaction with one of the sixteenth-century playing stations: Stonegate.*

The scarcity of information in relation to the staging and performance of the York Mystery Plays in medieval times has made it necessary for scholars to draw information and methodologies from different fields of study. Existing theories on the staging, performance, and reception of the plays have used as sources the surviving documents,<sup>1</sup> the findings regarding the streets used for the performances,<sup>2</sup> research into similar events in continental Europe,<sup>3</sup> as well as experience gained in modern productions.<sup>4</sup>

Although scholars have acknowledged that acoustic considerations might have been an important factor in performance and staging decisions,<sup>5</sup> we lack systematic studies on how acoustic considerations would have had an impact on the staging and reception of the plays. The advent of new digital technologies allows the application of acoustical knowledge to the study of the York Mystery Plays through the use of computer models.

In this paper, I build upon my previous work on the acoustics of one of the playing stations of the York Mystery Plays: Stonegate, a street in central York. I studied Stonegate through acoustic measurement techniques and virtual models in order to explore both its modern and sixteenth-century acoustics.<sup>6</sup> This article explores three different but interconnected issues: the impact of the introduction of wagon structures on the acoustics of sixteenth-century Stonegate; the changes in the acoustics of the space depending on the type

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of wagon structure used; and the impact of wagon orientation on the acoustics of the performance space. I focus on the impact of the wagons on the performance space, rather than on the effects of audience areas (standing, seated, at windows), as I have analysed the latter in a previous study.<sup>7</sup>

### **Computer Models: Stonegate, Wagon Types, and Wagon Orientation**

In a previous study I explored the use of computer models designed using the software CATT-Acoustic to study the characteristics of sixteenth-century Stonegate.<sup>8</sup> I simulated eight different models to explore the impact of differences in the height of buildings, open versus closed windows, and window types (in line with the wall versus projecting). Using multiple computer models avoids a reductionist approach to the study of sixteenth-century Stonegate by bringing to the forefront areas of uncertainty in connection to its features. I did not consider audience areas as part of these acoustic simulations given my aim of first exploring the different unknowns in connection to the acoustics of Stonegate while also establishing the structural variations that are most important for acoustical studies on the performances. Results demonstrated that changes in buildings' height as well as variations between open and closed windows would have had a significant impact on the acoustics of Stonegate, whereas changes in window types would have had a minimal effect and, as a result, represent an aspect that can be disregarded in future studies.

For this article, I used four different virtual models of sixteenth-century Stonegate (those whose characteristics were relevant in terms of acoustics — see table 1) and combined them alternately with the simulations of two different wagon structures, with two different orientations. I explore the impact of these different wagon structures and orientations in terms of the effects they might have had on the acoustics of Stonegate and, as a result, on the performance and reception of the York Mystery Plays.

Table 1. Computer models of sixteenth-century Stonegate

version of sixteenth-century Stonegate	n° of storeys for the majority of the buildings	glass on upper storeys/wooden shutters on ground floor	windows in line with the wall
1	2	yes	yes
2	2	no	yes
3	3	yes	yes
4	3	no	yes

My acoustical analysis focuses on three main points. First, the impact of the addition of a wagon structure on the acoustics of the street space becomes evident through a comparison of the results from the acoustic predictions of the space including a wagon to the results derived from the same space without a wagon included. Second, my study explores variations in the acoustical properties of the space dependent on the introduction of a closed or open wagon structure. Third, I measure acoustical changes resulting from different wagon orientations (side-on versus front-on).

### Wagon Structures

My study simulated two contrasting wagon structures and measured the resulting effects on the acoustics of sixteenth-century Stonegate with respect to a side-on and front-on orientation for each wagon (see figure 1 and table 2).<sup>9</sup>

The first type of wagon (referred to in this article as ‘closed’ wagon) is a multi-level design with its lower section, which represents Earth, closed on three sides (see figures 2 and 3). I modelled the base of the wagon structure through the simulation of curtains covering the wheels. The main deck has a wooden surface, and the sides are wooden frames with curtains. The upper deck, which represents Heaven, has a wooden base and a wooden surface at the back, but it is open on the left- and right-hand sides. The complexity of the structure, the inclusion of two different levels, and the use of cloth for the back and sides of the wagon are based on the 1433 Mercers’ wagon of ‘The Last Judgement’.<sup>10</sup> John McKinnell’s work<sup>11</sup> provided the basis for determining the dimensions of the wagon structure. In its side-on orientation, the

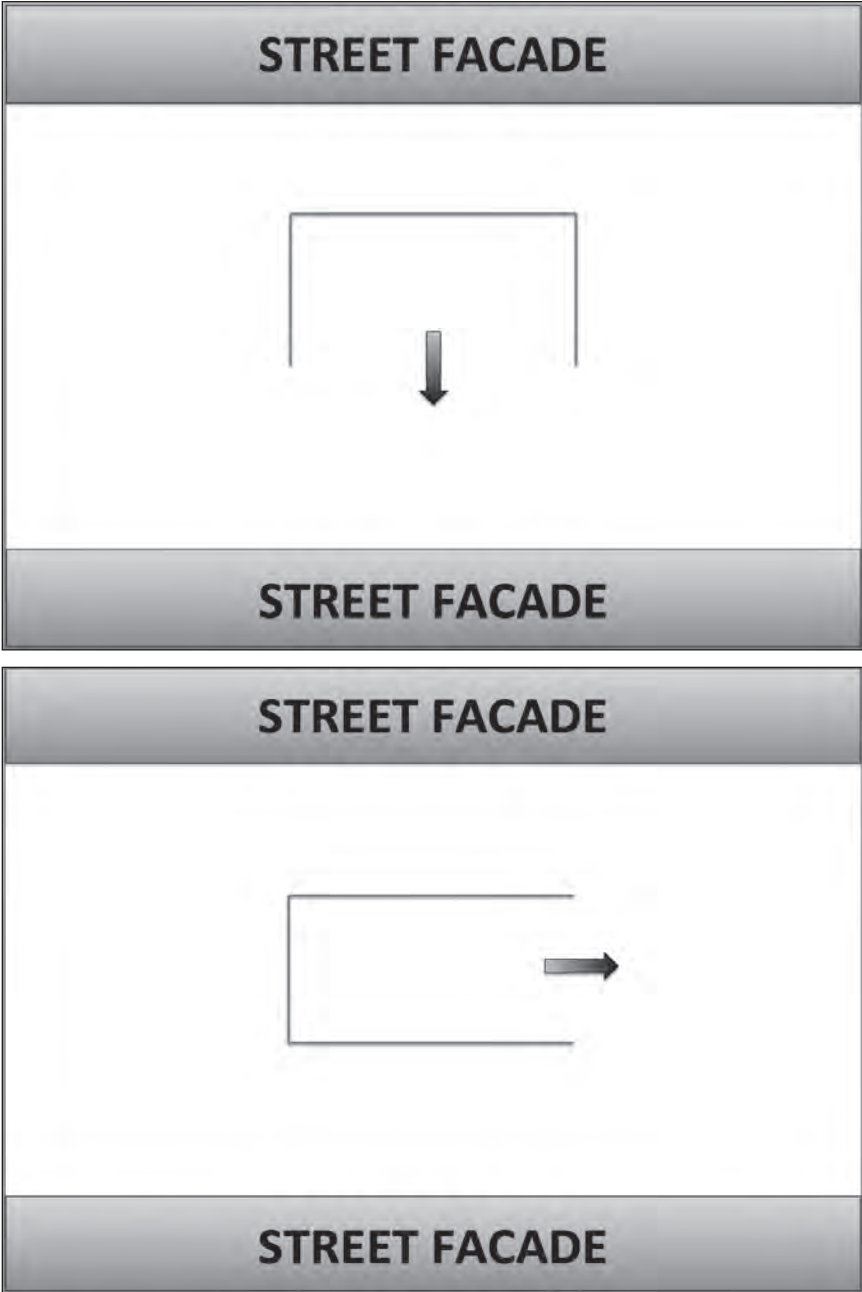


Figure 1. Wagon orientation, (a) side-on orientation, (b) front-on orientation

wagon has a depth of 1.83m and a length of 3.66m, values that are inverted in the front-on orientation. The height of the wagon from the street level to the topmost part of the structure is 6.7m. Such height includes the following elements and their respective heights: a deck (1.83m), the Earth structure (2.44m), the wooden base of Heaven (0.25m), and the Heaven structure (2.18m). The height of the wagon deck is based on McKinnell's<sup>12</sup> analysis of documents on the Chester Cycle, the Flemish *ommegangen* in van Alsloot's painting *The Triumph of Archduchess Isabella* (1615),<sup>13</sup> and the wagons used in Spanish Easter week processions. The height of the Earth structure is based on the height chosen in 'The Last Judgement' productions by Jocularos Lancastrienses (1988) and the Durham Medieval Theatre Company (1998).<sup>14</sup> The height of Heaven needed to be comparable to the Earth structure as well as to bring the wagon structure up to the height of 6.7m, which is the minimum height McKinnell considers possible for a multi-level wagon.<sup>15</sup> The choice of wagon depth takes into account the narrow width of the streets of medieval York as well as the need for a 'backstage' area for side-on wagons.<sup>16</sup> These dimensions could be increased in future experiments in order to analyse the impact of the change on the acoustics of the space.

Table 2. Characteristics of the simulated wagons

Wagons Simulated
wagon closed on three sides with a side-on orientation
wagon closed on three sides with a front-on orientation
wagon open on four sides with a side-on orientation
wagon open on four sides with a front-on orientation

The second type of wagon (referred to in this article as 'open' wagon) is based on the Nativity wagon in van Alsloot's painting. The computer model consists of a wooden wagon deck that is covered with curtains, and a wooden pitched roof supported by four wooden columns (see figure 4). The dimensions are the same as the closed wagon with the exception of the height from street level to the top of the roof, which is 6.17m.

In acoustical models, assigning surface materials requires the use of absorption and scattering coefficients. Sound absorption is the removal of acoustic energy from a space, whereas scattering refers to non-specular sound

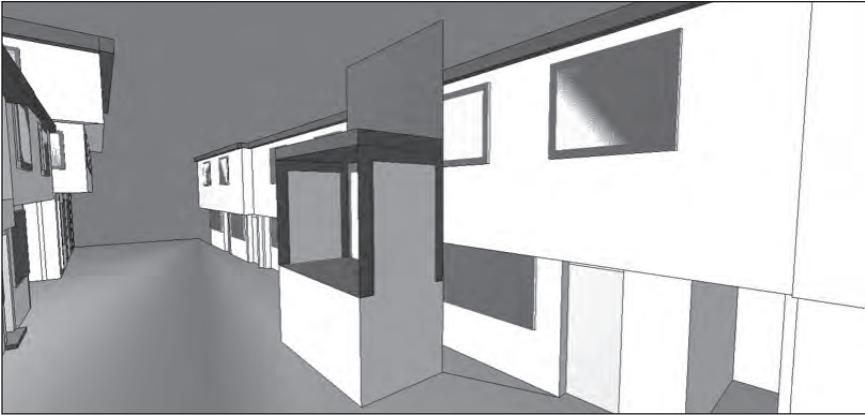


Figure 2. Wagon structure closed on three sides with a side-on orientation and incorporated to version one of the sixteenth-century simulations

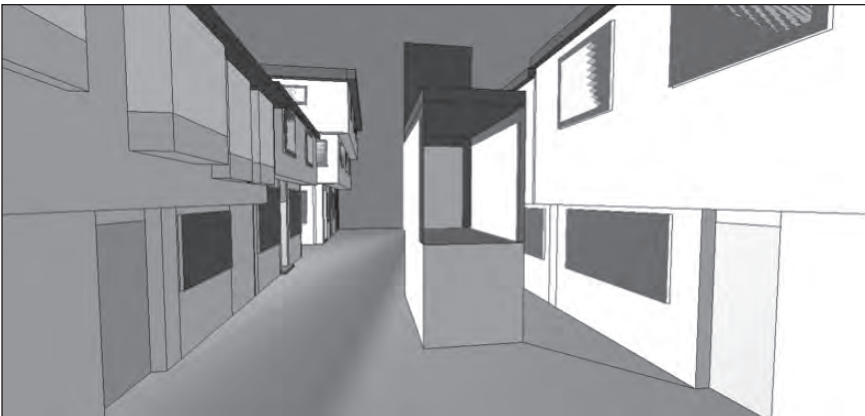


Figure 3. Wagon structure closed on three sides in a front-on configuration and incorporated to version one of the sixteenth-century simulations

reflections caused by the irregularities of surfaces. The choice of materials for the virtual models, which are in most cases wooden surfaces, reflects the importance of timber in the construction of medieval vehicles.<sup>17</sup> I sourced the absorption and scattering values (see table 3) from the Surface Properties Library in CATT-A,<sup>18</sup> which includes surfaces used for the study of auditorium acoustics. These values, however, could be modified to reflect different possible types of timber as well as different types of curtains. In future publications I will explore these alternatives. My study disregarded details





## Sound Sources and Receivers

I added virtual sound sources to the computer models to simulate performers (actors/singers) and receivers to represent listeners (audience members). The wagon closed on three sides includes five different sound sources (see figure 5), which represent performers standing at various positions in relation to the wagon structure. Two sound sources were located atop the wagon deck, one of them towards the back of the structure (B0) and the other towards the front (B1). Another source was located at street level in front of the wagon (B2) and two more sources were located atop the upper deck, one of them towards the back of the structure (B3) and the other towards the front (B4). The virtual models that include the wagon open on all sides only include sources B0 to B2. All sound sources are oriented towards the listeners.

Three different listener positions are included (see figures 6–7); previous work on Stonegate uses these same positions,<sup>21</sup> which follow the recommendations by Gade<sup>22</sup> for acoustical studies.

## Virtual Models

The study combined each wagon simulation (see table 2) in turn with the four virtual models of sixteenth-century Stonegate (see table 1), resulting in sixteen simulations of the acoustics of the performance space.

The study of the acoustical characteristics of the performance spaces through such simulations needs to consider both speech and music. The plays relied upon intelligible speech to transmit the essential religious message to the audiences; in many instances in the plays, words are more important than the actions assigned to the characters.<sup>23</sup> The ability of actors to project their voices in outdoor spaces, furthermore, was considered vital for their participation in the York Mystery Plays, highlighting the relevance of speech clarity.<sup>24</sup>

Several of the plays also included music, especially in connection to angels and good secular characters.<sup>25</sup> We identify the use of musical items in the York Mystery Plays not, in most cases, through the inclusion of notated music in the manuscript but by analysing dramatic directions, text references, Latin phrases, and the extant records on the plays.<sup>26</sup> Scholars have interpreted the lack of notated music as an indication that the performers sang the pieces monophonically (that is, in a plainchant setting, which was the predominant musical style of worship), to improvised polyphony (two or more melodic

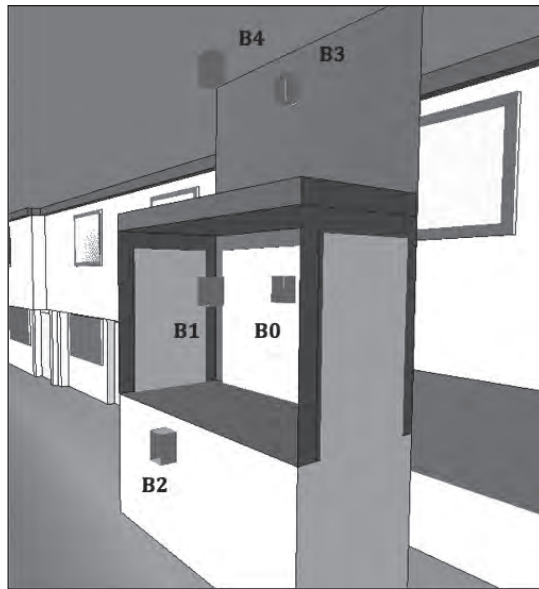


Figure 5. Sound source positions for the closed wagon with a side-on orientation

lines), or that these singers knew a polyphonic version of the piece.<sup>27</sup> The only surviving notated music, from ‘The Assumption of the Virgin’, consists of three texts with two polyphonic versions of each.

Because of the importance of speech and music in the plays, I will analyse the acoustics of the performance spaces in terms of reverberation time, clarity, and Apparent Source Width (ASW).

Reverberation time, often referred to as RT60, can be defined as the time, expressed in seconds, that it takes for sound to decay by 60dB after the sound source has stopped emitting sound. Although the definition of reverberation time considers a 60dB dynamic range, scholars often measure values over a narrower range of 30dB; this article considers such values, referring to them as T30. The optimum reverberation time for a space depends on its function. If a space is used mainly for the spoken word, then short reverberation times are preferable. Literature suggests one second as the ideal reverberation time for speech, although acoustic measurements in theatres have shown that values can range between 0.7 and 1.2 seconds.<sup>28</sup> Below 0.5 seconds, although speech will be intelligible, listeners might feel aural discomfort as most people usually inhabit and frequent spaces with reverberation times above 0.5 of a second, making spaces with very low reverberation times seem unnatural.<sup>29</sup>

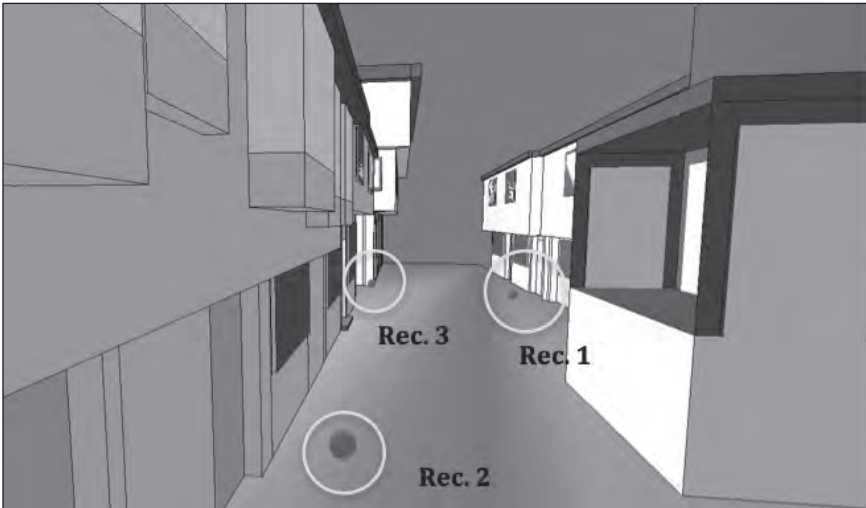


Figure 6. Receiver positions with a side-on orientation

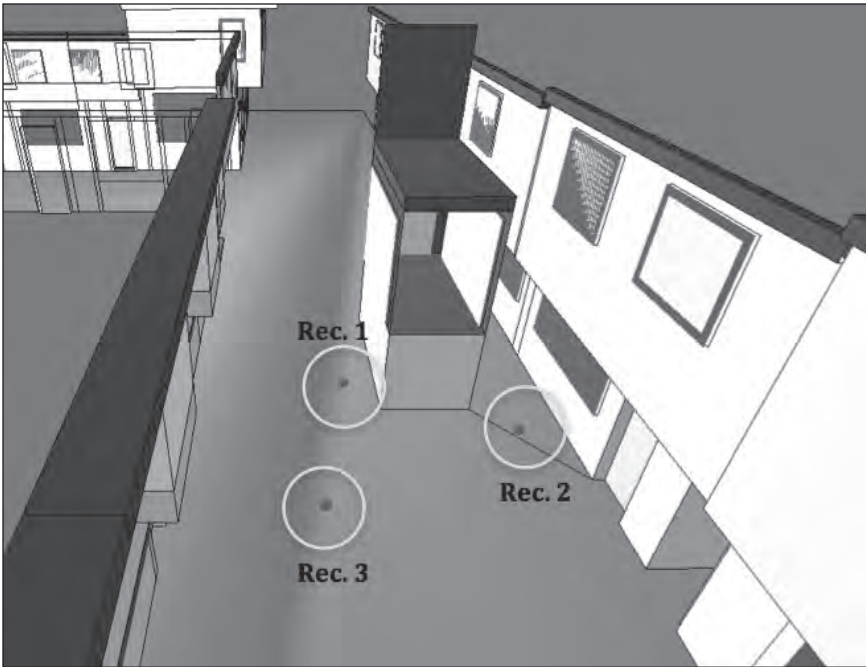


Figure 7. Receiver positions with a front-on orientation

In a space used for music performances, the optimum reverberation time depends on the type of music performed. Music characterized by short notes and complex rhythmic patterns will benefit from short reverberation times that enable the listener to distinguish every note, while slow and rhythmically simple music would benefit from longer reverberation times.<sup>30</sup> Table 4 includes values of reverberation time associated with spaces used for dramatic and musical performances as well as medieval religious sites.

Table 4. Reverberation time values linked to spaces used for dramatic and musical performances as well as medieval religious sites in Yorkshire

function of the space/specific site	reverberation time (seconds)
drama	0.7s-1.2s <sup>31</sup>
baroque music	1.5s <sup>32</sup>
classical music	1.7s <sup>33</sup>
Wagnerian opera	1.7s <sup>34</sup>
symphonic music	1.9s <sup>35</sup>
romantic music	2.2s <sup>36</sup>
York Minster	6.1s <sup>37</sup>
St Patrick's Parrington parish church (East Yorkshire, 15th century)	3.5s <sup>38</sup>

Clarity is an early-to-late arriving energy ratio expressed in decibels. When calculated as C50, it considers the division between early and late energy as 50 milliseconds (ms) and gives an indication of speech intelligibility in a space, whereas when calculated as C80, it considers the division between early and late energy as 80ms and measures musical definition. As was noted in connection to reverberation time, optimum values are highly dependent on the use of the space. Higher values of clarity would result in better speech intelligibility and the perception of musical detail. Those listening to rhythmically complex musical items will prefer high levels of clarity since each sound will be more distinct; performances of, for instance, plainchant items, which present slow melodic lines, would benefit from lower values of clarity. Michael Barron<sup>39</sup> indicates that optimum values of clarity for concert halls

are within the range of -2dB to +2dB. Although higher values would likely not indicate an excess of clarity, we need to assess whether higher values are indicating very low results in other parameters, such as reverberation time.<sup>40</sup> Clarity values linked to concert halls as well as medieval sites can be found in table 5.

Table 5. Clarity values linked to spaces used for musical performances and medieval religious sites in Yorkshire

function of the space/specific site	clarity (dB)
concert hall	-2dB to +2dB (C50/C80) <sup>41</sup>
York Minster	-6.09dB (C50) / -5.40dB (C80) <sup>42</sup>
St Patrick's Patrington parish church (East Yorkshire, 15th century)	-8dB (C80) <sup>43</sup>

The ASW is associated with the perceptual broadening of the sound source related to the presence of early (first 80ms) lateral reflections<sup>44</sup> and it is a characteristic favourable to music performances. We can analyse ASW by using the parameter  $IACC_E$  (Interaural Cross-Correlation Coefficient, Early), which measures the dissimilarity of signals arriving at both ears. It is often calculated as  $IACC_{E3}$ , which is the mean  $IACC_E$  across 500Hz-2kHz. Calculations consider the 500Hz-2kHz range due to the fact that the wavelength (the distance travelled by a wave within a cycle) is similar or smaller than the dimensions of an average listener's head.<sup>45</sup>  $IACC_{E3}$  negatively correlates with the ASW, meaning that an increase in  $IACC_{E3}$  corresponds to a decrease in ASW (and vice versa). Subjective studies have shown that audiences prefer low values of  $IACC_E$ , which indicate a perceptual broadening of the source.<sup>46</sup>  $IACC_{E3}$  values linked to spaces used for musical performances and medieval religious sites can be found in table 6.

Table 6.  $IACC_{E3}$  values linked to spaces used for musical performances and medieval religious sites

function of the space/specific site	$IACC_{E3}$	
concert halls	ranked as "superior" and "excellent"	0.36–0.46 <sup>47</sup>
	ranked as "good" to "excellent"	0.38–0.54 <sup>48</sup>
	ranked as "good"	0.53–0.59 <sup>49</sup>
Gothic churches	0.15–0.78 <sup>50</sup>	

I determined significant differences in the acoustics of a space through the calculation of the Just Noticeable Difference (JND), which can be defined as the smallest perceptible difference between samples. For this research project, I used a JND value of 5%<sup>51</sup> for T30 when values were larger than 0.6s, and assumed a fixed value of 0.03s for reverberation times shorter than 0.6s.<sup>52</sup> JND values for C50 and C80 were 1.1dB and 1dB respectively.<sup>53</sup> The JND for  $IACC_{E3}$  was 0.075.<sup>54</sup>

## Acoustical Analysis

### *Impact of Wagon Structures on Sixteenth-Century Stonegate*

This section explores the data collected from the combination of the different wagons with the various virtual models of Stonegate and compares it to the data collected for the virtual models of the street space without the inclusion of a wagon structure.

The addition of a wagon structure to the street space resulted in variations in all the acoustical parameters studied. In terms of reverberation time, we observed a clear tendency towards a decrease in values. The exception to this decrease was the combination of the closed wagon in a side-on orientation and Stonegate 2–4, which resulted in longer reverberation times.

The impact of the addition of a wagon structure on clarity depended heavily on the simulation of Stonegate, making it more difficult to arrive at a generalization. In the case of Stonegate 1, clarity increased when a closed wagon (regardless of the orientation) and an open wagon in a front-on orientation were used, but decreased when the open wagon in a side-on orientation was included in the street space. Results for Stonegate 3 and 4 also showed higher clarity with the inclusion of a wagon. This higher clarity, however, is only the case with the closed wagon in a front-on orientation and with the open wagon with both orientations. When considering Stonegate 2, the closed wagon and the open wagon in a side-on orientation result in a decrease in clarity, whereas the inclusion of the open wagon in a front-on orientation results in an increase. Changes in spatial impression indicated that the inclusion of wagon structures caused an increase in the ASW.

### *Impact of Closed and Open Wagon Structures on Sixteenth-Century Stonegate*

The following section analyses the differences in the acoustics of Stonegate depending on whether a closed or an open wagon is used. Such analysis compares each orientation, side-on and front-on, separately. This way of pairing

the simulations avoids the tainting of comparisons resulting from wagon orientation.

### *Comparison Between Side-On Wagons*

I studied the impact of closed and open wagons on sixteenth-century Stonegate by comparing the two structures in a side-on orientation. Reverberation time results (see table 7) indicate that with Stonegate 1 the open wagon had the longest reverberation time, whereas Stonegate 2 and 4 showed opposite results since in these simulations the use of the closed wagon resulted in a longer reverberation time. Stonegate 3 was the least affected of the simulations and the significant differences recorded did not indicate any clear tendencies. The reverberation time calculated in all simulations is below that considered ideal for theatre performances (1s).<sup>55</sup> The combination of Stonegate 3 with either a closed or an open wagon in a side-on orientation, however, results in values within the range measured for theatres, 0.7–1.2s.<sup>56</sup>

The reverberation time in all simulations is below the values found in spaces where plainchant and polyphonic pieces would have been sung on a regular basis. This lower reverberation time would have impacted both listeners and singers. Listeners would have been unaccustomed to hearing the pieces in such an acoustical setting, whereas performers would have had to adapt their singing to a dryer space (that is, with shorter reverberation times), which would not have provided as much auditory feedback and might result in greater difficulty in maintaining a proper intonation.

Clarity results (see table 7) showed that Stonegate 2 was the most affected and had higher clarity when the open wagon was used, although at 1–16kHz higher values for the closed wagon could also be observed. Stonegate 1, 3 and 4 exhibit higher clarity at 125–500Hz when the open wagon is used and at 1–16kHz when the closed wagon is incorporated. Despite these differences all simulations indicate results that would ensure speech intelligibility.



Table 7. Range of values recorded for the closed and open wagons with a side-on orientation

virtual model		range	results per parameter			
			$T_{30}$	$C_{50}$	$C_{80}$	$IACC_{E3}$
Stonegate 1	closed wagon	min.	0.31s	5.66dB	8.83dB	0.28
		max.	0.68s	14.89dB	21.77dB	0.68
	open wagon	min.	0.32s	2.88dB	5.94dB	0.38
		max.	0.7s	13.09dB	19.66dB	0.67
Stonegate 2	closed wagon	min.	0.26s	6.04dB	9.63dB	0.29
		max.	0.56s	18.63dB	25.5dB	0.73
	open wagon	min.	0.27s	6.94dB	13.05dB	0.32
		max.	0.52s	16.31dB	23.03dB	0.72
Stonegate 3	closed wagon	min.	0.35s	3.51dB	6.64dB	0.3
		max.	0.84s	15.22dB	20.77dB	0.63
	open wagon	min.	0.36s	4.19dB	7.97dB	0.42
		max.	0.79s	12.51dB	18.94dB	0.68
Stonegate 4	closed wagon	min.	0.29s	3.28dB	6.25dB	0.3
		max.	0.68s	17.13dB	23.77dB	0.69
	open wagon	min.	0.31s	5.7dB	10.00dB	0.4
		max.	0.6s	15.5dB	21.32dB	0.66

Clarity is very high for the performance of plainchant items, although it might benefit the most complex polyphonic pieces whose rhythms would have been perceived more distinctively. The high clarity nevertheless comes at the expense of the reverberation time and thus might cause discomfort to singers.

The examination of  $IACC_{E3}$  showed that, although the parameter presented variations in the results, these variations did not indicate a clear

tendency and depended upon the source and receiver positions. Stonegate 1 and 3 combined with a closed wagon have the lowest values of  $IACC_{E3}$ , which means that they present a greater perceptual broadening of the sound source.

#### *Comparison Between Front-On Wagons*

The comparison between the wagon structures in a front-on orientation proved that the impact of the change in wagon type is larger when front-on wagons are used (see table 8). Reverberation time results were affected the most when considering Stonegate 1, 3, and 4, and the use of the open wagon resulted in the longest reverberation time. Stonegate 2, however, exhibited a longer reverberation time for the open wagon only when sources B0 and B1 were used, whereas the use of source B2 resulted in higher values for the closed wagon. Reverberation time values are below 1 second in all the simulations, and Stonegate 3, both with a closed and an open wagon, has values within the range associated with theatres. The combination with the open wagon, furthermore, presents the longest reverberation time. As observed when analysing the side-on wagons, the reverberation time values recorded in all the computer models are lower than those generally associated with music performances.

Clarity values were affected the most with the simulation of Stonegate 2. Although most of the differences showed that the open wagon resulted in higher clarity, observation also revealed that at 2–16kHz values are higher when the closed wagon is included in the street space. The simulations of Stonegate 1, 3, and 4 show that the inclusion of the open wagon results in higher values at 125–500Hz, whereas at 1–16kHz the closed wagon has higher clarity. All clarity values in all the simulations are appropriate for speech, but they are above those recommended for music.

The analysis of  $IACC_{E3}$  showed a clear correlation between the use of the open wagon and the increase in ASW. Spatial impression values are suitable for music, in particular when using the open wagon combined with Stonegate 3, which has values found in concert halls.

Table 8. Range of values recorded for the closed and open wagons with a front-on orientation

virtual model		range	results per parameter			
			$T_{30}$	$C_{50}$	$C_{80}$	$IACC_{E3}$
Stonegate 1	closed wagon	min.	0.27s	3.63dB	7.68dB	0.28
		max.	0.62s	19.05dB	24.94dB	0.59
	open wagon	min.	0.3s	5.62dB	9.29dB	0.24
		max.	0.65s	19.11dB	24.28dB	0.56
Stonegate 2	closed wagon	min.	0.26s	5.50dB	9.54dB	0.35
		max.	0.5s	19.62dB	25.61dB	0.61
	open wagon	min.	0.25s	8.73dB	12.80dB	0.2
		max.	0.52s	20.24dB	26.68dB	0.66
Stonegate 3	closed wagon	min.	0.31s	2.60dB	7.02dB	0.35
		max.	0.75s	18.13dB	23.39dB	0.61
	open wagon	min.	0.32s	4.52dB	7.94dB	0.25
		max.	0.75s	16.61dB	22.07dB	0.55
Stonegate 4	closed wagon	min.	0.27s	3.83dB	9.56dB	0.27
		max.	0.58s	19.16dB	25.23dB	0.63
	open wagon	min.	0.28s	6.98dB	10.76dB	0.29
		max.	0.64s	19.06dB	24.14dB	0.61

### *Impact of Side-On and Front-On Wagon Orientations on Sixteenth-Century Stonegate*

This section reflects on the acoustical effects of side-on vs. front-on wagons. I conducted the analysis by grouping the closed wagons on the one hand, and the open wagons on the other. This grouping enables the study of the influence of the orientation on each type of wagon.

*Comparison Between Different Orientations of the Closed Wagon*

Changes in wagon orientation affected all simulations, as well as all parameters studied (see table 9). The side-on orientation resulted in a longer reverberation time. The longest value was recorded for Stonegate 3 and was within the range considered suitable for theatres, though below one second. These values, however, are outside the ranges considered suitable for music performances.

Table 9. Range of values recorded for the side-on and front-on orientation of the closed wagon structure

virtual model		range	results per parameter			
			$T_{30}$	$C_{50}$	$C_{80}$	$IACC_{E3}$
Stonegate 1	side-on	min.	0.31s	5.66dB	8.83dB	0.28
		max.	0.72s	14.89dB	21.77dB	0.76
	front-on	min.	0.27s	3.63dB	7.68dB	0.28
		max.	0.62s	19.05dB	24.94dB	0.59
Stonegate 2	side-on	min.	0.26s	6.04dB	9.63dB	0.28
		max.	0.56s	18.63dB	25.5dB	0.76
	front-on	min.	0.26s	5.50dB	9.54dB	0.35
		max.	0.5s	19.62dB	25.61dB	0.61
Stonegate 3	side-on	min.	0.35s	0.42dB	3.84dB	0.3
		max.	0.84s	15.22dB	20.77dB	0.68
	front-on	min.	0.31s	2.60dB	7.02dB	0.35
		max.	0.75s	18.13dB	23.39dB	0.61
Stonegate 4	side-on	min.	0.29s	2.18dB	6.25dB	0.3
		max.	0.68s	17.13dB	23.77dB	0.69
	front-on	min.	0.27s	3.83dB	9.56dB	0.27
		max.	0.58s	19.16dB	25.23dB	0.63

The analysis of C50 and C80 proved that the use of a front-on wagon resulted in higher levels of clarity in the performance space. Clarity values are suitable for speech intelligibility in all the simulations but outside the ranges considered suitable for music performances.

Finally, the study of  $IACC_{E3}$  proved an increase in the ASW that is associated with the use of the front-on orientation.  $IACC_{E3}$  presents good results for music and Stonegate 1 with a front-on wagon has values comparable to those recorded for concert halls.

#### *Comparison Between Different Orientations of the Open Wagon*

The change in wagon orientation affected all simulations as well as all parameters studied (see table 10). When analysing the parameters T30 and  $IACC_{E3}$  I noted that, although the use of different orientations for the open wagon resulted in significant differences, these differences were not as prominent as those observed for the closed wagon structure.

The examination of T30 results showed that the use of the open wagon in a side-on orientation resulted in longer reverberation times, whereas the use of the front-on orientation resulted in higher values of clarity. The study of  $IACC_{E3}$  proved an increase in spaciousness is associated with the use of a front-on orientation.

The longest reverberation time was recorded for the combination of Stonegate 3 with a side-on wagon, including values suitable for theatres, and all clarity results show the suitability of the space in terms of speech intelligibility.

The reverberation time and clarity results are outside the ranges deemed suitable for musical performances. The spatial impression, on the other hand, seems more adequate. The combination of Stonegate 1 with an open front-on wagon, for example, resulted in  $IACC_{E3}$  values comparable to those recorded for concert halls.

Table 10. Range of values recorded for the side-on and front-on orientation of the open wagon structure

virtual model		range	results per parameter			
			$T_{30}$	$C_{50}$	$C_{80}$	$IACC_{E3}$
Stonegate 1	side-on	min.	0.32s	2.88dB	5.94dB	0.38
		max.	0.7s	13.09dB	19.66dB	0.67
	front-on	min.	0.3s	5.62dB	9.29dB	0.24
		max.	0.65s	19.11dB	24.28dB	0.56
Stonegate 2	side-on	min.	0.27s	6.94dB	13.05dB	0.32
		max.	0.52s	16.31dB	23.03dB	0.72
	front-on	min.	0.25s	8.73dB	12.80dB	0.2
		max.	0.52s	20.24dB	26.68dB	0.66
Stonegate 3	side-on	min.	0.36s	4.19dB	7.97dB	0.42
		max.	0.79s	12.51dB	18.94dB	0.68
	front-on	min.	0.32s	4.52dB	7.94dB	0.25
		max.	0.75s	16.61dB	22.07dB	0.55
Stonegate 4	side-on	min.	0.31s	5.7dB	10.00dB	0.4
		max.	0.6s	15.5dB	21.32dB	0.66
	front-on	min.	0.28s	6.98dB	10.76dB	0.29
		max.	0.64s	19.06dB	24.14dB	0.61

## Conclusions

This paper explored different hypotheses on staging configurations by examining what their effects might have been in relation to the acoustics of sixteenth-century Stonegate. This exploration was achieved through the simulation of two different wagon structures in two different orientations. In my

analysis, however, I focussed not just on these elements but also studied how they interacted with different simulations of sixteenth-century Stonegate. I conducted the acoustical analysis through an examination of the results of reverberation time (T30), clarity (C50 and C80), and spatial impression (IACC<sub>E3</sub>).

The results showed that the inclusion of a wagon structure affected all parameters. Reverberation time, in most cases, presented a drop in values, whereas clarity evidenced an increase. The IACC<sub>E3</sub> parameter showed a tendency towards an improvement of the Apparent Source Width (ASW).

Variations in the acoustical parameters also emerged between the wagon structures closed on three sides and those open on all sides. Changes in the structure when using the side-on orientation affected Stonegate 1 and 4 the most. Stonegate 1 had the longest reverberation time when an open wagon was used, whereas Stonegate 4 had the longest reverberation time when the closed wagon was used. The study of the front-on wagons indicated a more straightforward correlation between the use of an open structure and the increase in reverberation time. Clarity parameters were more sensitive to the change and, in general, results evidenced an increase in clarity when the closed wagon was incorporated. The examination of IACC<sub>E3</sub> in relation to the side-on wagons demonstrated that the results are highly dependent on the receiver position, whereas the study of front-on wagons showed a larger ASW with the use of the open wagon.

Wagon orientation had an impact on all acoustical parameters, but such impact was particularly evident with the closed wagon, indicating that, acoustically, wagon orientation was an issue requiring greater consideration when closed wagons were used. The side-on orientation resulted in a higher reverberation time than the front-on wagon, whereas the front-on wagon resulted in higher clarity and a larger ASW. Although clarity and ASW are smaller for the side-on orientation, they are nevertheless still within the range considered appropriate for speech in the case of clarity and music in the case of the ASW. The increase in clarity in the front-on wagon, furthermore, is detrimental to the performance of plainchant items and it comes at the expense of the reverberation time. Therefore, the side-on wagon provides a better balance between the different acoustical requirements of speech and music.

When taking into account all the different simulations of Stonegate presented in this paper, as well as the different wagon types and orientations, the reader can observe that Stonegate 3 combined with a closed, side-on wagon

provides the most favourable acoustics for the plays as it has the longest reverberation time, making the acoustic conditions more satisfactory for music, but at the same time those values are still within the range found in theatres and considered suitable for speech. Together with the rest of the simulations, furthermore, this combination has high clarity values that ensure intelligibility. Finally, its  $IACC_{E3}$  values are within the range found in Gothic churches, where similar musical repertory would have been performed.

The results presented in this article do not aim to provide absolute answers to questions on the relationship between staging and acoustics; on the contrary, the article focuses on the relative values that result from comparing different configurations and analysing the relevance of these in the context of the performance. This study provides an initial insight into the relationship between acoustics, staging, and performance, and further work needs to be conducted in order to strengthen the findings presented. Further experimentation in connection to different possible surface materials for the wagons, for instance, needs to be explored. The exploration of different wagon structures, moreover, might shed light on different staging possibilities and their impact on the acoustics of the performance space.

## Notes

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## **‘Here may we se a merveyl one’: Miracles and the Psalter in the N-Town ‘Marriage of Mary and Joseph’**

*A major theme of the N-Town ‘Marriage of Mary and Joseph’ is its characters’ ability to interpret religious truths by interacting with scripture or witnessing miracles. Mary’s reading of her psalter at the play’s ending comments upon the episode in which the miraculous ‘flowering wand’ identifies Joseph as Mary’s future husband. The play privileges scripture reading as a method of attaining knowledge as the psalter’s salvific power supplants the miracle of the flowering branch as a source of virtue and mercy; yet the play also affirms images like the wand flowering and Mary reading as devotional icons.*

The N-Town ‘Marriage of Mary and Joseph’ depicts a lively account of the apocryphal yet popular story of how the two characters came to be suitable marriage partners.<sup>1</sup> When the Virgin Mary, who has dedicated herself to a life of prayer in the temple, refuses to take a husband, the temple authorities led by the character Episcopus decide to pray for God’s guidance and, after doing so, hear from an angel that God will send them a sign identifying Mary’s intended. This sign, the flowering of a dead branch held by a member of the house of David, has a rich biblical and devotional history.<sup>2</sup> Scholars of medieval biblical drama have differed in their interpretations of Joseph’s flowering branch with more recent work recognizing its wonderfully comic potential.<sup>3</sup> Critics have not, however, explored the flowering wand’s relationship to the play’s final scene, in which Mary reads her psalter and extols the virtues of her audience doing the same.<sup>4</sup> Though critics have provided several explanations for Mary’s treatment of the psalter, most of which focus on the text’s applicability to personal devotion,<sup>5</sup> I propose that we should also recognize the similarities between the virtues associated with reading or singing the psalms and those inherent in the miracle of the flowering wand.

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Both of these scenes focus on what I propose to be a major theme of the play: its characters' ability to correctly interpret religious truths through interaction with scripture or by witnessing a miraculous 'sygne' (229).<sup>6</sup> Mary unambiguously praises the psalter's ability to inform and benefit humanity, but the miracle of the flowering wand, while humorous in the play's suggestive depiction of it, presents significant interpretive problems. While the sign supposedly resolves the problem of identifying Mary's future spouse, the play's staging of this miracle is problematic because its dialogue has already conveyed the same information and rendered the miracle unnecessary. Despite making the selection process entertaining theatre, the image of a man holding his 'wand', which Emma Lipton has called a 'graphic image of phallic sexuality', brings the priests' interpretive dilemma to a humorous but unresolved end.<sup>7</sup> Reading or singing the psalter, in contrast, provides the faithful with knowledge, instructs them in virtue, removes sin, and — most importantly — elicits the grace of God. Humanity's salvation, the greatest miracle discussed in the play, first arises not from God's intervention in the world but through humanity's interaction with the word of God. The wonders of the psalter, in short, supplant those of the flowering branch in every way. While reaffirming the psalms' place as the preeminent devotional texts of the Middle Ages, Mary's encomium provides a fitting end to a play concerned with properly understanding God's will.<sup>8</sup>

The catalyst for the play's action is Mary's refusal to adhere to the law dictating that all fourteen-year-old virgins marry for the increase of the community.<sup>9</sup> Mary's response shows her to be a loyal servant of God, yet a willful opponent of the high priest's plan. She declares, 'Azens þe lawe wyl I nevyr be, / But mannys felachep xal nevyr folwe me' (36–7). This argument, which illustrates the differences between the laws of God and man, leads the temple priests to a logical impasse, one that shows the mutual exclusivity of two honourable paths in life: marriage and virginity. After failing to decide on the proper course of action, the priests decide to pray for God's intercession, and Episcopus hopes 'That it may plese his fynyte deyté / Knowleche in þis to sendyn vs' (112–13). He then declares, 'we xal begynne "Veni Creator Spiritus"' (115), a hymn that Peter Meredith notes 'is associated with a request for guidance in deliberations'.<sup>10</sup> It is important to recognize, though, the priestly deliberations have already ended in failure, with neither Episcopus nor his priests able to discern the proper course of action. Instead of asking for God's assistance in their ongoing counsel, Episcopus begs God to 'enforme' him with 'Knowleche' (119, 113). I agree with Penny Granger

that 'this invocatory hymn stands at a pivotal point' in the 'Marriage' play but not because it marks the moment when Episcopus 'considers whether to ask Mary to break either her vow of chastity or the law that says all girls over 14 years old must be married', nor because it is sung for 'inspiration to the bishop in his dilemma over Mary.'<sup>11</sup> The play instead incorporates the hymn precisely when the priestly council recognizes that its own efforts have proven ineffective, so they must rely on some form of divine revelation.<sup>12</sup>

That revelation arrives in the form of an angel, who does not guide the deliberations as much as put a stop to them. The Angel informs the priests that God has answered their prayers and has sent him

To telle þe what þat þu do xalle,  
 And how þu xalt be rewlyd in iche degré.  
 Take tent and vndyrstond: (122–4)

The Angel's speech is less counsel or advice than it is an order, one to which the men must pay attention — 'take tent' — and understand what they 'shall do' and 'be ruled by'. In this case, a decree of God's will trumps counsel, deliberation, or any other efforts to discern the best course of action. The Angel tells the priests that 'Goddys owyn byddyng' (125) stipulates that all of the house of David arrive at the temple 'With whyte zardys in þer honde' (128). After taking the branches, the priests must observe which one blooms and then grant the flowering branch's owner the right to wed Mary (130–2). Apparently because of the priests' confusion up to this point, the Angel wants to leave no doubt regarding the hoped-for sign and how to interpret it. Despite these instructions, however, the process surrounding the miracle ends up being a less than straightforward affair.

Examining a dramatic account of the sequence that presents the miracle without ambivalence before exploring the ways in which the N-Town play problematizes the marvel of the wand will be fruitful. The Towneley 'Annunciation', for example, relies on the sign itself to convey Joseph's selection. According to the bewildered Joseph of the Towneley play, the blossoming wand was the only reason why the priests had chosen him. They say:

For God of heuen thus ordans he,  
 Thi wand shewys openly.  
 It florishes so, withouten nay,  
 That the behovys wed Mary the may. (258–61)<sup>13</sup>

Towneley presents the sight of the flowering wand as proof of Joseph's selection, for the spectacle conveys this truth 'openly', in a manner easily seen and 'readily understood'.<sup>14</sup> The miracle is the centrepiece of the scene, and in view of this incontrovertible sign Joseph has no choice but to take Mary as a wife.

Unlike the Towneley play, York Play 13, 'Joseph's Troubles about Mary', betrays some uncertainty about the episode. In the York play, Joseph himself claims that at the time of the selection process he did not understand the significance of the men's wands flowering. He recalls:

For tharein was ordande  
Unwedded men sulde stande  
Al sembled at asent,  
And ilke ane a drye wande  
On heght helde in his hand,  
And I ne wist what it ment. (25–30)<sup>15</sup>

The York cycle's account of the episode depicts Joseph as completely ignorant of the relationship between sign and signified. No one briefed him beforehand on the terms of the situation, so he was not fully aware of the implications of the 'bargain' that has caused him so much sorrow (35–6). His description of the miracle itself does not indicate that witnessing it made it any more understandable:

In mange al othir ane bare I,  
Itt florished faire and floures on sprede,  
And thay saide to me forthy  
That with a wiffe I sulde be wedde. (31–4)

Even after being the most immediate witness to his flowering wand, Joseph needs to have the sign interpreted for him. The declaration 'forthy' (therefore) is ironic because Joseph clearly does not understand the logical connection between the sign and its meaning. At the time of the rod's flowering, he was as passive as any audience member, ostensibly lacking either the ability to interpret the sign correctly or the power to assert any control over what was happening to him. Joseph, as the quintessential everyman, displays humanity's inability to discern the meaning of miraculous signs without detailed instructions from a religious authority.<sup>16</sup>

Echoing Joseph's lack of understanding in the York cycle, N-Town's Joseph does not comprehend the relationship between the sign of the flowering



wands and the meaning to be imparted on them. Upon hearing the summons to the temple, Joseph cannot reconcile the relationship between the branch and the concept of marriage. He declares:

Benedicité! I cannot vndyrstande  
 What oure prince of prestys doth men,  
 Þat every man xuld come and brynge with hym a whande.  
 Abyl to be maryed, þat is not I, so mote I then!  
 I haue be maydon evyr and evyrmore wele ben,  
 I chaungyd not 3et of all my long lyff!  
 And now to be maryed? Sum man wold wen  
 It is a straunge thyng an old man to take a 3onge wyff! (10.175–82)

The shift in focus from the first three lines of the octave to the last five delineates what Joseph 'cannot vndyrstande' (175) and what he can. The opening lines address the inscrutable relationship between bringing a wand to the temple and marrying someone, and Joseph is at pains to unravel how Episcopus puts these incommensurate concepts in relation to each other. In contrast, Joseph seems to understand quite well why he cannot be married (178). At his advanced age, he knows that he cannot change his course of life now and that gossips surely will ridicule his marriage to Mary.<sup>17</sup> Joseph's humorous fretting about the incongruity of an old man taking a young wife should not distract from a greater incongruity: the tenuous relationship between bringing a branch to the temple and making oneself eligible for marriage.

This indeterminate connection between the sign and its meaning continues to develop when Joseph first enters the temple with four other kinsmen of David and balks at presenting his wand for inspection. Unlike his younger companions, who proudly speak of their 'fayr white 3arde(s)' (205, 208; see also 211, 218), Joseph hesitates to step forward, reiterating the motif of the *senex amans*'s feebleness (226–8). None of the younger men's branches flowers, of course, and the lack of a definitive sign leads Episcopus to lament, 'A, mercy, Lord, I kan no sygne aspy. / It is best we go ageyn to prayr' (229–30). Just as it seems that Joseph's hesitation will force the council to renew their prayers for guidance, a 'Vox' intervenes, declaring 'He brought not up his rodde 3et, trewly, / To whom þe mayd howyth to be maryed her' (231–2).<sup>18</sup> While a production could possibly include more than the four kinsmen of David who speak in the play, the manuscript does not indicate their presence, leaving little question as to the identity of Mary's intended spouse. The play's singling out of Joseph from a limited number of characters differs from

the account in the *Legenda Aurea*, which does not mention the number of suitors present.<sup>19</sup> While the play's limited number of suitors could very well result from the practical necessities of staging and casting, the visual effect on the audience would be unchanged: based on the limited number of potential suitors, the miracle of the flowering wand is entirely superfluous, for it is immediately evident that Joseph is the only one who has not presented his wand.

Despite the wand's greatly diminished narrative function, Episcopus celebrates the spectacle, proclaiming:

A, Mercy! Mercy! Mercy, Lord, we crye!  
 Þe blyssyd of God we se art thou.  
*Et clamant omnes 'Mercy! Mercy!'*  
 A, gracyous God in hevyn trone,  
 Ryht wundryful þi werkys be!  
 Here may we se a merveyl one:  
 A ded stok beryth flourys fre!  
 Joseph, in hert withoutyn mone,  
 Þu mayst be blyth with game and gle.  
 A mayd to wedde þu must gone  
 Be þis meracle I do wel se.

(257–66)

The first six lines of Episcopus's speech exhibit the 'behold and see' conventions that David Mills observes in much of medieval drama. Medieval theatre employs these conventions, Mills states, when 'speeches...are directed out to the audience, being intended only secondarily if at all for figures within the dramatic action. They are formal, structured, self-consciously rhetorical or allusive. And above all they point a verbal finger at the visual scene and urge a particular attitude or response upon the audience'.<sup>20</sup> Before he addresses Joseph by name and with the pronoun 'þu', Episcopus speaks to the audience, drawing their attention to an object of veneration. The very sight of the marvel launches him into panegyric mode, for the wand seems to outweigh, in both rhetorical and devotional respects, the Vox's pronouncement. Even though Episcopus and the audience already have learned of Joseph's selection, they needed to 'wel se' the proof of it. Only 'Be þis meracle' (266) does the priest recognize Joseph's selection before subsequently praising God for the wonderful nature of his works. The episode focuses less on the true husband's identity than on how the characters identify him through the visual

and physical sign of the flowering wand.<sup>21</sup> Joseph must carry out his obligations without complaint primarily because of the miracle itself.

Despite the apparent success of the miracle, though, I propose that the play establishes the sight of the flowering wand as an object of veneration partly to highlight its inefficacies, for now that it has become the focus of the audience's praise, its capacity as a transmitter of knowledge or comfort becomes subject to pressure. When Joseph sees the wand beginning to flower, he exclaims, 'Lo. Lo. Lo! What se 3e now?' (256). Joseph sees what is happening to his wand, but he has no idea how to interpret the sight. By asking Episcopus what *he* sees, Joseph does not simply betray his own ignorance; rather, he indicates that there is no clear interpretive link between the flowering wand and God's plan for him.

The play diminishes the miracle's effectiveness long before the wand's flowering by emphasizing the humorous image of David's descendants bearing such overtly phallic symbols.<sup>22</sup> N-Town's well-known emphasis on Joseph's sexuality and his hesitation at marrying such a young wife also contribute to the 'Marriage' play's farcical depiction of the miracle. Invoking the stereotypical *senex amans's* fear of impotence, Joseph complains, 'Age and febylness doth me enbrase, / That I may nother well goo ne stond' (161–2). Compounding his performance anxiety of not being able to 'stand' is the fear of complete emasculation: 'Sere, I kannot my rodde fynde. / To come þer, in trowth, methynkyht shame' (235–6). Despite his worries, Joseph relents, stating 'I xal take a wand in my hand and cast of my gowne' (185). The humour and suggestiveness of Joseph without a gown and only his 'wand' in his hand are considerable. The effects of the image are equally significant: by imbuing the forthcoming miracle with ribaldry, the scene attenuates — at least in the play — its devotional value.<sup>23</sup> The farcical manner in which the play dramatizes the selection process indicates unease about gaining knowledge of God's will by means of miraculous signs.

Despite the tension surrounding the miracle, the characters wed in a manner that late-medieval readers and audiences would have found familiar.<sup>24</sup> Following the ceremony, the Virgin reads her psalter while Joseph leaves to prepare a home for the couple. In addition to reading the text, Mary praises it, elaborating on its prodigious virtues. All of these virtues tellingly equal or surpass those achieved through the sight of the flowering wand. Employing Augustine's concept of the 'intermediate' style of rhetoric, which uses ornament 'when censuring or praising something',<sup>25</sup> Mary says of the psalter:

It makyht sowles fayr þat doth it say;  
 Angelys be steryd to help us þerwith;  
 It lytenyth therkeness and puttyth develys away. (434–6)

The psalms, like the priests' prayers for aid, can incite an angel's help and lighten the darkness, a metaphorical representation of humanity's ignorance of God's will.<sup>26</sup> The psalter also 'puttyth develys away' (436), which parallels Episcopus's appointing of three maidens to attend to Mary so that no one 'sclpeyr of tonge' can impugn with 'euyl langage' (347, 348) the dignity of this May-December marriage. As Mary continues, she enumerates the psalms' virtues, using what Augustine calls a 'most attractive' feature of the mixed style, where 'there is a graceful flow of phrases each duly balanced by other phrases'.<sup>27</sup> She proclaims:

Þe song of psalmus is Goddys deté,  
 Synne is put away þerby.  
 It lernyth a man vertuysful to be,  
 It feryth mannys herte gostly.  
 Who þat it vsyth custommably,  
 It claryfieth þe herte and charyté makyth cowthe.  
 He may not faylen of Goddys mercy  
 Pat hath þe preysenge of God evyr in his mowthe. (437–44)

Exhibiting the 'behold and see' conventions discussed above, Mary's speech points to her own reading of the psalms as an example of the proper course of action for those in search of mercy, knowledge, or comfort, all of which were benefits of the earlier flowering wand episode.

Mary's enumeration of the psalter's virtues becomes practically encyclopedic. Dutiful recitation removes sin, instills virtue, cleanses the heart, and makes charity known. Reading the psalter, in short, provides the devout with more certainty — and much more certain benefits — than any form of proof presented in the play. More importantly, by addressing the theme of 'Goddy's mercy' (443), Mary echoes the crowd's repeated chants of 'Mercy!' upon seeing the flowering wand (257, 8 sd).<sup>28</sup> Illustrating what Mills calls the 'inferential pressures' ascribed to repeated uses of a word,<sup>29</sup> Mary's use of 'mercy' compels the audience to compare the perspectives of its speakers and the contexts in which they utter the word. When the Virgin models psalmody in her appeal to God's mercy, she presents the audience with a more familiar and fruitful way of communicating with the divine. Just as Michael P. Kuczynski

sees the psalter as 'the ideal form of Christian conversation',<sup>30</sup> I see Mary's psalmody as the ideal method of gaining knowledge within this play.

Mary's encomium of the psalter also incorporates more and varied rhetorical appeals than those made at the wand's flowering. Mary's appeals to logos are evident in her catalogue of the benefits of reading the psalter.<sup>31</sup> She appeals to ethos in her attribution of the psalms to David and by the fact that she herself finds value in reading them.<sup>32</sup> The encomium culminates with appeals to pathos through the climactic 'O holy psalmys, O holy book' (445), an apostrophe undoubtedly meant to delight the audience and heighten their passion for reading or singing the psalter.<sup>33</sup> In the ultimate appeal to pathos, Mary addresses God directly to advocate for humanity's salvation:

With these halwyd psalmys, Lord, I pray the specyaly  
 For all þe creatures qwyke and dede,  
 Þat þu wylt shewe to hem þi mercy,  
 And to me specyaly þat do it rede. (449–52)<sup>34</sup>

Mary's repeated requests for God's mercy on her and others reaffirm Mary's roles as 'intercessor and exegete', Marian roles so effectively explored by Ruth Nisse.<sup>35</sup> By referring to themes already addressed in the play and by combining multiple rhetorical appeals, the speech encapsulates and surpasses in scope and in rhetorical effect anything the audience has encountered thus far. This monologue deserves Granger's assessment as 'a dramatic meditation as only Mary can do it'.<sup>36</sup> More importantly, as Granger acknowledges, Mary's speech extols a collection of texts that were already at the heart of late-medieval devotion. The Virgin here models a type of behaviour and engagement with scripture that anyone can perform, privately or otherwise, and one that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writings commended.<sup>37</sup>

The speech might even have carried more popular resonances than scholars have previously noticed. Mary concludes by quoting Psalm 84:2, 'Benedixisti, Domine, terram tuam' (455), a fitting blessing given the upcoming 'Parliament of Heaven'.<sup>38</sup> Since this quotation is, to my knowledge, the only citation of the psalter identified in Mary's speech, I find it curious that Mary states only two lines before: 'I haue seyde sum of my Sawtere'(453).<sup>39</sup> While the line appears to bookend rhetorically Mary's initial statement of purpose, that she will 'sey þe holy psalmes of Dauyth' (430), scholars have not identified any specific text to verify Mary's claim.<sup>40</sup> When Mary declares that the psalter 'claryfieth þe herte and charyté makyth cowthe' (442), she possibly alludes to Vulgate Psalm 50:12: 'Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, / Et

spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis', 'Create a clean heart in me, O God: and renew a right spirit within my bowels'.<sup>41</sup> The assertion that the psalter cleanses the heart likely brought to the audience's minds a text quite familiar to them. Not only was Psalm 50 (the *Miserere*) 'sung in church more frequently than the other Penitential Psalms',<sup>42</sup> it was often excerpted and paraphrased in Middle English lyrics because 'reading or reciting [it], in Latin or in English, was thought to confer special spiritual benefits on the soul', including an understanding of (and protection against) sin.<sup>43</sup> Books of hours and primers included the *Miserere* in Latin and in English, so the literate portion of the audience would have found it a familiar component of their private devotions.<sup>44</sup>

Even more intriguing is the fact that the Middle English *A Reuelacyon Schewed to Ane Holy Woman Now One Late Tyme* advocates reading the psalm in conjunction with the Latin hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*.<sup>45</sup> Mary's possible allusion to Psalm 50, along with the priests' singing of *Veni Creator* (115 sd), may provide another example of these two popular texts being associated with each other in late-medieval texts associated with women's piety. Both pray for God's direct intervention in the lives of the singer, and one — the *Miserere* — implores God for knowledge and virtue, two concepts explored throughout the 'Marriage' play.

Despite all of this emphasis on the psalms, it would be a mistake to dismiss the play's depiction of the flowering wand as vulgar sensationalism. Though the N-Town 'Marriage' might share with the Digby 'Conversion of St Paul' what Scoville calls an 'uneasiness with visual display, despite the play's spectacle',<sup>46</sup> it would be wrong to say that the play uses humorous images to deprecate the visual and elevate the verbal or textual. We should rather recognize the miracle of the wand — with all its humorous appeal — as performing several different but related devotional functions. First, by using such suggestive imagery, the play highlights the differences between the carnal world of the audience and the spiritual world of the divine. The land of flowering wands, for all its entertaining theatre, is far from the choirs of angels.<sup>47</sup> Second, the image plays a role similar to that of the miracle story in a medieval sermon. Such stories, Miri Rubin notes, served as 'the main tool for popular instruction' used to attract and sustain the audience's attention.<sup>48</sup> Ranulph Higden (d. 1364), for example, declares:

It is expedient for the preacher, as long as this is inoffensive to God, that from the start he render his audience willing and attentive listeners and concerned about

following the argument. This can be done in many ways. In the first one, let something unusual, subtle, and curious be proposed — possibly [the narrative] of some authentic miracle — which is able to be applied to the topic and attract the audience.<sup>49</sup>

The play treats the flowering wand far from subtly, but such are the differences between the overtly didactic purpose of the sermon and the heteroglossic nature of popular drama. Freed from the limitations of liturgical decorum, the play can present the flowering wand as both a source of humour and an object of veneration, for the play's humorous treatment of the image would not negate its devotional significance outside of the play's influence.<sup>50</sup>

Even though the wand's flowering reveals nothing new in terms of the play's plot, the scene calls to mind devotional images that would have been familiar to the audience. In this way, the play's use of the wand exemplifies Gregorian notions of the didactic function of images. As Rosemary Muir Wright observes, Gregory held that images could only function to build upon knowledge that people already possessed: 'There was no question of pictures being able to teach their audience something new; rather they were to address an audience which was already visually literate to some degree, aware of the forms of representation and able to align these forms to the texts which they heard expounded to them in sermons'.<sup>51</sup> The visual of Joseph holding the wand draws upon the rich devotional tradition with which an audience would have been familiar, and it is a scene that Victor I. Scherb lists as one of the compilation's 'significant devotional moments'.<sup>52</sup> While I would not argue that the play presents a more orthodox or doctrinally accurate image to be revered, the same resonance would clearly have been true — to a much greater extent — for the image of Mary reading her psalter.<sup>53</sup> Laura Saetveit Miles contends that the image of Mary reading at the Annunciation, 'After the Crucifixion ... may be the most frequently portrayed scene in pre-modern art of the West'.<sup>54</sup> By blending verbal and logical elements with emotional appeals and visual images that the audience would have encountered in their daily lives, both scenes to varying degrees achieve the Augustinian goals of teaching, pleasing, and moving.<sup>55</sup> These techniques, moreover, would have appealed to audience members regardless of social class. Even though Granger argues persuasively that Mary models a degree of learnedness reminiscent of the type attained by wealthy women, she also shows that Mary's displays of literacy would have been welcome to an increasingly literate lay audience.<sup>56</sup>

The play reminds all members of the audience that they already live in a world abundant in powerful, if unspectacular, miracles, where the private reading or public recitation of a familiar text can provide them with certainty, solace, and, most importantly, eternal salvation. Angelic visitations and dead branches springing to life pale in comparison to the familiar but poignant image of a woman reading a text already at the heart of medieval devotion. As Stella Panayotova observes of the psalter, ‘There was hardly a text more widely used and better known to medieval audiences, be they religious or lay, learned or barely literate.’<sup>57</sup> The text and the image of Mary reading it lead the audience from uncertainty to certainty, providing what Grover A. Zinn calls ‘a sure guide for an upright life.’<sup>58</sup> The audience already possesses, in the form of the psalter, all of the revelation it needs to inform their spiritual lives. Of the ‘merveyls’ presented in the N-Town ‘Marriage’, Mary’s reading of the psalms appears to be the greatest.

## Notes

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- 1 All quotations from the ‘Marriage’ play reference Stephen Spector (ed.), *The N-Town Play: Cotton Ms Vespasian D.8*, EETS ss 11 and 12 (Oxford, 1991). The manuscript is a late-fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century *compilatio* from various sources (5–12). See also the ‘Proclamation’ (118–56), which is part of the scribe’s incomplete interpolation of the Marian material into the pre-existing play descriptions (355). Scholars agree that while the manuscript suggests use as a ‘performance’ text, the compilation probably was never played as a whole (2). When I refer to ‘the audience’ in this essay, I am referring to either a reader of the compilation or a viewer of the performance.
- 2 Peter Meredith notes the biblical source for the motif is Num 17:1–9, in which Aaron’s flowering branch constitutes evidence of his being chosen for priesthood (*The Mary Play from the N. Town Manuscript*, 2nd edn [Exeter, 1997], 100–11 n 713). The *Biblia Pauperum* presents the flowering of the dead branch as a prefiguration of Jesus’s birth from Mary, ‘who, without male seed, brought forth a son’ (*Biblia Pauperum*, pl. b.5; qtd in Douglas Sugano [ed.], *The N-Town Plays* [Kalamazoo, MI,



2007], 365 n131). The most immediate source for the N-Town playwright, though, is *The Golden Legend*, which borrows from the *Nativity of Mary* (Meredith, *The Mary Play*, 17). See Jacobi A. Voragine, *Legenda Aurea, Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Theodor Graesse (ed.) (Lipsiae, 1850), 589. See also 'The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary', in *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations*, trans. Alexander Walker (Edinburgh, 1870), 53–61, esp. 57–8. In these texts, the flowering branch is interpreted in pious, typological ways.

- 3 Steven Spector observes, 'This miraculous flowering seems to be a dramatic tradition, since it occurs in the York and Towneley plays' (*The N-Town Play*, 449n10). Chester does not depict the scene. Martin Stevens establishes the flowering rod in the N-Town plays as a typological figure elucidating 'the capacity of the barren tree to be fruitful' in *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations* (Princeton, 1987), 242–4, 242, doi: x.doi.org/10.1515/9781400858729. For explorations of the humorous treatment of the scene in the drama, see, for example, Emma Lipton, *Affections of the Mind: The Politics of Sacramental Marriage in Late Medieval English Literature* (Notre Dame, 2007), 103–4, Louise O. Vasvari, 'Joseph on the Margin: The Mérode Triptych and Medieval Spectacle', *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995), 163–89, and Garry Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 2011), 75, doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511974335. I do not wish to imbrue an entire tradition with comic undertones. I am instead arguing that the N-Town 'Marriage', given its mixture of serious and playful themes, emphasizes the ribaldry of the flowering branch to highlight the problematic nature of a selection process based upon miraculous signs.
- 4 Meredith notes that Mary's encomium of the psalms 'seems to be original, or rather perhaps draws together material from a wide range of current teaching (*Mary Play*, 105 n1002–25). He also cites *The Myroure of Oure Ladye* (36–7) as the most germane text. See John Henry Blount (ed.), *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, EETS ES 19 (London, 1873). See also Spector, *The N-Town Play*, 450 n10. For more information discussing similarities among Mary's treatment of the psalms, Richard Rolle's *Psalter*, and the broader Augustinian tradition that applies the study of the psalms to private and public life, see Penny Granger, 'Reading Her Psalter: The Virgin Mary in the N-Town Play', Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (eds), *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, (Burlington VT, 2011), 299–314, esp. 305–6. For a list of instances in which the psalms were incorporated in ancient and medieval feasts of the Virgin, see Susan Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (eds), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York, 2011), 10–33, 20–1.

- 5 See Meredith, *The Mary Play*, 105 n1002–25, Sugano, *The N-Town Plays*, 368 nn421–56, and Granger, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Cambridge, 2009), 128–9, and ‘Reading Her Psalter’, passim. Granger also observes the distinct contrast between Mary’s quiet study and Joseph’s offstage efforts to secure the new couple a home, and she notes that the contrast enacts the principles of the ‘mixed life’ described by Walter Hilton (*The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy*, 128). For Mary’s association with the psalms in the devotional literature and imagery of the late Middle Ages, see Granger, ‘Reading Her Psalter’, 300–2. Granger also suggests that the ‘holy labore’ noted by Mary at 456 anticipates her physical labour at the birth of Christ (*The N-Town Play, Drama and Liturgy*, 128–9).
- 6 Throughout this paper, I rely upon Miri Rubin’s definition of a miracle as ‘God’s willed and deliberate intervention for the just’ (*Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* [Cambridge, UK, 1991], 114), and I use ‘sign’, ‘marvel’, and ‘miracle’ interchangeably. See *signe n. 2(a)*: ‘A marvelous preternatural act or event; a miracle, marvel’, Frances McSparran, et al (eds) *The Middle English Compendium* (Ann Arbor, 2001), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED40259>. Benedicta Ward notes that ‘signa’ is one of the terms used in scripture for the modern concept of a miracle (*Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000–1215* [Philadelphia, 1982], 221 n4). Episcopus also refers to the wand’s flowering as a ‘merveyl’ and a ‘meracle’ (261, 266). See also ‘merveille’ *n. 1(b)*, *Middle English Compendium*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED27476>; and ‘miracle’ *n. 1(a)*, *Middle English Compendium*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED27879>. Michelle Karnes, in an article published after the present essay was accepted for publication, explores medieval conceptions of the relationship between imagination and marvels in ‘Marvels in the Medieval Imagination’, *Speculum* 90.2 (2015), 327–65, doi:10.1017/S0038713415000627.
- 7 Lipton, *Affections of the Mind*, 104. Lipton proposes that the playwright accentuates Joseph’s preoccupations with sexuality as a means of drawing attention to, and then undercutting, the idea that sexual intimacy is a necessary component of marriage. In this way, says Lipton, the phallic imagery ‘is invoked only to be denied’ in order to appeal to the Christian exegetical tradition in which marriage ‘is not sexual but spiritual’ (104). Contrary to Lipton, Waller argues that the humour surrounding Joseph’s impotence ‘enables, without forcing, the audience to take a critical stance toward the theology [of Mary’s perpetual virginity]’ (*The Virgin Mary*, 75).
- 8 Stevens contends that the N-Town compilation focuses keenly on efforts to understand ‘God’s intent’ (*Four Middle English Mystery Cycles*, 220). While I hesitate to

claim a unified theme for such an eclectic text, I do believe that Stevens's ideas apply to the 'Marriage' play.

- 9 Lipton notes that the law, like the story itself, is apocryphal (*Affections of the Mind*, 102 n46). She argues persuasively that Episcopus's dilemma stems from the patristic and late-medieval debates concerning the 'relative merits of virginity and marriage' and the effects of that debate on clerical authority (101).
- 10 Meredith, *Mary Play*, 100 n708 sd. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* observes that the song is used 'at such solemn functions as the election of popes, the consecration of bishops, the ordination of priests, the dedication of churches, the celebration of synods or councils, the coronation of kings, etc.' (qtd in Sugano, *The N-Town Plays*, 364 n115 sd).
- 11 Granger, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy*, 92, 79. For other occurrences of this hymn in Middle English biblical drama, see 79 n149.
- 12 In this way the play depicts another instance of the familiar argument exploring the limits of logic, 'when human reason is insufficient to solve the conundrum' at hand (Lipton, *Affections of the Mind*, 103).
- 13 References to the Towneley plays are from Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley (eds), *The Towneley Plays*, EETS ss 13 and 14 (Oxford, 1994), 1.92–103.
- 14 openli adv. 2(b), *Middle English Compendium*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=130742031&egdisplay=compact&egs=130758464>.
- 15 References to the York Cycle are from Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The York Corpus Christi Plays*, TEAMS Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, 2011), 86–94.
- 16 The foundational study of Joseph as 'natural man' is V.A. Kolve's *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford, 1966), esp. 247–53. Chester N. Scoville notes that the cult of Joseph 'was just coming into its own when the Middle English drama was developing' (*Saints and the Audience in Middle English Biblical Drama* [Toronto, 2004], 55). Veneration began in the twelfth century, but a feast day was only established in 1481, and Joseph was accorded a holy day of obligation in 1621 (57). Vasvari observes that Joseph often was portrayed as a laughable figure: 'In popular consciousness he is clearly that omnipresent farcical butt of jokes ... metaphorically miming his impotence for the audience's amusement' ('Joseph on the Margin', 167). For an exploration of the comical implications of Mary and Joseph's marriage as 'a classic case of suggestive cuckoldry', see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, 2009), 325.
- 17 The N-Town 'Trial of Mary and Joseph' explores the suspicions accompanying such a 'May-December' marriage.
- 18 For performative possibilities for the Vox, see Sugano, *The N-Town Plays*, 366 n231 sn. Both the *Nativity of Mary* and the *Golden Legend* include the intervening voice,

- presumably of God, at this point. See *Legenda Aurea*, 589, and ‘The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary’, 57–8.
- 19 *Legenda Aurea*, 589. York depicts Joseph presenting his wand ‘In mänge al othir ane’ (31). In Towneley, Joseph recounts that the bishops themselves, and not a divinely authoritative voice, notice that he had not included his wand in the initial offering (251–3).
  - 20 David Mills, ‘“Look at Me When I’m Speaking to You”: The “Behold and See” Convention in Medieval Drama’, *Medieval English Theatre* 7 (1985), 4–12, 5.
  - 21 The play’s dilation on the miracle’s visual nature stands in sharp contrast to the *Legenda Aurea*, which says only that the flowering branch made it plainly clear to all — ‘liquido omnibus patuit’ — that Joseph should wed Mary (589). See also the flowering staff’s brief mention in de Voragine’s account of the Annunciation (217).
  - 22 On the uses of ‘yerd’ to refer to a penis, or for the ‘phallic implications’ of ‘staff’, and ‘wond’, see Sugano, *The N-Town Plays*, 365 n128. Sugano notes here that ‘rod’ does not carry the meaning of ‘penis’ until 1902, but see *OED* n.1, III 10, which records its first appearance in 1641 <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/166795?rskey=9jV28R&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>. Even though there is no clear etymological linking of the word ‘rod’ to ‘penis’ in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the play uses the term interchangeably with the other commonly recognized phallic terms.
  - 23 In a similar way, Vasvari posits that the N-Town ‘Marriage’, along with the plays ‘Joseph’s Doubt’ and ‘The Trial of Mary and Joseph’, contributes to a tradition presenting Mary’s husband as a bumbling cuckold in order to forestall ‘sacrilegious confusion’ about his role in Jesus’s paternity (‘Joseph on the Margin’, 169). Just as Vasvari sees the ‘culturally diglossic’ (183) potential of the sacred and profane in the Mérode Triptych, I see the N-Town ‘Marriage’ incorporating innuendo both to amuse its audience and to allude to the epistemological uncertainty of the sign.
  - 24 For a comparison of the play’s depiction of the marriage ritual with the *Sarum Ordo ad Faciendam Sponsalia*, see Sue Niebrzydowski, ‘Encouraging Marriage in *Facie Ecclesiae*: The Mary Play “Betrothal” and the *Sarum Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia*’, *Medieval English Theatre* 24 (2002), 44–61. See also Lipton, *Affections of the Mind*, 89–128, esp. 101–17, and Sue Niebrzydowski, *Bonoure and Buxum: A Study of Wives in Late Medieval English Literature* (New York, 2006), 70–81.
  - 25 Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford, 1995), 4.19.38.104. Of the two other levels of style, a speaker would ‘use the restrained style when teaching’ and the grand when ‘antagonistic minds are being driven to change their attitude’.
  - 26 *derk adj.* 3(a), *The Middle English Compendium*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=40470431&egdisplay=compact&egs=40495677&e>

- gs=40501359. *The Middle English Compendium* cites the 'Psalterium Beate Mariae' (c 1390), attributed to Albertus Magnus, as an example of this usage: '3iuyngte to vre derke þouht / Verrey liht and clere' (*The Minor Poems of the Vernon ms*, Part 1, Carl Horstmann [ed.] [London, 1892], 70, ll 479–80).
- 27 Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 4.20.40.11.
- 28 David Mills argues that Mary's plea for mercy in her exposition of the psalm is the catalyst for the opening speech of Play 11: 'The Parliament of Heaven; the Salutation and Conception', in which Contemplacio pleads on the audience's behalf for God's grace ('Religious Drama and Civic Ceremonial', in A.C. Cawley [ed.], *The Revels History of Drama in English 1: Medieval Drama*, [New York, 1983], 152–206, 198). Sugano proposes that the psalms, as prophetic works thought to bridge the Hebrew and Christian scriptures, may appear at this point in the N-Town compilation because it is the point at which the 'Old and New Laws' meet (*The N-Town Plays*, 368 n 421–56). Ruth Nisse argues that, through her interpretive work with the psalm, 'Mary takes an active and prophetic role in the Incarnation' (*Defining Acts: Drama and the Politics of Interpretation in Late Medieval England* [Notre Dame, 2005], 71).
- 29 Mills, "Look at Me When I'm Speaking to You", 9.
- 30 Kuzcynski, 'The Psalms and Social Action in Late Medieval England', Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, 1999), 191–214, 193.
- 31 James J. Murphy notes that Judeo-Christian rhetors would consider appeals to scripture to be 'absolute, apodeictic proof' (*Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* [Berkeley, 1981]), 277. For Augustine, an unskilled rhetor should use scripture 'to confirm what he says in his own words' (*De Doctrina Christiana*, 4.5.8.21).
- 32 I refer here to the audience's knowledge of 'the life of the speaker' which is '[m]ore important than any amount of grandeur of style to those of us who seek to be listened to with obedience' (*De Doctrina Christiana*, 4.27.59.151).
- 33 Concerning a speaker's use of pathos to stir an audience to action, Augustine advises that 'A hearer must be delighted, so that he can be gripped and made to listen, and moved so that he can be impelled to action' (*De Doctrina Christiana*, 4.12.27.75).
- 34 For the psalms' characterization as being 'instrumental to the sinner's request for God's mercy' in the high Middle Ages, see Susan Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82.4 (2007), 896–931, 907, doi: 10.1017/S0038713400011337.
- 35 Nisse, *Defining Acts*, 67. Nisse also says that, 'in the *Mary Play*, the psalms become the Virgin's direct vehicle of intercession with God' (70).

- 36 Granger, 'Reading Her Psalter', 305.
- 37 Ibid, 306.
- 38 Both Meredith and Spector describe Mary's quoting as 'the basis' for debate among the 'Four Daughters of God and the Parliament of Heaven' of play 11 (Meredith, *The Mary Play*, 105 n1028; Spector, *The N-Town Play*, 451 n10).
- 39 For an alternative explanation, which argues that Mary has, to this point, been 'following either her own systematic daily program or a set lectionary', see Granger, 'Reading Her Psalter', 307.
- 40 Granger, however, notes that there are several references to honey in the psalter, which complement Mary's declaration that the psalms are 'Swetter to say than any ony' (446; *Reading Her Psalter*, 305).
- 41 *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, eds Alberto Colunga and Laurentio Turrado (Madrid, 1977). See also the Douay-Rheims translation (*The Holy Bible*, Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition, *Bible Gateway* <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=psalms+50&version=DRA>). I am grateful to Kuczynski's 'The Psalms and Social Action' (194) for calling my attention to this particular passage.
- 42 John J. Thompson, 'Literary Associations of an Anonymous Middle English Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50', *Medieval Aevum* 57 (1988), 38–55, esp. 38.
- 43 Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 1995), 37.
- 44 Thompson, 'Literary Associations', 39.
- 45 Ibid, 39–40.
- 46 Scoville, *Saints and the Audience*, 88.
- 47 See Christopher Crane, 'Superior Incongruity: Derisive and Sympathetic Comedy in Middle English Drama and Homiletic Exempla', Paul Hardwick and Sandra Hordis (eds), *Medieval English Comedy* (Turnhout, 2007), 31–60, 36, doi: 10.1484/M.PAMA-EB.3.865. Laura Kendrick also employs incongruity theory in 'Comedy', in *A Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Peter Brown (Malden, MA, 2002), *Blackwell Reference Online*, doi: 10.1002/9780470693469.ch6. For a discussion of medieval writers' uses of parody to highlight the differences between the human and the divine realms, see Edmund Reiss, 'Chaucer's Parodies of Love', in *Chaucer the Love Poet*, ed. Jerome Mitchell and William Provost (Athens, GA, 1973), 27–44, esp. 28–30.
- 48 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 114. See also Robert of Basevorn, 'The Form of Preaching (Forma Praedicandi)', Leopold Krul (trans.), James J. Murphy (ed.), *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, (Tempe, AZ, 2001), 114–215, esp. 145–7.
- 49 Higden, *Ars componendi sermones*, trans. Margaret Jennings and Sally A Wilson (Paris, 2003), 49.

- 50 On the use of humour to instruct the audience, see Crane, 'Superior Incongruity', 36. Crane notes that, while there is no articulated medieval rhetoric of humour, the scarce classical material available to medieval writers was from Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Both works argue that a primary function of humour is to 'keep the audience listening' ('Superior Incongruity', 35). See especially the *Rhetorica ad Herennium's* treatment of the humor of puns and innuendo (1.6.10).
- 51 Wright, *Sacred Distance: Representing the Virgin* (Manchester, 2006), 3.
- 52 Scherb, *Staging Faith: East Anglian Drama in the Later Middle Ages* (Madison, 2001), 195. Though the N-Town 'Trial of Mary and Joseph' includes many of the concepts that I have discussed in this paper, including miracles, humour, and the obtaining of knowledge, I have omitted any discussion of it here because that play's dynamic of humour, spectacle, and veneration differs considerably from that of the 'Marriage' play. In the trial, Episcopus briefly praises Mary at the end of the truth test (14.370–3), but there is no prolonged encomium like those concerning the flowering wand or the Psalter. Nor does the trial scene invoke popular devotional iconography in the way that the 'Marriage' play does.
- 53 For an exploration of the ways in which the church 'carefully monitored' religious images for doctrinal accuracy, see Wright, *Sacred Distance*, 2.
- 54 Miles, 'The Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation', *Speculum* 89.3 (2014), 632–69, 32, doi:10.1017/S0038713414000748. Miles makes an important contribution to the scholarly record of images depicting Mary reading at the Annunciation, showing persuasively that 'pictorial and textual references ... emerge from male monastic and clerical contexts in the ninth and tenth centuries' (634). See also Granger, 'Reading Her Psalter', passim.
- 55 Situating himself firmly in the Ciceronian rhetorical tradition, Augustine recalls: 'It has been said by a man of eloquence, and quite rightly, that the eloquent should speak in such a way as to instruct, delight, and move their listeners' (*De Doctrina Christiana* 4.12.27.74). On the relationship between pathos and spectacle, see Scoville, *Saints and the Audience*, 28. Eamon Duffy provides a helpful analysis of late-medieval devotion to Eucharistic miracles and their artistic representations, especially the 'Imago pietatis', in *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, 2005), 102–9.
- 56 Granger, 'Reading Her Psalter', 306–8. Duffy notes that literate members of all social classes are known to have possessed primers, which included the penitential psalms, (*The Stripping of the Altars*, 209–32). It should be noted, though, that Duffy presents the evidence about the primer's ubiquity partly to justify his argument for 'the social homogeneity of late medieval religion' (265). On the contrary, William

Fitzhenry argues that the N-Town plays prompt their audiences to evaluate notions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy ('The N-Town Plays and the Politics of Metatheater', *Studies in Philology* 100 [2003], 22–43, esp. 23, doi:10.1353/sip.2003.0003. See also Lipton, *Affections of the Mind*, 192 n21).

- 57 Panayotova, 'The Illustrated Psalter: Luxury and Practical Use', *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 247–71, 247. Panayotova adds that Psalters were given as wedding gifts (248–9), so the presence of one at the end of the N-Town 'Marriage' is particularly apt.
- 58 Zinn, 'Introduction', in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture in the Middle Ages*, xi–xv, xii. On Mary's preaching and glossing of the psalms in the N-Town 'Presentation of Mary at the Temple', see Ruth Nisse, *Defining Acts*, 68–70, and Frank M. Napolitano, 'The N-Town "Presentation of Mary in the Temple" and the Production of Rhetorical Knowledge', *Studies in Philology* 110.1 (2013), 1–17, doi: 10.1353/sip.2013.0006.



CAROLINE BAIRD

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## From Court to Playhouse and Back: Middleton's Appropriation of the Masque

*Bringing a thorough study of court masques to bear on reoriented readings of The Revenger's Tragedy, Women Beware Women, The Changeling, and the lesser known Your Five Gallants, I show that Thomas Middleton's intimate knowledge of the Jacobean court masque enables him to exploit its conventions, iconography, and structural functions for use in the playhouse. Middleton confidently 'deconstructs' masque dramaturgy to create a masque episode which encapsulates the play's overarching theme and engineers the resolution. At the same time, by subverting the very device used to represent the court to the world, he subtly critiques king and court.*

In the early seventeenth-century, James I and his Danish queen transformed mumming, or the Tudor practice of masked dancers unexpectedly appearing at a festivity, into a phenomenon known as the court masque. A newly commissioned masque became *de rigueur* for Twelfth Night and Shrovetide revelry at Whitehall and an indispensable part of any celebration in the court calendar. The coming of age of Prince Henry and the creation of Charles as duke of York were both celebrated with masques. The royal wedding of Princess Elizabeth saw no fewer than three masques commissioned. Masques were performed by and for royalty, but theatrical players were caught up in the spectacle because men and boys from the principal acting companies, servants of the king after his accession, performed the speaking roles and, after 1609, the antimasque parts, both deemed inappropriate for nobles. Masques involved numerous artists from painters to choreographers, and dramatists also found themselves caught in this intersection between palace and playhouse. As Paul Yachnin writes, several began to 'market their connections with the court to their paying audiences', inserting a masque episode into the body of a play.<sup>1</sup> The masque on stage, or play-masque — perforce a miniaturized

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version — brought something the king revelled in to the playhouse for all to enjoy vicariously. Thomas Middleton's intimate knowledge of the Jacobean court masque enabled him to exploit its conventions, iconography, and structural functions in order to experiment innovatively with how masques, or masquing components, might be deployed in the playhouse. Although Middleton was not a prolific masquewright, unlike his fellow dramatist Ben Jonson, he wrote more masques into his plays than any of his contemporaries, and up to 1611 was the only dramatist to take the device outside the repertoire of the children's troupes.<sup>2</sup> Whether an inserted masque is extensive (giving the effect of a complete masque), reduced to a repeated entry dance, or even condensed to 'something like the abstract of a masque' (*Wit at Several Weapons* 5.2.340–1),<sup>3</sup> it has a dramatic function; in *The Changeling* the mere *rehearsal* of an antimasque produces the required effect. All things considered, I suggest that the music, sophistication, and symbolism of the Jacobean masque inspired Middleton rather than the humbler Elizabethan revels. A specific Stuart masque shaped by contemporary events is sometimes the template.<sup>4</sup> He responds swiftly to innovations in the masque form itself, and I concur entirely with Gary Taylor and Andrew Sabol's analysis that 'in the remaining decade of his career, from 1614 to 1624, Middleton increasingly transformed plays into a de-privatized, "commons" equivalent of court masques'.<sup>5</sup> This article argues that Middleton 'deconstructs' masque dramaturgy, confidently using its components and conventions to distil a play's themes. At the same time, by subverting the very device used to represent the court to the world, he subtly satirizes king and court.

Whilst the court masque and its politics have attracted considerable attention in recent years, much less work has focussed on the play-masque. An exception is the play-masque in Middleton's *Women Beware Women* (1621): for this reason my own discussion of this play will be brief. Enid Welsford's authoritative study contains a chapter of the influence of the masque on drama.<sup>6</sup> Sarah Sutherland and M.R. Golding have written on the use of the masque in revenge tragedy, and Inga-Stina Ewbank has given an overview of the different uses of masques in some plays of the era.<sup>7</sup> Critical discussion, though, tends to focus on the masque's 'revels', the moment when the masquers 'take out' members of the audience, and the inherent potential for surprise in the revelatory unmasking. Court masques, however, even though the masquers are dumb and the text is often minimal, contain many other constituent elements, just as important as the final dancing, which 'speak' and convey meaning.<sup>8</sup>

Linking contextual study of masquing conventions to nuanced, reoriented readings of canonical texts, *The Revenger's Tragedy*, *Women Beware Women*, and *The Changeling*, as well as the lesser known *Your Five Gallants*, I propose to delve deeper into some of these elements to reveal particularly imaginative reworking of the masque as a cultural and literary form. These elements include the convention for masquing suits of the same livery, the role of torch-bearers, the passion for emblems, and the 'transformation' scene. I will also look at the antimasque and its later invasion by courtiers. I will show how Middleton subverts these key components in the service of satire, whilst still keeping the masque's archetypal purpose, the restoration of order. My approach will read the final moments of *The Changeling* as analogous to the transformation scene of a masque, adding a hitherto unrecognized significance to the play's title, change and transformation being virtually synonymous.

### Matching Masquing Costumes, 'Loud Music', and the Entry Dance

In *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606) arch-revenger Vindice uses masquing suits for disguise and imitation; masquing provides the play's central disguise motif. The play is set in an Italian ducal palace, yet anchoring phrases in act 1 make it clear that Middleton is writing about contemporary society and the English court.<sup>9</sup> The masques also speak obliquely of James I's obsession with this form of revelling. In this play-masque the customary harmonious purpose of the masque is inverted, however, with the play's pervasive inversion of values signalled early on by Lussurioso's request to Hippolito to find him 'A man that were for evil only good' (1.1.80). The 'hero' has to disguise himself as a 'fine villain' (1.3.56).

As the play opens we learn that the Duchess's youngest son, Junior, has 'play'd a rape' (1.1.110) on Lord Antonio's wife and that masquing, in particular its darkness, vizards, and loud music, provided Junior with the perfect opportunity for his 'vicious minute' (1.4.39). This pre-commencement masque and the masque of 5.3 therefore 'frame' the play. Jonson and the other masquewrights devised fables, involving virtues, deities or heroic figures, around the noble masquers. Rosemond Tuve observes that 'they are not court personages acting parts in a play, but have, as themselves, been written into a dramatic piece'.<sup>10</sup> At the end, when the unmasking takes place, as Sabol explains, the understanding is that the miracles and virtues they had enacted 'were easily attainable by such eminent men as they'.<sup>11</sup> As Antonio suggests in

*Revenge's Tragedy*, however, in donning vizards some courtiers were 'Putting on better faces than their own' (1.4.29). True enough, for the masquers in this allegorical court are not the embodiments of gods, fairy kings, or virtues but the personifications of vice — Lechery (*Lussurioso*), Ambition (*Ambizioso*), Vanity (*Supervacuo*), and Bastardy (*Spurio*). The wider suggestion is, of course, that King James's courtiers regularly put on 'better faces' than their own when they too assumed masquing costumes.<sup>12</sup>

Many elements of masquing feature in the 'unsunned lodge / Wherein 'tis night at noon' (3.5.18–19), the scene of the old Duke's last 'entertainment'. Whilst not a masque as such, this entertainment is a piece of meta-court drama with vocabulary such as 'tragic business', 'show', 'property', 'part', and 'applaud' (99, 100, 101, 108) — terms that explicitly draw attention to the artifice of acting. Artifice it certainly is, as one 'performer' is Gloriana's skull, 'dressed up in tires' (43), on which Vindice has placed a modesty mask.<sup>13</sup> With this 'bony lady' (121) Vindice, as Piato, tricks the lusty Duke into receiving the kiss of death. He has applied poison to the mask or skull so that, as the 'puppeteer', he can ensure that it will 'kiss his lips to death. / As much as the dumb thing can' (105–6). Music and dancing were strong features throughout masques, not just in the final revels, and presumably music was played in this scene — the word 'music' occurs six times in 3.5, acting as a crescendo to the moment of revenge, to this *danse des morts*. The skull, the very 'mort' the Duke had poisoned, dances the poisoned Duke to his grave. Lydgate's painting of the 'Dance of Death' in St Paul's was destroyed in 1549, but his translation of the French Middleton perhaps knew. It states that its purpose was 'As in a myrrowre / to-forn yn her reasoun / Her owgly fyne / may clierli ther beh-holde'.<sup>14</sup> We can only see ourselves with a mirror, and the Duke is forced to see his ugly sin in the mirror Vindice holds up before him, the dead Gloriana. A decadent banquet always closed a masque and, in a ghoulish finale, the dying Duke is forced to watch speechless as his Duchess and his bastard arrive at the lodge for their banquet and the satisfaction of their sexual appetites, the Duchess oozing lust in her line, 'Pleasure is Banquet's guest' (218).

'Loud music' was a specific feature in court masques at two key points: the king's entry before the commencement and the 'transformation scene', the moment of metamorphosis when the masquers arrive. Hippolito's 'Thanks to loud music' (218) is heavily ironic here, used not at a regal entrance but at the Duke's departure from life having been cuckolded, humiliated, poisoned, and stabbed. The repetition of 'torch', 'night', 'noon', 'loud music',

'minute', 'vizard', and 'poison', from Antonio's report in 1.4 of the earlier masque alongside the symbolic feasting, shows Middleton's skilful evocation of the first masque.

Lussurioso is quick to welcome the 'sweet titles' (5.1.136) he has inherited on his father's death and his nobles, sycophantic 'flesh flies' (13), are quick to propose 'revels' (165) to honour him, i.e. a masque with accompanying dancing and banqueting. Masques were tools of compliment, therefore commissioning revels might be the nobles' stake in their future at court.<sup>15</sup> Lussurioso's most successful flatterer is told, 'Thou shalt sit next me' (5.3.37). Seats nearest to the king in the masquing room at Whitehall were sought and fought after and were a measure of worth; foreign ambassadors could be flattered or insulted by their seating allocation.<sup>16</sup> These nobles, however, will come to regret their places of honour.

In the last seventeen lines of 5.1 we learn that Vindice and each of Lussurioso's brothers all see different opportunities presented by the masque. Supervacuo, his sights on the dukedom, announces to Ambitioso that 'A masque is treason's licence — that build upon / 'Tis murder's best face when a vizard's on' (5.2.183–4), clearly establishing that the scheming duo are going to make a further attempt on their brother's life, concealing their deed in honourable entertainment. Again the details of masques that Middleton exploits are overshadowed by the internecine bloodbath that soon follows. We learn that the Duke's brothers are 'busied to the furnishing of a masque / And do affect to make a pleasant tale on't' (5.2.12–13). This emphasis on artifice mocks the fanciful allegorical fables of court masques and their self-mythologizing and is heavily ironic since a pleasant tale it clearly is not going to be. Vindice, the consummate master of disguise, plans to assume the same masquing disguise as the brothers to fool Lussurioso. To this end he arranges 'to take pattern / Of all those suits, the colour, trimming, fashion, / E'en to an undistinguish'd hair almost' (15–17). These lines mock the work and expense involved in the design and creation of masquing costumes. Further, masquers usually wore 'en suite' or identical costumes — indeed it was the preferred form because uniformity and an orderly stage represented a peaceful, ordered kingdom.<sup>17</sup> The sinister employment of uniformity in *Revenger's Tragedy* is another example of Middleton's express subversion of the harmonious aim of the court masque.

The seated Lussurioso is expecting to be honoured and entertained but, stealing a march on the 'Brothers and Bastard' (5.3.41), Vindice, Hippolito, and the two other lords who are needed to match the costumed quartet of

brothers enter and dance. Notably, this moment is not, as is often assumed in discussions of this scene, the moment of ‘revels’, the ‘taking out’ at the end of the masque, but the beginning, perhaps the traditional short entry dance as the masque’s scene is ‘discovered’. Contemporary accounts of masquing at Whitehall, such as those of Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir John Harington, ‘show that at least some courtly masquing occasions were nothing less than chaotic’; this is how Vindice and Hippolito can pre-empt Ambitioso’s quartet.<sup>18</sup> This court is large — Hippolito states ‘There are five hundred gentlemen in the action / That will apply themselves and not stand idle’ (5.2.28–9) — so it is easy for Vindice’s masquers in identical apparel to gain access and, ‘observing the true form’ (5.2.18), perform their entry dance. They then unsheathe their swords and murder Lussurioso and the three favourites seated next to him and leave. Unaware of their imitators, the masked brothers (and a fourth lord) enter to ‘discover’ an unexpected masque scene, a quartet of murders. Masques, like state processions, aimed to ensure that ‘the king’s body was publicly visible at set times and was always approached with reverence’.<sup>19</sup> The symmetry of the one-a-piece murders matches the synchronism inherent in court masque dances but ‘observing the true form’ of the court masque was not propping up the dead body of a murdered duke in a ‘greasy doublet’ (5.1.72) or murdering his heir at his installation banquet. The dance occurs *before* the sudden moment of miraculous transformation and metamorphosis, which is signalled by the thunder as the murders take place. Vindice notes the theatricality of thunder, ‘Mark, thunder! / Dost know thy cue’ (5.3.42–3), and it is interesting to compare this phrasing with Jonson’s lines at the moment Truth descends in the *Barriers at a Marriage*, also 1606:

Princes, attend a tale of height and wonder.  
 Truth is descended in a second thunder,  
 And now will greet you with judicial state,  
 To grace the nuptial part in this debate,  
 And end with reconcilèd hands these wars. (*Barriers*, 224–8)<sup>20</sup>

The thunder in *Revenger* is of course morally ambiguous. Vindice’s downfall comes when he cannot stop himself boasting to Antonio, who immediately orders his execution. Antonio’s appearances frame the play; he symbolizes the judicial, vice-free ruler. The return to order was the end of all court masques and although Vindice has purged a dukedom ‘vex’d with sin’ (5.2.6), triggering the ambitious brothers to kill each other, he has killed two dukes; he is a murderer. He finally realizes that ‘Tis time to die when we are ourselves

our foes' (5.3.109). I am suggesting that there is a masque-like ending, except that, following the play's inversion of values, order is achieved through murder rather than divine miracle.

Middleton was not the first to use the masque for mayhem and murder.<sup>21</sup> Of the many revenge plays in the years between Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (ca 1587) and Middleton's *Women Beware Women* (1621) that feature a masque episode, however, only four employ the masque itself as, to use Golding's term, a 'revenge murder machine': Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1600) and *The Malcontent* (1603–4) and Middleton's pair, *Revenger's Tragedy* and *Women Beware Women*.<sup>22</sup> Marston's template is doubtless a strong influence, but Middleton builds on the violent yoking of ceremony and anarchy and makes the masque not only emblematic of the play's themes of disguise, vanity, and ambition but also a hieroglyph of the court. The many disguises, and in particular the matching of one masked quartet with another identically costumed and vizarded foursome, mirror the duplicity, doubleness, and 'smooth-brow'd treachery'<sup>23</sup> that courtiership required, frequently alluded to in play-texts of the era. 'Courtiers have feet o'th nines and tongues o'th' twelves. / They flatter dukes and dukes flatter themselves' (5.1.149–50), Vindice declares.

Stephen Orgel describes the masque as 'Platonic and Machiavellian; Platonic because it presents images of the good to which the participants aspire and may ascend; Machiavellian because its idealizations are designed to justify the power they celebrate'.<sup>24</sup> In *Revenger's Tragedy* Supervacuo and Ambitioso plan to assassinate Lussurioso in the course of a 'pleasant tale', and Lussurioso is happy to accept the honour for the time being, but he has plans to wield his power and see his brothers 'dance next in hell' (5.3.41). The gulf between the intent of both parties and the ideal is vast. Middleton uses many elements of masquing such as its final banquet, the loud entry music, the transformation, and above all matching costumes, but all have been subverted. Nevertheless, this murderous masque does restore order and epitomizes the play's central themes of disguise and vanity.

### **Torch-Bearers, Emblems, and Masque Songs**

In the city comedy *Your Five Gallants* (1607), Middleton unhinges the masque from its courtly setting and focuses on two different components, emblems and torch-bearers — both familiar parts of masque iconography. Although the masque was a court entertainment, one has only to consider

the numerous craftsmen involved in its production, the number of servants and extended family exposed to the genre when the monarch and consort visited homes in the city and country, and the reports of the many spectators, to appreciate how it entered contemporary discourse. But if the masque was popular, the passion for emblems and imprese was even more widespread.<sup>25</sup> As Rosemary Freeman states, the emblem became part of the language of the age, used by preachers, teachers, and poets.<sup>26</sup> Designs found their way from emblem books to homes — on embroidered clothing, tapestries, carpets, wall panels, and ceilings; on book covers and portraits.<sup>27</sup> It was, however, in the masque, as Allarydce Nicoll states, that ‘the fashion for the courtly impresa and for the emblem-book reached its completest expression’.<sup>28</sup> The masquers were ‘living pictures’ plucked from emblem books.<sup>29</sup> Samuel Daniel refers to the twelve goddesses of his 1604 masque as ‘the hieroglyphic of empire and dominion’.<sup>30</sup> In *Five Gallants* Middleton burlesques the pretentious passion for emblems and the self-mythologizing entailed in both the impresa and the court masque.<sup>31</sup>

Denizens of Jacobean London, the eponymous five gallants are genial rogues — a cheater, a lecher, a broker, a thief, and a bawd — representative of common vices. They compete, with the virtuous Fitzgrave, as suitors to a wealthy heiress, Katherine. The play has little by way of a conventional plot. Rather, in a series of vignettes, it dramatizes social interaction and mischief, catering to the vogue for cony-catching roguery. Metatheatricality allied to contemporary haunts, including the gaming room at the fashionable Mitre tavern and the middle aisle of Paul’s, would have clearly connected the fictive and real for a contemporary audience — Ralph Alan Cohen describes the play as a ‘gallery of mirror images’ for spectators.<sup>32</sup> Fitzgrave disguises himself, very much like Vindice, as a malcontent, a ‘credulous scholar, easily infected / With fashion, time, and humour’ (1.2.92–3). He winds himself into his rivals’ trust to witness their various rogeries.

At the end of the month’s respite that Katherine has requested from her suitors, Goldstone suggests: ‘What if we five presented our full shapes / In a strange, gallant, and conceited masque?’ (4.7.222–3). They unwittingly commission their rival, Fitzgrave, in his disguise as the scholar Bowser, to be the masque’s ‘Poet’ (226), requiring of him ‘a little of thy brain for a device to present us firm, which we shall never be able to do ourselves ... and with a kind of speech wherein thou mayst express what gallants are bravely’ (254–7). Bowser employs a painter to emblazon shields with designs and imprese that succinctly emblemize the *un*trustworthiness of each gallant. He gives



his co-conspirator gentlemen-gallants (and the audience) a preview. Goldstone's device is three silver dice, an appropriate symbol for the 'cheating-gallant'. The emblem of the bawd gallant, Primero, is a pearl hidden in a cave, with the motto '*occultos vendit honores*' (5.1.101), 'he sells hidden honours'. Fripp, who as the broker-gallant dresses in pawned clothes, is represented by a cuckoo. Tailby, the whore-gallant, misinterprets his emblem of a candle in a corner to mean 'my light is yet in darkness till I enjoy her' (160) and, like his companions, he does not understand his Latin motto '*consumptio victus*' (158), 'a consumption of sustenance', nor his later introduction by Bowser, anglicized for the playhouse audience: 'a notorious lecher maintained by harlots' (210–11). The emblem of 'the pocket-gallant', Pursenet, is an empty purse, his motto '*Alienis ecce crumenis*' (86–7), 'behold the purse of another'. *Five Gallants* is like a crossword with both cryptic and simple clues. The Latin mottoes offered the sophisticated spectators in the audience the satisfaction of being able to crack the real meanings because, as Nicoll says (albeit of the court audience), 'culture was to be displayed by quickness in appreciation of these things'.<sup>33</sup> Visual clues and Fitzgrave's preview aided those who did not understand Latin to have their own laugh at the gallants who are gulled by the false, yet plausible, translations of the Latin that Bowser gives them.

Peter Walls has shown that masque songs were designed to expose the mysteries of the masque's 'device'.<sup>34</sup> Following this masque's song, the masque is described:

*Enter the masque, thus ordered: a torch-bearer, a shield-boy, then a masquer, so throughout; then the shield-boys fall at one end, the torch-bearers at the other; the masquers i'th'middle. The torch-bearers are the five gentlemen; the shield-boys the whores in boys' apparel; the masquers the five gallants. They bow to her; she rises and shows the like; they dance, but first deliver the shields up.* (5.2.18 sd)

As Katherine reads out the Latin mottos, each gallant proudly bows in acknowledgement. When she seeks confirmation, 'Are you all as the speech and shields display you?', Goldstone answers: 'We shall prove so' (24–5). A dance follows until finally Fripp presents Katherine with a chain of pearl. The ironic truth of the thrice-repeated line of the song, 'Anon you will be found' (18–19), is soon seen as Katherine immediately recognizes the chain of pearl Fitzgrave gave her. It was stolen by Pursenet's boy and has made its way round the group in a cycle of gifting and filching.

In a court masque the whole invention is geared to the moment when the masquers remove their visors and become themselves. These masquers have already revealed their identities in bowing to the Latin impresse they did not understand, damned by their own 'invention' (5.1.72). Instead it is the torch-bearers (Fitzgrave, Piamont, Bungler, and two other gentlemen) who unmask. In an age of unlit streets torch-bearing was a routine service carried out by household servants or pages.<sup>35</sup> Not only were torch-bearers a necessity simply to reach the masquing hall,<sup>36</sup> but their costumes and vizards harmonized with those of the masquers whom they always equalled in number, a tradition established from the first Jacobean masque.<sup>37</sup> As Anne Daye explains, they 'amplified the masquers' theme, emphasized their status', and heightened the wonder of the spectators.<sup>38</sup> The masquers should be incarnations of the qualities they portray and unmask to reveal their glorious selves; the torch-bearers' role is a passive one. Instead, in a reversal of roles which would not have escaped the audience's notice, the gentlemen torch-bearers illuminate the situation in a very different way, so that the wonder is that of the masquers — thieves, cheats, and lechers — as the torch-bearers 'blast'<sup>39</sup> their marriage hopes. Fitzgrave, the true gentleman, wins Katherine's hand and matches four of the gallants with the courtesans from Primero's brothel disguised as shield-boys. Shield-boys seem to be Middleton's innovation in masquing, but a shield-bearer carried the shield of a warrior or king.<sup>40</sup> These courtesans are not protective, subservient shield-bearers but spirited women who loathe the gallants 'worse than the foul'st disease' (5.2.66), even though they eventually agree to marriage for the protection it affords them. They ultimately use the men as shields with the result that traditional hierarchy and order is re-established through the masque, as in *Revenger's Tragedy*. As Beaumont and Fletcher's Strato states, wedding masques 'must commend their king, and speak in praise of the assembly, bless the bride and bridegroom in person of some god; they're tied to rules of flattery'.<sup>41</sup> Fitzgrave, who declares at the masque's rehearsal, 'This is my crown' (5.1.122), is the metaphorical king and god in this play-masque. As Cohen says, 'the indoor sport of royalty', the masque, has been used as a mirror and parodied.<sup>42</sup> Pursenet's assumption that Fitzgrave's poetic ranting when he realizes his pocket has been picked is 'some pageant plot or some device for the tilt-yard' (2.1.242), and his hope to meet him in 'some court-alley' (3.2.21), bring the object of the satire suggestively close to Whitehall.

Middleton has again subverted specific elements of masquing convention, the song revealing the thief, the emblems showing the gallants' vices (not

their virtues), and the torch-bearers, who prove to be socially and morally privileged, disciplining (not enhancing) the masquers. This wooing masque has also encapsulated the drama's themes: the concern for reputation, the ubiquity of bluffing, and the constant cycle of service, reward, and gratitude that the patronage system encouraged, so clearly described in Pursenet's epiphany, when he ambushes Tailby in Coombe Park and finds the pearl chain his boy stole from Katherine:

Why this is the right sequence of the world: a lord maintains her, she maintains a knight, he maintains a whore, she maintains a captain. So, in a like manner, the pocket keeps my boy, he keeps me, I keep her, she keeps him; it runs like quicksilver from one to another'.  
(3.1.135–9)

### **Antimasques and the Transformation Scene**

Around 1608 a new element, the 'antimasque', was introduced into the masque. For the *Masque of Queens* (2 February 1609), Jonson writes, 'her Majesty ... has commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers, and have the place of a foil or false masque'.<sup>43</sup> The previous year an 'antimasque of boys', 'most anticly attired', had represented 'the Sports, and pretty Lightnesses, that accompany Love' in Jonson's masque for Lord Haddington's marriage.<sup>44</sup> Originally this was just an antic dance, but the idea took hold and the 'antimasque' developed. Not only did it vary the diet but it also produced, as Queen Anna requested, a contrast to enhance the effect of the masquers' entrance and emphasize the theme. In *Queens*, Jonson's antimasquers are eleven hags and their dame, representing 'Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, etc.' (15–16), who appear from 'an ugly hell' accompanied by 'a kind of hollow and infernal music' (21, 25) and fall into a 'magical dance, full of preposterous change and gesticulation' (318–19). The scene changes and they vanish, dispelled by twelve queens. The antithesis, 'the opposition between the ideal and its obverse, or between masque and antimasque', writes Sabol, 'is the basic frame upon which Jonson built his pieces'.<sup>45</sup>

As in the playhouse, where comedic subplots were sometimes more popular than the main plot, antimasques became so popular that by 1613 it was normal to have *two*. James himself found antimasques highly amusing and after the second antimasque of the *Masque of the Inner Temple* (1613) 'It

pleased his Majesty to call for it again at the end, as he did likewise for the first anti-masque, but one of the Statues by that time was undressed' (246–8).<sup>46</sup> Word clearly spread of the king's delight in this comedic element, and some antimasque dances from court productions were transferred almost intact into plays.<sup>47</sup> Middleton responds to the popularity of the device but resolutely uses the spelling 'antemasque'.<sup>48</sup> Taylor conjectures that this is because his oppositions 'are not absolute antitheses but simply precursors'.<sup>49</sup> In *Wit at Several Weapons* Middleton and Rowley *personify* antemasque and masque. The Old Knight, Sir Perfidious Oldcraft, plans to marry his Niece to the wealthy, but foolish, Sir Gregory Fop in a perfidious deal whereby he pockets two-thirds of her dowry himself. He decides to trick his Niece, pretending that Fop's penniless, parasitic young companion Cunningame is the husband he intends for her, forewarning Fop:

OLD KNIGHT You shall not be seen yet: we'll stale your friend first.

If't please but him to stand for the antemasque.

SIR GREGORY Puh, he shall stand for anything: why his supper

Lies I' my breeches here; I'll make him fast else.

OLD KNIGHT Then come you forth more unexpectedly,

The masque itself, a thousand-a-year jointure:

The cloud, your friend, will be then drawn away,

And only you the beauty of the play. (1.1.140–7)

He fails to see that, contrary to enhancing the superior qualities of Fop, 'the masque itself', the 'antemasque' Cunningame is much more attractive husband material. Antimasquers are meant to obstruct the courtly masquers but the masquers always defeat them, sometimes causing the chaos to vanish by their very arrival. When Masque Fop is proudly produced, however, Niece Oldcraft subjects him to continual mockery and repeated rejections until Cunningame tricks him into marrying Mirabell, the niece of the Guardianess. The eventual union of Cunningame and Niece Oldcraft is achieved during the revels or dancing in Wittipate's 'abstract of a masque' in the final act.<sup>50</sup> This is the moment when masquers 'take out' partners from the spectators, inviting them to dance, 'raising the latter at least briefly, into the brighter and better world of the former'.<sup>51</sup> The dramatists subvert the aim of the 'taking out' and also reverse the result of the traditional antimasque/masque conflict of the mid-reign Jonsonian masque, cleverly satirizing the court audience's delight in antimasquing.

An 'antemasque', in its meaning of 'before', occurs in the play-masque from *Women Beware Women*, where it is a precursory dance that Bianca either designs or hijacks, aiming to have the censorious Cardinal, next heir to the dukedom, poisoned in a dance of cup-bearers. The stage audience has a written 'argument' (5.1.69) of the pastoral fable. When the Duke becomes confused by the opening dancers, not mentioned therein, dissembling innocence of any hand in the device, Bianca proffers: 'This is some antemasque, belike, my lord' (106). It precedes the masque, but is not an *antimasque*. It has the same ironic symbolism as the main masque but there is no transformation at this point. The extensive literature on this masque discusses the ironic roles of each masquer and the poetic justice meted out to all, so that the masque functions as 'a moralized metaphor', a 'revelation and a resolution'.<sup>52</sup> My interest lies in the allusion to an earlier Jonsonian masque and further Middletonian subversions. *Women Beware Women* is based on the story of Venetian heiress Bianca Capello, her elopement to Florence with a bank-clerk, and her seduction by the grand duke, Francesco I de Medici, as related in Malespini's *Ducento novelle* (1609). The sub-plot also has a literary source, but neither features a masque; this is Middleton's addition, although, as Margaret Shewring and J.R. Mulryne have shown, the weddings of Francesco (to both his first wife and Bianca) were celebrated by elaborate shows interspersed by *intermedii*, the manuscript *descrizioni* of which they consider Middleton may have consulted.<sup>53</sup> It is more likely that the intertextual borrowings are from Jonson's *Hymenaei*. Mulryne points out the similarities of personnel (Juno and Hymen) and iconography (the altar, peacocks, fire). *Hymenaei* was written for the marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Devereux in 1606. As is well known, the marriage was a source of scandal by 1613–14 when annulment was sought, and by 1621 not only had Howard married Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, but the pair were in the Tower for murder. *Hymenaei* was therefore, as Shewring and Mulryne state, 'effective shorthand' for ill-conceived marriage and court scandal, drawing on 'embedded associations in the minds of the audience, including the minds of those ... who had never attended a court masque'.<sup>54</sup> John Jowett was the first to make a connection between the play's title and a ballad on the Overbury scandal, 'Mistress Turner's Farewell', which, he writes, includes the admonition 'Women by me beware'.<sup>55</sup> Combined with the deliberate alteration of the Duke's age to fifty-five,<sup>56</sup> James's age in 1621, this detail strengthens the case for an anti-court reading.

Dramaturgically, this play-masque is one of the closest attempts to portray a full court masque.<sup>57</sup> It evokes typical conventions: following the antemasque there is music, then the discovery of the masque's pastoral scene, and as the nymph (Isabella) sets a censer and tapers on Juno's altar, a song or 'ditty' (5.1.110 sd) is sung, expounding the story.<sup>58</sup> The two shepherds she loves (Guardiano and Hippolito) enter to add their pleas to Juno (Livia), who is 'aloft' (174). In court an upper stage for masquers was a feature of Inigo Jones's set designs. Livia's urgent demand 'let me down quickly' (168) probably alludes to Jones's elaborately engineered moving stages.<sup>59</sup> As Barbara Ravelhofer has shown, the emphasis on 'descent' of grand masquers was pronounced.<sup>60</sup> It was always deities or 'higher' beings that descended from mountains, the heavens or cloudscapes.<sup>61</sup> Overcome by the poisoned fumes from Isabella's censer, Livia is forced to descend from her godly height. The gods of masques, sometimes played by Queen Anna, descended to create order. When Livia and her cupids, armed with poisoned arrows, descend, chaos ensues and all the characters (except the Cardinal) meet their ends. In recent work on gender and violence, Elizabeth Kolkovich suggests that this play shows disapproval of women's masquing at the Stuart court and its 'opportunity to sabotage masculine royal authority'.<sup>62</sup> In the period she might have had her ears cut off, as William Prynne did in 1633 for his perceived attack on Henrietta Maria and royal theatricals. It is surely Howard, Carr and James that Middleton targets. As Laura Severt King suggests, 'the decline into chaos and brutality of a form charged with celebrating order and harmony argues that something is desperately wrong at the political center'.<sup>63</sup> John Potter and Albert Tricomi suggest similar readings of the scene.<sup>64</sup> The real point being made is that mythological gods, played by royal masquers, represented the absolute authority of the monarch. Juno was to decide between the suitors and resolve the predicament, creating an idyll — not kill the prospective bride and trigger annihilation. From Orgel's research we know that pastoral scenes, a commonplace, became 'an assertion of royal power',<sup>65</sup> the king being able to tame nature. In the early Stuart masques such pastoral scenes come at the beginning and embody 'the wildness of nature' or 'untutored innocence', with the passage to 'sophistication and order ... represented by complex machines and Palladian architecture'.<sup>66</sup> After 1616, however, the 'sequence is reversed' and pastoral settings 'appear ... at the end, and embody the ultimate ideal'.<sup>67</sup> We cannot be sure that Middleton consciously reverses the established pattern, but the game he plays in this final 'set-match' (196) is clear: this Florentine court was never natural or

innocent, and the innocent pawns it ensnares become 'acquainted' (2.2.439) with sin and murder. The two kisses that frame the masque, Bianca's disingenuous kiss from the Cardinal and her suicidal inhalation of the Duke's breath, contrast with the innocent kisses in scene 1.

In 1622 Middleton collaborated, not for the first time, with William Rowley in *The Changeling*.<sup>68</sup> Both dramatists were by now fluent in masquing protocol and co-authors of their own *Courtly Masque: The Device called, The World Tossed at Tennis* (1620). To their tragedy, they added the apparently incongruous element of an antic dance as a vital ingredient. *The Changeling's* source text is a fiction from the first volume (1621) of *The Triumphs of Gods Revenge*, written by a Calvinist merchant, John Reynolds.<sup>69</sup> These 'histories' of brutal murders, with moralizing introductions and conclusions, were extremely popular and widely read. We know James read them, and this first volume was dedicated to Buckingham.<sup>70</sup> Both its direct connection to the court favourite and Reynolds's own description of the castle's casemates where Alonzo is murdered as 'the Theater, whereon we shall presently see acted a mournfull and bloody Tragedy' (T1r), must have been impossible to resist. Middleton and Rowley follow the events of the source closely, keeping key words and the precise manner of Piracquo's murder, but their poetic language, some of the most memorable of the period, transforms Reynolds's didactic prose.

The dramatists also introduce a 'foil', or what I term an 'anti-plot', analogous to the antimasque/masque bifurcation and with a similar force and relevance to the main plot.<sup>71</sup> Like the antimasque, the anti-plot is contrasting, antic (comic, hence popular), and antique (involving ancient dances). As Sabol explains, the antimasque served as a foil 'through its emphasis on the grotesque, fantastic, or remote'. He elaborates, 'the masque ... represents the transcendent world of the macrocosm, the antimasque represents the sublunary world of men and beasts, the microcosm', frequently depicting animals and satiric in purpose.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, although the later court masques tended to have greater numbers of masquers to antimasquers, the antithesis was more obvious with equal numbers: the evil spells of twelve witches dispelled by the arrival of twelve queens and so forth. The antimasque was an 'object on which to exercise and thus demonstrate the power of the forces of order' and the king's omnipotence.<sup>73</sup> An 'anti-plot' of the kind I am outlining needs to do more work than a normal sub-plot, even one linked to the main storyline; it requires careful balancing — not reflecting or mirroring as Muriel Bradbrook suggests, but 'othering' with grotesques, showing what

the masquers were not.<sup>74</sup> In *The Changeling* Middleton and Rowley match the main persons of the castle plot with the other in the madhouse, as has been well documented.<sup>75</sup> The madhouse is not in the source, although the idea may have germinated from Reynolds's Preface, which warns that 'it is a *folly* to hearken to temptation, but a *misery and madness* to follow and embrace it' (my italics).<sup>76</sup> Further, Reynolds's Alsemero becomes jealous after marrying Beatrice-Ioana, imagining her 'unchaste with many' and 'curbes and restraines her of her liberty'.<sup>77</sup> By devolving this element onto Alibius, a 'Mr Elsewhere', Middleton and Rowley, quite at home with the binary oppositions of court masques — witches/queens, satyrs/knights, frantics/statues — easily create a folly/madness opposition with the 'anti-plot' set in a lunatic asylum, its inmates dressed as birds and beasts, establishing the binary opposition between perceived normality and abnormality, which is to be collapsed. Each plot presents the woman with temptation. One female character 'hearkens' to it and acts foolishly; the other 'embraces' it in a state of moral madness. In this period lunatics were considered a source of entertainment and would have been considered safely 'other'. The madness, however, turns out to be in the castle of aristocrats, whilst the madhouse is simply home to folly. I consider this one of the covert allusions to the English court because Thomas Campion's *The Lords' Masque*, the very masque James himself commissioned for the marriage of his daughter Elisabeth to Frederick of Bohemia, included an antimasque of 'frantics' or 'lunatics'.<sup>78</sup> In a further intriguing parallel to the Palatine wedding, for which three consecutive nights of masques were planned, Vermandero plans three nights of revels for the marriage of Beatrice-Joanna and de Piracquo and commissions Alibius to provide:

A mixture of our madmen and our fools,  
 To finish, as it were, and make the fag  
*Of all the revels, the third night from the first.*  
 Only an unexpected passage over,  
 To make a fruitful pleasure, that is all. (3.3.277–81, emphasis mine)

References to the wedding masque (or masques) in *The Changeling* are slight and subtle, but occur at key points. This first, above, is just after the audience has witnessed the murder of the groom by Vermandero's servant, De Flores, at the instigation of the bride-to-be. The discordance of such an act is far from the concord symbolized by a wedding masque, meant to represent hopes for a harmonious relationship. The misrule at the castle is further highlighted



by the principle of contrariety of the antimasque. As with Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Women Beware Women*, the mere inclusion of a wedding masque signals that the marriage is doomed before it begins. The following scene witnesses Vermandero, unaware of Piracquo's dispatch, welcoming Alsemero, Beatrice's own choice of husband.

The next mention of the commissioned antimasque of fools is Alibius's request to 'see them once more rehearse before they go', wishing to ensure his new source of revenue will be 'perfect' the following night 'to close up the solemnity' (4.3.67, 56, 57), the masques having been reassigned to Beatrice's marriage to Alsemero. In court, antimasque dances were performed by actors (men and boys) and dancing masters. Sabol's study of surviving scores indicates clearly that antimasque dance music has 'rapid scale passages, notes reiterated in rapid succession, abrupt shifts from major to minor and back again, wide skips in melodic lines, cadential formulas calling for trills or vibrato, and impressive rhythmic contrasts', and thus required extensive rehearsal.<sup>79</sup> Alibius's madmen are to perform a morris, the fools a measure; Lollo's comment, 'I mistrust the madmen most. The fools will do well enough' (59), is heavy with irony: one has to wonder who the real madmen are, having just witnessed Beatrice, her virginity taken by De Flores, bribe her maid Diaphanta to take her place in Alsemero's bed and fake her own virginity test. Beatrice's counterpart, Isabella, is tempted by adultery and the scene in which she disguises herself as a madwoman and dallies with Antonio (who has earlier dropped his disguise and whom she knows to be a gentleman [3.3.130–56]) makes clear the difference between madness and mere foolishness. The use of two plots allows one to be measured against the other: madness is a hidden mental state, foolishness more readily apparent.

The rehearsal Alibius oversees is clearly in costume, for Lollo offers to point out Antonio to Franciscus, saying, 'if you find him not now in the dance yourself I'll show you' (4.1.214–15). Masquers were not officially identified until the moment of unmasking, although in practice there might be clues. What costumes were used is conjecture but, since a stage direction states 'Madmen above, some as birds, others as beasts' (3.3.208 sd), it seems reasonable to imagine them as such, quite fitting for an antimasque of grotesques and the 'frightful pleasure' that Vermandero requested. Lollo is eager to enjoy Isabella himself; he sets up the expectation of a bloody end for Antonio and Franciscus as he goads each to vengeful action to rid themselves of their rival for Isabella. As dancing master and choreographer Lollo is, however, as keen as Alibius for his fee, so he counsels: 'Only reserve him till

the masque be past' (4.3.213). The rehearsal takes place and Alibius declares it perfect for the masque the following day and looks forward to 'coin and credit' (226) for it.

There is to be no bloody end for Antonio and Franciscus, the disguised antimasquers who have rehearsed madness in the asylum. That fate is reserved for Beatrice-Joanna and De Flores who have been 'more close disguised' (5.3.128) in the castle and practised actual madness. Endeavouring to extend the 'pleasure and continuance' of their affair (5.1.49), they have now also killed Diaphanta. But they have been watched; when Alsemero learns of their liaison, he confines the pair to his closet, commanding: 'rehearse again / Your scene of lust, that you may be perfect / When you shall come to act it to the black audience' (5.3.114–16). The metatheatrical jolt reminds us that they are, of course, actors. It should also remind us that the nobles in the castle are masquers too. There is no direct reference to the other masques — nor was there any for the wedding, a dumb show merely shows Beatrice as '*the bride following in great state*' (4.1 sd) — but it is clear from Vermandero's earlier request to Alibius that 'the unexpected passage' of fools and madmen is to be a sudden entrance of antimasquers 'the third night from the first' (3.3.280, 279). Taylor and Sabol consider that Middleton revived the choreographed dumb show to create a masque dance effect.<sup>80</sup> I believe we are to imagine the earlier nights of offstage masquing and revels; the text offers two suggestive references to Beatrice wearing a mask. Although women commonly wore a mask out of doors, I read these references as part of her masquing costume. Alsemero remarks bitterly to Jasperino that 'The black mask / That so continually was worn upon't / Condemns the face for ugly ere't be seen' (5.3.3–5), and when he confronts Beatrice directly with her whoredom he states: 'There was a visor / O'er that cunning face, and that became you; / Now impudence in triumph rides upon't' (46–8). Even if the mask is metaphorical, like a masquer she has put on the costume of a 'fair faced saint' so that he is left feeling like a 'blind m[an]' (109), recalling Beatrice's prescient warning at their first meeting that eyes should be 'sentinels' to judgement.<sup>81</sup> This, then, in my reading, is the third masque day and the nobles too will have had to rehearse their dances. In masques the dances were themselves representations of the masque's meaning: 'Our motions, sounds, and words, / Tuned to accords, / Must show the well-set parts / Of our affections and our hearts'.<sup>82</sup> Instead of the graceful foot-work expected of noble masquers, however, Beatrice and De Flores have been metaphorically playing the common country game of chasing couples, 'Barley-break', as De Flores proudly

declares (163), a dance more like the 'wild distracted measure' (3.3.283) of an antimasque.

Barley-break, or 'Last Couple in Hell', was a country game of capture played by three couples. The couple in the middle, termed Hell, had to catch two of the others who then took their place as catchers.<sup>83</sup> This game of chasing couples, its rules and its 'hell', provide a useful symbolic image for the amorous chase and for maids trapped into disgrace. As Ann Pasternak Slater, who feels that it can be read as a 'potent symbol for the entire play', states, Sidney's poem *Lamon's Tale* (unfinished) poetically describes the game through the story of a shepherdess, Urania, who plays at Barley-break.<sup>84</sup> Closer yet to the tragic tone of *The Changeling* is another poem that strikes a didactic note with its telling title, *Barley-Breake, OR a Warning to Wantons* (1607).<sup>85</sup> Another shepherdess, Euphema, is pursued by Streton at Barley-break. Her father tries to warn her of the dangers by relating the story of the nymph Calisto who is tricked and 'deflowrd by love' (stanza 89). Heedless, Euphema runs off with Streton and allows him to 'doe what he would' (stanza 131). Significantly, in both these poems the men, like De Flores, enjoy being in 'hell'.<sup>86</sup> Strephon in *Lamon's Tale* 'thought it heaven so to be drawn to hell' (l 312) and Streton in *Barley-Breake* 'would for ever, if he might, there dwell' (stanza 17). The symbolic relevance of Barley-break appears to have been well known.

Locked together 'in hell' (5.3.163), De Flores and Beatrice-Joanna are effectively commanded to 'rehearse again' (114) their 'part', their antimasque, 'where howls and gnashings shall be music to you' (117) — music as appropriate to their hell as the 'hollow and infernal music' of the witches' hell in *Queens* (25). It is to be a *danse macabre*, as Beatrice and the lord of misrule, De Flores, dance to their deaths. The next moments mimic what was called the 'transformation scene' of a court masque, always at a visually spectacular moment and accompanied by 'loud music'. Transformation or metamorphosis was the theme of all masques (trees are turned into knights, statues come to life, men transformed into flowers are returned to men, blackamoors become white-skinned, gypsies are metamorphosed into courtiers, and so on). It is the moment when antimasquers and masquers are briefly on stage at the same time. Likewise, in *The Changeling* the two plots here converge: Vermandero enters suddenly with five members of the asylum 'anti-plot' and announces: 'I have a wonder for you' (5.3.121). Alsemero counters: 'No, sir. 'Tis I, I have a wonder for you' (122). Wonder was an effect of tragedy in the period and the motive for learning, a philosophy espoused by Aristotle.<sup>87</sup> It

was also crucial to the masque with its myths and miracles. The word 'wonder' occurs frequently at the moment of transformation.<sup>88</sup> This exchange between Vermandero and Alsemero arguably resembles a declamatory ayre — not quite a song, yet more than ordinary speech<sup>89</sup> — inasmuch as Alsemero's lines are a near refrain of the former's (note the repetition not only of 'wonder' but of 'suspicion', 'proof', 'disguised', 'deed', 'hear me', and 'servants', 123–131). The cries of the fatally wounded Beatrice-Joanna startle the stage audience, and Alsemero unlocks the closet. The revelation that follows is indeed one of wonder for Vermandero, who states, 'An host of enemies entered my citadel / Could not amaze like this' (5.3.147–8). His bewilderment measures his lack of earlier understanding, another theory found in Aristotelian texts; he suddenly realizes his patriarchal failure. Before she dies Beatrice confesses to her father and asks Alsemero's forgiveness, her words 'Tis time to die when 'tis a shame to live' (179) echoing Vindice's acceptance of fate after the apocalyptic masque.<sup>90</sup> As Gail Kern Paster suggests, Beatrice-Joanna's bloodletting image is purgative.<sup>91</sup> This imagery is also found in *Barley-Breake*: when Euphema's father dies of shock after learning of her pregnancy, she kills herself, opening her 'veines to let out wanton streames' (stanza 177). Thus in *The Changeling*, following the tradition of the court masque, the forces of disorder are dispelled.

In what I term *The Changeling's* transformation scene, as in the court masque all undergo change, 'for it is the transformation of both masquer and spectator, of the whole court, that the masque as form undertakes'.<sup>92</sup> We have seen this in *Revenger's Tragedy*, *Five Gallants*, and *Women Beware Women* where the masques involved all the characters. De Flores and Beatrice-Joanna are transformed: 'Here's beauty changed / To ugly whoredom, here, servant obedience / To a master sin, imperious murder' (5.3.197–9); all the others are changelings too and admit their transformations, including Antonio, who is changed by Isabella's 'powerful beauties, / Whose magic had this force thus to transform me' (3.3.134–5) 'from a little ass as I was to a great fool as I am' (5.3.204–5). All these transformations are contrary, from good to bad; masque transformation was meant to be to 'an ideal, perfected state'.<sup>93</sup> *The Changeling* inverts the transformation scene of a court masque. Given the debates on the meaning of and precise identification of the 'changeling' and the number of claimants to change in this particular passage, it is surprising that the analogy to the metamorphosis that occurs in masques has not previously been considered, change and transformation being synonymous.<sup>94</sup>

Yet, if we see Beatrice's death as the transformation scene of a masque we can see again that the masque ultimately fulfils its aim, the restoration of order. It purges the scene of its sinners and ensures that 'Justice hath so right / The guilty hit, that innocence is quit / By proclamation' (5.3.185–7), gesturing to the Calvinist principles of filial obedience and patriarchal authority.<sup>95</sup> Richard Hornby suggests that plays within the play and role-playing within a role are devices to explore social or individual concerns in relation to society. By the same argument then, the masque within the play is a device for exploring its fount, the court, in relation to its subjects. Moreover, just as Jonson designed his masques to 'carry a mixture of profit with them no less than delight',<sup>96</sup> *The Changeling* offers a critique of the English court where a real murder and linked virginity test had taken place. Details of Howard and the Overbury scandal do not need to be retraced here.<sup>97</sup> My interest lies in how the king and courtiers enjoyed the subversive delight of antimasquing, some even impersonating antimasquers. As Martin Butler reveals, courtiers gradually invaded the antimasque and 'in the late 1610s a series of masques put aristocratic performers in grotesque roles and ... speaking parts'.<sup>98</sup> Particularly significantly, the marquis of Buckingham, the dedicatee of the volume in which the original story of Beatrice-Ioana is found, was an antimasquer, just months before *The Changeling*, in a masque he sponsored to celebrate his marriage. In *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (August 1621)<sup>99</sup> his family and close circle played speaking roles as charismatic gypsies who picked pockets and told fortunes, Buckingham acting as the gypsy captain. This is essentially what Antonio and Franciscus, 'two of [Vermandero's] chiefest men' (5.2.59), do when they inveigle their way into the asylum and rehearse a mad measure. Indeed Dale Randall states that 'Jonson could scarcely make clearer the overlapping identities of the captain and Buckingham', arguing that the lack of differentiation between masque and antimasque enables him to make the potentially subversive comparison of the king's favourite to a gypsy.<sup>100</sup> The gypsies are transformed into courtiers but in the epilogue, post-transformation, the gypsy captain (Buckingham) ambiguously states: 'We are gypsies of no common kind, sir'. *The Changeling* engages with this erosion of the conventional differentiation between masquers and antimasquers and lack of distinction between madmen, fools, and courtiers. They, like Antonio, the dramatists perhaps suggest, may 'Keep [their] caparisons, [they're] aptly clad' (4.3.140).

The court masque was a façade, the court's attempt to mirror itself; it was based on a fable, sometimes with the king portrayed as a god. A mirror,

however, shows what we look like, not what we are. The masque was court life theatricalized, designed to ‘deceive a mighty auditory’.<sup>101</sup> Middleton demonstrates his thorough understanding of masquing; he is able to weave individual components of masque dramaturgy into his plays and use the masque episode as a play-with-the-play which encapsulates the over-arching theme. He bends and toys with the formulae, but the outlines of a masque still remain. Identical masquing suits are a means to commit murder rather than to show unity, emblems and torch-bearers expose the vices of the masquers rather than set off their glory; he makes ironic use of masque music, song, and dancing; gods murder; and transformations are from good to bad, as we have seen in *The Changeling*, with ‘beauty changed / To ugly whoredom’ and ‘servant obedience / To a master sin’, rather than the reverse. He challenges the masque as a symbol of magnificence and praise but upholds its ultimate goal, the restoration of order. Just as masques were the perfect vehicles for Jonson’s blend of classicism and didacticism, so the masque-within-the-play was the ideal crucible for Middleton’s political and social critique.

## Notes

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- 1 Anthony B. Dawson and Paul Yachnin, *The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge, 2001), 42.
- 2 Sarah Sutherland, *Masques in Jacobean Tragedy* (New York, 1983), 23–4, 89–90. Sutherland lists Middleton’s play-masques as: *Your Five Gallants*, *Michaelmas Term*, *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman’s*, *More Dissemblers Besides Women*, *Hengist*, *King of Kent*, *The Old Law*, *Women Beware Women*, and *The Changeling*. Due to misattribution she omits *Timon of Athens* (it is thought that Middleton wrote scene 2, the banquet and masque of Amazons) and *The Revenger’s Tragedy* (attributed to Tourneur and discussed by Sutherland as such), both played by an adult company, as well as *Wit at Several Weapons* and *The Nice Valour*.
- 3 *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007). Throughout, all line numbers and quotations from Middleton’s plays refer to this edition.
- 4 There are allusions to and purloins from masques such as *Hymenaei*, *The Lords’ Masque*, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, and *Lovers Made Men*.
- 5 Gary Taylor and Andrew Sabol, ‘Middleton, Music and Dance’, Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture* (Oxford, 2007), 130.

- 6 Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and The Revels* (Cambridge, 1927), 276–301.
- 7 Sutherland, *Masques*; M.R. Golding, ‘Variations in the Use of the Masque in English Revenge Tragedy’, *Yearbook of English Studies* 3 (1973), 44–54, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3506855>; Inga-Stina Ewbank, ‘These Pretty Devices: A Study of Masques in Plays’, T.J.B. Spencer and S. Wells (gen. eds), *A Book of Masques* (Cambridge, 1967), 407–48.
- 8 See for example Lauren Shoet, *Reading Masques* (Oxford, 2010), doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199295890.001.0001>, who writes that ‘Even in the scripted part of the entertainment, dance surpassed text according to the Neoplatonic philosophical underpinnings of court masques that took well-regulated patterns of intricately moving bodies to mirror the social order, and beyond that the harmonious dance of the cosmos’ (30–1).
- 9 ‘A man of the time’ (1.1.94), ‘this our age swims within him’(1.3.23), ‘this present minute’(26), ‘in these days’ (65), ‘in this luxurious age wherein we breathe’ (112), ‘nowadays’ (157), ‘judgement in this age’ (1.4.55).
- 10 Qtd in Sutherland, *Masques*, 18.
- 11 Andrew Sabol (ed.), *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1978), 12.
- 12 This is a commonplace of cultural materialist work in the 1980s. See also work on anticourt drama such as Albert H. Tricomi, *Anticourt Drama in England 1603–1642* (Charlottesville, 1989).
- 13 The modesty mask which Piato ‘tells’ the skull to wear (‘Hide thy face now for shame; thou hadst need have a mask now’ [3.5.114]) in this case serves well as a disguise, just as a masque vizard does.
- 14 Stow reports the destruction of the mural that the monk John Lydgate had translated from the French mural he had seen in the Cimitière des Innocents in Paris in 1426; John Stow, *A Suruay of London* (1598), 264–5. The Middle English text still survives in twelve manuscripts. For this information, the Paris woodcuts, and the English text, see Martin Hagstrøm’s website, <http://www.dodedans.com>. His source is *The Dance of Death* from MSS Ellesmere 26/A.13 and BM Lansdowne 699, edited with introduction and notes by Beatrice White.
- 15 See David Lindley (ed.), *Court Masques* (Oxford, 1995), x. Lindley suggests that Francis Bacon paid over £2000 for the *Masque of Flowers* offered at the marriage of the Earl of Somerset to Frances Howard ‘entirely ... to earn favour with the King and cement his connection with his favourite’.
- 16 See Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (London, 1937), 38, on the discretion required in seating arrangements and the careful grading of

- spectators. See also Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), 50–1. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*, the argument between Calianax and Melantius dramatizes the use of spectator placement as a gauge of status (1.2.64–8).
- 17 Texts confirm this: 'Then rode the chief masquers in Indian habits, all of a resemblance' (*The Memorable Masque*, 47) and 'The attire of the masquers was alike in all, without difference' (*Masque of Blackness*, 57), both in Lindley, *Court Masques*. See also Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume and Music* (Oxford, 2006), who devotes a chapter to costumes and states that 'the theme of concord became one of the underlying principles of Stuart masques'; uniformity and an orderly stage was a 'wishful representation of the wider kingdom' (168).
  - 18 Shohet, *Reading Masques*, 24.
  - 19 Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, 86–7.
  - 20 Ben Jonson, *Barriers at a Marriage*, in Lindley, *Court Masques*, 15.
  - 21 Ewbank has traced an early use of a masque to commit murder in *Woodstock* (1591–4) and historical evidence linking masquing and murder in Holinshed ('These Pretty Devices', 438).
  - 22 Golding, 'Variations in the Use of the Masque', 45.
  - 23 *Women Beware Women*, 2.2.430.
  - 24 Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power* (Cambridge, 1975), 40.
  - 25 An *impresa* is a motto, traditionally no longer than three words; an emblem could be a lengthy poem. See Nicoll, *Stuart Masques*, 154.
  - 26 Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), 99.
  - 27 *Ibid.*, 90–4.
  - 28 Nicoll, *Stuart Masques*, 154.
  - 29 *Ibid.*, 155.
  - 30 Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of The Twelve Goddesses*, l 49 in Spencer and Wells, *Book of Masques*, 26.
  - 31 Middleton was not alone in using a procession of emblematised suitors as a wooing device. Jonson uses it similarly ironically in his anti-court satire of 1600, *Cynthia's Revels*, before he wrote any court masques. In Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (5.1), Galeatzo, Matzagente, and Ballurdo, each carrying a device with a word, court Mellida, Rossaline, and Flavia during a masque.
  - 32 Ralph Alan Cohen, 'Introduction to *Your Five Gallants*', *Collected Works*, 596.
  - 33 Nicoll, *Stuart Masques*, 156.
  - 34 Peter Walls, *Music in The English Courtly Masque, 1604–1640* (Oxford, 1996), 46.
  - 35 Anne Daye, 'Torchbearers in the English Masque', *Early Music* 26 (1998), 247, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/em/26.2.246>.



- 36 See Ben Jonson, *Christmas His Masque* (ll 83–4), in Lindley, *Court Masques*, 111: ‘to bring them here, and to lead them there / And home again to their own porches’.
- 37 See Nicoll, *Stuart Masques*, 213. In Chapman’s *Memorable Masque* the chief masquers were ‘in Indian habits, all of a resemblance ... the torch-bearers habits were likewise of the Indian garb ... the humble variety whereof struck off the more amply the masquers’ high beauties, shining in the habits of themselves’ (47, 75–8).
- 38 Daye, ‘Torchbearers’, 249.
- 39 A term used in both *Revenger’s Tragedy* (5.2.6) and *Your Five Gallants* (5.1.239).
- 40 ‘Shield-bearer’, 2.n, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.
- 41 Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid’s Tragedy*, ed. T.W. Craik (Manchester, 1988), 1.1.8–10,
- 42 Cohen, ‘Introduction to *Your Five Gallants*’, *Collected Works*, 596.
- 43 Jonson, *Queens*, 10–12 in Lindley, *Court Masques*, 35.
- 44 Jonson, *Haddington Masque*, 100–1, [http://www.one.act-plays.com/hue\\_and\\_cry\\_after\\_cupid.html](http://www.one.act-plays.com/hue_and_cry_after_cupid.html).
- 45 Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 3, n. 1.
- 46 Francis Beaumont, *Masque of the Inner Temple* (246–8), Spencer and Wells, *Book of Masques*, 139.
- 47 Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale* adopts an antimasque of satyrs from *Oberon* (1 January 1611) with the borrowing made clear by the shepherd’s servant telling Polixenes: ‘One three of them, by their own report, sir, hath danced before the king’ (*WT* 4.4.337–8) and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (3.5.137–48), appropriates the second antimasque, Iris’s parody of May games, of Beaumont’s *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn* (20 Feb 1613). See Ashley Thorndike, ‘Influence of the Court-Masques on the Drama, 1608–15’, *PMLA* 15 (1990), 114–20. Taylor and Sabol, ‘Middleton, Music and Dance’, 130, suggest that ‘one of more of the witches’ dances in Middleton’s adaptation of *Macbeth* (1616) may have been recycled from Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*’.
- 48 According to Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, the word antimasque usually suggested the several and various meanings: it was ‘dance music used before the main masque (ante-masque), its action contrasted with that of the masque proper (anti-masque), it often involved comic action (antic-masque), and some of its dances were ancient (antique-masque)’ (12).
- 49 Taylor, *Collected Works*, 1323.
- 50 Masque dancing consisted of two parts: the formal measures and the lighter revels. This time of mingling is exploited by the dramatists to arrange a hasty marriage. As Sabol explains, sometimes the word ‘revels’ is loosely applied to both parts of the dancing (*Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 15).

- 51 Dale B.J. Randall, *Jonson's Gypsies Unmasked* (Durham, NC, 1975), 157.
- 52 John Potter, 'In Time of Sports': Masques and Masking in Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, *Papers on Language and Literature* 18.4 (1982), 383; see also Ewbank, 'These Pretty Devices', 446.
- 53 Margaret Shewring and J.R. Mulryne, 'Dancing Towards Death: Masques and Entertainments in London and Florence as precedents for Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women*', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 25.2 (2007), 136, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3366/drs.2007.25.2.134>.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 135.
- 55 *Women, Beware Women: A Tragedy*, John Jowett (ed.), *Collected Works*, 1489.
- 56 Francesco was only twenty-three at his marriage to Bianca Capello.
- 57 Another, even more complete, is in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*, 1.2.
- 58 Walls, *Music in The English Courtly Masque*, 46.
- 59 It is not clear whether this is a second raised stage, since Bianca, Duke, and guests 'Enter, above' (5.1.38 sd). Nor is it clear how the quick descent was managed in production. Leslie Thomson discusses the problem of this stage direction as well as Middleton's general emblemizing of the upper stage but does not refer to this masquing convention. See Thomson, "'Enter Above": The Staging of *Women Beware Women*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 26 (1986), 331–43, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/450511>.
- 60 Ravelhofer, *Early Stuart Masque*, 87.
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 Elizabeth Zeman Kolkovich, "'Drabs of State Vext": Violent Female Masquers in Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women*', Mara R. Wade (ed.), *Gender Matters: Discourses of Violence in Early Modern Literature and the Arts* (Amsterdam, 2014), 295–306, 298.
- 63 Laura Severt King, 'Violence and the Masque: A Ritual Sabotaged in Middleton's *Women Beware Women*' *Pacific Coast Philology* 21.1–2 (1986), 46, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1316409>.
- 64 See Potter, 'In Time of Sports', 380, and Albert H. Tricomi, 'Middleton's *Women Beware Women* as Anticourt Drama', *Modern Language Studies* 19.2 (1989), 73, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3195193>.
- 65 Orgel, *Illusion of Power*, 49.
- 66 *Ibid.*
- 67 *Ibid.*, 50.

- 68 David Nicol, *Middleton & Rowley: Forms of Collaboration in the Jacobean Playhouse* (Toronto, 2012), 4, describes the Middleton/Rowley team as ‘the greatest collaborators of their age’.
- 69 The full title of Reynolds’s work is *The Triumphs of God’s Revenge against the Crying and Execrable Sin of Murder*. The story adapted by the dramatists is Book 1 (1621), ‘Historie IV’.
- 70 Joan M. Walmsley, *John Reynolds, Merchant of Exeter, and his Contribution to the Literary Scene 1620–1660* (Cambridge, 1991), 15, 32, 173. In his ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’, which dedicates the whole work (six books) to Charles I. Reynolds writes, ‘The former three Bookes had the Honour and Happinesse to bee perused by the Judicious Eye of King JAMES, your Renowned Father, (of happy Memory) In whose incomparable Judgement they failed not of Approbation’ (London, 1635), A1v. Walmsley considers that James’s approval would have contributed to the publication of a folio edition.
- 71 Scholars credit Rowley with writing the subplot but clearly the two were exceptionally close collaborators, since a calculated system of contrariety operates across both plots, with matching vocabulary and imagery.
- 72 Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 7, 12.
- 73 Hugh Craig, ‘Jonson, the antimasque and the “rules of flattery”’, David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1999), 188.
- 74 Muriel Bradbrook observed, without elaborating on this point, that the relationship of plot to subplot ‘is precisely that of masque and antimasque, say the two halves of Jonson’s *Masque of Queens*’; see her *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1935), 221.
- 75 This parallelism has been well documented by, for example, William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (London, 1935), 27–86 and A.L. Kistner and M.K. Kistner, ‘The Five Structures of *The Changeling*’, *Modern Language Studies* 11.2 (1981), 4–53, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3194565>.
- 76 Reynolds, *The Triumphs of God’s Revenge*, A4v.
- 77 Ibid, T2v.
- 78 ‘This was the first royal wedding to take place in England since the marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip of Spain in 1554’ and ‘such magnificence had not been witnessed for a nuptial event since ... 1501. The total cost of the Palatine wedding — ceremony and festivities included — came to an astounding £93,293’. Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Aldershot, 2009), 89. The wedding would assuredly remain in cultural memory just nine years later.

- Sutherland also remarks that the lunatics dance might resemble the 'mad measure' from *The Lords' Masque* (*Masques*, 108).
- 79 Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 13.
- 80 Taylor and Sabol, 'Middleton, Music and Dance', 130.
- 81 'Be better advised, sir / Our eyes are sentinels unto our judgements, / And should give certain judgement what they see; / But they are rash sometimes, and tell us wonders / Of common things, which when our judgements find, / They can then check the eyes, and call them blind' (1.1.71–6).
- 82 Daniel, *Tethys' Festival*, 336–9, in Lindley, *Court Masques*, 62.
- 83 Descriptions of 'Barley-break' are widely available. See, for example the *OED*. 'Barley-break' appears in the work of other poets and playwrights, such as Dekker and Massinger.
- 84 Ann Pasternak-Slater, 'Hypallage, Barley-Break, and *The Changeling*', *The Review of English Studies* 34 (1983), 429–40, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/res/xxxiv.136.429>.
- 85 The text of *Barley-Breake* by W.N. Gentleman (Anon.), based on the edition by Alexander B. Grosart (1877), can be found on the Renaissance Editions site <http://www.luminarium.org>.
- 86 'Hell' was slang for 'vagina' in the period.
- 87 J.V. Cunningham, *Woe or Wonder: The Emotional Effect of Shakespearean Tragedy* (Chicago, 1951), 65.
- 88 'Help, help all tongues to celebrate this wonder / The voice of Fame should be as loud as thunder' (Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, 654–5, in Lindley, *Court Masques*); 'Feed apace then, greedy eyes, / On the wonder you behold' (Daniel, *Tethys' Festival*, 355–60, in Lindley, *Court Masques*); 'he the wonder is of tongues, of ears, of eyes' (Jonson, *Oberon* 239, 246, in Spencer and Wells, *Book of Masques*); 'Who can more affright / The eye with magic wonders?' (Campion, *Lord Hay's Masque*, 365–6, in Lindley, *Court Masques*); 'And from thy hand let wonders flow tonight' (Campion, *The Lords' Masque*, 135, in Spencer and Wells, *Book of Masques*). In Jonson's *Vision of Delight* Wonder appears in person: 'How better than they are all things made / By Wonder!', (157–8, in *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven, 1970).
- 89 A declamatory ayre was a musical representation of actual speech, inherently dramatic. Declamatory elements were especially appropriate in the masque. See Walls, *Music in The English Courtly Masque*, 67. Middleton was heavily influenced by the music of masques. In *The Nice Valour* (1622) he adopts the dignified form of recitative, which Jonson used to enhance noble masquers, for an exchange of bursts of laughter and bawdy. There is also in *Valour* a clear purloin of a unique dance

sequence from the long second antimasque dance *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, again subverted for satirical purpose.

- 90 'Tis time to die when we are ourselves our foes' (*Revenger's Tragedy* 5.3.109).
- 91 Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 1993), 89.
- 92 Stephen Orgel 'The Poetics of Spectacle', *New Literary History* 2.3, (1971), 384.
- 93 Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 12.
- 94 In the 1653 quarto Antonio is identified as 'the' changeling in the *dramatis personae*, but it is thought this may have been a later interpolation. The *OED* glosses five senses for the noun 'changeling' and a number of commentators speculate on which of the many characters who are subject to change might be the dramatists' intended changeling; see, for instance: Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral*, 50–2; Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions*, 213–24; Pasternak-Slater, 'Hypallage', 429; and John Stachniewski, 'Calvinist Psychology in Middleton's Tragedies', *Three Jacobean Tragedies*, ed. R.V. Holdsworth (Basingstoke, 1990), 229.
- 95 This marries with the Calvinist persuasion of the source text's author, Reynolds, and with Middleton's Calvinist theology. See, for example, Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Politics under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1980) and Stachniewski, 'Calvinist Psychology'.
- 96 Jonson, *Love's Triumph*, 1–3, cited in Orgel, *Illusion of Power*, 43.
- 97 See in particular David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard* (London, 1993).
- 98 See Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, 32.
- 99 Performed on three occasions: at Burley-on-the-Hill on 3 August 1621, at Belvoir Castle, the country seat of Buckingham's father-in-law, The Earl of Rutland, on 5 August, and at Windsor Castle in September (date unclear).
- 100 Randall, *Jonson's Gypsies Unmasked*, 156.
- 101 Middleton, *A Game At Chess* (5.2.33).



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## **‘I will keep and character that name’: Dramatis Personae Lists in Early Modern Manuscript Plays**

*W.W. Greg’s claim that manuscript plays containing character lists were intended for publication (print or manuscript) and not playhouse use fails to account for all of the evidence in surviving manuscripts. Instead, as this essay demonstrates, a more significant variable in the inclusion of character lists in manuscript plays is the writer’s professional or amateur status. This article argues that amateur playwrights, influenced by their experiences as readers of printed plays, were more likely than professionals to include the ‘readerly’ device of a dramatis personae list in their manuscript plays, even in the case of playhouse manuscripts.*

In late 1632, during his long return voyage to London from Persia, East India Company clerk Walter Mountfort passed the time by writing a play that he intended to sell to a professional playing company upon his return.<sup>1</sup> When he returned to London in the spring of 1633, Mountfort supplied his manuscript of *The Launching of the Mary, or, The Seaman’s Honest Wife* to a troupe of actors, who in turn paid for a license from the master of the revels and then began to prepare it for performance, though no evidence confirms that the players eventually staged the play.<sup>2</sup> Mountfort wrote his play as a dedicated playgoer, recalling the playhouses he had years earlier frequented and then left behind when he sailed to Persia. He was not a professional dramatist and no evidence suggests that he was attempting to become professional; he was, rather, one of a handful of ‘amateur’ dramatists who wrote their own plays and supplied them to, or imagined supplying them to, professional playing companies.

On the second page of his manuscript, Mountfort recorded a two-column list headed ‘The actors’, by which he meant the characters in his play.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript of *Launching* presents, then, an important exception to

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W.W. Greg's generalization — which subsequent scholars have taken largely without question — that early modern manuscript playbooks did not include character lists. Greg's theory does not give adequate attention to the important effect of amateur playwrights gaining their experience of the theatre as, primarily, consumers of plays rather than producers of them. Mountfort wrote a manuscript copy that he intended a professional bookkeeper to use in a commercial London theatre; he included in that copy a formal feature — the character list — that he assumed the bookkeeper and the actors would require in order to stage his play. What led him to make this erroneous assumption, and how it may serve as a cautionary example about evidence in plays by amateur dramatists, is the principal point upon which this article focuses. We must recognize Mountfort's status as an amateur, an outsider to the institutionalized manuscript culture of the playhouse, to best account for the character list in the *Launching* manuscript. That other amateur playwrights tended to include *dramatis personae* lists in their manuscripts, while their professional counterparts usually did not, speaks to the dichotomous life of play-texts in print, for readers, and in manuscript, for players, and the disruption of that dichotomy when an individual familiar with plays only in print crossed into the world of plays in manuscript and brought into one medium the values and expectations of the other.

In the last thirty years, scholarship on early modern dramatic manuscripts has challenged and refined many of the theories first proposed by Greg in his 1925 'Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and the "Playhouse Scrivener"' and which also underpinned his 1931 *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*. Greg's ideas, however, were themselves an attempt to dismiss an even earlier speculative system of playbook taxonomy proposed in 1902 by Sidney Lee and which for nearly two decades the scholarly community never critically questioned. One of the features that Lee suggested a manuscript originating from the playhouse would always contain was a list of characters; Lee assumed that such a list would be necessary for casting and would therefore be a regular component of playbooks.<sup>4</sup> Greg dismissed this generalization by claiming that such lists are 'uniformly absent' from extant manuscripts that bear evidence of playhouse use.<sup>5</sup> Such lists, Greg claimed, were purely 'literary features', only used in copies made for presentation to patrons or in transcripts of plays being prepared for print publication.<sup>6</sup> While scholars have nuanced many of Greg's other theories, they have generally followed his claims about *dramatis personae* lists without question.<sup>7</sup>



Factors beyond playhouse or publication provenance, however, influenced the formal elements that appear in early modern play manuscripts and so a more complex, multivariable manuscript taxonomy is needed if we are to account for the nature of these peculiar documents. In the case of the appearance of a *dramatis personae* list in a particular manuscript play, the professional status of the playwright — that is, whether he was a regular member of the commercial theatre industry or whether he was an outsider to that industry, an 'amateur' — has more weight than the provenance of that manuscript. Distinguishing between the manuscript plays of professional and amateur dramatists thus reflects a larger condition of dramatic and textual culture in the period: the influence of print upon manuscript practices.

### **'A Scheme of Posture': The History of the *Dramatis Personae* List in England**

In order to clarify what a character list is, how it developed, and why it might variously appear in both print and manuscript plays, I will first outline the history of its use and appearance in English dramatic texts. Such a consideration of the character list's history shows that in early Tudor interludes these lists tried to address the performance needs of, for the most part, amateur producers. Up until the 1570s, lists provided helpful suggestions for doubling and thus explicitly addressed the casting needs of would-be performers. Following the widespread professionalization of the theatre after the 1570s, the purpose of the list evolved in response to the playbook-buying public's shift from a market comprised largely of potential amateur playwrights to one comprised almost exclusively of readers: that is, from a market of mostly producers to a market of mostly consumers. Subsequent lists focused much more on the relationships between fictional characters within the world of the play than on the staging of those characters in performance. Later in the seventeenth century, lists giving the names of professional actors who had taken particular roles were again linked to performance; these lists, however, speak to performances that had already occurred, rather than, like their Tudor predecessors, performances that could yet occur. Regardless of the ends at which such lists seemed aimed, however, they were a ubiquitous feature of printed plays for most of the period. As the next section demonstrates, one result of this ubiquity was that a reader of printed plays who was not familiar with backstage manuscript materials would probably view such a list as a necessary textual element for the production of a play. First, however, in

order to appropriately situate that analysis, we must better understand the development of the character list in early modern play-texts, and, indeed, the period's concept of what the dramatic 'character' itemized in such a list really was.

The character Cicero in the anonymous *Every Woman in Her Humor* (published 1609) has his work cut out for him as he tries to convince Terentia to requite the love of his friend, Lentulus: the more the great orator insists that she should love Lentulus, the more she insists on loving Cicero instead, proclaiming that she will 'keepe and Character [Cicero's] name' within her heart.<sup>8</sup> Terentia's use of 'character' refers to the act of writing as a means for preserving something indefinitely. Thomas Elyot, in 1538, had defined 'character' as 'a token, a note made with a pen', but by the end of the sixteenth century the term had come to mean more particularly the style of one's handwriting; 'character' meant 'the fashion of a letter' to Edmund Coothe in 1596 and, to John Bullokar in 1616, the 'forme of a letter'.<sup>9</sup> The roots of this meaning date to the fourteenth century and associate 'character' with a distinctive mark, stamp, or engraving, which also underwrites Terentia's use of the word as a verb (a new use of the word that evidently began with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in 1604).<sup>10</sup> Over the seventeenth century, the modern meaning of 'character' as a person's identity emerged out of this earlier etymology: when the chirographic style of handwriting can be associated with one individual, that writing can then stand for that individual. In the theatre, the terms only fully slipped together in 1664, when John Dryden coined the term 'Characters' to describe the 'imaginary persons' inhabiting his play *The Rival Ladies*.<sup>11</sup> These theatrical 'characters' were characters in both senses of the word: distinct marks written upon the page and representations of distinct individuals with personalities that set them apart from others.<sup>12</sup> Long before Dryden, however, dramatists, scribes, and stationers recognized the importance of connecting the concept of the individual persona with its written expression in the play, and the character list — already familiar as a reader's aid in many early printed classical plays<sup>13</sup> — served as the ideal space in which to make that connection. The purposes for such a guide, however, changed over time, in response to changes in how play-readers were using dramatic texts.

Use of the specific phrase 'dramatis personae' to head a character list in an English play originated with the 1602 quarto of Thomas Dekker's *Satirromastix*;<sup>14</sup> most early modern play-texts head such lists with phrases such as 'Actors', 'Interlocutors', 'The Speakers', 'The Actors' Names', 'The Persons

and Actors’, ‘Persons’, and ‘The Division of the Parts’.<sup>15</sup> These lists appear either at the beginning or — in early texts and, in a notoriously peculiar example, the 1623 folio of Shakespeare’s plays — at the end of the play and itemize the names of the characters as well as often their functions, titles, and/or relationships. The order in which names are given varies, usually taking the form of either socio-political rank or importance in the play. Lists are almost always stratified by gender, with male roles at the top and female roles at the bottom (more on the possible reason for this below). Occasionally lists group characters by alliance, family, or domain — for example, the characters in the list for *Gigantomachia* are bracketed into the groupings of ‘Gods’, ‘Giants’, and ‘Hills’.<sup>16</sup> Modest visual innovations in the dramatis personae list occur in the period, usually in the use of brackets, lines, and columns aimed at helping readers understand how characters are connected. The modern convention of listing characters in the order of their appearance — a convenience for readers trying to follow who is who in the play — appeared in printed classical drama, possibly derived from manuscript copying practices (a list arranged sequentially by speech order would be easiest for a scribe to compile as he made his copy of the play), but only occasionally imported into the vernacular in a few texts recounting private entertainments, such as Thomas Hughes et al’s Inns of Court play *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587), Thomas Middleton’s *Masque of Heroes* (1619), and Middleton and William Rowley’s masque *The World Tossed at Tennis* (1620). Lists in order of appearance may have also been meant to help readers recreate the theatrical experience of the performance.

A more peculiar use of a list to suggest the blocking of a performance occurs in the posthumous quarto of William Strode’s 1636 Oxford allegory *The Floating Island* (1655). The quarto includes a traditional dramatis personae list in its prefatory material, with ‘Persons’ organized by social rank and importance in the play and accompanied by brief descriptive tags explaining their roles.<sup>17</sup> As with most such explicating lists, Strode’s is anticipatory and anti-dramatic, providing readers prior knowledge about the relationships between characters that an audience in the theatre can work out only as the play unfolds. Because of such lists, play-readers approach the fiction of the play seeking confirmation of what they already know about these relationships, and so the play, when read, takes on the effect of an encounter with a static and fixed event (particularly if the list reveals the identity of disguised characters or characters whose true identity is not uncovered until the final act); lacking such lists, playgoers must wait and discover any information

about relationships and characters in real time, lending the play, when seen, a dynamic and potentially evanescent effect. Such descriptive lists, then, stand in for the bodies of the actors as memorializing tokens, or reminders, of the ‘imaginary people’ of the play. Strode took this concept of the list as a surrogate for the physical presence of the actors one step further, however, with his chart titled ‘A Scheme of Posture’, which serves as a spatial *dramatis personae* list emphasizing the rank relationships of the characters in the final scene, as well as, perhaps, their placement on the stage.

Strode’s ‘scheme of posture’ appears at the end of his play, a position that later printed dramatic texts generally avoided (for reasons explained below) even though it was the place where the earliest lists in English manuscript drama first appeared. Character lists in English drama originated in the mid-fifteenth century with inventories of character names in the colophon of manuscript plays, such as the ‘hec sunt nomina ludentium’ [these are the names of the players] on the final leaf of *The Castle of Perseverance* (ca 1440), the listing of ‘The namys and numbere of the players’ on the final leaf of the *Play of the Sacrament* (ca 1530) (‘IX may play yt at ease’), and the *interlocutores* list on Robert Wilmot’s post-1566 Inns of Court play *Gismond of Salerene*.<sup>18</sup> Providing readers with aids for identifying relationships between characters was a practice imported from the continent, where printers had been experimenting with such formal devices in classical drama. For example, Strasbourg printer Johann Reinhard Grüninger’s 1496 collection of Terence’s comedies includes six woodcuts of scenes from the plays with labels naming the characters, which was a fairly typical tool for identifying dramatic characters; less typical, however, is his woodcut for *Adelphi*, which uses a system of lines linking characters and locations in order to visually demonstrate the relationships between the personae, as well as between personae and settings.

English scribes and printers were generally less experimental than continental printers in how they identified characters in plays, for the most part limiting themselves to listing characters’ names on the final leaf or page. Some exceptions exist, however; *Hycke Scorne* (1515?), for example, perhaps the first printed English playbook to provide a guide to *dramatis personae*, uses six labeled character woodcuts on the verso of its title-page. Such illustrated lists persisted even later into the period, particularly in the plays of Middleton;<sup>19</sup> in later examples, however, such illustrations became less comprehensive and more selective in presenting only certain characters from the play. That is, rather than aids for the reader in navigating the action of the play, they became sites of imaginative engagement that could help

play-readers adopt the visual habits of the playhouse spectator, associating a physical body with the textual character and situating that body within a particular, usually fictional, setting. More practically, they also became marketing devices for selling unbound play quartos as they sat on booksellers' tables.<sup>20</sup> Over the sixteenth century, a few printers retained the older manuscript practice of listing characters at the end of a play; for example, the 'names of the players' in John Rastell's 1530 edition of John Skelton's moral interlude *Magnifycence* (printed by Peter Treveris) and Rastell's 1530 edition of Henry Medwall's *Interlude of Nature* appear on the final page after the text of the play.<sup>21</sup> In these instances, however, the title-pages present the texts as records of events from the past (*Magnifycence* was 'duysed and made by mayster Skelton / poet laureate late deceasyd' and *Nature* was 'cōpylyd by mayster Henry Medwall'). A more peculiar example is Derick van der Straten's 1548 octavo of John Bale's morality interlude *The Three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ*, which includes a list of 'interlocutores' on the verso of the title-page, but at the end also explains that 'Into fyue personages maye the partes of thys Comedy be duyled', suggesting van der Straten's assumption that some of his customers might want to stage it themselves.<sup>22</sup> Again, however, he presents the text as a record of a past event, with the colophon explaining that the interlude was 'Compyled by Iohan Bale'.<sup>23</sup> With the exception of van der Straten's edition of *The Three Laws*, the position of the character list at the end of these texts, and their emphasis upon the text's status as documentation of a performance that has already occurred, suggest that they were meant for buyers interested simply in reading the texts privately (the identity of characters would have been, for most readers, irrelevant in the decision whether or not to purchase the book).

Notwithstanding these few peculiar examples, however, we can deduce the larger market for printed scripts from the fact that, in most interludes and entertainments, lists of characters appear at the very start of the document, on the title-page.<sup>24</sup> In this place, the list could serve as advertising to buyers interested in how to cast the play for their own performances; most title-page *dramatis personae* lists in early printed interludes explicitly delineate how parts could be doubled or tripled to accommodate casts of various sizes.<sup>25</sup> Even the convention of dividing the list by gender may have developed to assist buyers in quickly determining how many adult actors and how many boy actors they would need to cast the play. These casting-oriented lists address the amateur producer and their rhetorical openness signals the collaborative nature of theatrical production that empowers the producer to do

whatever he might wish, or need, to do to make the script a performance. The earliest title-page list of ‘namys of the pleyers’, for example, in John Rastell’s *Nature of the Four Elements* (1520?), concludes with the deferential note, ‘Also yf ye lyst ye may brynge in a dysgysynge’.<sup>26</sup> The title-page list in John Heywood’s *The Play of the Weather* (1533) implicitly acknowledges that different producers will encounter different circumstances in casting, noting that the part of the boy should be taken by ‘the lest [that is, smallest] that can play’.<sup>27</sup>

From the 1530s into the 1560s, many more stationers placed character lists on the title-page, as in Rastell’s 1534 edition of Heywood’s Inns of Court interlude *A Play of Love*, van der Straten’s 1547 quartos of John Bale’s anti-Catholic interludes *God’s Promises* and *The Temptation of Our Lord*, and John King’s 1560 quarto of the anonymous *Nice Wanton*. The first title-page list to suggest that the roles might be doubled appears in the 1557(?)<sup>28</sup> *Wealth and Health*; the first title-page list to indicate how to double the parts is the 1560 *Impatient Poverty*, which apportioned the roles such that ‘Foure men may well and easelye playe thys Interlude’.<sup>29</sup> This new title-page convention of printed plays influenced some scribes and authors in their manuscripts; for example, the scribe who copied Francis Merbury’s university play *The Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom* (1578?) divided both the roles and physical space on the first leaf, specifying ‘The deuision of the partes for six to playe this interlude’.<sup>30</sup>

Occasionally stationers placed lists in the preliminary material but not on the title-page, as with the ‘names of the Speakers’ on the second page of William Griffith’s 1565 octavo of Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville’s *Ferrex and Porrex* (also known as *Gorboduc*).<sup>31</sup> Most character lists in early plays, however, appear on the title-page, again, likely a result of that page’s function as the principal means for marketing the book: stationers, because they sold plays unbound, evidently assumed that a list of how to double the roles for performance would appeal to most potential customers as they browsed the bookstalls. Because stationers usually left pages uncut in the pre-sold book, the placement of marketing devices, such as the casting list, on the inside of the text block would have been counterproductive.<sup>32</sup> Who, then, were the customers to whom these lists should have appealed? Gary Taylor suggests that these lists indicate that, ‘before 1580, booksellers expected a significant proportion of the purchasers of printed plays to be interested, not simply in reading, but actually in performing the plays they bought’.<sup>33</sup> More specifically, Richard Dutton notes that the character list

on the title-page of Thomas Preston's *Cambises* (1569) fits the thirty-eight parts to a company of eight actors, which was 'a typically-sized professional troupe of that period', and suggests that the printer was encouraging professional troupes to adopt the play into their repertoires.<sup>34</sup> David Bevington also draws upon casting information in early lists in order to reconstruct the possible composition and doubling practices of professional playing companies in the Tudor period.<sup>35</sup> No doubt some buyers of early printed plays were members of professional troupes, but the intended readers for these interludes also included individuals who lacked a professional understanding of how plays were made into performances. For one thing, most plays with character lists that instruct on doubling are aimed at companies of four or six players, which, as Dutton himself observes, is much smaller than the typical professional troupe of the time. Furthermore, certain lists include explanations of the theatrical laws governing the practice of doubling, as in John Wyer's 1550(?) quarto of R. Wever's *Lusty Juventus*: 'Foure may play it easely, takyng such partes as they thinke best: so that any one tak of those partes that be not in place at once'.<sup>36</sup> For professionals, a list describing how to double parts is convenient, but an explanation of theatrical exigency would be unnecessary; for amateurs unfamiliar with staging plays and thus potentially unaware of problems that they may encounter, such advance instructions could prove helpful in avoiding unforeseen difficulties. Even more to the point, the character list in Richard Bradock's 1581 edition of Nathaniell Woodes's 1572 *The Conflict of Conscience* divides the parts for six actors who are 'disposed, either to shew this Comedie in priuate houses, or otherwise', a formulation that suggests the author's (or stationer's) understanding that most buyers will be using the script for amateur performance.<sup>37</sup> In addition, though many itinerant professional troupes appeared in the Tudor period, their limited number and wide geographic dispersal beyond the primary book-selling area of London would not have made them, on their own, a sufficiently sized market to justify stationers' commitment of financial investment in the publication of plays. Most professional troupes, after all, would have staged their plays using manuscript playbooks, plots, and parts, and not bulk purchases of printed quartos. Stationers must have assumed that a larger prospective pool of customers wanted to purchase and stage, or perhaps simply read aloud, these plays.<sup>38</sup> Every buyer who was not a professional player was a potential amateur player, and the potential amateur players were most likely the primary targets of the early London play publishers.

Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence that the majority of buyers — or, at least, intended buyers — of these early printed interludes were amateur players is that the professionalization of the theatre in the 1570s corresponds with the rapid disappearance of the role-apportioned character list. As the ranks of amateur players dwindled after the 1570s, stationers' inclinations to market printed plays as scripts for amateur performance also waned: excluding closet drama, between 1520 and 1569, approximately 85% of printed plays with character lists place that list on the title-page, as compared to just under 20% between 1570 and 1609, and most of those post-1570 lists appear on reprints of older interludes (figure 1). The last printed play with a title-page dramatis personae list as a guide to doubling is the 1581 *Conflict of Conscience*, with its explicit indication of amateur performance.<sup>39</sup> As soon as the industry established its fixed London theatres, title-page lists dividing characters for performance largely vanished. Between 1600 and 1609, no title-page lists were printed at all. Indications of apportioning of parts for a particularly-sized company disappear almost entirely, with the exception of Henry Rocket's 1607 quarto of the anonymous play (often attributed to Thomas Heywood) *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, in which a note before the list assures buyers that 'Eleauen may easily acte this Comedie'.<sup>40</sup>

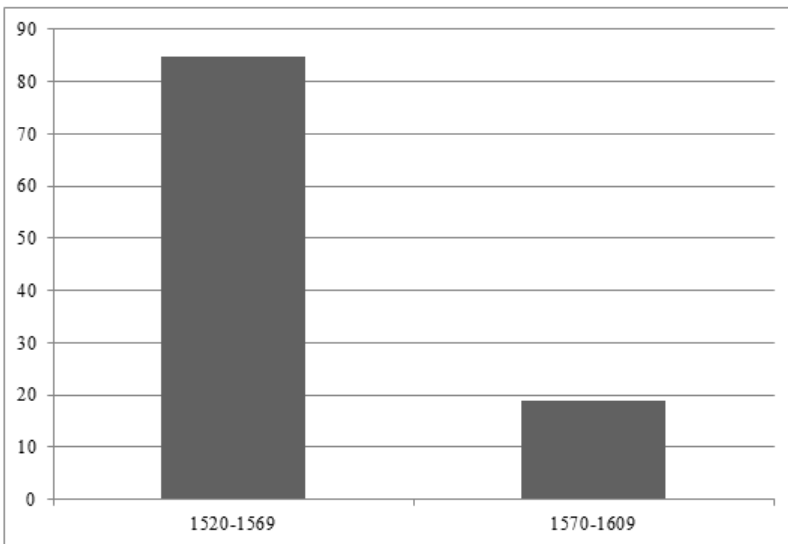


Fig. 1. Percentage of printed playbooks with dramatis personae lists that place that list on the title-page



The transition from character lists as performance texts to reading texts further solidified as the professional theatre came into ascendance. The last decades of the sixteenth century and first of the seventeenth saw printed plays with dramatis personae lists that presented detailed information on the function and relationships of characters rather than how those characters could be doubled or tripled for performance. Later in the seventeenth century, printed plays — such as the 1629 quartos of Massinger’s *Roman Actor* and James Shirley’s *The Wedding* — provided lists that included professional actors’ names, a marketing feature that would appeal to readers who had seen the performance, or at least knew who those actors were, and which would help the reader envision the play as it had been staged (by professionals) in the past rather than how it could be staged (by amateurs) in the future. Later scribes who prepared presentation manuscripts sometimes adopted this practice from the print tradition, as in the British Library’s copy of Arthur Wilson’s comedy *The Swisser* (ca 1630). Emphasizing the idea of the play-text as a record of an event that has occurred as opposed to a blueprint for an event yet to come contributed to the professionalization of the theatre industry. Some lists went even further in conveying their status as memorials of past professional performances. While nearly every other play that gives the actors’ names places those names after the names of the characters, the 1629 quarto of Lodowick Carlell’s *The Deserving Favorite* lists the actors before the roles they played, literally giving precedence to the past performance of the play over the current fiction of the play. Slightly different, but with similar effects, the 1623 quarto of John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* documents the play’s performance history in its character list by itemizing two different casts of actors — one from the play’s December 1614 premiere and the other from its revival sometime between 1619 and 1623. After 1642 and the closure of the public theatres, some lists — such as those in the 1652 edition of John Fletcher’s *The Wild Goose Chase* and the 1655 edition of Robert Davenport’s *King John and Matilda* — included short, editorial asides on the quality of actors’ performances, as if helping readers to recall (or imagine) performances once seen on stages now no longer in existence. These nostalgic post-1642 lists seem implicitly to caution their readers not to attempt a performance of their own, for it would only fall short of the unattainable ideal set by the professional players of the past.

All of these changes suggest that most stationers and scribes recognized that the majority of consumers of written plays, both in print and manuscript, had transformed from a market comprised largely of potential

play-makers to a market comprised largely of private, silent play-readers. Because potential buyers no longer principally purchased the book for use in their own performances, placement of character lists shifted from the title-page into the preliminaries, where readers could consult them as reference tools in proximity to, often directly facing, the start of the first act.<sup>41</sup> The history of the development of the character list, from a document aimed at creating a performance to a document aimed at imagining either a fiction or a past performance, is therefore the history of the transformation of the play-reading public itself, from one of potential amateur producers to one of almost entirely consumers.

Random Cloud charges modern editors of Shakespeare's plays with the intervention of 'the dramatis-personae list [that] has insinuated itself between the title-page and the opening of Act 1, Scene 1', but the historical precedent of this evolution of the form and purpose of printed dramatic texts in the period justifies such placement.<sup>42</sup> Before 1589, stationers printed most character lists on A1r of their plays; after 1589, most lists were printed on A1v. So complete was this change in placement and function that scholars have come generally and unquestioningly to assume that any list of characters in a play is, as Jeffrey Masten claims, an 'indication of its constitution as a *read-erly* text';<sup>43</sup> in the same vein, Taylor summarily concludes that '[character] lists are designed for readers, not actors' and Cloud suggests that such lists are 'helpful to a reader', but, by implication, do not speak towards the play's theatrical context as a performance document.<sup>44</sup> This perspective — attuned to the later professional drama but not adequately taking into account English drama's amateur roots — overlooks the origin of the dramatis personae list in early English dramatic texts as a tool expressly meant for making the written script into a performed play. In the period character lists were long viewed as bearing a relationship to performance, even though modern scholars have generally assumed that such lists were only for readers. This assumption of character lists as distinctly reading-oriented devices impelled Greg's view that their presence in manuscript plays always signals that the playwrights did not intend those manuscripts for performance use but were, instead, literary copies being prepared either for presentation or print publication. He most plainly articulates this theory in describing the title-page and dramatis personae list added by a later hand to the authorial playhouse manuscript of *The Two Noble Ladies* (1619–23); remarking on the leaf, Greg concludes that there is 'hardly ... a doubt that it was added with a view to publication'.<sup>45</sup> He then extends this claim into a general rule, suggesting that

‘only when [a manuscript] was prepared for printing was a list of personae added’;<sup>46</sup> Greg’s rule, however, ignores the question of personae lists included by the author or scribe in a manuscript used, potentially used, or intended to be used for performance. Subsequent scholars who remark on character lists in manuscript plays have usually taken Greg’s pronouncement as final and assume that a character list in a manuscript play signals either a ‘literary’ copy of a play or a copy prepared in order to enter print. This theory, however, does not account for all of the extant evidence.

### **‘A printed play or two’: The Influence of Print on Manuscript Play Practices**

In order to test Greg’s claim that theatrical manuscripts generally lack dramatis personae lists, I cross-tabulated the use or lack of use of such lists in a sample of fifty-nine play manuscripts against variables such as authorial or playhouse provenance, manuscript type, and the professional or nonprofessional status of the author.<sup>47</sup> Not surprisingly, Greg is largely accurate: manuscripts with evidence of playhouse use (bookkeepers’ revisions, censorship by the master of the revels, or both) almost always lack dramatis personae lists. Greg’s characterization of dramatis personae lists as ‘uniformly absent’ from playhouse manuscripts, however, glosses over some important exceptions to his rule. As noted above, at least one theatrical playbook from the professional theatre does have such a list (*The Launching of the Mary*), as does one playhouse scribal copy of a playbook: John Clavell’s 1630 King’s Men comedy *The Soddered Citizen*. The playhouse manuscript of *The Welsh Ambassador* also contains a dramatis personae list, though it seems that the copyist added it after writing out the rest of the document;<sup>48</sup> it may, then, have been a scribal interpolation rather than an authorial list in the scribe’s copy-text, though its presence again contradicts the generalization that playhouse manuscripts ‘uniformly’ lack such lists. Similarly, despite Greg’s claim otherwise, many fair copies made for readers lack a list, as with the six manuscript copies of Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*: one of these is an authorial transcript (the Trinity College copy), three are scribal transcripts (the Huntington and the two Folger copies), and two are scribal transcripts made by playhouse scribe Ralph Crane for presentation (the Bodleian and the British Library copies), but none contains a dramatis personae list. Although they clearly prepared their transcripts for readers, neither Crane nor the anonymous scribes nor Middleton himself evidently thought it appropriate or necessary

to add a list of characters. This absence of a list where Greg's theory suggests a list should appear — that is, in a transcript prepared expressly for a reader — recurs with other manuscripts, such as the scribal presentation copy of Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize* and the presentation copy of the university drama *Heteroclitanomalonon*. As the sample suggests, the basis for the flaw in the binary division of play manuscripts is the idea that those that include a list could not emerge from the playhouse and those that lack a list could not be intended for readers. A variable other than readerly/playhouse provenance alone must factor into the presence or absence of this textual feature.

One explanation may be in the relationship between the play's author and the professional stage: of the 33 manuscripts in the sample lacking dramatis personae lists, professional dramatists (regular, paid writers for the commercial players) wrote 79% (26), amateurs 9% (3), and unidentified authors 12% (4); of the 26 possessing dramatis personae lists, professional dramatists wrote 8% (2) and amateur dramatists 92% (24) (see figure 2). The manuscript of a play written by a dramatist not familiar with the usual working practices of the professional stage is more likely to include a dramatis personae list than the manuscript of a play written by a dramatist familiar with those practices, even if the nonprofessional's play appears in a playhouse manuscript and the professional's play in a 'literary' copy.<sup>49</sup> Mountfort's *Launching of the Mary* and the Trinity copy of Middleton's *Game at Chess* are clear examples of

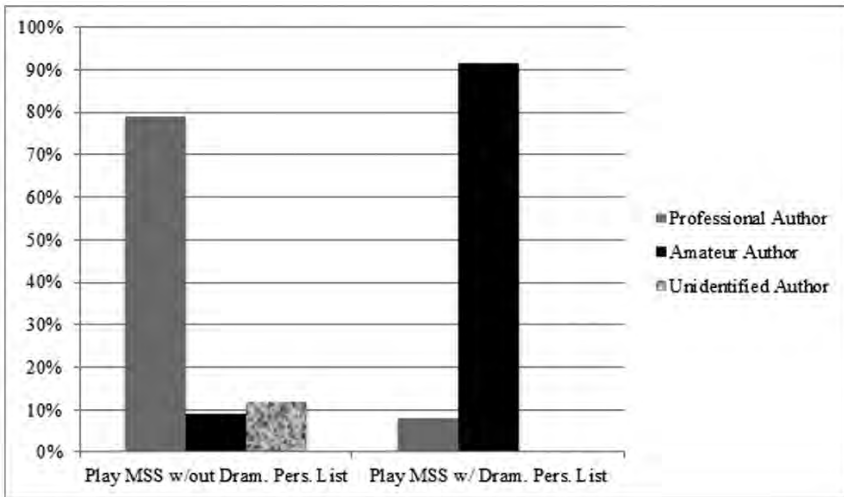


Fig. 2. Use of dramatis personae lists in play manuscripts sampled

this distinction: both are authorial manuscripts of plays for the professional stage, but one is an amateur’s playbook (which, according to Greg, should not include a list) and the other a professional’s presentation copy (which, according to Greg, should include a list).<sup>50</sup> In this instance, however, we must reverse Greg’s theory: the amateur’s playbook contains a character list; the professional’s presentation copy does not.

As the sample shows, both authorial and scribal manuscripts might contain *dramatis personae* lists, but no authorial fair copy by a professional dramatist contains a list. Indeed, the only two professional plays in the sample that do have character lists original to the manuscript are the scribal copies of the anonymous *Dick of Devonshire* (which, Greg suggests, may have never been intended for the stage)<sup>51</sup> and Crane’s presentation copy of Middleton’s *The Witch*. The possibility that a professional scribe, such as Crane, added a *dramatis personae* list to a presentation copy without consulting the author is possible. Scribal emendations to transcripts were common, particularly if the scribe believed that such changes might result in ‘a presentable text, able to perform its perceived social function.’<sup>52</sup> In a culture that, after the 1570s, viewed *dramatis personae* lists as aids for readers (see above), a professional scribe could have reasonably added a list if his exemplar lacked one and his fair copy was being prepared for a reader. At the same time, however, a scribe would probably retain such a list if it appeared in his exemplar. Scribal transcripts that contain lists — of which the majority are of plays by amateur dramatists — may reflect what the author had already included in his foul papers, or, possibly, what an intermediary scribe — professional or amateur — had added to the text in a transcript made earlier than the extant copy. It is highly unlikely that a scribe would omit a list if it were included in his exemplar, whether or not that exemplar was a transcript (scribal or authorial) or foul papers; a scribal transcript that lacks a list thus likely derives from a prior manuscript that also lacked a list. Without the manuscript that served as the scribe’s copy, we cannot determine, based only on knowing if the extant transcript is scribal or authorial, whether or not the exemplar foul papers did indeed contain a list. When the variable of the author’s professional or nonprofessional status is factored in, however, odds become easier to weigh: manuscripts of plays by amateur dramatists are more likely to contain a *dramatis personae* list than manuscripts of plays by professional dramatists, no matter whether the type of manuscript is authorial copy, scribal copy, or foul papers. Indeed, the very fact that amateurs’ play manuscripts with lists appear across all of these categories points to an

underlying factor to explain the inclusion of those lists, something that holds true whether the manuscript was made by author or scribe. This sample suggests that the provenance (playhouse, author, or scribe) or purpose (playbook or reading copy) of a manuscript is not sufficient to account for the inclusion or omission of a character list. A more precise correlation can be established only when we introduce the question of the author's professional status or degree of proximity to the working practices of the professional playhouse. A writer outside of that domain, without recourse to the documents professional playwrights customarily used — including, most importantly, the 'author's plot' which usually recorded a cast list — would find the most convenient example for his play in printed play-texts. Print, not manuscript, was the medium in which most members of the public encountered the text of professional plays, even though manuscript, not print, was the medium from which most actors produced professional plays.

Not only were general readers unlikely to encounter a play in manuscript — especially a playhouse manuscript — but even players outside of the professionalized industry almost always turned to printed playbooks for acting texts of professionals' plays. Middleton satirizes a troupe of amateur 'country comedians' in *Hengist, King of Kent* (published in 1661 as *The Mayor of Queenborough*) and notes that the avocational actors 'abuse simple people with a printed play or two, which they bought at Canterbury for six pence'.<sup>53</sup> Actual amateurs who staged professionals' plays corroborate Middleton's fictional version. Sir Edward Dering, for example, one of the best known theatre aficionados of his day, adapted for private performance the printed texts of plays he had seen on the London public stages, including Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays, for performance in his home at Surrenden by household members.<sup>54</sup> For *Henry IV*, Dering oversaw a scribe's creation of a new manuscript, but his copy-text was in print, for he combined and revised from the versions of the plays appearing in the 1623 Shakespeare folio. Dering's surviving folio reveals that he also marked up for performance other plays, including *Macbeth*, *Measure for Measure*, and *The Winter's Tale*.<sup>55</sup> In other instances, Dering purchased multiple copies of individual quartos for use as scripts, including Fletcher and Massinger's *The Spanish Curate* (1620–30) and a play that was either Beaumont's *The Woman Hater* (1607) or the anonymous *Suetnam, the Woman Hater* (1620). Amateurs who generated their own original material for performance did use manuscripts for their performances, but even in these instances, amateurs writing for

amateur players — like amateurs who wrote for professional players — were likely to include a character list.

Professionals' plays in manuscript certainly circulated beyond the playhouse, but these were almost always presentation copies;<sup>56</sup> rarely would someone outside of the playhouse — with the exception of the master of the revels — encounter a theatrical manuscript of a professional play. T.H. Howard-Hill has shown that the usual type of commercial manuscript publication — what Harold Love refers to as 'entrepreneurial publication' — was neither economically viable nor logistically feasible for the authors of dramatic manuscripts.<sup>57</sup> Most playgoers, play-readers, and amateur playwrights who encountered dramatic texts from the professional theatres encountered those texts in print. This fact may explain why certain features common to printed plays, such as the *dramatis personae* list, appear so often in the manuscripts of amateurs' plays. First-time playwrights, turning to the familiar and widely available printed drama for a model to follow in the physical layout of their texts, would naturally incorporate these lists in their manuscripts. The result was a document resembling formal elements derived from printed plays, but not necessarily intended for print publication. Rather, in plays by amateurs, the influence of print often came from the opposite direction: these lists emerged from, and were not always directed toward, the conventions and expectations of print.

Book historians have well established the depths to which early modern manuscript culture continued to operate within and affect a culture coming to be dominated by print, often identifying evidence of chirographic elements infiltrating printed documents or of printers mimicking the devices of scribes (as with those early printed interludes that, following the scribal practice of putting the character list in the colophon, printed character lists at the end of the book). Interpreting the inclusion of *dramatis personae* lists in manuscript plays as evidence of the manuscript's preparation for publication assumes that this evolution was the only possible relationship between print and manuscript drama; that is, as plays moved towards print publication for readers, they were made to conform with normative readerly expectations in that medium, including the addition of *dramatis personae* lists. While true in certain instances, the conduit of influence could also reverse: practices associated with plays prepared in print for readers could influence play manuscripts prepared for performance, particularly if the writer was only familiar with play-texts through the conventions of print culture. As Henry Woudhuysen argues, 'the emergence of an apparently print-dominated

culture did not result in a movement one way only. As movable type transformed manuscript into print, so print ... could be transformed back into manuscript.<sup>58</sup> Printed plays, for example, particularly classical drama of the sixteenth century, were the source of the act-division formula eventually adopted in English manuscript plays.<sup>59</sup> Classical plays exercised a particular influence over the printing of plays: every Latin play printed in early modern England included a character list and so it may have been a recognizably classical form that certain stationers, scribes, and authors, eager to associate their dramatic texts with that prestigious tradition, sought to emulate.<sup>60</sup> As the examples of act divisions and of *dramatis personae* lists in manuscript plays both indicate, interactions between print and manuscript drama were dialogic, with one often serving as an exemplar to the other.<sup>61</sup> This dialogue derives from the larger cultural and material relationship between the two media in the period. David McKitterick suggests that ‘it is more realistic to speak not of one [tradition] superseding the other, but of the two working together’, a position held also by D.F. McKenzie, who insists that, materially and conceptually, manuscript and print engage with each other in complementary, not competitive, ways.<sup>62</sup> Love and Woudhuysen, too, demonstrate that authors, stationers, and readers in the period viewed manuscript ‘without any sense of [it] being inferior [to print] or incomplete’.<sup>63</sup> The infiltration of printed plays’ *dramatis personae* lists into manuscript plays further corroborates the degree to which the different forms of media exchanged influence in a circular, rather than strictly linear, fashion.

The early modern commercial playhouse was a persistent microcosm of manuscript culture within a cultural macrocosm increasingly dominated by print. Amateur playwrights, whose experiences with dramatic texts were confined almost entirely to reading printed plays, were, for the most part, immigrants to the playhouse’s manuscript culture, largely unfamiliar with the uses, forms, and idiosyncrasies of its many documents.<sup>64</sup> This distinctly ‘outsider’ perspective is easy to overlook if we take too literally the period’s most famous (fictional) amateur playmakers: the mechanicals in Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1595–6), whose scroll with ‘the names of the actors’ includes also the roles that they are to play (1.2.8).<sup>65</sup> Though both other characters in the play and modern critics ridicule their dramatics as stereotypically ‘amateurish’, the mechanicals nonetheless come to their production armed with a peculiarly professional battery of manuscript materials, including ‘the scroll’ of the actors and roles, parts or ‘sides’, ‘a bill of properties’, and a separately written prologue (1.2.4, 12, 54, 78,



83, and 3.1.18–20). Rather than evidence of actual amateur practices, the mechanicals' use of professional manuscript materials may be an instance of Shakespeare, an industry insider, perhaps unknowingly resorting to what he assumes to be the 'proper' way of making a performance. The professional dramatist has therefore imported into an amateur context the working practices of the professional theatre.

In much the same way, amateur dramatists transported across the permeable border between consumer and producer the concepts, assumptions, and perceptions of their own native culture. Lacking access to the usual manuscript practices of the industry, they borrowed (perhaps inadvertently) from what their exposure to plays in print taught them to be — they assumed — conventional and even necessary. Love suggests that writers would 'not only write differently but also adopt different conceptions of the function of writing as they turned from one medium to the other'.<sup>66</sup> For most amateur dramatists, however, concepts of 'the function of writing' evidently shifted little from the needs of play-readers to what they thought to be the needs of playwrights.

The frequent use of *dramatis personae* lists in amateurs' manuscript plays stands as evidence of the heterogeneity of textual media in early modern England and in theatrical culture especially. More specifically, it serves as a caution that generalized theories about early modern dramatic manuscripts must take wider account of authors' relative relationships to the professionalized playhouse and its manuscript culture. Recently, scholars such as Grace Ioppolo, Paul Werstine, and others have identified some of the problems caused by the New Bibliography's assumed division of manuscripts along simplistic and tidy categories of provenance.<sup>67</sup> The dialogic relationship between print and manuscript serves as another complicating determinant in the period's systems of play-text production, as did the fact that some dramatists who wrote for the theatre industry does so with little knowledge of its manuscript conventions. Scholarship will err if it assumes that all authors who wrote for the professional playhouses shared the same proximity to the working procedures of those playhouses. Not every playwright was professional; we should not, then, read every manuscript play, even if written for the professional stage, as if they were.

## Notes

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- 1 On Mountfort and his play, see Frederick Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities* (Oxford, 1923), 167–82 and Matteo Pangallo, “‘Seldome Seene’: Observations from Editing *The Launching of the Mary*”, Pete Orford et al (eds), *‘Divining Thoughts’: Future Directions in Shakespeare Studies* (Cambridge, 2007), 2–16. In one of his lengthy stage directions, Mountfort indicates his expectation of a performance, explaining that the play’s complex staging ‘shall be shewed [to the actors] before the daye of action’; Walter Mountfort, *The Launching of the Mary, or, The Seaman’s Honest Wife*, ed. John Henry Walter (Oxford, 1933), ll 2674–5. Because the troupe paid the master of the revels to license the play, the play was prepared for a professional public performance; G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford, rpt 1966–8), 4.924.
- 2 Gary Taylor claims that the title page references ‘the play’s successful performances’, but no such reference exists; Gary Taylor, ‘The Order of Persons’, Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford, 2007), 52 n24.
- 3 W.W. Greg suggests that the list was a later addition in his *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* (Oxford, 1931), 300. Other scholars have followed Greg; see, for example, Taylor, ‘Order of the Persons’, 52 n24. The *Launching* list, however, appears in the same ink and on the same paper stock as the rest of the manuscript, and even bears the same type of weathering from Mountfort’s sea voyage as the rest of the manuscript; Mountfort therefore added the list at the same time he wrote the play.
- 4 Sidney Lee (ed.), *Shakespeare’s Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies, being a Reproduction in Facsimile of the First Folio Edition 1623 from the Chatsworth Copy* (Oxford, 1902), 20. Although Greg disproved this claim, Lee’s logic occasionally remains attractive to scholars. For example, David Bradley assumes that the ‘partial cast-list’ in the

quarto of *Believe As You List* proves that it was 'printed from prompt copy'; David Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre* (Cambridge, 2009), 88.

- 5 Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 189. To account for how casting occurred, Greg assumed the existence of a type of playhouse document that he referred to as the 'Cast'. Although he admits that 'No example ... is known to survive', Greg supposed that such a document would have been made for 'every play produced' and may have become the copy-text for the dramatis personae lists in the preliminaries of printed plays; Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 73 and 73 n1; see also Bradley, *From Text to Performance*, 84. Greg was not the first to make this suggestion: in 1923, Crompton Rhodes proposed that such a list could serve as 'a remembrancer for casting, or as a catalogue to a bundle of written parts' for a bookkeeper responsible for making order out of a library of parts, plots, and playbooks; Crompton Rhodes, *Shakespeare's First Folio* (Oxford, 1923), 118. Such a document was not necessary: extant playhouse plots usually contain, in their stage directions, the names of actors and characters; T.J. King, *Shakespearean Staging, 1599–1642* (Cambridge MA, 1971), 40–3; see also Bradley, *From Text to Performance*, 83. Greg's idea still resurfaces, however; see, for example, Paul Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2013), 9. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139103978>.
- 6 W.W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford, 1955), 121; see also 355 n3.
- 7 See, for example, Taylor, 'Order of the Persons', 52 and 61–3.
- 8 Anonymous, *Everie Woman in her Humor* (London, 1609), C4r.
- 9 Ian Lancashire (ed.), *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (Toronto, 2012).
- 10 'character n.' and 'character v.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 2012).
- 11 John Dryden, *The Rival Ladies* (London, 1664), A2r.
- 12 On relationships between identity and naming, see Anne Barton, *The Names of Comedy* (Oxford, 1990).
- 13 Howard-Hill observes that classical plays in translation commonly use dramatis personae lists as aids for readers; T.H. Howard-Hill, 'The Evolution of the Form of Plays in English During the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 134. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2861794>.
- 14 Thomas Dekker, *Satiromastix* (London, 1602), A2r. The *OED* erroneously claims that 'dramatis personae' was first used in 1730.
- 15 On distinctions between these terms, see Bernard Beckerman, 'The Persons Personated: Character Lists in English Renaissance Play Texts', Koshi Nakanori and Yasuo Tamaizumi (eds), *Poetry and Drama in the English Renaissance: In Honour of Professor Jiro Ozu* (Tokyo, 1980), 61–9; see also Taylor, 'Order of the Persons', 63–5.

- 16 Suzanne Gossett and Thomas Berger (eds), *Collections Volume XIV: Jacobean Academic Plays* (Oxford, 1988), 101.
- 17 William Strode, *The Floating Island* (London, 1655), A4v.
- 18 *The Castle of Perseverance* colophon is Folger V.a.354 f 191r; *The Play of the Sacrament* colophon is Trinity (Dublin) ms F.4.20 f 356r; the colophon of *Gismond of Salerne* is BL Hargrave ms 205 f 22r. On these colophon lists, see Howard-Hill, 'Evolution of the Form of Plays', 129.
- 19 Taylor, 'Order of the Persons', 55.
- 20 Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (London, 1965), 248.
- 21 John Skelton, *Magnificence* (London, 1530), H2r; Henry Medwall, *Interlude of Nature* (London, 1530), i4r.
- 22 John Bale, *The Three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ* (London, 1548), G1v.
- 23 *Ibid.*, G4r.
- 24 Howard-Hill, 'Evolution of the Form of Plays', 116.
- 25 Bradley, *From Text to Performance*, 17.
- 26 John Rastell, *Nature of the Four Elements* (London, 1520[?]), A1r.
- 27 John Heywood, *Play of the Weather* (London, 1533), A1r.
- 28 The Database of Early English Plays dates *Wealth and Health* as '[1565?]', but John Walley entered it in the Stationers' Register in August 1557; W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (Oxford, 1939), 1.1.
- 29 Anonymous, *Impatient Poverty* (London, 1560), A1r. As noted above, however, the first play to include a doubling cast list was van der Straten's 1548 edition of Bale's *The Three Laws*, in which the list appears on G1v.
- 30 Francis Merbury, *The Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom*, ed. T.N.S. Lennam (Oxford, 1971), ll 9–10. Merbury may have copied his manuscript from a no-longer extant printed version of the play that included the divided list (ix–x).
- 31 Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *Ferrex and Porrex* (London, 1565), A2r.
- 32 On plays sold unbound, see Peter W.M. Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (eds), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York, 1997), 414.
- 33 Taylor, 'Order of the Persons', 56.
- 34 Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City, 1991), 39.
- 35 David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe* (Cambridge MA, 1962), 68–85.
- 36 R. Wever, *Lusty Juventus* (London, 1550[?]), A1r.
- 37 Nathaniell Woodes, *The Conflict of Conscience* (London, 1581), A1r.

- 38 Doubling would be of less concern for a reading than for a performance because in a reading one voice could take multiple roles in a single scene.
- 39 The last title-page list (not divided into parts) appeared on the 1594 quarto of Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the last division of the parts (not on the title page) appeared in the 1598 quarto of *Mucedorus*.
- 40 Anonymous, *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* (London, 1607), A2r.
- 41 The publishers of the 1623 Shakespeare folio included dramatis personae lists for seven plays, placing them — like the colophon lists in earlier interludes — at the end of each play. While some scholars argue that these lists were made by King's Men scribe Ralph Crane (see, for example, Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44 (1993), 267–46. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2871419>), E.A.J. Honigmann sees them as printed versions of Greg's 'Cast' document, made by the author for both writing and playhouse use; E.A.J. Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Texts* (Lincoln, 1965), 44–6.
- 42 Random Cloud, "'The very names of the Persons": Editing and the Invention of Dramatic Character', David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (eds), *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama* (New York, 1991), 95.
- 43 Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge, 1997), 117, emphasis added.
- 44 Taylor, 'Order of the Persons', 52 (see also 54); Cloud, 'very names of the Persons', 95.
- 45 Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 194. On the status of *The Two Noble Ladies* as an authorial copy, see Rebecca G. Rhoads (ed.), *The Two Noble Ladies* (Oxford, 1930), vi; on the manuscript's use in the playhouse, see viii.
- 46 Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 195.
- 47 See the Appendix for descriptions of the manuscripts in the sample.
- 48 Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 195.
- 49 This trend (not generalization) applies to every manuscript. Within the sample there are instances that defy the trend. Ralph Crane's presentation copy of *The Witch*, for example, is a professional's play with a dramatis personae list; however, Crane's contemporaneous presentation copy of *Demetrius and Enanthe* does not.
- 50 On the relationship between the various texts of *Game at Chess*, see T.H. Howard-Hill (ed.), *A Game at Chess* (Manchester, 1993), 2–10.
- 51 Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 330. I count the anonymous *Dick of Devonshire* as a professional's play because scholars have generally attributed it to either Robert Davenport or Thomas Heywood (or, less plausibly, James Shirley).

- 52 Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst, 1998), 121. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198112198.001.0001>.
- 53 Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Queenborough* (London, 1661), 13r.
- 54 George W. Williams and G.B. Evans (eds), *King Henry IV as Revised by Sir Edward Dering* (Charlottesville, 1974); see also Laetitia Yeandle, 'The Dating of Sir Edward Dering's Copy of "The History of King Henry the Fourth"', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37 (1986): 224–6. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2869961>. On Dering as a dedicated playgoer, see Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632–1642* (Cambridge, 1984), 104 and 124–9.
- 55 T.N.S. Lennam, 'Sir Edward Dering's Collection of Playbooks, 1619–1624', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 16 (1965), 145–53. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2868258>.
- 56 On the circulation of plays in manuscript beyond the playhouse, see Love, *Culture and Commerce*, 65–70; Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, 105–6; and H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996), 134–45. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198129660.001.0001>.
- 57 Love, *Culture and Commerce*, 73–9; see also 126–34 and Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 45–52; also see T.H. Howard-Hill, "'Nor Stage, Nor Stationers Stall Can Showe": The Circulation of Plays in Manuscript in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Book History* 2 (1999), 28–41. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/bh.1999.0004>.
- 58 Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 25.
- 59 William Long, 'John a Kent and John a Cumber: An Elizabethan Playbook and Its Implications', W.R. Elton and William Long (eds), *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition: Essays in Honor of S. F. Johnson* (Newark, 1989), 132.
- 60 Taylor, 'Order of the Persons', 60.
- 61 'Printing, and the user of the printed book, both depended on and *influenced* manuscripts long after the invention of printing with movable type'; David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003), 47; see also 33–8 and 127–9; Love, *Culture and Commerce*, 295–6; and Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York, 1997), 125. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203328064>.
- 62 McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript*, 21; D.F. McKenzie, 'Speech — Manuscript — Print', Peter McDonald and Michael Suarez (eds), *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays* (Amherst, 2002), 238.
- 63 Love, *Culture and Commerce*, 35; Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 20–5.
- 64 Certain amateurs did have the opportunity to learn about professional playing companies' manuscript practices. Amateur dramatist William Percy may have purchased playhouse manuscripts to use as models for his own writing for the

professional stage; William Renwick (ed.), *John of Bordeaux* (Oxford, 1936), v–vi. Some aristocratic amateurs had personal interactions with playing companies, such as William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, who turned to the King's Men's regular dramatist, James Shirley, for assistance writing *The Country Captain* (1639–40) and *The Variety* (1642); G.E. Bentley, *The Profession of Dramatist in Shakespeare's Time, 1590–1642* (Princeton, 1986), 227, and N.W. Bawcutt (ed.), *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama* (Oxford, 1996), 209. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198122463.book.1>. Such privileged amateurs, however, were in the minority. Most amateurs writing for the professional stage were dedicated playgoers but lacked the advantage of a close familiarity with the industry's regular operating practices.

- 65 William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. R.A. Foakes, (Cambridge, 1984).
- 66 Love, *Culture and Commerce*, 145.
- 67 Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood* (New York, 2006), especially 7–8; Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts*, especially 4.
- 68 See also Greg 1931, 293–300 and C.J. Sisson (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1928.
- 69 See also Greg 1931, 321–4 and W.W. Greg (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1951.
- 70 See also Greg 1931, 369.
- 71 See also Greg 1931, 261–4 and J.H. Walter (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1938.
- 72 See also Greg 1931, 362–3 and Anthony Johnson (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1999.
- 73 See also Greg 1931, 364–5.
- 74 See also M. McL. Cook and F.P. Wilson (eds), *Malone Society*, 1951.
- 75 See also Greg 1931, 329–32 and J.G. and M.R. McManaway (eds), *Malone Society*, 1955.
- 76 See also Greg 1931, 256–61 and E. Boswell (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1928.
- 77 See also Greg 1931, 334–7.
- 78 See also Greg 1931, 318–21 and H.D. Janzen (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1978.
- 79 *The Faithful Friends* contains a *dramatis personae* list, but the editor, G.M. Pinciss, and Greg (1931, 194–5) concur that an eighteenth-century owner added it and so the manuscript is counted as lacking a list; John Fletcher, *The Faithful Friends*, G.M. Pinciss (ed.), (Oxford, 1975), x–xi. Pinciss suggests that the list 'reproduce[s] an original list' that had been part of the copy-text, but there is no evidence to support this conjecture.
- 80 See also Greg, 1931, 324–9 and G.M. Pinciss and G.R. Proudfoot (eds), *Malone Society*, 1975.

- 81 See also Greg, 1931, 337–9 and S.B. Younghughes and H. Jenkins (eds), Malone Society, 1959.
- 82 See also Greg, 1931, 251–6 and W.P. Frijlinck (ed.), Malone Society, 1929.
- 83 See also Greg, 1931, 357–8.
- 84 Ibid, 1931, 357.
- 85 See also T.H. Howard-Hill (ed.), Malone Society, 1990.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 See also Greg, 1931, 361–2.
- 88 See also W.L. Renwick (ed.), Malone Society, 1936.
- 89 See also Greg, 1931, 305–8 and A. Brown (ed.), Malone Society, 1959.
- 90 See also Greg, 1931, 300–5 and J.H. Walter (ed.), Malone Society, 193[2].
- 91 See also D.F. Rowan (ed.), Malone Society, 1987.
- 92 See also Greg, 1931, 342–4.
- 93 Ibid, 314–8.
- 94 See also Greg, 1931, 311–4 and K.J. Palmer (ed.), Malone Society, 1955.
- 95 See also Greg, 1931, 352–5 and H.D. Janzen (ed.), Malone Society, 1989.
- 96 See also Greg, 1931, 363–4.
- 97 See also Greg, 1931, 264–8 and W.W. Greg (ed.), Malone Society, 1908.
- 98 See also Greg, 1931, 268–74 and T.H. Howard-Hill (ed.), Malone Society, 1980.
- 99 See also W.W. Greg (ed.), Malone Society, 1911, rev. 1961 by H. Jenkins and 1990 by J. Pitcher.
- 100 See also J.H.P. Pafford and W.W. Greg (eds), Malone Society, 1936.
- 101 See also Greg, 1931, 361.
- 102 Ibid, 356.
- 103 See also R.A. Foakes and J.C. Gibson (eds), Malone Society, 1960.
- 104 The list in *The Two Noble Ladies* was added after the manuscript had been copied out and by a different hand (Greg 1931, 194); it is therefore counted as lacking a list.
- 105 See also Greg, 1931, 274–9 and R.G. Rhoads (ed.), Malone Society, 1930.
- 106 See also J.W. Lever and G.R. Proudfoot (eds), Malone Society, 1976.
- 107 See also H. Littledale and W.W. Greg (eds), Malone Society, 1920.
- 108 See also W.W. Greg and F.P. Wilson (eds), Malone Society, 1950.
- 109 See also Greg, 1931, 344–6.
- 110 See also Greg, 1931, 308–11 and J.M. Nosworthy and G.R. Proudfoot (eds), Malone Society, 1980.



## Appendix: Manuscript Plays Sample

The data in this article derives from the following sample of early modern manuscript plays. The sample was generated through random selection (manuscripts missing any pages where a list might appear were omitted from the study), though that selection was cultivated slightly in order to favour manuscripts on which some scholarship or for which a scholarly edition was available to supply perspective on matters such as dating, provenance, performance auspices, and authorship. Each entry includes the title and holding information for the copy, the name of the author(s) when available, an indication of whether or not the author was a professional or an amateur, whether the manuscript includes a *dramatis personae* list (lists added by later hands are not counted), the manuscript's nature and provenance, including type and date, and the play type and performance auspices (when these are in dispute or not apparent from the manuscript, the provenance favoured by a majority of scholars who have commented on the manuscript has been preferred). Each entry concludes with the source consulted; for most manuscripts this was either the manuscript itself or either Greg, a Malone Society edition, or, whenever possible, both. Citations to additional sources on the manuscript appear in the endnotes.

*Aglaura* (BL Royal 18 C.xv)

Author: John Suckling (amateur)

Includes *dramatis personae* list

Manuscript type: scribal presentation copy (1637–8)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Greg 1931, 332–3

*The Amazon* (BL Additional 88926)

Author: Edward Herbert (amateur)

Includes *dramatis personae* list

Manuscript type: foul papers (1630–42?)

Play type: amateur (household?)

Source: British Library manuscript

*The Tragedy of Antipo* (Bodleian Eng. poet.5)

Author: Francis Verney (amateur)

Includes *dramatis personae* list

Manuscript type: scribal copy, likely for presentation (1622)

Play type: amateur (academic)

Source: Bodleian manuscript

*Believe As You List* (BL Egerton 2828)

Author: Philip Massinger (professional)

Lacks *dramatis personae* list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript, likely for performance (1631)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>68</sup>

*Bonduca* (BL Additional 36758)

Author: John Fletcher (professional)

Lacks *dramatis personae* list

Manuscript type: presentation copy prepared by Edward Knight (1625–35)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>69</sup>

*Boot and Spur* (Folger J.a.1)

Author: unknown (amateur)

Includes *dramatis personae* list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript

(1613–5)

Play type: amateur (academic)

Source: S. Gossett and T.L. Berger (eds),  
Malone Society *Collections XIV*, 1988*Candia Restaurata* (BL Additional 34221)

Author: Mildmay Fane (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript (1640)

Play type: private (household)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>70</sup>*The Captive Lady* (Yale Osborn ms)

Author: James Mabbe? (amateur)

Contains dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript, possibly  
with authorial corrections (1618–42?)

Play type: unknown

Source: A.R. Braunmuller (ed.), Malone  
Society, 1982*The Captives* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: Thomas Heywood (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: foul papers (1624)

Play type: professional (Lady Elizabeth's  
Men)Source: British Library manuscript (see  
also Greg 1931, 284–8 and A. Brown [ed.],  
Malone Society, 1953)*Charlemagne* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown (probably amateur)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript  
(1603–4?)

Play type: professional (company unknown)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>71</sup>*The Country Captain* (BL Harley 7650)

Author: William Cavendish (amateur)

Lacks dramatis personae manuscript

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with  
authorial corrections (1639–41)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>72</sup>*The Court Secret* (Worcester College  
Oxford ms)

Author: James Shirley (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with  
authorial corrections (1642?)Play type: professional (King's Men,  
unacted)

Source: Greg 1931, 346–52

*The Cyprian Conqueror* (BL Sloane 3709)

Author: unknown (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with  
authorial corrections (1640?)

Play type: unknown

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>73</sup>*Demetrius and Enanthe* (Harlech Collec-  
tion, Brogyntyn 42)

Author: John Fletcher (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for pres-  
entation prepared by Ralph Crane (1619?)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Greg 1931, 359–60<sup>74</sup>*Dick of Devonshire* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: Robert Davenport? (professional)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript by play-  
house scribe (1626?)

Play type: professional (company unknown)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>75</sup>*Edmond Ironside* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for  
performance (1590–1600)

Play type: professional (company unknown)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>76</sup>*The Elder Brother* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown (unknown type)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript  
(1630–40)

Play type: unknown

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>77</sup>*The Emperor's Favorite* (Arbury Hall A414)

Author: John Newdigate? (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: foul papers (1627–32)

Play type: unknown

Source: Siobhan Keenan (ed.), *Malone Society*, 2010

*The Escapes of Jupiter* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: Thomas Heywood (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: foul papers (1620–41)

Play type: professional (possibly the Red Bull company)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>78</sup>

*The Faithful Friends* (Victoria & Albert Dyce 10)

Author: unknown (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list<sup>79</sup>

Manuscript type: scribal transcript possibly for performance (1620–30?)

Play type: professional (company unknown)

Source: Victoria and Albert Library manuscript<sup>80</sup>

*The Fatal Marriage* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown (unknown type)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript (1620?)

Play type: unknown

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>81</sup>

*The First Part of King Richard the Second* (*Thomas of Woodstock*) (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal playbook (1590–3; revised 1603–22)

Play type: professional (unknown)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>82</sup>

*A Game at Chess* (Bodleian Malone 25)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation prepared by Ralph Crane with authorial corrections (1624–5)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Greg 1931, 357

*A Game at Chess* (BL Lansdowne 690)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation prepared by Ralph Crane (1624–5)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>83</sup>

*A Game at Chess* (Folger V.a.231)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript prepared by Ralph Crane (1624–5)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Folger Library manuscript

*A Game at Chess* (Folger V.a.342)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with authorial corrections (1624–5)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Folger Library manuscript<sup>84</sup>

*A Game at Chess* (Huntington EL 34.B.17)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with authorial corrections (1624–5)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Greg 1931, 356–7<sup>85</sup>

*A Game at Chess* (Trinity College Cambridge O.2.66)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript (1624–5)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Greg 1931, 356<sup>86</sup>

*The Honest Man's Fortune* (Victoria & Albert Dyce 9)

Author: unknown (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: playbook prepared by Edward Knight (1613; revised 1625)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Victoria and Albert Library manuscript (see also Greg 1931, 288–93)

*The Humorous Magistrate* (Arbury Hall ms A.414)

Author: John Newdigate? (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with authorial corrections (1637–40)

Play type: amateur

Source: M.J. Kidnie (ed.), *Malone Society*, 2012

*The Humorous Magistrate* (University of Calgary Osborne MsC 132.27)

Author: John Newdigate? (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript (1637–40)

Play type: amateur

Source: Jacqueline Jenkins and Mary Polito (eds), *Malone Society*, 2012

*Hymen's Triumph* (Edinburgh De.3.69)

Author: Samuel Daniel (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation (1613)

Play type: private performance?

Source: J. Pitcher (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1994

*The Inconstant Lady* (Bodleian Rawlinson poet.9)

Author: Arthur Wilson (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript for presentation (1632?)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Bodleian Library manuscript<sup>87</sup>

*John a Kent and John a Cumber* (Huntington HM 500)

Author: Anthony Munday (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript (1590–9?)

Play type: professional (Admiral's Men?)

Source: Greg 1931, 239–43 and M. St C. Byrne (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1923

*John of Bordeaux* (Alnwick Castle 507)

Author: Henry Chettle? (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: playbook (1590–4)

Play type: professional (Strange's Men?)

Source: Greg 1931, 355–6<sup>88</sup>

*July and Julian* (Folger 448.16)

Author: unknown (amateur)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript (1559–71)

Play type: amateur (school)

Source: G.E. Dawson (ed.), *Malone Society*, 1955

*The Lady Mother* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: Henry Glapthorne (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: playbook (1633–5)

Play type: professional (King's Revels?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>89</sup>

*The Launching of the Mary* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: Walter Mountfort (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: foul papers used as playbook, with authorial revisions (1632; revised 1633)

Play type: professional (second Prince Charles's Men?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>90</sup>

*The Lost Lady* (Folger J.b.4)

Author: William Berkeley (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation with authorial corrections (1637)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Folger Library manuscript<sup>91</sup>

*Love's Changelings' Change* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown (amateur?)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript (1630–40)

Play type: unknown

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>92</sup>

*Nero* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript (1624?)

Play type: unknown (closet?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>93</sup>

*The Poor Man's Comfort* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: Robert Daborne (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript  
(1615–17)

Play type: professional (Palsgrave's Men?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>94</sup>

*The Queen of Corsica* (BL Lansdowne 807)

Author: Francis Jaques (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript  
(1642)

Play type: unknown

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>95</sup>

*The Royal Slave* (BL Additional 4616)

Author: William Cartwright (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for  
presentation (1636?)

Play type: amateur (Oxford University)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>96</sup>

*The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (BL Lansdowne 807)

Author: Thomas Middleton? (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: playbook with authorial  
revisions (1611)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>97</sup>

*Sir John van Olden Barnavelte* (BL Additional 18653)

Author: John Fletcher and Philip Massinger  
(professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: playbook (1619)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>98</sup>

*Sir Thomas More* (BL Harley 7368)

Author: Anthony Munday, Thomas

Heywood?, Henry Chettle, William Shakespeare?, and Thomas Dekker (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: foul papers used as play-  
book with authorial revisions (1593?)

Play type: professional (Strange's Men?)

Source: Greg 1931, 243–51<sup>99</sup>

*The Soddered Citizen* (Wiltshire Record Office 865/502/2)

Author: John Clavell (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript used as  
playbook (1631–3)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Wiltshire Record Office  
manuscript<sup>100</sup>

*The Swisser* (BL Additional 36759)

Author: Arthur Wilson (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript for  
presentation (1631?)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>101</sup>

*Tancred and Ghismonda* (BL Additional 34312)

Author: unknown (amateur?)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript (1600?)

Play type: unknown (closet?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>102</sup>

*The Telltale* (Dulwich xx)

Author: unknown

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript  
(1600–5?)

Play type: unknown

Source: Greg 1931, 339–41<sup>103</sup>

*The Two Noble Ladies* (BL Egerton 1994)

Author: unknown

Lacks dramatis personae list<sup>104</sup>

Manuscript type: authorial transcript for  
performance (1622–3)

Play type: professional (Children of the  
Revels?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>105</sup>

*The Wasp* (Alnwick Castle 507)

Author: unknown (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: foul papers prepared for performance (1636–40)

Play type: professional (King's Revels)

Source: Greg 1931, 360<sup>106</sup>*The Welsh Ambassador* (Cardiff Public Library ms)

Author: unknown

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: authorial transcript, possibly for performance (1623)

Play type: unknown

Source: Greg 1931, 279–82<sup>107</sup>*The Witch* (Bodleian Malone 12)

Author: Thomas Middleton (professional)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation prepared by Ralph Crane (1620–7)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Greg 1931, 358–9<sup>108</sup>*The Wizard* (BL Additional 10306)

Author: Simon Baylie (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript with authorial corrections (1620–40?)

Source: British Library manuscript<sup>109</sup>*The Woman's Prize* (Folger J.b.3)

Author: John Fletcher (professional)

Lacks dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation (1607–11)

Play type: professional (King's Men)

Source: Meg Powers Livingston (ed.), *Malone Society*, 2008*Timon* (Victoria & Albert Dyce 52)

Author: unknown (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript, possibly for performance (1602–3)

Play type: amateur (Inns of Court)

Source: Victoria and Albert Library manuscript<sup>110</sup>

## Untitled play (Essex Record Office D/DW Z5)

Author: John Tatham (amateur)

Includes dramatis personae list

Manuscript type: scribal transcript for presentation, fragmentary (1641–2)

Play type: unknown (private?)

Source: J.L. Murphy (ed.), *Malone Society Collections IX*, 1971

RIKI MIYOSHI

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## **‘We have this day, expell’d our Men the Stage’: Dating the Prologue and Epilogue of *The Parson’s Wedding***

*Scholars of Restoration theatre have given contradictory accounts as to which all-female production of Thomas Killigrew’s *The Parson’s Wedding* the existing prologue and epilogue belong to. This note argues that out of the two productions in the Restoration period — the first of which took place in October 1664 and the second in June 1672 — the surviving prologue and epilogue were most likely written for the second production. Combining evidence gathered from historical records with textual analysis, this note is the first study to comprehensively investigate this conundrum.*

In the most recent essay to date on the all-female productions of Thomas Killigrew’s *The Parson’s Wedding*, Victoria Bancroft locates unequivocally the year and the production in which the prologue to the play was spoken: ‘In the Prologue to the first performance in October 1664, Rebecca Marshall, in the leading role of the Captain, delivers a rebuke to the male actors.’<sup>1</sup> The matter of determining to which production the prologue and epilogue belonged, however, is more complex than Bancroft suggests; and whether they did indeed belong to the 1664 production is far from certain.<sup>2</sup> As of yet, no scholarly work has fully investigated which production they were written for. Close attention to the performance calendar as well as in-depth analysis of both the prologue and the epilogue demonstrate that they were most certainly written specifically for the 1672 production of *The Parson’s Wedding*.

There are two known productions of *The Parson’s Wedding* during the Restoration. The first was mounted in October 1664. Samuel Pepys wrote excitedly in his diary on 11 October 1664 when he dined with an under-clerk of the council of state, Peter Llewellyn: ‘Luellin tells me what a bawdy loose play this “Parson’s Wedding” is, that is acted by nothing but women

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at the King's house'.<sup>3</sup> A German spectator, Ferdinand Albrecht, also saw the same play about a week prior to Llewellyn's visit to the King's Company playhouse on 5 October 1664. His account of the performance confirms that the play's controversial casting was a huge success: 'acted by women, some of whom, wearing men's clothes, performed the male roles so well that His Majesty let all the money be given to them alone'.<sup>4</sup> The play did not appear in print until Henry Herringman published it in 1664 as part of a collection of Thomas Killigrew's works.<sup>5</sup> Crucially, however, the collection did not contain either the prologue or the epilogue of *The Parson's Wedding*. Only after the second production, which was mounted sometime in June 1672, were the prologue and the epilogue to *The Parson's Wedding* printed as part of a pamphlet entitled the *Covent Garden Drollery, or A collection [sic] of all the choice songs, poems, prologues and epilogues, (sung and spoken at courts and theatres) never in print before*.<sup>6</sup>

Both the prologue and epilogue spoken by Marshall exist among the compilation for the all-female revival of *Philaster* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher in June 1672. In fact, the summer of 1672 saw a series of all-female productions mounted by the King's Company. Apart from *The Parson's Wedding* and *Philaster*, John Dryden's *Secret Love* was revived with an all-female cast in June or July 1672. A prologue for an unknown play, probably belonging to the same time, also survives; it was written by Dryden 'for the Women, when they Acted at the Old Theatre Lincolns-Inn-Fields'.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, an 'Epilogue by a Woman' printed by Thomas Duffett, the King's Company's playwright, strongly suggests yet another production that was acted by women only.<sup>8</sup>

Not only are the all-female productions recorded as being mounted around the same month, but the subject matter of the prologues and epilogues is also remarkably similar. Compare, for instance, the prologues and the epilogues of *The Parson's Wedding* and *Secret Love*. Both talk of women performers as having thespian gifts and technical accomplishments equal to their male counterparts. Anne Reeves speaks in the epilogue to *Secret Love*: 'What think you Sirs, was't not all well enough, / Will you not grant that we can strut, and huff. / Men may be proud, but faith for ought I see, / They neither walk, nor cock, so well as we'.<sup>9</sup> The epilogue to *The Parson's Wedding* closely mirrors these sentiments as Rebecca Marshall defies the audience: 'Why cannot we as well perform their [men's] Parts?'<sup>10</sup> The epilogues likewise suggest independently setting up an all-female house. Reeves, in the epilogue to *Secret Love*, prays for this outcome by saying: 'Oh would the higher Powers be kind to us,



/ And grant us to set up a female house'.<sup>11</sup> The last two lines in the epilogue to *The Parson's Wedding* echo the same idea: 'We'll [actresses] build up a new Theatre to gain you [audience], / And turn this [Lincoln's Inn Fields] to a House to entertain you'.<sup>12</sup> The two productions also bitterly complain that the King's Company's actors are old and worthless. Reeves lambasts the male players: 'whence are men so necessary grown? / Our's are so old, they are as good as none', while Marshall in the prologue to *The Parson's Wedding* similarly rebukes them as being 'impotent, and old'.<sup>13</sup>

Placing the prologue to *The Parson's Wedding* within the context of the King's Company's performance history proves revealing. The prologue is worth quoting at length:

After so many sad complaints to us,  
The painful labouring Woman of this house  
We with our Poet have prevail'd again,  
To give us our Revenge upon the men.  
...  
'Twas not our crime, the house so long lay still;  
When e'er we play not, 'tis against our will.  
We could have acted, could but they have joyn'd,  
...  
And now they quarrel, when they cannot play.  
'Twas somewhat better when they did agree,  
'Twas old but 'twas a willing company. (Prologue, 1–4, 7–9, 12–14)

The prologue importantly alludes to 'the house' having had to 'so long lay still'. This detail suggests that the King's Company was not operating for a considerable time before the production of *The Parson's Wedding*. The performance calendar, as recorded in the *London Stage*, shows the King's Company busily mounting plays right up until the first production of *The Parson's Wedding* on 5 October 1664. In the previous month the King's Company produced *The Rivals* followed by a succession of performances of *The Generall*.<sup>14</sup> The latter was, in fact, mounted for a third time just a day before the first performance of *The Parson's Wedding*. This activity contrasts starkly with the performance records of the King's Company just before the 1672 revival of *The Parson's Wedding*. The only recorded production in May 1672 was the one performance of *The History of Charles the Eighth of France*.<sup>15</sup> The extreme dearth of performances in May 1672 means that the King's Company could easily have been closed for about four weeks prior to opening its

doors again in June to a series of all-female performances. The dismal number of performances prior to the production in June 1672 thus conforms to the timeline of the actresses' protestations in the prologue.

Marshall's nostalgia, furthermore, for what the company was like in the past, as evinced in the line "'Twas old but 'twas a willing company', would be an odd remark indeed if it had been spoken in 1664, only four years after the King's Company was established. Interestingly, Marshall also relates how the actresses colluded with Thomas Killigrew — dubbed here as 'our Poet' — and 'prevail'd again' to exact revenge on the male players by excluding them from the stage. The only other time the same play by Killigrew was mounted with an all-female cast was in 1664.<sup>16</sup> The reference to a successful attempt in the past, therefore, would only make logical sense if the prologue had been spoken in the 1672 production.

This note has closely traced the performance history of *The Parson's Wedding* during the Restoration from its first ever all-female production in 1664 to its second and last performance in 1672, and has argued that the prologue and epilogue of the play were written specifically for the latter. All available historical evidence, albeit circumstantial, from the prologue and epilogue only appearing in print in 1672 to the series of all-female productions in June of that year, supports this argument. The prologue and the epilogue themselves, however, provide the most compelling evidence of all. A close reading of the texts critically reveals that their contents neatly correspond with the state of affairs of the King's Company at the time. The combined use of both theatre history and textual analysis, therefore, sheds new light on one of the major conundrums of Restoration theatre.

## Notes

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- 1 Victoria Bancroft, 'Tradition and Innovation in *The Parson's Wedding*', Philip Major (ed.), *Thomas Killigrew and the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Farnham, 2013), 47. Lori Leigh similarly assumes that the prologue belonged to the production in 1664. See Lori Leigh, *Shakespeare and the Embodied Heroine* (Basingstoke, 2014), 85.
- 2 The earliest reference to the prologue and the epilogue of the play was made by Gerard Langbaine in 1691 when he suggested: 'This play was reviv'd at the Old Theatre, in little Lincoln's Inn fields, and acted all by Women, a new Prologue and Epilogue being spoken by Mrs Marshall [Rebecca] in Man's Cloaths'; Langbaine,

- An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691; Wing: L376), (Early English Books Online), 313. Pierre Danchin argues, nearly a century later, that while there is ‘a possibility that these [prologue and epilogue] may belong to an earlier occasion [ie 1664]’, the likelihood of them belonging to the production of 1672, ‘is much more likely’; Danchin (ed.), *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660–1700*, 5 vols (Nancy, 1981–8), 2.497.
- 3 Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds), 11 vols (London, 1973–81), 5.294.
  - 4 Jill Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1636–1687). A Traveller and His Travelogue* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 212.
  - 5 See Thomas Killigrew, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1664).
  - 6 See *Covent Garden Drollery, or A colection [sic] of all the choice songs, poems, prologues and epilogues, (sung and spoken at courts and theatres) never in print before* (London, 1672).
  - 7 Danchin (ed.), *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660–1700*, 5 vols (Nancy, 1981–8), 2.495. All citations of prologues and epilogues are from this source.
  - 8 Ibid, 2.487.
  - 9 Ibid, 2.491 (Epilogue 1–4).
  - 10 Ibid, 2.498 (Epilogue 13).
  - 11 Ibid, 2.491 (Epilogue 18–19).
  - 12 Ibid, 2.498 (Epilogue 25–6).
  - 13 Ibid, 2.491 (Epilogue 10–11); 2.497 (Prologue 6).
  - 14 W. Van Lennep et al. (eds), *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, 5 vols (Carbondale, 1960–8), 1.83–4.
  - 15 See *London Stage*, 1.194–5.
  - 16 Thomas Killigrew may have planned to revise his play *Thomaso* for an all-female production in the autumn of 1664, for which there exists an intended cast list, but no evidence exists of the production ever being staged. See Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660–1700* (Cambridge, 1992), 58.



# Issues in Review

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ELIZABETH SCHAFER (*Contributing Editor*), ALISON FINDLAY, RAMONA WRAY, YASMIN ARSHAD, HELEN HACKETT, EMMA WHIPDAY, REBECCA McCUTCHEON

## Early Modern Women Theatre Makers

### Introduction: Attending to Early Modern Women as Theatre Makers

ELIZABETH SCHAFER

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*This essay introduces the playwrights under consideration and looks forward to the four essays in this section examining the work of early modern women theatre makers. The introduction ends with a census of early modern women's plays in modern performance.*

This Issues in Review focuses on the performance of early modern plays created by women theatre makers, that is, women who wrote, translated, published, commissioned and, in all probability, produced and performed in plays. But these plays have been corseted and closeted by critics — some of them feminist — who have claimed access to the theatre makers' intentions and have asserted, despite no documentary evidence, that these plays were not intended to be performed. In particular these plays have been half strangled by critics' use of the anachronistic and inappropriate nineteenth-century term 'closet drama'. The methodology used here to uncorset and uncorset three of these plays — Lady Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*, and the Mary Sidney Herbert commissioned *Cleopatra* by Samuel Daniel — is to explore them by means of the

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collective, creative, and community-based acts of criticism that take place when the plays are performed today.

Producing any play requires energy, resources, and commitment. Little can be proved empirically, in terms of observable, measureable, and repeatable results. The participant group, however, the theatre practitioners and their audience, do explore the play's dramaturgy together, and some nuggets that emerge from these explorations deserve preservation, analysis, and discussion. For example, during 2013, the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first publication of *The Tragedy of Mariam*, director Rebecca McCutcheon mounted a series of performances, workshops, and installations engaging with the play. Performance studies scholar Gay McAuley attended one of the early workshops and, in discussion afterwards, McAuley made a connection between Cary's dramaturgy and that of the Phaedra plays. Given that Cary's biography states that she read and translated Seneca, his *Phaedra* certainly seems a plausible source for *Mariam*:<sup>1</sup> both plays open with the all-powerful king Theseus / Herod presumed dead and the women characters speaking out as they have never done before; the king returns from 'death' and kills someone he loves because of a trumped-up charge of illicit sexual activity; the play ends with the king lamenting the death of the loved one. In the provisional, improvisational, and exploratory atmosphere of McCutcheon's workshop, McAuley made a potentially very fruitful connection. So this Issues in Review is interested in rehearsal and workshop as well as performance, and it encompasses the witnessing and testimony of performance studies alongside more traditional scholarly approaches.<sup>2</sup>

Alison Findlay's discussion of Lady Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia in Aulis* certainly demonstrates the advantages of combining traditional scholarship and performance studies approaches. Findlay's historicism combines with the experience of being a performer in *Iphigenia* and witnessing audience response, and she proposes the image of the palimpsest with its multiple layerings, as a critical and evocative tool. The essay testifies to *Iphigenia*'s potential for emotional impact whether speaking to Lumley's family of the death of her cousin, Lady Jane Grey or, as in 2014, speaking to the acts of remembrance performed to mark the centenary of the outbreak of World War I and the sacrifice of so many young lives.

Ramona Wray then analyses two productions of Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam* that took place in 2013. As an editor of the play, Wray is particularly well placed to offer a nuanced and sensitive response to these performances: a site-specific production in St John's Church, in Cary's hometown of

Burford, and a physical theatre production by Lazarus Theatre Company in London. Wray finds that *Mariam* has much to offer contemporary theatre and argues ‘for a regime change in theatre history’ which, like Cary studies, has marginalized *Mariam* as performance, and largely bypassed the impact of casting, costume, lighting, set, and movement on the play.

Helen Hackett, Yasmin Arshad, and Emma Whipday then combine forces to explore a work commissioned, possibly produced, by Mary Sidney Herbert, Daniel’s *Cleopatra*. Combining art history, literary history, women’s history, and the experience of rehearsal and performance, they explore the play’s connections with Anne Clifford. Cleopatra’s defiance in the play, whether read, recited, or performed by Clifford, may well have helped her think about, plan, rehearse, and indeed script, the defiance Clifford herself was to enact after the death of her father in 1605 when she began her heroic quest to claim her inheritance, despite opposition from King James.

Finally, theatre director Rebecca McCutcheon reflects on her 2013 series of site-specific performances of Cary’s *Tragedy of Mariam*. McCutcheon uses a frankly performance studies approach to consider how changes in performance context, and the hauntings and hostings that different sites offer, can create new meanings for, and insights into, *The Tragedy of Mariam*. McCutcheon’s primary interest is in placing the play in non-theatrical spaces — reimagining it and reconfiguring it as, for example, a gallery installation — and her reflections are full of revelations of benefit to Cary scholars. McCutcheon’s very diverse *Mariams* offer a series of valuable, creative, theatrically astute, but also critical encounters with ‘Elizabeth Cary’ and her play.

Although this Issues in Review chooses to concern itself with three particular plays, directors and actors have recently explored by means of performance the work of other early modern women theatre makers. The Globe’s Read Not Dead company, for example, staged Mary Wroth’s *Love’s Victory* in 2014 in the Baron’s Hall at Penshurst. Also in 2014 an exciting production of Margaret Cavendish’s *The Unnatural Tragedy* took place at the London fringe venue, the Oval House, Kennington. The director, Graham Watts, dramaturged the play and many of Watts’s artistic decisions were driven by pragmatics, such as the decision to use modern dress to save money, or cutting ‘to give each student a decent amount of stage time and not exceed the theatre hire time’.<sup>3</sup> But after the performance Watts noted:

The evening performance was electric ... the place was buzzing and people were literally lining up afterwards to shake my hand and talk about such a fantastic play. The audience ... had no idea what to expect and were blown away by the style and content of Cavendish's play. Safe to say that we know beyond all doubt that she is a playwright who can engage modern audiences.<sup>4</sup>

Certainly, as a member of the dress rehearsal audience, watching the sheer diversity of female experience, and the variety of life trajectories that Cavendish juxtaposes in her play, I found the experience exhilarating.

Performing women theatre makers' plays also continues to be a political act. First, consider the aspect of equal opportunities: while those who discount its theatricality lock *The Tragedy of Mariam* into the 'closet', by contrast critics hail George Büchner's 1837 play *Woyzeck*, written for a theatre that simply didn't exist in Büchner's lifetime, as revolutionary, not closet drama. But if the work of a revolutionary male playwright deserves loving dramaturgy — and directors have to work hard and inventively to fill in the gaps between the words of Büchner's elliptical, unstable text — then plays of revolutionary female playwrights deserve equally loving dramaturgical remixing and repackaging; they cannot be expected to spring from the page Athene-like ready for battle/staging, speaking unproblematically to audiences across the centuries. After all, directors of Shakespeare — or Jonson, Marlowe, Middleton, Webster — routinely dramaturg or adapt the plays they are directing, remarketing them for audiences today.

Many of the performances considered here, and those listed below in the appendix, are also political because they are not mainstream. Student and amateur performances as well as staged readings are usually disregarded in conventional performance histories but, by operating on the margins of theatre practice, these productions can ignore commercial pressures and, like the women theatre makers themselves, take more risks, be less conventional. So salvaging insights from these performances, workshops, and rehearsals taking place in theatrical nooks and crannies, away from the mainstream and commercial theatrical marketplaces, is important. In addition, the theatrical nooks and crannies evoke the domestic, non-professional, familial collaborative spaces in which these plays were first conceived. And for the women theatre makers discussed here, the choice of drama as a genre was also political. Creating a play involves ventriloquism, imaginative roleplay, and thoughts of acting differently from normal, whether or not the play is realized by means of a full performance.



The main thing is to continue to explore, anatomize, have fun with, and gain new insights into these texts in the living, breathing laboratory that is contemporary theatre practice. But, in the end, for me, no amount of theorizing can account for the exhilaration of witnessing Nicola Sangster, as Mariam, step out onto the reconstructed Globe stage, playing to an eclectic mix of conference goers and startled tourists, and demand ‘How oft have I with public voice run on?’ I, for one, hope that contemporary theatre production will continue to give ‘public voice’ to the dramatic characters created by these remarkable early modern women theatre makers.

## Notes

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- 1 See ‘The Lady Falkland, Her Life’, by one of her daughters, in *The Tragedy of Mariam, Fair Queen of Jewry*, ed. Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson (Berkeley, 1994), 186.
- 2 The classic case for a performance studies approach to early modern plays in performance is made in the preface to Carol Chillington Rutter’s *Enter the Body: Women and Representation on Shakespeare’s Stage* (London, 2001). For more on *The Tragedy of Mariam* and a rehearsal studies approach see Elizabeth Schafer, ‘Unsiling Elizabeth Cary: World-Making in *The Tragedy of Mariam, Fair Queen of Jewry*’, in Tom Clark, Emily Finlayson, and Philippa Kelly (eds), *Worldmaking: Literature, Language, Culture* (Amsterdam, forthcoming) FILLM Studies in Literatures and Languages.
- 3 Emails from Graham Watts, 3 January 2015 and 6 December 2014
- 4 Email from Graham Watts, 3 January 2015.

## Appendix: Modern Performances of Plays by Early Modern Women

### Cary, Elizabeth

*The Tragedy of Mariam, Fair Queen of Jewry* (ca 1605)

1990 Scenes from *Mariam* compiled by Catherine Schuler and Sharon Ammen, ‘Attending to Women in Early Modern England’ conference, University of Maryland

1990 Play reading produced by Lois Potter at the Folger Shakespeare Library as part of a seminar ‘Drama in Context: 1613 as a Test Case’

(Later play reading also produced by Potter at the University of Delaware)

1994 19–22 October. Directed by Stephanie Wright for Tinderbox Theatre Company at the Bradford Alhambra Studio

1995 2–3 November. Directed and dramaturged by Elizabeth Schafer, Studio Theatre, Royal Holloway, University of London <http://rhul.mediacore.tv/media/mariam>

1996 Directed by Paul Stephen Lim. Staged reading for the English Alternative Theatre at the University of Kansas

2002 March. Play reading at the Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham

2007 22 July. Directed by Rebecca McCutcheon. Rehearsed reading at the King's Head, London

2012 28 June. Directed by John East for Just Enough Theatre Company at the Central School of Speech and Drama

2013 14 March. Directed by Kirstin Bone. Staged reading by Improbable Fictions, Tuscaloosa, Alabama

2013 12 June. Directed and dramaturged by Rebecca McCutcheon, site-specific performance in St John's Church, Burford as part of the Burford Festival

2013 13–14 August. Pop up *Mariam*. Directed and dramaturged by Rebecca McCutcheon, The Bussey Building, Peckham Rye, London

2013 12–17 August. Adapted and directed by Gavin Harrington-Odedra, Tristan Bates Theatre, Covent Garden, London

2013 7 December. Directed by Rebecca McCutcheon. Performance at Shakespeare's Globe as part of the 'Women and Shakespeare' conference

**Cavendish, Jane and Elizabeth Brackley**

*The Concealed Fancies* (1645)

1994 14 December. Directed by Alison Findlay and Jane Milling, University College, Bretton Hall, December. Filmed. Extract (Luceny's song) at <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/video/english/performance>

*A Pastoral* (1645)

2000 Extract, directed by Alison Findlay, Hoghton Tower. Filmed by David Blacow and Michael Bowen, Lancaster University Television

### **Cavendish, Margaret**

1999 Margaret Cavendish Performance Project — Gweno Williams:

'General Prologue' (published 1662); Prologue to *Love's Adventures* (published 1662); Scenes from *Lady Contemplation* (published 1662); Scenes from *Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet* (published 1662); Selections from *The Convent of Pleasure* (published 1668); Epilogue from *Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet* (published 1662)  
2004 DVD *Margaret Cavendish: Plays in Performance*

*The Convent of Pleasure* (1668)

1995 4 March. Scenes from the play directed by Bill Pinner, University College of Ripon and York St John

2003 June. Directed by Gweno Williams. Filmed

2005 7–10 July. Directed by Gweno Williams, assisted by Peter Cockett. Convocation Hall, McMaster University, Sixth International Biennial Margaret Cavendish Society Conference

*Bell in Campo* (published 1662)

2007 1 July. Directed by Ian Gledhill for the Sheffield University Drama Society at the Riding House, Bolsover Castle. Filmed

*The Unnatural Tragedy*

2014 10 December. Directed and dramaturged by Graham Watts, Oval House, Kennington, London. Performed by the British American Drama Academy

### **Herbert, Mary Sidney**

*The Tragedie of Antonie* (1592)

1999 Directed by Marion Wynne-Davies. Staged reading at Hoghton Tower. Extracts: <http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/performance-ceremony-ritual/women-and-dramatic-production/>

**Herbert, Mary Sidney (as commissioner/deviser)**

*The Tragedy of Cleopatra* (1594, revised 1607) by Samuel Daniel

2013 3 March. Directed by Emma Whipday, the Great Hall of Goodenough College on Sunday. Produced by Yasmin Arshad, with Helen Hackett as executive director.

Filmed

2014 23 June. Knole House. As above. <https://thetragedieofcleopatra.wordpress.com/>

**Lumley, Jane**

*Iphigenia at Aulis* (ca1554)

1997 Directed by Stephanie Hodgson-Wright at Clifton Hall Studio, Sunderland

2013 9 July. Directed by Emma Rucastle for The Rose Company. Work-in-progress performed at the Minghella Theatre as part of the Early Modern Studies Conference, University of Reading

November 2013-January 2014 Production toured Lancaster Castle; Homerton College, Cambridge; University College, London; The Kings Arms Theatre, Salford; The New Continental, Preston; the Lantern Theatre, Liverpool.

2014 September Filmed <http://therosecompany.posthaven.com/>

**Wroth, Mary Sidney**

*Love's Victory* (1622)

1999 Directed by Stephanie Hodgson-Wright. Sunderland University student production

2014 8 June. Staged reading co-ordinated by Martin Hodgson, Globe Education, Read Not Dead, Baron's Hall, Penshurst Place, Kent

**Reproducing *Iphigenia at Aulis***

ALISON FINDLAY

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*Lady Jane Lumley's Iphigenia at Aulis exemplifies the process of dramatic reproduction in the mid-sixteenth century and in 2014. Lumley's translation (ca 1554) of Euripides's tragedy is a text which revivifies the past to confront the emotional consequences of betrayal and loss. In the sixteenth-century context of Lumley's own family, her translation disturbs and manages the emotional consequences of her father's involvement in the sacrifice of Lady Jane Grey to fulfil the family's political ambitions. My historicist approach juxtaposes a consideration of the play's performances in the Rose Company Theatre in 2014. Drawing on interviews with the director and actors and my observation of spectators' reactions, I discuss the production's testing of the script's immediacy for audiences in a present which had its own preoccupations with the past; namely, the centenary of the outbreak of World War I.*

Agamemnon's words 'I have prepared all things redie for the sacrafice' (l. 629) in Lady Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis* are much more than a statement of fact.<sup>1</sup> Taken from Euripides's tragedy and translated by Lumley into English in her own dramatic version (ca 1554), they function as a palimpsest, a text from the past overwritten in the present that forces characters on stage, spectators, and readers to reflect on their local experiences as well as those of the drama. The immediate dramatic context already makes the line multi-layered. Agamemnon believes he is telling his wife Clytemnestra that he is going to make a sacrifice to the goddess Diana in preparation for the marriage of their daughter Iphigenia, but Clytemnestra has just learned that Iphigenia *is* the sacrifice to Diana, offered so that the Grecians can leave Aulis and sail to Troy. Euripides dramatizes an opposition between duty to the state and blood ties to one's family. Agamemnon is torn between love for his daughter and a sense of duty to the host of Greek soldiers that he has led to Aulis in a campaign to reclaim Helen (wife to his brother, Menelaus), from the Trojans. For Agamemnon, the line is a confession, even though it is one he does not want to be understood. Articulating the words 'I have prepared' forces him to acknowledge his responsibility for sacrificing his daughter; so,

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however fact-like the line appears to be, it probably includes an emotional undertow expressing his own grief, his own sense of sacrifice.

This essay considers Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia* as a text that revivifies the past in order to confront the emotional consequences of betrayal and loss. Jonathan Gil Harris's book *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* has rightly criticized what he terms the 'national sovereignty model of temporality', where we understand texts, things, and objects as part of the given moment, attaining meaning only in relation to the people and practices of that period.<sup>2</sup> As a translation, Lady Jane Lumley's script inevitably reproduces Euripides's tragedy in the early modern present. Critics have noted the play's relationship to Lady Jane Grey's execution in the Tower of London in 1554<sup>3</sup> and my essay explores how Lumley's translation functioned as a palimpsest through which her audience of readers, particularly those within her family circle, might recognise the emotional consequences of this traumatic event. To offer evidence of the play's affect I draw on a contemporary context and my experience of re-producing Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis* in 2013–14 as a member of Rose Company Theatre. The production, which used an eclectic mix of modern dress, allowed us to test the script's immediacy for audiences in a present which had its own preoccupations with the past: namely the centenary of the outbreak of World War I.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout 2014, ceremonies of remembrance allowed dormant emotions about war and loss to enter the public domain. One of the most spectacular, a flood of ceramic poppies overflowing from the walls of the Tower of London, evoked and physicalized an upsurge of mixed emotions: grief, pride, and shame at the shedding of blood in the trenches and beyond. The Tower of London's iconic significance inevitably coloured the need to remember and value the sacrifices made for the nation. Its history as a royal palace and as a site of imprisonment, torture, and execution (including that of Lady Jane Grey), raised disturbing questions about how those who fought were trapped physically and metaphorically, and about the justice of sacrificing so many lives. The Rose Company production costumed the sacrificial figure of Iphigenia in shining bright red silk, in contrast to the khaki military uniforms of the Greek soldiers and the green and black worn by the family group. It is impossible to define exactly how the culture of remembrance in 2014 worked alongside individual experiences to influence those performing, directing, filming, and watching Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia*. Practice-based research nevertheless testifies to the play's enduring affective power over practitioners and spectators, more than 450 years after Lumley composed the text.

Lumley's manuscript is undated but was certainly written after the author's marriage to John, Baron Lumley, in 1549–50. David Greene's view that Lady Lumley used Cranmer's copy of Erasmus's Latin translation as an aid and Marion Wynne-Davies's identification of the distinctive glove and flower watermark on the manuscript paper point to a later date of composition. Lumley's father, Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, took possession of Cranmer's library no earlier than 1553 and members of the Fitzalan family coterie began to use the paper from November, 1554.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript lists 'the names of the spekers in this Tragedie', implying the intent of a communal reading or performance. Parallels between the script and the performance venue offered by the Banqueting House and gardens at Nonsuch Palace suggest that the play might have been written, performed, or revived sometime after 1556 when the earl of Arundel, Lady Jane Lumley, and her husband moved there.<sup>6</sup>

Nonsuch was Henry Fitzalan's reward for supporting Mary Tudor's claim to the English throne in 1553. It involved a swift change of loyalties from his niece, the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (1537–54) who ruled for nine days as queen.<sup>7</sup> From a religious and political perspective, it was a logical move as the anonymous manuscript biography of Henry Fitzalan shows. The Catholic earl of Arundel had been held in the Tower of London himself during 1551–2 at the instigation of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland.<sup>8</sup> He thus had no reason to trust Northumberland's quick improvisation to put Jane Grey on the throne, apparently following the dying wishes of Edward VI. Although Jane was Arundel's niece, she had been preemptorily married to Northumberland's son, Guildford Dudley (an event echoed in *Iphigenia* in the expedient match to Achilles). After Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed, the earl of Arundel accompanied her from Syon House to the Tower where the mayor and aldermen of London greeted her as queen. Arundel sat on Jane's council alongside 'the Duke of Suffolke, her ffather' (Henry Fitzalan's brother-in-law) who 'took chardge of the Tower for her safety'. The biography reports that Fitzalan, his heart strengthened by God, subsequently risked 'his life, and losse of all he had' by confiding in the earl of Pembroke and persuading the leading lords of the council who met at Baynard's Castle (Pembroke's London residence), to declare Mary Tudor queen of England.<sup>9</sup> Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in early 1554 forced Queen Mary into removing her Protestant rival, and Lady Jane Grey was imprisoned in the Tower and executed on 12 February.

Since the evidence suggests that Lady Jane Lumley's translation followed the sacrificial execution of Lady Jane Grey, Lumley's choice of Euripides's text can be read as an active engagement with her family's political strategy. Marion Wynne-Davies's study of *Iphigenia* with reference to the writings of the family coterie strengthens the argument that Lumley 'turns her classical play into a close political allegory of her own age'.<sup>10</sup> Fitzalan's recent political manoeuvrings were a direct application of William Perkins's definition of the relationship between family and state in the *oikonomia* or political economy: 'this condition of the Familie, being the Seminarie of all other Societies, it followeth, that the holie and righteous government thereof, is a direct meane for the good ordering, both of Church and Common-wealth.'<sup>11</sup> Sacrificing Lady Jane Grey for the good ordering of the Catholic church and state (to say nothing of Arundel's own dynasty), was in the public interest. At the pivotal meeting in Baynard's Castle he told his peers: 'I am onely hereto induced for the safety of the com'on wealth and liberty of this kingdome, wheare to we are bounde noe lesse then to ourselves, both by the laws of God and nature'. He went on to explain the proposed betrayal of Jane in equally pragmatic terms, as the necessary correction of an error in order to preserve the commonwealth:

And if happily yow thinke it a disparidgment to proclaime Mary Queene, having alreadye acknowledged Jane, shewing thearby your variableness in that kinde; I tell yow this ought not to prevaile with yow, for when yow have com'itted an error, you oughte to amend it and not maintaine it, especially nowe wheare you may purchase honour to youre selves, safety, liberty and quiet to your country, and content to all; whereas if yow should not strive to reform your error, yow should showe small regard of yowre owne good, making yowre selves slaves, unthankfull to yowre country, neglecting the lawes and libertyes thereof, giving occasion hereafter of continuall turmoiles in the state, wth infinite other inconveniences, that are like to growe from thence.<sup>12</sup>

Wynne-Davies has astutely pointed out that Henry Fitzalan's speech, rather than Lady Jane Grey's final words, informs Iphigenia's determination to sacrifice herself 'for the commoditie of my countrie' (809–10).<sup>13</sup> Like Fitzalan, Iphigenia argues that she will die 'in a lawfull cause' for 'the welthe of grece, whiche is the mooste fruitful countrie of the worlde'. She will prevent turmoils in the state and preserve the Grecians' liberty 'since the grecians bi nature are free, like as the barbarians are borne to bondage' (821–3). For



both Henry Fitzalan and his daughter's tragic heroine the greater good of the Catholic church and state eclipse the traumatic effects of sacrifice.

Lady Jane Lumley could, arguably, have seen her namesake and cousin as no more than a political pawn in the aristocratic game of thrones where survival was paramount. Wynne-Davies argues that, while Lumley was sympathetic to her cousin, her translation choices, which shift speeches and blame from Agamemnon to his brother Menelaus, 'whitewash' her father Arundel's implication in the affair, and 'lay all the blame' firmly at the Duke of Suffolk's feet.<sup>14</sup> Diane Purkiss notes that the sacrifice of Iphigenia would have made 'very uncomfortable reading for Arundel' but believes that such an intention is 'so far against the grain of the text' that it could not have been written after 1553.<sup>15</sup> Lady Lumley's *Iphigenia* is, like her other translations, undeniably a gift from a loyal daughter to a father who took care to educate her. Nevertheless, I believe she wrote it precisely *to* disturb and to *manage* the after-effects of the family's contribution to Lady Jane Grey's death, the price paid for the success of their own political ambitions. To read the play as a political 'whitewash' of Arundel does not adequately account for its affective power as a means to process the guilt and fear induced by playing the political game. Unlike the anonymous autobiography which offers justification for all Henry Fitzalan's actions, his daughter's translation of *Iphigenia* dramatizes the conflict between the blood ties of family and duty to the state to open up a space for a more 'primitive' expression of pain and loss.

Page DuBois theorizes such raw emotion as an archaic power of the Eumenides or the Furies, fired by 'prehistoric' attachment to blood ties. In everyday life women who are buried or made insignificant in the political life of the city embody those ties. In the context of Greek tragedy, however, what was repressed erupts as 'women break their silence'.<sup>16</sup> Lady Jane Lumley's choice to translate Euripides's tragedy is a woman's endeavour to break the silence cast by the exclusive focus on political strategy in her family. The spaces alluded to in the script set up an opposition between pragmatic politics and feminine affect. The camp at Aulida, temporary home of 'the whole hooste' (341) and the off-stage world of Greece are male-dominated environments while the onstage Chorus of women and Diana's off-stage altar, where Iphigenia is to be sacrificed, are feminine sites of emotional focus. In the Rose Company production we endeavoured to realize this opposition in concrete form by the staging. A square playing space with exits at the four corners was crossed by one diagonal axis occupied by Iphigenia and her mother at one corner and the Chorus opposite. The other axis (from which the male

characters entered and exited) represented the Greek camp and the nation. Audience surrounded the acting space where venues allowed for performance in the round, creating a sense of often claustrophobic complicity with the family drama.

Lumley's Agamemnon does not escape criticism or tragedy, in spite of the success predicted by the Chorus's final lines, 'O happie Agamemnon, the goddess[s] grante thee a fortunate journie unto Troye, and a mooste prosperous returne againe' (969–71). Indeed, the celebration of his political goals, the 'fortunate iournie unto Troy', sounds empty after the pain he has experienced and caused. The words are doubly ironic in the ears of listeners who knew he would return to be murdered by Clytemnestra in Aeschylus's *Oresteia*. In our production, Alikı Chapple, who played Clytemnestra, pointedly avoided Agamemnon's touch at the end, clutching a baby Orestes to her, while the Chorus turned their backs to Agamemnon for the final congratulations.

The cost of sacrificing his favourite daughter weighs heavily on Agamemnon, who cuts a lonely figure, alienated from his brother, his wife and family, and even from his soldiers. Rose Company's all-female cast, in which Ruth Gregson played Agamemnon, arguably helped to make the emotions felt by the Greek leaders more culturally accessible, opening a corporeal channel for the expression of common human feelings which conventional masculine behaviour has often suppressed or failed to recognize. The pain of saying goodbye, commonly experienced when fathers give their daughters away in marriage, may link to sacrifice in Lumley's translation as Purkiss has suggested.<sup>17</sup> In this exchange Iphigenia's playful delight at the prospect of participating in her father's ritual preparations intensified the moment. In our production her innocent questions and his uncomfortable replies often provoked amusement at his expense amongst spectators which modified as he gave voice to his distress:

IPHIGENIA Shall I be at the sacrafice father?

AGAMEMNON Ye daughter, for you muste be one of the chiefeste.

IPHIGENIA Why? Shall I dawnce about it?

AGAMEMNON Truly I counte myself more happie because you do not understande me, goo your waye therfore and make you redie withe the other virgins. But let me firste take my leave of you, for this daye shall separate you and me farre asonder. Although this your mariage shalbe verie noble, yet trully it dothe greve me to bestowe you so far of[f], whom withe suche care I have brought up. (427–36)

Leave-taking, with an implicit stage direction for Agamemnon to block and delay Iphigenia's exit and to embrace her, is a prescient action loaded with responsibility for the tragedy to ensue. Of course Fitzalan and his family had no premonition that deposing Lady Jane Grey would lead to her execution but watching or reading these lines after the event would surely have evoked a range of feelings, perhaps including retrospective guilt at the parts they had played. In an early modern household performance Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia* would have enacted a form of remembrance that provided a powerful catalyst for the belated recognition of emotions.

Iphigenia's fate regularly provoked tears from spectators and actors in our production. A (literally) watershed moment was the leave-taking when she bade 'Farewell my beloved brother' to the young Orestes (868–70). Orestes was no more than a swaddled infant made out of a sheet but clearly Iphigenia (played by Catherine Bateman) had accepted primary responsibility for his care. She invokes Orestes's help in pleading for her life 'for I knowe he will be sorye to see his sister slayne' (711). The image of her cradling and kissing the baby goodbye thus emblemized the primacy of family values and nurture which she had decided to sacrifice. Iphigenia gained status through affect even while she was kneeling centre stage, to Agamemnon, slowly turning as he paced restlessly round the outside of the acting space, unable to look at her. Iphigenia's desperate, simple plea to survive 'for you knowe that all men are desirous of lyfe' (714) provoked Agamemnon to rush to her, kneel by her and protest angrily, 'I knowe in what things I ought to shewe pitie, and wherein I ought not and I love my children as it becommeth a father' (717–20). This desperate protest attempts to reconcile the incompatible claims of state and family and to convince himself that his actions are right. Gregson saw it as 'heartbreaking' for Agamemnon and for her as a performer. 'That is the part when I got really upset when we were rehearsing it and in performance because when Catherine [playing Iphigenia] looks up at you, it makes it real'.<sup>18</sup> How much more 'real' might this moment have felt for members of Lady Lumley's family, especially if they were speaking the words in a shared reading or household performance? Our experience of staging the play suggests that the relatively simple language of Lumley's translation has an emotional honesty, even innocence, that often takes speakers and auditors unaware, encouraging an infectious compassion for Agamemnon.

Nevertheless, Lumley's female characters, especially Clytemnestra, also offer a rigorous critique of Agamemnon's political strategy, and, by implication in the early modern present, that of Henry Fitzalan. Karen Raber has

perceptively observed that early modern reworkings of Greek (and Roman) sources are much concerned with the changing functions of political theory in early modern England, especially the family / state analogy as a mechanism for the operation of government.<sup>19</sup> Lumley's Clytemnestra deconstructs Agamemnon's strategy of placing state above family by showing how the two are intrinsically bound together at the essential level of life. The translation refocuses Clytemnestra's longest speech in Euripides's play, reducing her complaint about missing her daughter in the home to a single line. Instead, Clytemnestra decimates Agamemnon's position as father and paternal governor, giving voice to primal instincts based on blood ties, to caution that his unnatural behaviour will 'stir up the gods to anger against you for they do even hate them that are manquellers', that is man-killers or homicides (680–1). In addition, she self-consciously transgresses the silence maintained by a 'good wife' to offer reasoned political counsel (674). In murdering his daughter, she argues, 'you cannot enjoy the companie of your other children when you come home for they will even feare and abhorre you'. This act will have political consequences:

you shall not onlie fall into this mischiefe, but also you shall purchase your selfe the name of a cruell tyrant. For you were chosen the captaine over the Grecians to exercise justice to all men, and not to do both me and also your children such an injurie. (685–8)

Subjects and offspring are all 'children' whom Agamemnon ought to protect in a regime that is just.

Clytemnestra's careful critique of her husband's policy comments obliquely but trenchantly on Henry Fitzalan's pragmatism in betraying Lady Jane Grey. The nightmare of civil division under Northumberland imagined in Fitzalan's speech, with 'brother against brother, unckle against nephewe, ffather in lawe against sonne in lawe, cosen against cosen', is, in fact, the scene depicted in *Iphigenia*.<sup>20</sup> The Chorus, aggrieved that 'one shulde fall out with another', expresses 'specialle' concern 'that any contention should be among brethren' (243–4), namely Agamemnon and Menelaus. A further military conflict with 'ffather in lawe against sonne in lawe' occurs on stage between Agamemnon and Achilles in the play (offering a parallel to that between the older generation Fitzalan and Guildford Dudley). Fitzalan's horror that 'those enimies that be of the same bloude' would tear the kingdom apart was realized in his own aristocratic family and in the conflicts of the

play. Most tellingly, his admonition to his peers, 'Can yow imagine theare is any good in him, who durst so shameleslye presume to embrewe his hands in the bloode royal?';<sup>21</sup> turns back on him in the sacrifice of Iphigenia as a reimaged version of the death of Lady Jane Grey.

Hints in the manuscript suggest Lady Jane Lumley was aware of the critique she could make within the conventions of a translation exercise that expressed her loyalty to her father. She translates a fairly bland exchange between father and daughter as what we might see as a comment on her own translation strategy:

AGAMEMNON Trulye daughter the more wittely you speake, the more you  
trouble me.

IPHIGENIA If it be so father, then I will strive to seme more folishhe that  
you may be delighted.

AGAMEMNON Surely I am constrained to praise gretlye your witte, for I do  
delite much in it. (398–403)

The father figure in Lumley's text accepts the consequences of educating his daughter to be eloquent and learned in matters of 'councell' (391). If Lumley spoke as Iphigenia in a household performance or reading, the lines would advertize the shared knowledge that this translation was not diplomatic in any sense, but a free interpretation designed to 'trouble' its recipient with reminders of the consequences of his previous actions. Iphigenia challenges her father by asking if she should appear more 'folishhe' in order to please him, which he denies. At a metatextual level, Lumley's witty translation here implicitly authorizes the learned critiques she offers of her father's political strategy. In spite of Iphigenia's superficial acceptance of her duty as a daughter of Greece, her words register deep scepticism about the principles of government which reduce her to an expendable commodity:

Surelie mother we can not speke against this, for do you not think it to be better that I shulde die, then so many noble man to be let of their journey for one womans sake? For one noble man is better than a thousand women. (813–17)

Given Lumley's learning and wit, she surely tinges these words with irony, questioning the value of a political theory that mistakenly sets family against state rather than uniting the forces of women and men in pursuit of a common good.

Iphigenia's determination to die for the good of her country like the Greek soldiers paradoxically threatens those very men whose honour she purports to be promoting. By actively embracing her death for the cause of the *polis* Iphigenia becomes a citizen of the state, challenging the exclusive masculinity of the public arena. Conventional constructions of male and female identities, public and private arenas, are vulnerable and open to radical reconfigurations in Aulis, which is a liminal space, geographically and temporally. As well as being a harbour or haven, it is a threshold between peace and war on which the Greek army are stranded, 'constrained to tary here idle' (76).

The extended argument between Menelaus and Agamemnon (161–276) dramatizes how this no-man's land threatens masculinity. Their brotherly squabble is a symptom of their frustrations at not being able to engage with the enemy in battle and the product of their training in the military tactic of manipulating gender in order to disempower the enemy. As Carol Cohn notes, war 'has the effect of making not just men but their *manliness* a target'.<sup>22</sup> Menelaus taunts Agamemnon with his inconstancy about sacrificing Iphigenia, saying that this shameful act shows either 'fearefulness' or that Agamemnon is 'unmete' as a ruler of the 'common welthe' (254–6). Agamemnon is quick to recognize that 'a learned tonge disposed to evell is a naughty thinge' (193–4) but retaliates in the same vein, suggesting that Helen's abduction is due to Menelaus's 'fautes' (246) in manhood: 'For you your selfe have been the occasion of your owne trouble' (250–2). In our production the actors playing Agamemnon (Ruth Gregson) and Menelaus (Helen Katamba) enjoyed the opportunity to stretch different theatrical muscles in the performance of such aggressive masculinity. Alike Chapple, responsible for coaching the all-female cast to play men, comments that while social conditions physically train women 'not to be heroic ... not to take up space', female actors enjoy the high status of the male heroes and the opportunity to play as 'powerful or aggressive or proud'. At the same time, cross-casting is 'about a belief in the mutability of theatrical performance, that anybody can play anything'.<sup>23</sup> Rose Company's all-female production emphasized the performativity of gender in the liminal space/time of Aulis.

Iphigenia's wish to die for the company of soldiers anticipates and upstages male sacrifices in war. Advising her mother to 'suffer this troble patiently for I needs must die and will suffer it willingly' (799–800), she appropriates the male discourse of service, specifically the protection of women and children. Iphigenia constructs herself as the 'destruction of Troie' (803), the enemy against whose 'wicked enterprise' she must defend the Grecians or they 'shall

not kepe neither their children, nor yet their wives in peace' (805–7). Reconfiguring the sacrifice to which she has been condemned as an active, traditionally masculine role is transgressive. The debate surrounding women's involvement in the military today shows it remains controversial. General Robert H. Barrow, the former Commander of UD Marine Corps explains:

War is a man's work. Biological convergence [ie, deploying women] on the battle-field ... would be an enormous psychological distraction for the male who wants to think he's fighting for that woman somewhere behind, not up there in the same foxhole with him. It tramples the male ego. When you get right down to it, you have to protect the manliness of war.<sup>24</sup>

Iphigenia does not fight but her rhetorical intervention profoundly disrupts the all-male camp. Achilles's determination to fight for Iphigenia is psychologically motivated as well as being, superficially, a sign of bravado. Emma Rucastle's experience of directing an actor and then playing the role herself in the filmed production led to an understanding of the emotional depth of Achilles's motivation:

In early productions we'd been sending up the male characters a little, Achilles the most obviously, and I know when I had talked about the part with Elle, I used terms like Prince Charming and hero coming in to save the day .... but I found playing it myself, not to feel like that at all. Certainly he comes on as a hero but ... once Clytemnestra ... goes on her knees and begs him for help it felt like a very different matter. When I turned ... and made eye contact with Clytemnestra, it seemed like something that Achilles really wanted to do, he genuinely wanted to help this woman ... Similarly when he proposes to Iphigenia and she says no ... it did suddenly seem absolutely critical to me that Achilles's last three words are 'change your mind' and I desperately wanted her to at that moment.<sup>25</sup>

Iphigenia's response is to stand firm and not relinquish her place as hero; rather, she turns the tables and offers to protect Achilles, bidding him 'not to put your selfe in daunger for my cause but suffer me rather to save all grece with my deathe' (837–9).

Achilles and Iphigenia are both preoccupied with how they will be remembered. Achilles fears 'it shoulde sounde to no little reproch to me', if Iphigenia is slain 'throughe my occation' (574–6). Iphigenia, by contrast, is confident that she will 'leave a perpetuall memorie of my deathe' (830).

Jane Lumley's translation engages actively with the process of remembrance, first in reviving Euripides's play as part of the renaissance of interest in ancient heroes and drama in sixteenth-century England. The female voice that vows to 'offer my selfe willingly to death for my country' reminds characters, readers, or spectators that the costs of conflict are not just borne by men. Pronounced in the early modern present of a household reading, or a performance at Nonsuch after 1556, the lines call to mind the fate of Lady Jane Grey. Even though she had not yet been commemorated as the first Protestant martyr by John Foxe, Lady Jane Grey's writings share Iphigenia's awareness of her role as sacrifice.

In a letter to her sister Katherine on the day before her execution, Lady Jane advised, 'Lyve still to dey', and 'trust not yt ye tenderness of yor age shall lengthen yor life: for assone, if god will, goith ye young as the old; and laboure always to lerne to dey'.<sup>26</sup> Since Miles Coverdale published the letter in 1564, copies of it were obviously in circulation. Lady Jane Lumley and her family would perhaps have recognized a secular echo in Iphigenia's final words, 'O father, I am come hether to offer my body willinglie . . . I will make no resistance againste you' (926–30). Lady Jane Grey's final letter to *her* earthly father demonstrates the same critical strength and wit as Iphigenia's words. Regretful that God has chosen 'to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened', she assures him she accepts her end with thanks. She urges his faith in Christ ('if it be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father') before signing off as 'Your obedient daughter till death, Jane Dudley'. Jane Lumley's translation, a gift from a dutiful daughter, likewise dared to counsel her father.

Jane Lumley's critical stance may also pick up on her cousin's earlier *Letter to a Friend Newly Fallen from the Faith*, which provides a striking contrast to Fitzalan's warning that families would be split apart. The Protestant Lady Jane Grey pointed out that 'Christ came to set one against another; the son against the father, the daughter against the mother'. With worldly and perhaps prophetic wisdom regarding her own fate, Jane cautioned that the Catholic doctrine of unity was no more than a deceptive 'glistening and glorious name' because 'the agreement of evil men is not an unity but a conspiracy'.<sup>27</sup> In *Iphigenia* Jane Lumley does not paint Agamemnon or even Menelaus as intrinsically evil but she does show how both men are trapped into committing an evil act by the conspiracy of the 'hoste' to win honour in Troy. What emotions and regrets these remembrances of the tragic figure Lady Jane Grey



would have conjured in a reading or performance by members of Jane Lumley's family, we can only conjecture.

Re-producing Lumley's *Iphigenia* in a year commemorating the outbreak of World War I raised our awareness of how the play could function as an act of remembrance. Michael Freedon argues that 'In all cultures, the war dead occupy a particular place' for reasons relating to both family and nation: first because of the 'difficulty in rationalizing sacrifice'; second 'because the bereaved need a rationale that explains the deaths of their relatives, transforming them into heroes'; third, 'because of the ostensible altruistic nature of such death'; and finally 'because a nation betrays the duty to protect all its members by sending some of them to their deaths, on what is sometimes merely the pretext that those who die are protecting the rest'.<sup>28</sup> Iphigenia's sacrifice for war parallels that of the war dead in each of these aspects. Neither Iphigenia, Clytemnestra, nor the Chorus of women can see any good reason for the sacrifice: 'for what have I to do with Helena?' Iphigenia asks (709). To provide a rationale, Iphigenia seizes on the idea of an altruistic death: 'remember how I was not borne for your sake onlie, but rather for the commoditie of my countrie' (809–10) and assures her mother, 'I shall get you moche honor by my deathe' (851–2). To further the view of her sacrifice as a heroic triumph for the nation, Iphigenia orchestrates the response of the women left behind. She forbids her mother, sisters, and the other virgins and the Chorus to mourn, instructing them:

I shall desire all you women to singe some songe of my deathe, and to prophesie good lucke unto the grecians: for with my deathe I shall purchase unto them a glorious victorie. (892–5)

The Chorus assures her: 'by this meanes you shall get your selfe a perpetuall renowne for ever' (903–4).

Freedon argues that such an act of commemoration converts genuine grief into a 'dignified act of public recognition' which can provide some comfort to the immediate mourners and simultaneously serve the national interest by 'channelling strong communal emotion over and above other loyalties and commitments'.<sup>29</sup> Lumley's *Iphigenia* is not so conventional. Running counter to the dignified, stoic celebration and the 'grete wonder' of Iphigenia's transportation into the heavens is a strong sense of abhorrence at the waste of life. Clytemnestra is 'in doughte' about the miracle, believing 'they have fained it to comforte me' (958–60). A 'white harte' on the sacrificial altar 'struggling

for life' (939–43), replaces Iphigenia — a tangible reminder of the continuing struggle on battlefields beyond the play. The harsh world of military and political conflict still makes sacrifices of those who 'hathe not deserved to dye' for a cause (326).

In our 2014 performances Iphigenia's words, 'I must goo from you unto such a place, from whence I shall never come again', recalled those who had been sent off by powerful military and spiritual leaders like Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses, and Calchas, to die in the interests of national supremacy or religious fundamentalism. A staged progress to the altar accompanied the Chorus's speech 'yonder goeth the virgine to be sacrificed with a great companye of soldiers after her'. Clad in her poppy-coloured dress, Iphigenia, followed by Menelaus, made a slow march round the stage, evoking ceremonies of remembrance. A translated song, the Seikilos Epitaph (ca 100AD), punctuated the ceremony with a potent reminder of vivacious, young life lost: 'While you live, shine / Shine, let in no sorrow, / So little is life / An end imposed by time'. Reproducing *Iphigenia* in a year of remembrance demonstrates that Lady Jane Lumley's translation continues to function as a palimpsest that revivifies the past in order to disturb the present.

## Notes

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- 1 Lady Lumley's *Tragedie of Iphigenia* exists in a unique manuscript, British Library ms Royal 15. A IX Lumley. All quotations and line references are from Diane Purkiss (ed.), *Three Tragedies by Renaissance Women* (Harmondsworth, 1998), 1–35.
- 2 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 2009), 2.
- 3 See, for example, Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson, (eds), *The Tragedy of Mariam, The Fair Queen of Jewry with the Lady Falkland: Her Life* (London, 1994), 27; Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, 'Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis: multum in parvo*, or, less is more', in S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (eds), *Readings in Renaissance Women's Drama* (London, 1988), 129–41 and Marion Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in the English Renaissance: Relative Values* (Basingstoke, 2007), 63–88.
- 4 The production toured to Lancaster Castle; Homerton College, Cambridge; University College London; The Continental, Preston; King's Head Theatre, Manchester; and the Lantern Theatre, Liverpool; and was filmed in September 2014 as a DVD:

- Lady Jane Lumley's Iphigenia at Aulis*, dir. Emma Rucastle for Rose Company Theatre. For further details and photographs see <http://www.rosecompanytheatre.com/>
- 5 David H. Greene, 'Lady Lumley and Greek Tragedy', *Classical Journal* 36 (1941), 537–47; Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 73.
  - 6 On performance at Nonsuch see Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge, 2006), 74–9 and Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 72–80.
  - 7 Lady Jane Grey was the daughter of Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, whose sister Catherine was Henry Fitzalan's first wife and Lady Jane Lumley's mother. Catherine Grey/Fitzalan died in 1551.
  - 8 'Life of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel', British Library ms Royal 17 A IX, transcribed by J. B. Nichols in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 154 (1833), Part 2, 15). The biography was probably commissioned by John Lumley.
  - 9 'Life of Henry Fitzalan,' 118.
  - 10 Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 65.
  - 11 William Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie: or, A short survey of the right manner of erecting and ordering a familie according to the scriptures...now set forth in the vulgar tongue, for more common use and benefit, by Tho. Pickering Bachelor of Diuinitie* (London, 1609)
  - 12 'Life of Fitzalan', 119.
  - 13 Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 85.
  - 14 *Ibid*, 66
  - 15 Purkiss, *Three Tragedies by Renaissance Women*, xxv.
  - 16 Page DuBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago, 1988), 68–9. I thank Karen Raber for alerting me to this important work in her article 'Murderous Mothers and the Family/State Analogy in Classical and Renaissance Drama,' *Comparative Literary Studies* 37:3 (2000), 298–320, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/cl.2000.0029>
  - 17 Diane Purkiss, 'Blood, Sacrifice, Marriage: Why Iphigenia and Mariam Have to Die', *Women's Writing* 6:1 (1999), 27–45, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/109699089900200054> reads the sacrifice in relation to Jane's marriage to John Lumley.
  - 18 From interview on *Lady Jane Lumley's Iphigenia* (2015).
  - 19 Karen Raber, 'Murderous Mothers', 300.
  - 20 'Life of Fitzalan', 119
  - 21 *Ibid*.
  - 22 Carol Cohn, ed. *Women and Wars: Contested Histories* (Cambridge, 2013), 22.
  - 23 Interview from film *Jane Lumley's Iphigenia at Aulis*.
  - 24 Cited in Cohn, *Women and Wars*, 23.

- 25 Emma Rucastle, director of *Iphigenia* by Rose Company Theatre (2013–14) in interview from *Lady Jane Lumley's 'Iphigenia at Aulis'*, a film of the production (Rose Company Theatre and Lancaster University Television, 2015)
- 26 Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.), *The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey with A Memoir of Her Life* (London, 1825), 46. First printed in Miles Coverdale, *Certain Most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters of Such True Saintes and Holy Martyrs of God*. See also Lady Jane Grey's letter refusing the blood-drenched crown, xxxviii.
- 27 Nicholas (ed.), *Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*, 29.
- 28 Michael Freeden, 'The Politics of Ceremony: The Wootten Bassett Phenomenon,' *Journal of Political Ideologies* 16.1 (2001), 2. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2011.540937>.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 1.

**Performing *The Tragedy of Mariam* and Constructing Stage History**

RAMONA WRAY

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*Since the rediscovery of Elizabeth Cary's drama, The Tragedy of Mariam, the play and its author have generated a veritable critical industry. Yet little has been written about performance, a lacuna explained by a reluctance to think about Mariam as a theatrical creation. This article challenges the current consensus by arguing for the play's theatrical imprint and by analysing two 2013 performances — a site-specific production at Cary's birthplace, and a production by the Lazarus Theatre Company. Throughout, Mariam engages with casting, costume, lighting, set, and movement, issues that have mostly been bypassed in Cary studies.*

Elizabeth Cary's drama, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, is no longer a neglected text. Since its rediscovery some thirty years ago, the play and its author have generated a veritable critical industry; the term 'Cary studies' now describes a deep and wide-ranging body of scholarship.<sup>1</sup> Yet virtually nothing has been written about performance, a lacuna explained by the general reluctance to think about *Mariam* as a theatrical creation. Instead, feminist critics follow convention in assuming that, as a 'closet drama', *Mariam* would never have been performed. The consensus of opinion is that *Mariam* was written to be read aloud by Cary's domestic circle (rather than staged as part of an aristocratic entertainment); some critics see the play as not only unperformed but also unperformable.<sup>2</sup>

This assessment has had a far-reaching effect on the ways in which, beyond feminist and women's writing circles, critics at large have taken up the play. As the first original drama authored by a woman, we might expect *Mariam* to occupy an important position in theatre history. Yet the play in this regard has received little attention. Inside a discipline which defines itself in terms of the Shakespearean and the non-Shakespearean (with 'masque studies' occupying sub-sections of these two groupings), a play designated 'closet drama', no matter how historically significant, fails to fit into the 'early modern drama' canon. Jeremy Lopez's 2014 study, *Constructing the Canon of Early Modern Drama*, illustrates this point, given that Cary's play is conspicuous by its absence. In a study whose brief is the 'broad expansion

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of the range of early modern dramatic texts available for scholarship, pedagogy, and appreciation', Cary, and the wealth of critical writing on her play, is completely invisible.<sup>3</sup> De facto, of course, this invisibility means that we regard early modern drama as constituting a wholly male-authored preserve. This state of affairs has as much to do with a lack of a traditional performance history for *Mariam* as with related critical factors. The identification of *Mariam* as a 'closet drama' excludes the author from generic discussion: for Lopez, and for others working in the discipline of theatre history, Cary is not 'Shakespeare's contemporary'.

But, in fact, recent studies have begun to highlight the extent to which Cary achieved recognition in her own time as a well-networked translator, poet, and dramatist. In addition to Richard Bellings's 1624 preface to the countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia*, in which he thanks Cary, his '*patronesse*', for her '*many favours*', the printer of the 1633 edition of the dramatic works of Marston dedicated the book to her (William Sheares's note, which specifies how '*your Honour is well acquainted with the Muses*', confirms Cary's attachment to metropolitan theatrical culture).<sup>4</sup> That *Mariam* shares an interface with the drama of its time further suggests the play's sensitivity to other dramatic influences. These include Marlowe's major plays, as well as *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Cary's appropriative practice and use of Old Testament history powerfully link her to other playwrights, such as Massinger, whose *The Duke of Milan* similarly relies on Thomas Lodge's translation of Josephus's Herod and Mariam narrative. Similar continental instances, such as plays by Hans Sachs and Alexandre Hardy, also spring to mind, the point being that scholars have now established that Cary was working within established traditions of adaptation and reinvention. Equally significant is the way in which Cary's drama was itself a contemporary point of reference. Certainly, the play was known to Thomas Middleton and imitated, pointing to a blurring of 'private' and 'public' distinctions.<sup>6</sup> *Mariam*'s double existence as a ca 1603 to ca 1606 manuscript and a 1613 printed book supports such blurring. As Marta Straznicky observes, a 'play that is not intended for commercial performance can nevertheless cross between private playreading and the public sphere through the medium of print' and, in so doing, makes visible some of the uncertain oppositions upon which definitions of 'closet drama' have depended.<sup>7</sup>

A complementary critical trajectory has suggested that the judgement branding *Mariam* as theatrically unviable is premature. This argument holds that we cannot deduce from the absence of evidence for the play's

performance in the seventeenth century a lack of theatrical responsiveness or ambition on Cary's part. As Alison Findlay, Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, and Gweno Williams observe, 'It is mistaken to assume that plays for which we have no production history are unperformable and not even intended for performance'.<sup>8</sup> This assessment is important because it has consequences for present-day production. As Pascale Aebischer and Kathryn Prince recognize in relation to non-Shakespearean drama, 'there is a connection between the academic labour of ... scholars and ... amateur productions of early modern drama that tend to be concentrated in higher education settings [in that] ... amateur productions and staged readings ... serve as incubators for an interest ... later expressed in fully realised productions at fringe and mainstream theatres'.<sup>9</sup> *Mariam* demonstrates a similar domino effect, and the most recent scholarly recognition of its theatrical potential has begun to generate real production possibilities.

This essay argues for the uniquely theatrical imprint of *Mariam*. It considers the vital contribution of two 2013 performances of the play — a site-specific production which took place in Burford, Oxfordshire, Cary's birthplace, and a production by the Lazarus Theatre Company. Discussion attends to the means whereby music, stage tableaux, choreography, and painterly effects take up some of the aesthetic prompts the original play provides. Throughout, *Mariam* engages with casting, costume, lighting, set and movement, issues that have mostly been bypassed in Cary studies. The argument has consequences for theatre history, too, challenging the separatism which undoubtedly still obtains, and demanding that the play move inside a less straitjacketed interpretive terrain.

### **The Text and the Burford Production**

Liz Schafer, in an important recent polemic, notes that, 'Certain features of *Mariam* actually suggest that the play was very definitely written with performance in mind[;] ... some aspects ... do not make sense unless the play was performed'.<sup>10</sup> Written for *Times Higher Education*, Schafer's intervention is necessarily brief; even so, she offers several tantalizing examples of these features, referencing, for example, the 'long entrances, typical of the public playhouse, where characters may have to traverse a distance of more than 20 feet before they are fully on stage'.<sup>11</sup> These long entrances appear throughout Cary's text (in 1.2, for instance, *Mariam*, spotting her mother, Alexandra, steels herself to stop crying before the latter has entered), despite

such action having no obvious place in a play that, criticism has maintained, Cary intended to be read. Schafer also notes the presence on stage of Herod's attendants.<sup>12</sup> One might add the guards who accompany Babas's sons and the soldiers of act 4 — these personnel are visual signs of Herod's power and menace, although only the soldiers have lines. The 1613 quarto edition does not specify numbers and, hence, typifies what Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson have termed 'permissive stage directions' (directives that leave 'indeterminate ... [the] number of actors required' so as to facilitate a 'variety of actions').<sup>13</sup> These serve little purpose in a play not designed for some kind of theatrical manifestation. References to costume in *Mariam* are also suggestive. As Schafer recognizes, Herod's costume change, signalled in the dialogue, structures his return.<sup>14</sup> In act 4, Mariam, much to the annoyance of her tyrannical husband, elects to dress herself not in Herod's favoured fashion of 'fair habit' (5.1.142) and 'stately ornament' (5.1.142) but, rather, in black. Mariam's response, as well as her sombre dress, echoes Hamlet, as she states:

I suit my garment to my mind,  
And there no cheerful colours can I find. (4.3.5–6)

Like the Shakespearean hero, Mariam constructs her dusky outward appearance as reflecting her inner mood. Elsewhere in the play, not just bodies but also props highlight actions. Such props prominently include both a flower ('Much like this flower which today excels' [3.1.21], states Salome) and a cup ('A drink procuring love' [4.4.1], explains the Butler); cups and flowers were standard theatrical objects, and the gestural lines that accompany their appearance here suggest that, in the playwright's eyes, they lend the play a visual energy.<sup>15</sup>

Critical occlusions notwithstanding, the dramatic and theatrical qualities of *Mariam* have had some earlier recognition.<sup>16</sup> Of all the plays belonging to the 'closet drama' genre, *Mariam*, Jonas Barish suggests, was the most eminently stageable in commercial terms. Interestingly, his discussion identifies different performative components from those on which Schafer concentrates. He notes, for example, the play's 'sense of action hastening forward, of event erupting into event and engendering new event, an effect alien to closet drama but familiar on the stage', centring his analysis on one of the play's few actual stage directions.<sup>17</sup> A duelling scene between Constabarus and Silleus (itself an extraordinary scene of action replicated in no other 'closet drama') includes the stage direction, 'They fight' (2.4.92 SD), one of the



mostly frequently used stage directions in the period.<sup>18</sup> Barish writes that the scene is one of ‘stage excitement, with actors who confront each other[,] ... struggle physically [and the action] ... smacks of the rough and tumble of the popular stage’.<sup>19</sup> Certainly, a dynamic force is at work here. The dialogue establishes that blood is noticeable (2.4.67–8); in-text opportunities allow for laboured breathing (2.4.69–70); and the whole scene charts the ebb and flow of an argument that erupts and subsides only to erupt again. Such indications appear not only in the quarto stage direction but also in the need for an additional stage direction indicating struggle (2.4.66 sd), which a theatrically-attentive editor will undoubtedly want to interpolate.

If action is mostly alien to ‘closet drama’, then so too is setting. Far from unfolding in an unspecified place, *Mariam* consistently identifies details of situation which possess a theatrical charge. Locations indicated by action and language include public and private palace spaces, the prison, and the road leading to the scaffold. Interestingly, when John Davies honoured Cary’s achievements as a dramatist in a 1612 treatise, it was her ‘Scenes of ... Palestine’ that he singled out for comment; the imaginative recreation of an Old Testament world, rather than a disquisition on morality and/or political tyranny, was what lodged in the seventeenth-century mind.<sup>20</sup> In choosing Jerusalem, Cary was following a number of contemporary dramatic works that used the city as setting.<sup>21</sup> In addition, by prioritizing a city in this way, *Mariam* shares a kinship with such biblical plays as George Peele’s *David and Bethsabe* (ca 1594), set in Rabba, and Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene’s *A Looking Glass for London and England* (1589–1590), set in Nineveh, works associated with the popular amphitheatres and theatrical ram-bunctiousness. In the gender-inflected criticism on *Mariam*, setting receives scant mention, but, in fact, Jerusalem is hard to ignore, not least in the light of explicit invocations by characters using performatively emphatic styles of direct address. Typical are the scenes of greeting and leave-taking which, implying external settings and therefore establishing for the play an internal-external dynamic, both aid momentum and invite audience participation. At 2.3.8, the returning Doris’s greeting to the ‘fair city’ — like Constabarus’s later leave-taking speech — encourages an audience to read Jerusalem in aesthetic terms, while Herod’s address, ‘Hail, happy city! ... happy that thy buildings such we see!’ (4.1.1–2), explicitly prompts thinking in terms of stagecraft. Both Herod and Doris acknowledge the ‘buildings’ (2.3.1; 4.1.2) of Jerusalem, which implies that they deliver these particular speeches in relation to the structures of the characters’ environs. I do not suggest that

Cary envisaged an actual wall or walls as a theatrical property (although a rudimentary backdrop would not be impossible); rather, I am reflecting on the extent to which she shares a theatrical vocabulary around architecture with her male peers writing for the public stage.<sup>22</sup> In short, Jerusalem figures in *Mariam* as a series of performance clues with the potential to function in meaningful dramatic applications that expand the presumed limits of the 'closet drama' designation.

Neither Schafer nor Barish explicitly mention the Chorus to *Mariam*, described in the dramatis personae to the play as 'a company of Jews'. The Chorus represents a grouping of several players, and this assembly of opinion distinguishes itself as an easily identifiable stage presence.<sup>23</sup> Several staging opportunities suggest themselves here; had the play been performed, the Chorus may have remained on stage throughout, a visible reminder of orthodoxy and traditional wisdom. If the Chorus entered and exited at act breaks, such action would have facilitated possibilities for movement and interaction with the rest of the cast. Other representational features allow options too. Curtains and the use of an inner space or balcony would have the effect of marking a spatial and/or hierarchical distance between the Chorus and the actors; the choric dialogue itself generates possibilities for lively debate, which different members of the 'company' delivering different sections of the verse might underline. Nor should an audience assume that the Chorus is a wholly static entity. Gestural pointers, for example, quickly become identifiable: 'Fond wretches, seeking what they cannot find' (1 Chorus.5), the Chorus states, perhaps nodding to departing characters, while elsewhere the 'company' finds a target in the audience itself, observing, 'For if you like your state as now it is, / Why should an alteration bring relief?' (1 Chorus.20–1). Like plays such as Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1588–1589) and Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), ample opportunities permit the Chorus in *Mariam* to take up multiple roles in relation to the action as it unfolds.

Because critics are generally inured to thinking that *Mariam* is not an early modern drama, records of the stage history of the play rarely surface to trouble accounts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drama in the theatre.<sup>24</sup> This issue is raised in catalogue of 'Modern Performances of Plays by Early Modern Women' (pp. 129–32), however, which suggests staged readings, excerpts, and productions continue to demonstrate *Mariam*'s potential theatricality and showcase the ways in which performance decisions have their origins in the play's implied stage business.<sup>25</sup> The play's theatrical appeal was evident in an extraordinary piece of theatre directed by Rebecca

McCutcheon in June 2013.<sup>26</sup> As a director, McCutcheon has established a name for herself by demonstrating via site-specific performance the dynamic stage attributes of neglected early modern dramas.<sup>27</sup> Her *Mariam* production took place in Burford Church, Burford, Oxfordshire, and formed part of a larger initiative (organized by Liz Schafer), the ‘Mariam Project’, which involves stagings of parts of the play in different venues. Of course, quite possibly, Cary wrote *Mariam* with a particular venue in mind, and thus Schafer makes logistical sense in prompting us to think about the play in site-specific ways. Schafer also had a biographical rationale for the conjunction with Burford — Cary was brought up in Burford Priory and would have attended the church (the ruff worn by *Mariam* is a gesture to the famous copper-plate engraving of Cary in which she sports a similar accessory). An energetic delivery characterized the production itself: the director used the whole church (the audience’s attention being directed to features such as the old turret clock and the mullioned, medieval stained-glass windows), with members of the cast climbing the altar and running through the aisles in a manner that brought to the drama a lively athleticism. Space in the church belonged wholly to the cast, as in, for example, the realization of 1.3: *Mariam* and *Salome* shout at each other across the distance of the nave from the transepts, an index of the psychic distance separating them. Weather-beaten and imposing, the church doors are deployed as an effective means of entrance and egress: hence, *Doris* opens them to greet *Jerusalem*, falling on the ground (‘You royal buildings, bow your lofty side’ [2.3.1]), and then picking herself up, in what is a necessarily extended arrival scene. On occasion, the specifics of the venue allowed for a provocative interplay of meanings. So, terms connotative of Jewish identity — and taunts such as ‘parti-Jew’ (1.3.29) and ‘parti-Edomite’ (1.3.29) — echoed through the vaulted arches and stood out in the Christian setting. In contrast, formulations such as ‘Why, then, be witness, heaven’ (1.6.63) were nicely complemented, finding a ready home in the ecclesiastical context.

Perhaps most significantly for the production, church monuments afforded a resonant backdrop, not least the statue of Cary herself kneeling at the tomb of her parents. Uniquely, the seventeenth-century monument shows Cary looking on beside the effigies of her mother and father; by association, these family figures are the guardians of the performance in their midst. Further associations gathered about the Cary effigy, for this production emphasized the spaces of the author’s early years. The cast is mainly youthful, and the performers’ fresh-faced appearance reminds us that *Mariam* was among

Cary's first works. Indeed, Mariam herself, in comparison with actresses who have played the part in other productions, is noticeably child-like, wearing a white and gold dress, flats and ankle socks, pearls and a locket, all suggestive of infantilism. Her weeping and mood swings are similarly evocative of a lack of maturity. Not surprisingly, then, this production of *Mariam* has as title, in acknowledgement of the adaptive impulses behind it, *Youth and Young Girlhood*.

The opening chorus (young voices joined in harmony) and the distinctive activities taking place in various parts of the church afford immediate engagement with the 'youth' interpretation. As this pre-show unfolds, we witness a series of individual character compositions set against the magnificent backcloth of internal chapels, dappled reflections, sepulchres, and the sanctuary. Salome, for instance, artfully posing with a mirror that betokens an absorption in self, simultaneously endeavours to cut through a tangle of threads and cords so as to reach the spectators (her pledge, 'I'll be the custom-breaker and begin / To show my sex the way to freedom's door' [1.4.49–50], hovers as a sub-text). Meanwhile, Constabarus roams the aisle, greeting the incoming audience and shaking hands (hinting at his discourse on 'friendship' [2.2.13]) in the same moment as he demands: 'Are Hebrew women now transformed to men?' (1.6.47). An older Doris sits alone, explaining conversationally to anyone who will listen the difficulties leading up to the break-up of her marriage. Also present is Elizabeth Cary herself; the author is busily at work, scribbling down ideas inspired by the sublime architecture. All the characters interact with the audience directly, breaking down barriers and ensuring responsiveness to later, more formal rhetorical addresses. As the director explains, 'offering direct audience/performer relationships' helps 'our audience connect with a play which is challenging to stage in conventional settings'.<sup>28</sup>

Crucially, Mariam is a doubled part (that is, two actresses play the role, sometimes delivering their lines simultaneously from opposite ends of the church site). Immediately inscribed in the dramaturgy is a sense of two aspects of a vexed personality. One Mariam, then, appears at the baptism font beginning her opening soliloquy ('How oft with public voice have I run on' [1.1.1]); she grips the elaborately carved fixture, shouting down into it in an irreverent demonstration of a desire to be heard. In the same moment, the other Mariam struggles inside the enclosure surrounding the Cary family monument; agitated, she hits her head against the tomb, climbs the windows and swings on the rails, each of her actions connoting a chafing against

familial restrictions. Complementary visions of Mariam find symbolic capital in the resonances of the church's spatial arrangements.

Prioritizing the interior struggle means that the director robs *Mariam* of some of its political import, becoming more focused on the domestic drama. The cuts reinforce this choice (Alexandra, Silleus, and, most significantly, Herod, are removed), the consequence of which is a more concentrated grouping of characters linked by tightened points of contact. In part, the audience experiences the characters as connected via acoustic means (they join in choral music); at other points, characters appear as one cohesive entity because explicitly summoned by choric authority. Bringing to mind a 1995 Royal Holloway production, Cary and the Chorus are one and the same, a move which facilitates a knowing self-consciousness (as when she nods to the Cary effigy, identifies the author, and invites applause). As she recites the 'Argument', Cary/Chorus identifies each of the cast by name and recounts individual histories, thereby clarifying roles and making meanings concrete. The procedure generated a number of comic interpolations in its wake: 'It's complicated' was an addition that provoked ironic laughter. As author and Chorus, Cary is throughout in charge, inaugurating the singing, signalling its cessation, as would an orchestral maestro, and stalking the edges of the performance, her hands held in prayer for its successful outcome.

Throughout, the Burford production was creative with characterization. Constabarus often accompanied Cary, as Chorus; the association augments his part, particularly at the points where he walks with the Chorus as an adjunct or support. Even with heavy cuts, the virtues of Cary's dramatic method is evident; despite the removal of the scenes with Babas's sons, for example, Constabarus retained a sympathetic edge, particularly in the light of the detailing of his marriage breakdown. What was lost from the play, then, allowed for amplification and nuance in other areas. Doris is a case in point; with Herod and Alexandra removed, she fills the gap vacated by representatives of seniority and, as an older woman, engages the audience in intimate ways: 'Do you have children?', she asks, adding, 'Boys?'. Through such exchanges, the actress playing Doris was able to establish a rapport, particularly with older audience members, and her widow's garb (emblematic of rejection/bereavement), huge case (suggestive of homelessness), and toy train and rattle (connotative of children now lost) heightened the empathetic notes struck in her performance.

As with earlier readings and performances of *Mariam*, the Burford production allowed for new explorations of the text, thereby adding ballast to

the play's capacity not only for actors to perform effectively, but also, and like any of Shakespeare's works, for directors to appropriate and revisit the text in imaginative and enlightening ways. If nothing else, this manifestation of the play spotlighted a highly theatrical register, one that we also saw demonstrated, in 2013, in the Lazarus production to which discussion now turns.

### **The Lazarus Production**

In August 2013, *Mariam* was staged as part of London's Camden Fringe Festival by the Lazarus Theatre Company. Lazarus is an experimental company that deploys a medley of performance styles — 'text, movement and music through the use of ensemble' — so as to make older drama newly accessible.<sup>29</sup> The production took place in the Tristan Bates Theatre's small black box space — a dark, intimate, and even slightly claustrophobic setting which threw into stark relief the spacious and airy environs of Burford's church. The audience enters to a visually and acoustically evocative introductory tableau. Inside the dimly lit and smoky atmosphere of the black box, the cast, singing together, moves in slow motion about the stage. Through dance-like, choreographed movements, an audience, as Camilla Gurtler notes, 'is lured into a world of sex, power and passion ... [and finds] it is ravishing watching the women move in the space'.<sup>30</sup> Such an inauguration also helps to suggest the play's early modern origins, hinting at masque-like elements and an aristocratic provenance. As in the masque, this version of Cary's play encouraged us to recognize how sound and physicality combine in cross-fertilizing ways. Shared actions suggest not only an ensemble piece but also a chorus of opinion and interpretation (the play's Chorus, or '*company of Jews*', is the full female cast). As for the choric song, its solemn, operatic overtones highlight the implications of the lyrics, taken from Constabarus's speech about a 'world' that has been 'topsy-turned quite' (1.6.50). Transposing the speech so that it frontloads the production is an ambitious move, one that establishes disruption and inversion as dominant appropriative motifs. The production features amputation as well as transposition. In a show marked by substantial cuts (the performance is just one hour long), the male characters are the most obvious casualties; either their lines transfer to female characters or are omitted altogether. Because only one male role remains — that of Herod — his place takes on a particularly patriarchal force. In interview, the director remarks that Herod's 'absence frees ... all [women] of ... normal social conventions'.<sup>31</sup> Judged against the production's opening stress on carnival

release, the appearance of Herod, when it does take place, is all the more devastating and dramatic.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the space is the black floor strewn with rose petals. Scattered willy-nilly about the playing area, the petals dominate the production, their deep red appearance forming the central visual conceit. Gurtler notes that the 'design is so stunning that you sometimes ... believe you are in a painting by a remarkable artist' and, certainly, from the design, several felicitous interpretive moments emerge.<sup>32</sup> When the Chorus asks, for example, 'Why on the ridge should she desire to go?' (3 Chorus.8), we can glimpse Mariam precariously walking a tightrope at the roses' edge. Similarly, act 2, scene 1 — the amatory dialogue between Pheroras and Graphina — becomes a wedding, the petals substituting for confetti and members of the Chorus playing the role of bridesmaids. Of course, in their traditional associations, roses connote love and beauty and, in reifying the flower in this fashion, the production shows itself sensitive to some of the play's core themes. Beauty is a key identifier in Cary's dramatic imagination, and, in the play text, we meet women primarily through their appearance. We thus discover Salome as 'beauty's queen' (1.5.23), while the script deems Mariam, a woman famed for her physical attributes, incomparable because of her 'cheek of roses' (4.8.6). Attentive to the performance opportunities made available by the text, the Lazarus production notably deploys its rose-covered locale as a contemporary rendering of the clichés of Renaissance poetry.

In the production itself, Mariam, unlike the Burford production, is cast as an older beauty; maturity suggests itself in her hairstyle and dress, with emphasis on her perfect makeup and red lipstick. Graphina, the only one of the company attired in white (as befits her bridal status) offsets both Mariam and Doris in their clothes and appearance. Costume and jewelry convey revealing commentary on status; Mariam's elaborate neckwear, in particular, points to a queenly identification. As Mariam, Celine Abrahams radiates a supreme royal self-confidence, made all the more forceful by a performance of quiet dignity and resolute integrity. This demeanour contrasts wonderfully with Paula James's playing of the Salome role; stunning to look at, especially exposed in her long black dress, her character explodes with temper and gusts of passion that draw attention to Mariam's more understated mien. Crucially, the roses that adorn the stage form part of a constantly changing pattern as characters dance on the petals and send them flying, perhaps indicative of the ways in which the text stresses love and beauty as transient. '[B]eauty is a blast', Salome states, 'Much like this flower which

today excels, / But longer than a day it will not last' (3.1.20–2). In the production, roses also unite motifs of beauty and mortality. We see the motif in the on-stage death of Sohemus; as his/her is throat cut by mask-wearing players, rose petals flood extravagantly from his/her mouth. Once again, the theatricality of the moment has a textual warrant, for, in the play, Mariam goes to the scaffold reflecting on the beauty/death conjunction:

I ... thought my beauty such  
 As it alone could countermand my death.  
 Now Death will teach me he can pale as well  
 A cheek of roses as a cheek less bright ... (4.8.3–6)

Aligning herself against Petrarchan conceits of beauty, Mariam recognizes that beauty cannot save her. For the Lazarus *Mariam*, such moments of inward perception translate eloquently into physical actions and stage aesthetics.

Like the roses, the cast, forming part of the Chorus when not in character, remains on stage throughout. At times, carefully choreographed lighting and smoke effects block out the Chorus, singling out individual personalities. Hence, after the pre-show musical realization of Constabarus's speech, Mariam steps forward, her body illuminated by spotlights, to deliver 'How oft have I with public voice run on' (1.1.1): the moment marks not only her disentangling herself from her choric function but also the commencement of the play proper. The production, then, dispenses with Cary's substantial 'Argument', instead investing in a suggestive portrayal of a time and a place. Here, the Constabarus soliloquy/song again facilitates our responsiveness, not least through references to 'Palestine' (1.6.67), 'David's city' (1.6.68), and the 'land of Ham' (1.6.72): the lines/lyrics are indicative of Jewish identity and Jerusalem at the height of its powers. Because the director cut the explanatory apparatus, the back-story to the play needs filling out in other ways. In the scene where Salome explains the complications of her amatory involvements, for instance, three women wearing masks extract themselves from the Chorus and advance out of the smoke, their forms clearly substituting for the three lovers, past, present, and future. At the mention of Josephus (1.4.27), a fourth figure steps forward, a visual embodiment of an entangled erotic scenario. Highly theatricalized moments surrogate for the missing 'Argument' and its explanatory operations.

Lazarus has distinguished itself by producing plays with strong female roles; notable is the 2012 all-female production of *Women of Troy*. And in



adapting *Mariam*, Lazarus demonstrates receptiveness to one of the most established trends in criticism of the play, the woman-centred interpretation. The particular orientation arises not only by cutting the majority of the male roles but also by expanding and amplifying the female ones. The director describes being ‘struck by Cary’s amazing number of varied and strong female characters ... each [with] ... a prominence and .... voice’.<sup>33</sup> Carrying this emphasis forward, Gavin Harrington-Odedra, the director, centres the production around a series of female monologues. These build upon Cary’s dramaturgy by strengthening the three central female performances — those of *Mariam*, *Alexandra*, and *Salome* — and adding a fourth, that of *Graphina*. Lighting and movement to the centre-front of stage mean that, in turn, *Mariam*, *Alexandra*, *Salome*, and *Graphina* all acquire individual prioritization. Particularly in the case of *Graphina*, the transposition of lines (she speaks *Pheroras*’s speech beginning ‘the holy priest ... The happy long-desired knot shall tie’ [2.1.2–3]) and the physical fading into the background of her lover have the effect of endowing her with a rhetorical authority disallowed by the original. This shift in focus has the virtue of bringing out tensions and discontinuities in the women’s relationships. Blocking, as in the scene between *Mariam*, *Alexandra*, and *Salome* (1.3), often stresses a venomous antagonism, despite the formality of the language. Elsewhere, the illumination of a spotlight — as at *Salome*’s ‘More plotting yet?’ (1.3.1) — works to create an impression of fraught rivalries.

Competition inheres most controversially in the production’s retention of many of the play’s racist referents. In the text, beauty often expresses itself with a racialized rhetoric. In particular, in contrast to *Mariam*’s physical appearance, *Salome*, as *Dympna Callaghan* recognizes, ‘is conspicuously dark’.<sup>34</sup> This colouring gets expressed most obviously in *Herod*’s expostulation that *Salome*, when seen beside *Mariam*, appears ‘a sunburnt black-amoor’ (4.7.106). Casting decisions assist the production in its elaboration of a contest between the leading women: *Mariam* appears as olive skinned, while *Salome* is darker in complexion, a visual distinction that points to the play’s uncomfortable racial politics. In one sense, *Doris* too could be said to be a participant in the play’s racializing procedures, not least when she brands *Mariam* as possessing a ‘soul’ that is ‘black and spotted’ (4.8.52), and yet, interestingly, this character is the exception to the rule that the production changes women’s roles in order to push them to the dramatic forefront. In her appearances, when *Doris* talks to her son, *Antipater*, she addresses only a mask in his image; recalling the familiar diptych of *Vindice*

in Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606) addressing the skull of his lover, the equivalent scenes in the Lazarus production help to explain Doris's evident rage. Consequently, Doris, in contradistinction to the Burford production, appears most obviously as a figure of pathos. In this context, the scene (4.8) between Mariam and Doris has a less agonistic dimension, the former kneeling before the latter in a moment of feeling accord. Far from separating the respective claims and grievances of the two women, the production here elects to elide them.

The arrival of Ananell violently unmoors the female utopia introduced at the start: his/her news that Herod is alive and well becomes the delivery of a set-piece, the shock of a repressive turn serving as counterpoint to the emancipated tenor of the start. As the director explains, the utopia that has initially flourished is dashed — 'to ... devastating effect'.<sup>35</sup> Indicating their traumatic reaction to the announcement, Ananell and Graphina freeze in an instance of physical movement embodying dramatic interpretation. Cross-cutting helps to broaden the significance of Herod's imminent return; the lights, in a quasi-cinematic manner, switch between the two pairs of women on stage, Salome and Graphina, and Mariam and Sohemus, and thereby underscore the stichomythic nature of their truncated dialogue. We are left with Sohemus's speech on the 'Poor guiltless queen' (3.3.63) which, delivered directly to the audience, plays up the idea of a defenceless and soon-to-be-vilified Mariam, an idea brought home by Mariam's own withdrawal to the darkness of the Chorus.

Unsettling, excessive, and portentous — these are among the characteristics of Herod's entrance. The 'Be witness ... Palestine; / Be witness, David's city' (1.6.68–9) refrain from the start (Constabarus's inversion speech) sounds again, drawing a parallel with the production's inauguration. Herod himself appears in military uniform (a reading justified by the play's specification of 'soldiers'), a pointer not only to his tyrant-like designation but also to the nature of a new regime. Blocking and choreography suggest a change in the disposition of power and, with the king's return, utopian freedoms quickly give way to uncompromising dominion. The on-stage death of Sohemus grants to Herod's line, 'do as much for Mariam' (4.4.75), a genuine force and threat. If there is a constant in Mariam in the final scenes, it is (following many critical readings) the constancy of the martyr. The 'farewell' (4.8.103) induces a heartfelt resignation, with only the mention of Mariam's sons prompting a brief emotional response. One of the striking features of *Mariam* (as in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*) is that the female lead

disappears at the end of act 4 and is thereafter only present via report. This disappearance could make for an anti-climax in the theatre, but the Lazarus production avoided the possibility by action unfolding alongside the Nuntio's account of Mariam's fate. While the Nuntio, distinctively official in pearls and a pencil skirt, begins her message, we glimpse Mariam on her knees, surrounded by the rest of the cast. As the narrative continues, Mariam mounts the scaffold-like shape formed by the other characters. Abruptly, corpse-like, she then falls backwards; Mariam's 'dying tale' (5.1.17) directly implicates the cast/chorus that comments on her conduct.

Retaining Mariam in the production's final stages casts a shadow over Herod and the scene of his anguished and neurotic recollections. 'She's dead' (5.1.149), Herod states, directing his eventual admission of the truth to the spectators in the theatre; we, too, are identified as complicit. In part, the production engineers a closer identification with the actor by fading out the Chorus (the practicalities of the lighting are again interpretive) and by playing up the admonitory effects of the tyrant's closing speech. The prevalence of 'you' and 'your' formulations in the play's language prove generative, with Herod pointing an accusatory finger at the audience even as he also faces his own culpability: 'I am the villain' (5.1.187). This crazed and tearful peroration culminates in an alarm sounding, a sign, perhaps, of a third political dispensation in the offing. And, if the Chorus enters to have the final word, then that word can only emphasize that all in the production play seminal roles to bring alive this hitherto mostly 'closeted' performance work. We are left with lines on the floor marking where the bodies have been; Mariam's form is indicated in white, as befits a female protagonist martyred for a cause, while the rose petals remain, telling signs of an evanescent utopia and the bloody regime to which it cedes place.

### **Future Productions**

This essay suggests that we also need time for regime change in theatre history. As these two 2013 productions illustrate, we cannot now doubt that *Mariam* is an actable theatrical entity. The play is one that invites and enables a spectrum of performance options, from site-specific to London fringe. The play is excitingly compatible with different kinds of theatrical space, both traditional and experimental, and such is the nature of *Mariam* that it can appear as much about the Middle East as about Middle England. For Cary's creation runs the gamut of theatrical interpretations, alternately taking on

domestic and political complexions according to cuts and adjustments in focus. It offers consistently engaging contrasts in characterization, including the potential for differently rendered versions of Mariam herself.

*Mariam* can no longer remain the construct promulgated in previous critical imaginaries. The text enfolds not only multiple performance possibilities but also a plurality of readings; hence, it rightly attracts companies and groups attuned to its suggestiveness, its readiness for appropriation and its plasticity in the hands of creative practitioners. Language ignites particular staging moments, and theatre makers have opportunities, inscribed in the text's specification of off-stage events, that they can translate into on-stage action. The situation promises a smooth alliance between what the text lays down and theatrical techniques — such as doubling, lighting, and music — that, together, demonstrate how an old play reverberates in the contemporary. Seeing *Mariam* in a theatrical guise transforms our sense of Cary's achievement, allowing the work a social and cultural hinterland that a concentration on the solitary writer precludes. And, in a modern context in which women playwrights remain under-represented, the newly pertinent Cary indicates a way ahead, pointing to the potential of future productions and the capacity of *Mariam* to make a difference in the present.

## Notes

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- 1 See Karen Raber (ed.), *Elizabeth Cary*, Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550–1700 (Farnham, 2009); Heather Wolfe (ed.), *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613–1680* (New York, 2007).
- 2 According to Marta Straznicky, a 'closet drama' can be defined as 'a play that was either never intended for performance or never performed': 'Closet Drama', Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), *A Companion to Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 2002), 416. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/b.9781405121798.2004.x>.
- 3 Jeremy Lopez, *Constructing the Canon of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2014), 18. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139344128>.
- 4 Richard Bellings, *A Sixth Booke to the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1624; STC: 1805), A2<sup>r</sup>; John Marston, *The Workes* (London, 1633; STC: 17471), A4<sup>r</sup>. A lost Cary play is referenced in the dedication 'To Diana's Earthly Deputess' in *The Tragedy of Mariam*, ed. Ramona Wray (London, 2012), 14. Unless otherwise stated, subsequent citations from the play will appear in parentheses in the text.

- 5 For the interrelations between Cary and Shakespeare, see essays by Elizabeth Gruber and Maureen Quilligan in Raber (ed.), *Cary*, 476–94, 527–51.
- 6 See R.V. Holdsworth, 'Middleton and *Mariam*', *Notes and Queries* 33.3 (1986), 379–80; Richard Levin, 'A possible source of *A Fair Quarrel*', *Notes and Queries* 30.2 (1983), 152–3.
- 7 Marta Straznicky, *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 1. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/20478149>.
- 8 Alison Findlay, Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, and Gweno Williams, *Women and Dramatic Production, 1550–1700* (Harlow, 2000), 3. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315840253>.
- 9 Pascale Aebischer and Kathryn Prince, 'Introduction', Pascale Aebischer and Kathryn Prince (eds), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today* (Cambridge, 2012), 12. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139047975>.
- 10 Liz Schafer, 'An early modern feminist', *Times Higher Education*, 6 June (2013), <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/an-early-modern-feminist/2004327.article?nopaging=1>.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge, 1999), 161.
- 14 Schafer, 'An early modern feminist'.
- 15 See Dessen and Thomson, *Dictionary*, 62 and 94–5.
- 16 See, for example, the discussions of the play and performance in: *The Tragedy of Mariam*, ed. Stephanie Hodgson-Wright (Peterborough, 2000), 27–32; *The Tragedy of Mariam*, ed. Stephanie J. Wright (Keele, 1996), 20–3.
- 17 Jonas Barish, 'Language for the Study; Language for the Stage', A.L. Magnusson and C.E. McGee (eds), *The Elizabethan Theatre XII* (Toronto, 1993), 38.
- 18 Dessen and Thomson, *Dictionary*, 91–2.
- 19 Barish, 'Language', 39.
- 20 John Davies, *The Muses Sacrifice* (London, 1612; strc: 6338), \*3<sup>v</sup>.
- 21 See, for example, Thomas Heywood, *The Four Prentices of London* (ca 1594), Thomas Legge, *Destruction of Jerusalem* (ca 1580), John Smith, *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1584) and the anonymous *Titus and Vespasian* (1591).
- 22 See, for example, the specification of both Barkloughly Castle and Flint Castle in Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker (London, 2002), 3.2 and 3.3.
- 23 As Dessen and Thomson note, although the chorus is often a single figure, there are also choruses made up of several figures, including shepherds, swains, and musicians (*Dictionary*, 48–9).

- 24 See, for example, Jeremy Lopez, 'Performances of early modern drama at academic institutions since 1909' and 'Performances of early modern plays by amateur and student groups since 1887', Appendices 2 and 3 in Aebischer and Prince (eds), *Performing*, 218–24 and 225–7.
- 25 See Catherine Schuler and Sharon Ammen, 'Attending to Renaissance Women: A Script and Its Evolution', Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (eds), *Attending to Women in Early Modern England* (Newark, 1994), 343–55. See also Alison Findlay, Gweno Williams, and Stephanie J. Hodgson-Wright, "'The play is ready to be acted": Women and dramatic production, 1570–1670', *Women's Writing* 6.1 (1999), 129–48. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09699089900200053>.
- 26 See the description at [http://www.burfordfestival.org/Events\\_Daily/Mariam.html](http://www.burfordfestival.org/Events_Daily/Mariam.html).
- 27 See <http://rebeccamccutcheon.com> and Rebecca McCutcheon and Sarah Thom, 'Dido, Queen of Carthage: Site-Specific Marlowe', Aebischer and Prince (eds), *Performing*, 104–20.
- 28 McCutcheon and Thom, 'Dido', 120.
- 29 Lazarus Theatre Company, *Mariam*, programme note (August 2013), 2.
- 30 Camilla Gurtler, 'Camden Fringe Review: *Mariam*', <http://www.ayoungerttheatre.com>.
- 31 Greg Jameson, 'Gavin Harrington-Odedra Interview', *Entertainment Focus*, 23 July (2013), <http://entertainment-focus.com>.
- 32 Gurtler, 'Camden Fringe Review: *Mariam*'.
- 33 Lazarus Theatre Company, programme note, 2.
- 34 Dymrna Callaghan, 'Re-reading Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedie of Mariam, Faire Queene of Jewry*', Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (eds), *Women, 'Race' and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London and New York, 1994), 175. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203388891>.
- 35 Lazarus Theatre Company, programme note, 2.

## Daniel's *Cleopatra* and Lady Anne Clifford: From a Jacobean Portrait to Modern Performance

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*Recent interest in staging so-called 'closet dramas' by early modern women has bypassed Samuel Daniel's Cleopatra, because of the author's sex. Yet this play has strong female associations: it was commissioned by Mary Sidney Herbert, and is quoted in a Jacobean portrait of a woman (plausibly Lady Anne Clifford) in role as Cleopatra. We staged a Jacobean-style production of Cleopatra at Goodenough College, London, then a performance of selected scenes at Knole, Clifford's home in Kent. This article presents the many insights gained about the dramatic power of the play and its significance in giving voices to women.*

Early in the early seventeenth century a young woman, costumed as Cleopatra, posed for a portrait, holding aloft the fatal asp (figure 1). She is not Shakespeare's Egyptian queen: an inscription on the portrait comes from the 1607 version of Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra*. The sitter may have 'performed' the role of Cleopatra only for the portrait, or the portrait may record a fully staged performance of the play; either way, this Jacobean woman identified with Cleopatra and wanted to speak through Daniel's lines. We have reasons to identify the woman as Lady Anne Clifford, countess of Dorset (1590–1676),<sup>1</sup> and the portrait may relate to her lengthy inheritance dispute, during which she defied her uncle, her husband, and even King James, just as Cleopatra defies Caesar in the play. Inspired by this possibility, we staged a performance of Daniel's *Cleopatra* in March 2013 at Goodenough College, London, and in June 2014 performed selected scenes at Knole House, Kent, Clifford's home.<sup>2</sup> The processes of rehearsal and performance produced many insights into the dramatic qualities of Daniel's text and the opportunities it offers for voicing and performing female heroism.

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Fig. 1: *'Lady Raleigh as Cleopatra'*, by an unknown artist. Oil on panel, 109.2. x 82.5 cm. Christie's 23 July 1948 (77). Photograph: National Portrait Gallery, London. Present whereabouts unknown.

### Female Devisership: Play and Portrait

The connections of Daniel's *Cleopatra* with female authorship, patronage, and performance are strong. Mary Sidney Herbert, countess of Pembroke,<sup>3</sup> commissioned the play as a sequel to *Antonius* (1592), her translation of Robert Garnier's French Senecan tragedy *Marc Antoine*. This translation was the first Cleopatra play in English, Daniel's the first original English play on this subject. As he explained in prefatory verses to the 1594 first edition of *Cleopatra*, it was 'the worke the which she [Mary Sidney] did impose', and he would not have written it,

Madam, had not thy well grac'd *Anthony*  
(Who all alone having remained long,)  
Requir'd his *Cleopatras* company.<sup>4</sup>

Margaret P. Hannay has emphasized the shared topical project of Mary Sidney's *Antonius* and Daniel's *Cleopatra* in the turbulent 1590s, when criticism of Elizabeth I's dilatory foreign policy and neglect of the succession grew among the 'forward' Protestant party: 'Insofar as Mary Sidney did sponsor drama, it was a drama that focused on political themes,



particularly on the duties of the monarch. Both her translation of *Marc Antoine* and Daniel's sequel in *Cleopatra* focus on the conflict between private and public issues'.<sup>5</sup>

The plays were companion pieces, with Sidney's relation to Daniel's *Cleopatra* exemplifying female 'devisership', a term proposed by Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson for the extensive cultural activities of early modern elite women which are not adequately described by the terms 'authorship' or 'patronage'. Davidson and Stevenson cite creative acts by Elizabeth, Lady Russell such as commissioning and designing elaborate tombs, and overseeing the entertainment offered when Elizabeth I visited her home at Bisham, in which Lady Russell's daughters performed speaking roles. They argue the 'case for expanding our ideas of what constitutes a cultural intervention to consider works that communicate a woman's intentions without necessarily being created by her own hand'.<sup>6</sup> Mary Sidney's commissioning of Daniel's *Cleopatra* was just such an act of devisership, exercising artistic agency and conveying a message via a work executed by another.

Both *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* belong to the genre designated by modern critics (sometimes dismissively) as 'closet drama': plays, often neoclassical and elevated in tone, designed for reading aloud or private performance or something in-between among a privileged circle of family and friends in a domestic setting. Until recently so-called 'closet plays' — hereafter referred to in the present article as 'elite domestic plays' — were largely ignored by scholars of early modern drama.<sup>7</sup> Recent attention, however, has substantially revalued the genre, revealing its potential for literary innovation, dramatic experiment, and political comment; the opportunities for literary and dramatic participation that it offered to women; and its performable qualities. Because access was restricted to a known social circle, the private house paradoxically opened up possibilities for female participation in drama. Sasha Roberts, discussing early female readers of Shakespeare's erotic narrative poem *Venus and Adonis*, has shown how the home and the closet, which look like forms of enclosure, in fact offered women spaces for intellectual independence. She observes that 'Feminist criticism has often associated women's privacy with their subordination — women's exclusion from the "public sphere"; the patriarchal "domestic enclosure" of women', but finds that 'We do not always need to write early modern women out of their homes in order to discover their opportunities for self-expression and empowerment'.<sup>8</sup> Roberts points to scenes in the *Urania* of Lady Mary Wroth (Mary Sidney's niece) where women withdraw into their private chambers to read, write, and explore their

emotions without inhibition: Bellamira, for instance, describes ‘being come to my chamber, and having liberty by privatenesse to exercise my sorrow’.<sup>9</sup> Female participants in elite domestic drama could enjoy an analogous ‘liberty by privatenesse’, whether as translators (Lady Jane Lumley, Mary Sidney); authors of original drama (Elizabeth Cary, Mary Wroth); or devisers (Elizabeth Russell, Mary Sidney). Scholars have also increasingly come to believe that elite domestic drama offered women opportunities as performers. Even a static group reading would have constituted a form of performance, but recent experiments in staging Lumley’s *Iphigenia*, Cary’s *Mariam*, and Wroth’s *Love’s Victory* have demonstrated these plays’ suitability for full staging.

Marta Straznicky points out that elite domestic plays were analogous to academic drama, which took place in a more private and privileged milieu than commercial playhouse drama, but nevertheless was ‘not only read but performed at universities’.<sup>10</sup> Schools, universities, and the Inns of Court offered performance spaces for educated young men; similarly, the even more enclosed and regulated space of the country house made possible performance by women. Writing about Mary Sidney’s *Antonius*, Alison Findlay acknowledges that ‘how the play was realized in a private or communal reading or in a household performance is unknown’. She points, however, to ‘the Sidney and Pembroke families’ long-standing patronage of stageable drama’ and to ‘evidence of a tradition of reading and performance in the Pembroke household’.<sup>11</sup> Mary Sidney’s brother Sir Philip participated in domestic theatrical activities, confirmed by Edmund Spenser’s elegy for him, ‘Astrophel’, which recalls that ‘he himselfe seemd made for meriment, / Merily masking both in bowre and hall’.<sup>12</sup> Findlay proposes that a staging of *Antonius* at Wilton, Penshurst, or Ramsbury (a smaller manor house from where Mary Sidney dated her translation manuscript) is plausible ‘if we imagine a small coterie production drawing on clothes and objects from the household itself’.<sup>13</sup> Hannay, having previously averred that ‘a stageable *Antonius* would have taxed the resources of the Wilton household’, now feels in the light of recent research that both *Antonius* and Daniel’s *Cleopatra* could have been staged in private settings.<sup>14</sup> Findlay asserts that ‘we have ... reached a new critical frontier’ where we can conceive of early modern elite domestic plays as intended for performance, and can develop fresh analyses from this shift of view.<sup>15</sup>

Exciting evidence for a possible full staging of Daniel’s *Cleopatra* emerges in the Jacobean portrait discovered by Yasmin Arshad in the archives of the

National Portrait Gallery (NPG), London (figure 1).<sup>16</sup> The inscription at top right, from Cleopatra's dying speech in Daniel's play, appears as a torn and unfolded manuscript, perhaps part of a player's script, implying that the sitter is speaking the lines.<sup>17</sup> The present whereabouts of this portrait are unknown, and the NPG archives record it only as a monochrome photograph. Christie's have catalogued it twice, in 1931 and 1948, and on both occasions identify the sitter as Lady Raleigh (formerly Elizabeth Throckmorton), an identification repeated in the NPG record and in discussions of the painting by Kim F. Hall, Pamela Allen Brown, and Anna Beer.<sup>18</sup> Only Beer identifies the inscription on the painting as from Daniel's *Cleopatra*, and she does not investigate the edition used, which is crucial to dating the portrait and identifying its sitter. Daniel was a habitual reviser and there were nine editions of *Cleopatra*, existing in five states. The portrait uses lines from either his much-revised 1607 edition or the 1611 reprint based on it. Excerpted from Cleopatra's final speech, ending with 'And now proud tyrant Caesar doe thy worst', the lines purposefully accentuate Caesar's tyranny and Cleopatra's heroic defiance. Only one line of the inscription, the fourth from the end, differs from the 1607 print edition of *Cleopatra*. The print edition has: 'And Egypt now the Theater where I / Have acted this' (K7r), foregrounding theatricality and perhaps indicating staged performance of the play wherein this line would have formed a powerfully self-conscious moment.<sup>19</sup> The portrait lines read 'And Egipt now where Cleopatra I / Have acted this', maintaining the idea of performance but placing more emphasis on the heroine's proud autonomy.<sup>20</sup>

In 1607 Lady Raleigh was forty-two years old, significantly older than the portrait sitter appears to be, and no known portraits of her resemble this Cleopatra. A clue to a more likely identification of the Cleopatra sitter appears in the 1607 edition of Daniel's *Certaine Small Workes*, the volume containing the version of *Cleopatra* quoted in the portrait. A sonnet to Anne Clifford implies that Daniel would like to dedicate everything in the volume to her, but cannot do so because some works have already been dedicated to others (*Cleopatra*, for example, commissioned by and dedicated to Mary Sidney):<sup>21</sup>

I Cannot give unto your worthines  
 Faire hopefull Lady these my legacies  
 Bequeath'd to others, who must needs possesse  
 The part belonging to their dignities. (A7r)

The word ‘hopefull’, implying promise, alludes to Clifford’s youthfulness; she was seventeen in 1607. Daniel then nominates Clifford as guardian of his works and his literary executor:

I here desire  
 To make you supravisor of my will  
 And do intreat your goodnesse to fulfil  
 My last desires left unto you in trust  
 I know you love the Muses, and you will  
 Be a most faithfull Guardian and a just.  
 And therefore I do so leave all to you  
 That they may both have theirs & you your due. (A7r)

The theme of inheritance alludes to the notorious property dispute in which Clifford had become embroiled since her father’s death in 1605, when, because of her sex, her family’s vast northern estates had passed to her uncle.<sup>22</sup> Daniel suggests that although the debate about rights to those estates may not be going her way, Clifford can at least consider herself the heir to his works. The sonnet may also function as a deft transfer of patronage, maintaining recognition of Mary Sidney’s importance to Daniel while allowing a share in ownership of his works to Clifford, especially in terms of preserving and protecting them for the future. We may surmise that Clifford now regarded the text of *Cleopatra* as in some sense belonging to her.<sup>23</sup>

Daniel had long-standing personal, literary, and dramatic associations with Clifford. In 1592 he had published a highly successful poem related to her family history and celebrating tragic femininity, *The Complaint of Rosamond* (a female complaint in the voice of the ghost of Rosamond Clifford). Daniel then became Clifford’s tutor from around 1599, when she was aged nine, to 1602, and was a strong influence in these formative years.<sup>24</sup> Their mutual esteem and affection endured and developed. In 1610, a year after Clifford’s marriage to Richard Sackville, third earl of Dorset, Daniel cast her as the nymph of Aire, the river that ran past her birthplace, Skipton Castle, in his court masque *Tethys’ Festival*.<sup>25</sup> Clifford and Daniel were frequently together in the entourage of Queen Anne of Denmark, and Daniel supported Clifford in her inheritance dispute against her husband and King James.<sup>26</sup> Clifford’s biographer Richard T. Spence observes that ‘there was hardly a hiatus in Anne’s links with Daniel up to his death in 1619’;<sup>27</sup> indeed many years later Clifford commemorated Daniel’s importance to her by including him in her Great Picture (1646), a triptych portrait of her family and herself

in youth and age. The left-hand panel depicts Clifford aged fifteen, with an inset portrait of Daniel behind her, inscribed 'Samuel Daniel Tutour to this Young Lady a man of an Upright and excellent Spirit'.<sup>28</sup> The extensive use of inscriptions in the Great Picture, presented as if on slips of paper, strongly resembles the inscription in the Cleopatra portrait. Also in the left-hand panel is a shelf of the books that were important to Clifford in her youth, including Daniel's *Chronicles of England* and *All the Works in Verse*.<sup>29</sup> In 1654, Clifford commemorated Daniel again by erecting a monument to him at Beckington Church in Somerset.<sup>30</sup>

Resemblances between the Cleopatra painting and portraits of Clifford as a young woman all show a round face with rather full cheeks, dark eyes and thick dark hair, a small mouth with a full lower lip, and a dimpled chin.<sup>31</sup> Clifford's parents were patrons of music and drama and her education and early adulthood embraced various kinds of performance, including dancing, playing music, and participating in masques.<sup>32</sup> As well as Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* (1610), she also performed at court in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* (1608) and *Masque of Queens* (1609), and regularly attended court masques after her marriage.<sup>33</sup> The masque roles played by aristocratic women were silent, whereas Daniel's Cleopatra has many lines to speak. In the 1592 Bisham entertainment, however, the daughters of the Russell family played scripted roles, demonstrating that elite women did play speaking parts in country house performances.<sup>34</sup>

Intriguingly, Clifford's role in *The Masque of Queens* was Berenice — like Cleopatra, a queen of Egypt. Berenice was famed for her hair (which she sacrificed as a votive offering), which perhaps explains the casting of Clifford in this role: she later recalled that in her youth her hair 'was Browne and verie thick and so long that it reached the Calfe of my Legges when I stood upright'.<sup>35</sup> Thick, dark, flowing hair is a striking feature of an Isaac Oliver miniature of ca 1608/9 of Clifford in a masque costume,<sup>36</sup> as also of the lady in the Cleopatra portrait. In *The Masque of Queens*, Inigo Jones designed a headdress for Clifford as Berenice (to conceal her 'severed' hair) which resembles the headdress in the Cleopatra portrait. Other similarities between the two costumes include the drapery of the robes, the necklaces, and the diaphanous covering of the breasts. Clifford could have adapted the costume of one Egyptian queen to play another, either in a staged performance recorded by the Cleopatra portrait, or in posing for the portrait itself.<sup>37</sup> Some evidence suggests court masquers paid for their own expensive costumes and

retained them afterwards: Clifford's husband the earl of Dorset, for instance, had yellow masquing stockings in his possession in 1619.<sup>38</sup>

Expounding their concept of female devisership, Davidson and Stevenson observe that: 'the person above all whose life and work becomes more comprehensible if she is identified as a deviser is Lady Anne Clifford ... Her personal agenda is eloquently declared by a whole set of artefacts, none of which is from her own hand: the "Great Picture" that she commissioned; the buildings she created or repaired; and, not least, the highly elaborate tombs of herself and her mother'.<sup>39</sup> All the artefacts they mention were devised later in her life, but they accord with a hypothesis that Clifford 'devised' and sat for the Cleopatra portrait, in some sense appropriating Daniel's play as her own, and perhaps performed in it.

Daniel's *Cleopatra* would have had strong personal relevance for Clifford at various points in her early life. When Daniel was her tutor, between her ages of nine and twelve, they may have read his play together, and he could have encouraged her to perform lines from it: just as boys at school and university performed drama to prepare them for public life, inhabiting the role of Cleopatra would have educated Clifford in public speech and the authoritative bearing of a queen. This training would befit a girl destined by birth to be a leading aristocrat in her society, and, if she inherited her father's lands and titles as her mother wished, to fulfil important public roles at court and in the local administration of the Clifford estates.<sup>40</sup>

If we accept that the woman in the Cleopatra portrait is Clifford, and that she recycled her Berenice masquing robes to sit for the portrait, then its earliest possible date is 1609, when Clifford was nineteen and her inheritance dispute had been running for around three years. If she played Cleopatra in a staged performance around this time it may have reminded her of happier times with Daniel, but it could also have enhanced her confidence in fighting her cause. Alternatively if she played the role a few years later, around 1615–17, when she was a wife in her mid-twenties, it would have reverberated profoundly with the acrimonious state of her inheritance dispute at that time. Her husband sometimes took her part and sometimes opposed her, according to where he saw the greatest potential financial or political advantage. At this period he was against her, placing her in conflict with all the principal male authorities in her life: uncle, husband, and king. In 1615 she wrote to her mother that 'by the power of God I will continue resolute and constant', and 'I will stand as constantly to my birthright as is possible for me'.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless she was torn between allegiance to her beloved mother

and to a husband for whom, in spite of everything, she consistently professed her love.<sup>42</sup> She perhaps identified with Cleopatra when she asks, 'O my divided soule what shall I doe? / Whereon shall now my resolution rest?' (G6v). In May 1616, in one of his harshest actions towards her, Sackville took away their daughter Margaret, and Clifford recorded that 'this was a very grievous and sorrowful day to me'.<sup>43</sup> Again she may have found a resonance with Cleopatra's lines on parting from her son Caesario: 'That blood within thy vaines came out of mine / Parting from thee, I part from part of me'.<sup>44</sup> In her diary for 1617 Clifford relates how King James sometimes 'used fair means & persuasions, & sometimes foul means' to urge her to accept a settlement 'but I was resolved before so as nothing would move me'. She told the king 'I would never part with Westmoreland while I lived upon any Condition whatsoever'.<sup>45</sup> Similar defiance and identification with her land ring through Cleopatra's dying words, the lines inscribed (in slightly modified form) on the portrait:

And Egypt now the Theater where I  
Have acted this, witnes I die unforc'd,  
Witnes my soule parts free to Antony,  
And now prowde tyrant Cesar doe thy worst. (K7r)

As a woman assertive enough to play Cleopatra, Clifford may have gained even greater public confidence by actually playing the role. Spence notes that after summer 1617 she became more socially engaged and self-sufficient, spending more on clothes, gifts, and monuments to her mother and others.<sup>46</sup> William Larkin painted her portrait in 1618, and Paul van Somer painted her in 1619, with two further portraits of 1619–20 deriving from the van Somer image.<sup>47</sup> If the Cleopatra portrait belongs to this period it would accord with Clifford's increasing independence from her husband and development of her own cultural interests, including fashioning her own image. She turned thirty in 1620, still a plausible age for the portrait's sitter. The painting could even date from the early years of Clifford's widowhood following Sackville's death in 1624, when she was entirely autonomous and financially comfortable.

### **Staging *Cleopatra* I: Goodenough College, 3 March 2013<sup>48</sup>**

We were eager to explore how the 'embodiment' of *Cleopatra* in rehearsal and performance might illuminate the play.<sup>49</sup> How stageable is the play, and

what might performing Daniel's Cleopatra have meant to a young woman like Clifford?

Student auditions gathered a predominantly female cast of mixed ethnicities and ages. We cast two young professional actors in the leading roles:<sup>50</sup> Charlotte Gallagher as Cleopatra (figure 2), and Beth Eyre as Octavius Caesar. At first we aspired to a form of 'original practices' production, while acknowledging the contested definitions and diverse approaches generated by this term.<sup>51</sup> We provided cast workshops on moving in Jacobean costume (run by Eve Goodman, an expert in historical costume), and on Jacobean acting (run by Philip Bird, an actor at Shakespeare's Globe and director of plays for their *Read Not Dead* programme). Music was selected by Simon Smith (who has researched music for productions and staged readings at the Globe), and lutenist Sam Brown (from the Royal College of Music), including compositions by John Danyel, Samuel Daniel's brother.<sup>52</sup> Costuming was guided by Henry Peacham's often reproduced 1590s sketch of *Titus Andronicus* and by Philip Henslowe's inventories,<sup>53</sup> both of which indicate that early modern theatrical costumes were basically Elizabethan or Jacobean with small details, such as armour, cloaks, and jewellery, suggesting specific dramatic period and location. We had several long-haired young women playing male roles, including Caesar, and dealt with this by sweeping their hair over one shoulder, as in somewhat androgynous portraits of Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton.<sup>54</sup>

Other factors meant, however, that the production was inevitably hybrid or 'Jacobean-style'—what Rob Conkie calls 'originalish practices'.<sup>55</sup> Reproducing the costume in the Cleopatra portrait was prohibitively expensive, while our venue was the 1930s-built Great Hall of Goodenough College, an academic community of several hundred postgraduate students. Even so, this space offered its own opportunities for translation of the practices of Jacobean elite domestic drama into modern forms. Alison Findlay and Stephanie Hodgson-Wright observe that 'Domestic performances ... relied on the resources already available in the household';<sup>56</sup> accordingly we sourced props and accessories from the homes of our cast and crew. We rented costumes, including a gown for Cleopatra worn by Helen Mirren playing Elizabeth I for television in 2005.<sup>57</sup> This re-use paralleled Clifford's recycling her Berenice costume from a glamorous court performance to play Cleopatra in a more intimate domestic setting, and added irony to the implied criticism of Elizabeth in Daniel's play.





Fig. 2: Charlotte Gallagher as Daniel's Cleopatra, recreating the pose in the Cleopatra portrait, ©Yi Ling Huang, 2013.

Findlay has observed that 'In private theatricals, the house becomes a stage on which actors perform in a fictional setting, but the venue is simultaneously a social space in which authors and actors live'.<sup>58</sup> Goodenough College is in effect a large household, where the Great Hall is used for daily meals, formal dinners, and communal celebrations and entertainments, not unlike a Jacobean Great Hall. Although built in the 1930s, it is in 'Jacobethan' style, with high vaulted ceilings and oak panelled walls.<sup>59</sup> This imitation of the early modern is disrupted by present-day features such as electric chandeliers and modern portraits, but even these created dialogues with our performance: some spectators commented on the fact that our Cleopatra embodied queenship in front of a striking modern portrait of Queen Elizabeth II.<sup>60</sup>

Our performance used the 1607 edition of *Cleopatra*, as in the portrait inscription. This edition is Daniel's last major reworking of the play, moreover, and his revisions suggest traces of performance experience.<sup>61</sup> He uses

fewer soliloquies than in earlier versions, less narration, more references to props, and slightly fuller references to movement, such as 'Goe', 'Stay', and 'Rise, madame, rise' (G6v, I2v). Early read-throughs highlighted the theatricality of the text and implicit performance cues indicated gesture and movement, as in the very opening line: 'Come Rodon, here' (G5r).

We made some minor textual alterations to improve accessibility and to meet practical constraints. We cut some incidental lines from long speeches to reduce the overall running time from nearly two-and-a-quarter hours to under two hours. As Lukas Erne points out, early modern audiences accustomed to hearing long and complex sermons were probably more attentive and patient than audiences today.<sup>62</sup> Erne also shows that printed versions of playhouse plays were often longer — more literary, more suitable for reading — than the script as performed, and this speculation might apply to elite domestic plays too.<sup>63</sup> To accommodate the nineteen characters indicated in the text to our company of fifteen we also cut or amalgamated some characters and doubled some roles, as was standard practice for playhouse and touring plays.<sup>64</sup>

Our practical adjustments are simply dramaturgy, responding to the particular conditions of the performance. Following neoclassical conventions, for example, characters frequently narrate the off-stage actions of others, a device unfamiliar to most modern audiences. For two particularly challenging passages, where Roman officers report long speeches by Cleopatra, we gave the lines to Cleopatra herself, treating the scenes as flashbacks, with lute accompaniment indicating the co-existence of two temporal planes. Derek Dunne described this staging choice as 'one of the most inspired touches in the production', and noted that it 'allowed a far more expressionistic use of the stage space to emerge, as multiple geographical and temporal zones seemed to overlap'.<sup>65</sup>

These scenes emphasize that Cleopatra is an actor, constantly playing to an audience: 'the fortune-following traines' (H3r) who once surrounded her; the 'prease' (press) (G8v) of onlookers who watched her raise the dead Antony; the court who modelled their manners on hers, to their own downfall (K3v). She also performs for specific individuals. In 3.2 her climactic encounter with Caesar implies a stage direction in his line 'Rise madame, rise' (I2v). We experimented with different ways of playing this action and consistently found great dramatic intensity in the scene. Gallagher's Cleopatra prostrated herself before Caesar, a gesture both flirtatious and sardonic that deepened his frustration and impotence. She aimed her performance

entirely at Caesar, ignoring both her own servant, Seleucus, who is about to betray her, and the watching Dolabella, whose ensuing love for her will take her by surprise.

Embodiment accentuated the dynamics of the play: this confrontation between Cleopatra and Caesar was fraught with a tense combination of mutual fascination and disgust, and invoked the sexual politics of Cleopatra's previous relations with Rome. By contrast, the quiet attentions of her handmaids to Cleopatra's comfort and appearance had a domesticity and intimacy which sprang to life in performance. The choruses, another neo-classical dramatic convention unfamiliar to modern audiences, provided a rhythm to the action and powerful moments of meta-theatrical reflection; whilst Cleopatra's monologues beside Antony's corpse, somewhat repetitious on the page, became in performance an enthralling, if circuitous, journey through the various stages of grief. Gallagher found that having 'very long speeches with no-one interrupting you' was unproblematic because 'Daniel's thought progression helps you remember the lines'.<sup>66</sup> Eyre (playing Caesar) was similarly 'surprised by how performable even these very long speeches are and how well they work as a method of storytelling'. She was struck by 'how dynamic the scenes between Caesar and Cleopatra are and how clear and natural the dialogue felt'. She also enjoyed 'how Daniel's play provides many of the characters with moments where they take the spotlight and come into their own'<sup>67</sup> — perhaps an effect of writing for a household performance which gives a turn to each member of the family or party.

### **Staging *Cleopatra* II: Knole House, 23 June 2014**

The National Trust invited us to give a presentation at Knole House, Kent, including performance of selected scenes from *Cleopatra*. Knole was Clifford's home from 1609 to 1624, so if she played Daniel's Cleopatra it is the likeliest venue. Our event was in the Great Hall, a large, imposing chamber with a tessellated floor and walls partly wood-panelled with portraits hanging above.<sup>68</sup> The sense of place and direct historical connection with Clifford gave exciting resonance to our performance, but even at Knole compromises were necessary in staging a modern event. The scenes took place on the raised dais at the far end of the Hall: partly because to the modern eye this is the most obviously stage-like space in the room, with its slight elevation improving visibility; but also for practical reasons including access to electrical sockets and leaving the audience's entrance route clear. A Jacobean

performance, however, was more likely at the opposite end of the Hall, where a magnificent carved wooden screen has two doors for cast entrances and exits.<sup>69</sup> In rehearsal the acoustics of the Hall were wonderful for our lute accompanist, but problematic for actors' voices, which reverberated or failed to reach parts of the room. Once our audience of around 100 was in place the acoustics considerably improved, and they may have been even better in the seventeenth century with rushes on the floor and tapestries on the walls.

The Knole performance took place as the golden glow of a midsummer's evening slanted through the high windows of the ancient hall and embraced performers and audience alike. For reasons of expense and practicality, instead of the elaborate Jacobean-style costumes used at Goodenough, we used understated modern clothing, but found that scenes worked equally well without the visual allure of period dress. We had some cast changes, with actors who had taken supporting roles at Goodenough stepping up to play Cleopatra (Elspeth North) and Caesar (James Phillips), with great success. While they brought their own personal qualities to the characters, they achieved just as much political and sexual tension as at Goodenough. Again the actors found Daniel's long speeches surprisingly unproblematic. North considered them 'easier to learn than Shakespeare' because of rhyme (*abab*) and regular verse lines: 'you can hear when you're missing a beat or saying the wrong word at the end of the line'. Like Gallagher, she found that 'Daniel creates thought sequences that allowed me to think my way logically through the speeches'.<sup>70</sup>

### **Playing Cleopatra: Then and Now**

The embodiment of *Cleopatra* by actors highlighted Daniel's distinctive view of female heroism. Outside drama he explored tragic femininity in the fashionable genre of female complaint, in his *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592) and *Letter from Octavia* (1599). Influenced by Ovid's *Heroides*, this genre enables the extensive exploration of female subjectivity and the female voice, and *Cleopatra* is arguably a female complaint in dramatic form.<sup>71</sup> Staging the play foregrounded the term 'confusion', which with its cognates occurs eleven times in the text: Cleopatra is 'Twixt majestie confus'd, and miserie' (H6r), caught in conflict between her public duty as queen and her private passions as lover and mother.<sup>72</sup> The play criticizes the political confusion that her private confusion brings to Egypt, and in the 1594 version would have implied critique of Elizabeth I's vacillations and failure to secure the succession.<sup>73</sup> Yet

Daniel somewhat exonerates his Cleopatra with her self-blame for Egypt's downfall, and also gains depth and pathos from her self-division. In scenes like the one where she receives a love-letter from the Roman Dolabella, and 'mus'd a while, standing confusedly' (K4r), Daniel finds psychological and emotional complexity and makes a virtue of Cleopatra's confusion.<sup>74</sup>

For Gallagher, the first of our present-day Cleopatras, these divided states were the key to the character: 'I really loved her vulnerability and not knowing what to do'. At the same time she found many aspects of the role 'empowering', especially the death scene: 'everything is within her in that moment'.<sup>75</sup> Emma Whipday as director observed that Gallagher found her way into the role through emotional volatility and intensity. She vacillated between conflicting roles — proud queen, desperate mother, and grieving lover — while still creating a sense of a continuous character. By finding a series of distinct emotional moments in Daniel's lines Gallagher was almost able to 'stack' or overlay these emotions, so that the audience was still aware of the private, grieving woman while watching Cleopatra's power-play with Caesar as a deposed queen. Reviewers greatly admired this approach, especially Mary Ellen Lamb, who noted how Gallagher 'breaks up long speeches into a series of distinct emotions to create a drama of a character's interior states', presenting 'a nuanced state of several emotional levels'. Consequently Lamb found herself reminded of Hamlet more than Shakespeare's Cleopatra.<sup>76</sup>

North, an untrained and younger actor, approached the role differently, but with equal success. She worked with Whipday on portraying power by 'owning' the stage and using other characters' reactions to her presence and movements to reinforce her sense of herself as queen. Both actors found it helpful to imagine how Clifford might have felt if she played the role. North, playing Cleopatra at Knole, felt 'very aware' of Clifford and her personal circumstances: 'I felt like I was playing Anne Clifford playing Cleopatra at times'.<sup>77</sup> Gallagher noted the 'heady freedom', 'transgressive pleasure', and 'exhilaration' that Clifford could have experienced from 'playing by different rules' for a few hours: 'it must have made the return to her everyday self very difficult indeed'. She picked out a couplet spoken by a penitent Cleopatra as she recalls her life before Antony: 'My vagabond desires no limits found, / For lust is endlesse, pleasure hath no bound' (H5r). Gallagher observed: 'The imagination is unfastened and uncensored in the space of that rhyme. Where does your mind go? What are your vagabond desires? No one knows what

visions the player sees saying those lines, but the audience enjoys seeing the result of their thoughts show in their face, voice, and body'.<sup>78</sup>

Reviewing our production Marion Wynne-Davies noted that 'early modern plays often appear to be unperformable because — with the telling exception of some of Shakespeare's canon — we don't often see them performed. Reviving plays written by dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is, therefore, more than a scholarly exercise; rather, it demonstrates the imaginative power of previously neglected works in a public arena'.<sup>79</sup> We are satisfied that our project demonstrated the 'imaginative power' of Daniel's *Cleopatra* on stage, and thereby, combined with the evidence of the portrait, has added weight to the case that the play was staged in its own time, and offered opportunities for performance by women.

## Notes

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This essay is dedicated to the memory of Emily Stiff.

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- 1 Hereafter referred to as Clifford.
- 2 Selected scenes were also performed at the UCL Arts Festival; and at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, at a symposium ('Reanimating Playbooks', May 2013), and at a presentation funded by the Shakespeare Institute Players (November 2013).
- 3 Hereafter referred to as Mary Sidney.
- 4 Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond Augmented. Cleopatra* (London, 1594), H5r. In quotations from early modern texts i/j and u/v have been silently modernized. We quote lines elsewhere parenthetically from the 1607 Daniel edition, cited at 19n below.
- 5 Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford, 1990), 125.

- 6 Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, 'Elizabeth I's Reception at Bisham (1592): Elite Women as Writers and Devisers', Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (eds), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2007), 223–4.
- 7 See for instance John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (eds), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York, 1996).
- 8 Sasha Roberts, 'Shakespeare "Creepes Into the Womens Closets About Bedtime": Women Reading in a Room of Their Own', Gordon McMullan (ed.), *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580–1690* (Basingstoke, 1998), 57–8.
- 9 Mary Wroth, *The Countesse of Mountgomerie's Urania* (London, 1621), 332.
- 10 Marta Straznicky, *Privacy, Playreading and Women's Closet Drama 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 17.
- 11 Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge, 2006), 23.
- 12 Edmund Spenser, 'Astrophel', ed. Richard A. McCabe, *The Shorter Poems* (Harmondsworth, 1999), 374, lines 27–8.
- 13 Findlay, *Playing Spaces*, 29.
- 14 Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, 120; private correspondence, 13 November 2009.
- 15 Findlay, *Playing Spaces*, 9.
- 16 See Yasmin Arshad, 'The Enigma of a Portrait: Lady Anne Clifford and Daniel's *Cleopatra*', *British Art Journal* 11.3 (Spring 2011), 30–6; 'Imagining Cleopatra: Performing Race, Gender and Power in Early Modern England', PhD thesis (University College London, forthcoming 2016), ch. 4.
- 17 For a close-up image of the inscription, see Arshad, 'Enigma', 30.
- 18 Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca NY, 1995), 183–7; Pamela Allen Brown, 'A New Fable of the Belly: Vulgar Curiosity and the Persian Lady's Loose Bodies', Dympna Callaghan (ed.), *The Impact of Feminism in English Renaissance Studies* (Basingstoke, 2007), 171–92; Anna Beer, *My Just Desire: The Life of Bess Raleigh, Wife of Sir Walter* (New York, 2003), 130.
- 19 Samuel Daniel, 'The Tragedie of Cleopatra', in *Certaine Small Workes* (London, 1607). All quotations are from this edition, and entered parenthetically in the body of the essay.
- 20 Arshad, 'Enigma', 32.
- 21 Daniel, *Certaine Small Workes*, as pointed out by John Pitcher in private conversation 20 November 2009.
- 22 See Ch. 3, 'The great inheritance dispute, 1606–17', in Richard T. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590–1676)* (Stroud, 1997), 40–58.

- 23 Arshad, 'Enigma', 34; 'Imagining Cleopatra', ch. 4.
- 24 Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 12–17.
- 25 Ibid, 61.
- 26 Ibid, 62 and 65.
- 27 Ibid, 62.
- 28 Ibid, 187.
- 29 Ibid, 190.
- 30 Ibid, 151.
- 31 See William Larkin, *Anne, Countess of Pembroke (Lady Anne Clifford)*, ca 1618, NPG 6976, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw235435/Anne-Countess-of-Pembroke-Lady-Anne-Clifford>. See also the portrait of Lady Anne Clifford at *Skipton Castle: A Complete Medieval Fortress: History and People*, <http://www.skiptoncastle.co.uk/hist.asp?page=3>; and see Arshad, 'Enigma', 34.
- 32 Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 15.
- 33 Ibid, 62, 66, and 76.
- 34 See Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge, 1980), 43–7.
- 35 Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 20.
- 36 Ibid, 22, figure 11.
- 37 Inigo Jones, design for Lady Anne Clifford's masque costume as 'Berenice Q of the Ægyptians' in *The Masque of Queens*, 1609, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; see Arshad, 'Enigma', 34.
- 38 Martin Wiggins in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, vol. 6 (Oxford, forthcoming).
- 39 Davidson and Stevenson, 'Elizabeth I's Reception', 224–5.
- 40 Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 41 and 42.
- 41 Ibid, 53.
- 42 Ibid, 59–60.
- 43 Clifford, *Diaries*, May 1616, 32.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Lady Anne Clifford, *Diaries* (January 1617), ed. D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud, 1990), 45.
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- 47 Ibid, 73–7.
- 48 Produced by Yasmin Arshad, directed by Emma Whipday, with Helen Hackett as executive director. A DVD of the performance is available by emailing [y.arshad@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:y.arshad@ucl.ac.uk) or [h.hackett@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:h.hackett@ucl.ac.uk), and a project blog is at <https://thetragedieofcleopatra.wordpress.com/>.
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## A Performance Studies Approach to *The Tragedy of Mariam*

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*This essay offers insights from workshops exploring Elizabeth Cary's The Tragedy of Mariam in a range of contrasting sites. The Tragedy of Mariam has a slender performance history, a fact which arguably presents barriers to production and reception in traditional theatre settings. This lack of practice-based understanding makes future performance less likely, and consequently limits appreciations of the play. The workshops in four sites documented here create new lenses through which to view Mariam. By taking a performance studies approach, valuing what Carol Chillington Rutter terms the excess of meaning generated through performance of play-texts, this article aims to contribute performance and practitioner insights to the current Cary discourse.*

In *Unstable Ground*, Gay McAuley describes her responses to a performance of *Segments from an Inferno*, a durational performance based upon Dante's *Inferno* on the parade ground of Sydney's Hyde Park Barracks by Bodyweather practitioners Tess de Quincey and Stuart Lynch.<sup>1</sup> McAuley suggests that the site activates imaginings and memories (collective or individual) in spectators during the process of spectating site-specific performance, an activation she regards as a constitutive element of the experience. She argues that 'site seems to prise open the contemporary reality of the place and permit the past to surge into the present' and adds: 'The performance began to speak powerfully to me of lives lived in that place, of the experiences endured on that very ground'.<sup>2</sup> Clifford McLucas, site-specific scenographer and joint artistic director with Mike Pearson of Wales's Brith Gof, persuasively characterized the experience of the present of the performance co-existing with traces of the past as 'the host and the ghost' to evoke something of the relationship between place and event: 'The host site is haunted for a time by a ghost that the theatre makers create. Like all ghosts it is transparent and the host can be seen through the ghost'.<sup>3</sup> McAuley's observations, identifying the capacity of knowledge or memory of the past to contribute to the present performances,

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suggest that site-specific performances potentially contain a rich capacity to illuminate and revalue hidden pasts. The 'ghost' of the present performance resonates with other ghostly, imagined presences whose recognition in the present may serve a purpose in attending to marginalized pasts.

McAuley's insights into the role of memory and imagination in site-specific performance inform this discussion of a series of workshop performances I directed working with Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*. The different workshop locations contributed to a rich and varied range of meanings enlivening each process and performance. This richness helped me to reconsider the text in several different lights. Carol Chillington Rutter has argued for the power of a performance studies approach in attending to the ways in which performances, and particularly performing bodies, 'exceed' the play-texts they spring from:

the body in play bears continuous meaning onstage, and always exceeds the play-text it inhabits. My business is to pay attention to that 'excessive' performance text .... I re-perform performance, retelling telling to new listeners and generating what Clifford Geertz calls 'thick descriptions' to produce the kind of archival record of my own viewing that remembers it accurately for subsequent readers — even as I acknowledge its inaccuracy.<sup>4</sup>

For Rutter, attending to performance texts creates space to reimagine the canon: without reading performance texts, she argues, 'we're reading only half Shakespeare's play', and by reading performance texts, we can begin 'opening up its supplementary physical, visual, gestural, iconic texts, making more space for the kind of work women do in play'.<sup>5</sup> What might be the consequence then for plays with little or no performance histories, if we are not able to read performances of them? How much less than a full understanding can we have, if the plays we study and theorize have no performances to reperform?

In this article, I will argue that the excess of meaning arising from both the process of performance and the encounters with the sites created conditions for *Mariam* in which audiences were able to consider and receive Cary's voice and the play-text in these excessive ways, allowing multiple new associations to arise. *Mariam* has a slender performance history and lacks practice-based understanding: the play exists in a vacuum in terms of experiential knowledge accruing around it. Working in non-theatre places leads to encounters with other stories, new pressures, associations, and connections.

A supportive richness available in site-specific processes enables new discoveries and associations to emerge. This process contributes in significant ways to the text's and the playwright's recuperation as a significant voice in the present cultural moment.

*Mariam* is a play of many extraordinary qualities, the most relevant in this context being the numerous extended and complex female roles. The play is unprecedented in its focus on female experience and female voices. Cary's is a distinct, strident, and challenging theatrical voice and that voice sounded different in the six performances I have directed of *Mariam*. Perhaps the most divergent of these was between workshops held in the formal constraints of Royal Holloway's Victorian Picture Gallery, contrasted with the intimate domesticity of the Gardener's Cottage, also on site at Royal Holloway. In the Picture Gallery a sense of oppression in the site drew out, amongst other things, the stridency of rebellion in Cary's women, both in *Mariam* and in *Salome*. By contrast, the kitchen and bathroom of the cottage foreground the smothering oppressions of domesticity. In each site we've worked in, the performance encountered each site, and the text (through the performers) responded. In St John's Church at Burford, Cary's use of subverted religious iconography emerged strongly, through *Mariam*'s self-sacrificing death. The stage of the Globe Theatre gave memorable evidence of Cary's accomplishments as a creator of engaging and affecting soliloquy. Each performance has taken place in a different 'framing' location, and in the director's and performers' work of making the text meet the site, new discoveries emerged from the combination.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Old Red Lion Pub Theatre, London Rehearsed Reading, 22 July 2007**

This *Mariam* formed part of Primavera Theatre Company's series of readings exploring underperformed texts in front of a live audience. This reading was not a performance in which place played a pre-rehearsed role, but like many pub theatres this site had helpful qualities of intimacy and familiarity and less helpful, distracting 'noises off' from the pub downstairs.

I worked with the play in its entirety, which made for a very long reading, but a valuable exercise. Hearing the lines both in rehearsal and then before an audience emphasized not only the sophistication of Cary's language, but also the balance between rational argument and an audacious dramatic 'life'. Characters often begin by making nicely turned arguments over the nature of

marriage, grief, or the rule of law but then become embroiled in messy familial strife: insulting, cursing, attempting to manipulate one another. Cary is developing flawed human characters, and dialogues are not always rational or well-argued; often a well-aimed insult wins over logic. This factor arguably sits in tension with *Mariam's* status as a decorous neo-classical play.

The second major insight that emerged from working with *Mariam* in the informality of a pub theatre space was the way the play hovers between, and operates in and out of, spaces which are very formal, grand, and palatial, and spaces that are extremely intimate. This site spatializes the tensions between the conventions of Cary's chosen form — the neo-classical play with argued and counter-argued speeches, choruses, unity of time and action — and her theatrically animated depiction of the nitty gritty of human relationships: the sister (Salome) who can twist her powerful brother (Herod) around her finger; the overbearing mother (Alexandra) who will not permit her mourning daughter (Mariam) to weep. Cary is adept at portraying the manipulations and foibles of interpersonal relationships. The spatialized dichotomy of grandeur/formality versus domestic/intimacy which emerged here went on to play a role in my selection of later performance sites for *Mariam*.

**The Picture Gallery, Royal Holloway  
Workshops April 2013  
Salome's Shame: *Mariam* 1.4**

Royal Holloway's Victorian Picture Gallery was a setting that certainly spoke to the formality of Cary's play structure and settings. A space replete with both wealth and rules — 'don't touch' — the gallery invited specific codes of conduct, and with its array of Victorian, predominantly narrative paintings, created a rich, potentially generative site for *Mariam*. I was particularly fascinated by the central presence of Edwin Long's painting *The Babylonian Marriage Market*. Long's painting depicts a reframing of Herodotus's story through a Victorian lens. In it eight women are lined up like so many pieces of livestock to be sold at a chaotic-looking, male-dominated marriage market. The women, following Herodotus's description, are ordered according to their physical beauty, an ordering which also (in Long's depiction) associates whiteness with the most beautiful, and darkness of skin with ugliness and undesirability. Long's depiction of the women's misery is empathetic, and I felt it connected with Mariam's late existential realization of the treachery of her reliance on beauty, in her soliloquy:

Am I the Mariam that presumed so much,  
 And deemed my face must needs preserve my breath?  
 Ay, I it was that thought my beauty such  
 As it alone could countermand my death.  
 Now Death will teach me he can pale as well  
 A cheek of roses as a cheek less bright. (4.8 1–6)

At the same time, Long's somewhat uncritical perspective on feminine subjection contrasted powerfully with the anger of Cary's depiction of female subjugation, so that the encounter of these two narratives provided an entry point for some of the work in the space. Both readings (Cary's and Long's) of beauty transect female objectification with hard to stomach readings of race, which contributes to a complexity of associations between the two texts which felt rich and worth exploring.

Of the work explored in this setting, a text-based improvisation performed by actor Pippa Wildwood, playing Salome, was the most immediately relevant. We worked with a fragment of Salome's soliloquy in 1.4, where she expresses her desire to divorce her husband and marry her lover. Through exploring the chaotic, rule-breaking capacities of this character in this extremely formal site, something of the shock value of Cary's writing became tangible in the space, as Wildwood embraced Salome's existential *carpe diem*. Entangled in a chair, Wildwood lurched across the floor, grunting with effort, as chair after chair was sent skittering across the varnished floor and Salome demanded 'Why should such privilege to men be given?'

Particularly revelatory was Salome's meditation on 'shame'. She declares of herself:

But shame is gone, and honour wiped away,  
 And impudency on my forehead sits. (1.4.33–4)

In the public and formal setting of the gallery, Salome's attack on shame became a powerful and self-aware call-to-arms. The gallery's decorous restraint functioned within this workshop to actualize the rules that Salome's speech seeks to destroy. The tension the audience members felt emerged from our awareness and expectations of this space, which, as McAuley suggests, interplayed with the performance. As Wildwood knocked over chairs, grunted, and lurched, she activated, by transgressing, notions of how we felt we should behave in formal institutional space. This site generated for the audience in this moment a lived experience of the power and danger of Cary's

radicalism, and her willingness, like Salome, to break through restraint, taking the audience's identification with Salome beyond the intellectual and into the territory of uncomfortable complicity.

### **The Gardener's Cottage, Royal Holloway**

**Workshops April 2013**

#### **Salome's Shame Revisited / Mariam's Grief *Mariam* 1.1–4**

The Victorian Gardener's Cottage at Royal Holloway generated a contrasting *Mariam*. Although close to a busy road, the cottage feels very isolated; it is hidden away, in amongst overgrown bushes. Inside most rooms have pianos — music students use the cottage for practice — a kitchen, a bathroom, a boarded up fireplace, a sense of both domestic and of institutional space. While working with Wildwood on the same fragment of Salome's 'shame' speech discussed above, an absolutely different emotional affect emerged. Wildwood chose to speak Salome's speech from a bath. The speech became intimate, confessional; in the vulnerability of her bath, the working out of Salome's demands took on a far more reflective quality. In the confines of a small, domestic setting, Salome's rebellion lost its disruptive force, its self-confident audacity, gaining instead the quality of a confided secret. Her private acknowledgement of shame became an act of confession, and Salome in the bathroom felt more vulnerable and ambivalent about her actions, a much more human figure. Salome is a brilliantly written part, a grand-standing villain who easily out-manoeuvres every other character onstage; a grand, diabolical performance is pleasurable and important, but seriously limits her complexity. In the cottage, Salome became humanized, capable of eliciting empathy and compassion. The 'cottage bathroom' Salome problematizes *Mariam*'s status as a primarily neo-classical text. The encounter with the domestic setting instead promotes an intimate relationship to the characters' interpersonal conflicts.

The cottage also enabled development of the 'kitchen sink' *Mariam*, an improvised piece of movement and text performed by dancer Flora Wellesley-Wesley, working with *Mariam*'s first soliloquy, which offers insights into *Mariam*'s response to her husband Herod's supposed death. *Mariam* describes her surprise and incapacity to act, despite objectively knowing what her feelings 'ought' to be, and her sense of being suspended in indecision and an inability to act recall moments of Hamlet's mental turmoil. Her condition invites comparison to attributes displayed by victims of domestic violence



and abuse.<sup>7</sup> In abusive relationships, the violence suffered may become normalized, even read as signs of ‘affection’, something which we may see Mariam as describing. Similarly, people who suffer the systemic degradation of self-esteem that an abusive relationship entails may display a sense of institutionalized shock if such a relationship comes to an unexpected end.

I was interested in exploring some of these possibilities, and decided to work in perhaps the most domestic space within the Gardener’s Cottage, the kitchen. The ‘kitchen’ space of the cottage is very sparse: a sink and taps, a sideboard and several units above and below. We worked with lines selected from Mariam’s soliloquy which open the play, in which Mariam acknowledges her past hatred of Herod, and her confusion, even tenderness for him now that she believes him to be dead:

Now do I find, by self-experience taught,  
 One object yields both grief and joy. (1.1.9–10)  
 When Herod lived, that now is done to death,  
 Oft have I wished that I from him were free;  
 Oft have I wished that he might lose his breath;  
 Oft have I wished his carcass dead to see. (1.1.15–19)

But now his death to memory doth call  
 The tender love that he to Mariam bare,  
 And mine to him; this makes those rivers fall,  
 Which by another thought unmoistened are. (1.1.31–4)

I suggested that Flora explore the physical possibilities offered by the sink and sideboards, looking in particular for repeatable movements and gestures that would allow her to explore ambivalence, suspension, and institutionalization. She focused initially on wiping, explaining her situation while wiping surfaces, wondering why she isn’t happy. The repetitive movements stopped and as if belatedly recalling herself, as a host, she poured a glass of water, offering it to the audience. Then she turned the glass upside down onto her palm, a strange messy act, suddenly dislocated from the realism of her movements. And then she started again, wiping, wiping, explaining, explaining, her movements getting bigger, the routine of cleaning turning into something compulsive as if she may be stuck, in this indecision, forever.

Mariam’s opening speech became entirely understandable and powerful as that of a woman reeling with shock at the unexpected death of a violent spouse. By placing this speech in a domestic environment, the site began

to help construct a reading of Mariam in which she emerged as a modest, human character. The cottage kitchen helped to make her conflict and difficulties recognizable as relevant to women today, even as it made real and tangible the sense of entrapment which underlies the speech.

### **St John's Church, Burford** **11 June 2013**

St John's, Burford, has strong links with Cary who grew up at nearby Burford Priory; St John's is probably where she was married and her parents, the wealthy and much disliked Lawrence and Elizabeth Tanfield, are buried in the church, in an ostentatious tomb which the widowed Elizabeth Tanfield had constructed without permission.<sup>8</sup> The tomb includes an effigy of Cary kneeling, appearing as a dutiful daughter, and Cary's biography includes a reference to Cary being accustomed to kneel when speaking to her mother 'more than an hour together; though she was but an ill kneel[er]'.<sup>9</sup>

Given the church's strong links with Cary, her presence seemed important, and in the performance we created for the 2013 Burford festival, I worked with actor Meghan Treadway to develop 'Elizabeth', a character inspired by our research into Cary. Most of the audience lived close by, in Burford and the surrounding area, and knew very little of Cary herself, though they did know something of her family.<sup>10</sup> A feature of audience response to the work was pleasure at hearing and seeing parts of the play and a desire to know more about it and Elizabeth.

Treadway began the performance in a small space, surrounded by papers and candles as Cary's biography tells us that she would bribe her servants to bring her these when her mother banned her from reading.<sup>11</sup> Treadway worked with the *Mariam* choruses, exploring the idea of Cary in the process of composing these verses with the morally severe tone. From this starting point, Treadway's 'Elizabeth' conjured the rest of the company into being — her characters, coming to life, stepping off the page, and surrounding her in the church. As scenes from the play were performed, Treadway looked on, sometimes intervening to explain or correct a point, or to comfort a disconsolate character. At the end of the play, as Mariam accepted her martyrdom, Treadway, as 'Elizabeth', watched, torn between what appears to be the inevitability of Mariam's suffering and a desire to intervene and 'save' Mariam. The performance ended with Treadway's 'Elizabeth' attempting to comfort Mariam, a comfort that seemed to be ashes in her mouth.

While some feminist scholarship has rightly cautioned against the tendency to biographize Cary's writing,<sup>12</sup> as limiting recognition of Cary's relevance in broader discourses, in the context of a Burford performance, this biographical element brought a rich new layer to the play. The presence of an 'Elizabeth' character was one which a number of audience members (as well as we as performers) found very powerful, due, I am certain, to the site being one arguably 'haunted' by Cary herself, in its history. In McAuley's terms, our practice allowed the theme of the repressed or missing cultural memory — that of Cary's achievement — to come together powerfully with the site. For those watching the performance, thoughts of Cary co-existed with the live performance. One insight I gained from placing the choruses of the text in 'Elizabeth's' mouth in the church was the dominatingly moral tone discernable within them, and how at odds this voice was with the more lively and subversive shades in the acts between the choruses. In performance, a wide gap in sensibility between the meat of the play and the sense of social judgment in the choruses underlined the moral double bind Mariam perishes under. Cary puts her idea of the dominant, normative judgment of her characters' actions onstage in the form of the choruses, but in performance we could play with the theatrical space to call these judgements into question, whether we played straight, sent up, or, as we did at Burford, subverted.

The other dominant quality of the space at St John's church was its religious function. St John's is a richly symbolic space, with stained glass windows, carved wood panelling, and sculptured stone arches. Every surface of the church speaks of Christianity. A religious function or orientation determines many routes through the space. Walking up the central aisle towards the altar one feels directed towards, but also held outside of, the sacred centre of the church. To someone standing beneath the pulpit, speakers above seem to have heightened authority and status. We worked with the religious aspects of the church and two strands in particular emerged: first, Mariam as Christ figure, and second, Salome and her transgressions.

Towards the end of the play, Mariam is depicted as imprisoned, awaiting death on the orders of her husband, Herod. She has failed to play the role of the good wife: not just to be good, but to *appear* to all and sundry to be both good and happy, despite having to live in close proximity with the man who murdered many of her family. Mariam's sudden refusal to play the good, submissive wife has resulted in her death sentence, and now she acknowledges this 'crime' with shock and despair. Placing this scene of suffering within the church in which Cary worshipped made for a very powerful conclusion

to the performance. The literalness of seeing and hearing the pain of this character, trapped by her need to assert her own personhood, even at the cost of her life, was profound. Witnessing Cary's powerful intellectual argument against female inequality, embodied within a suffering, Christ-like figure, helped to emphasize the extent to which Cary understands the human cost of resistance, and her willingness to write this truth, however unpalatable to authority. Her insight continues to fill me with admiration for the integrity of Cary's significant but still marginalized voice and her play.

The encounter between Salome and the space also activated the powerful symbolism of the church (See figure 1). As already discussed, Cary's Salome is a rule-breaker. Within the space of a church, this character trait took on new dimensions, and the sacred spaces of the church became available for subversion. Perhaps the most powerful image of the performance was the figure of Salome, dressed in bright red, seated provocatively on the altar throne. The challenge of her demands — for equal rights, for a voice — encompassed an exhilarating rejection of the spatial and symbolic rules of the place. The contrast of this image of triumphant Salome with that of despairing Mariam remains in my mind as vivid flipsides to one coin: both rule breakers in a place full of rules, one getting everything she wants, the other losing everything.



Fig.1 Sarah Vevers as Salome at St Johns Church, Burford. Image courtesy of Jamie Smith.

**Hannah Barry Gallery, Peckham, London  
August 2013**

Working with *Mariam* in the world of an art gallery space enabled a big leap from a 'literal' staging of the play's world. The young, hip gallery space and the association with the world of curators, openings, retrospectives, and celebrity became the ground for exploring the text as a 'retrospective' of a fictional artist, Cary, and her life's work. The performance emerged as a counterfactual imaginary world in which I granted Cary fame, acknowledgement, and celebrity. This performance worked hard to air the issues and contradictions that abound in staging and exploring *Mariam* as 'unknown' play, and to explore this territory of 'unknownness' marking Cary's relationship to many audiences today. The generative prompts of the site meant that we migrated significantly from a linear performance of the text, and the audiences encountered many sections of the text in the form of visual images, movement sequences, or small one-on-one intimate encounters.

While the theatre maker and image creator in me derived intense pleasure from this version — through the devising of playful, curated tours through the spaces, to the construction of installations derived from the text, to the performance of a multi-layered vocal arrangement of Cary's 'Dedication' — what was also significant in performance was how intensely contemporary Cary's scenes can feel. At two points in the performance fragmented cycles of character vignettes gave way to sustained performance of complete scenes. The first of these was Mariam's opening soliloquy, performed here in a room-size installation of packing boxes, with Mariam seeming to be preparing for flight. Mariam's dilemma — to await developments in the power vacuum after Herod's 'death', or to escape with her life — took on deeply contemporary connotations in the summer of 2013 with upheaval in the Middle East, something the audience recognized and commented upon.<sup>13</sup> The other performed scene was 4.8, Mariam's cell scene here transposed to a small room, dressed to resonate with artist Louise Bourgeois's 'Cell' installations. Here the entire audience arranged themselves into a small, tightly packed area to witness the action. This tiny space, an artwork in itself replete with symbolism of captivity and of desire, as the location of Mariam's despairing soliloquy, was a scene which audiences found deeply affecting. Our audiences discovered current urgent relevance in *Mariam*, and gave themselves to the suffering of the central character. (See figure 2.)



Fig.2 Kayleigh Hawkins as Mariam at Hannah Barry Gallery, Peckham. Image courtesy of Jamie Smith.

**Mariam at the Globe Theatre**  
**7 Dec 2013**

The 2013 Globe Women in Shakespeare conference enabled us to perform an extract from *Mariam* on the Globe stage, something which felt hugely significant in this play's performance trajectory. The research questions we brought to bear in preparing to work in this space concerned the hypothesis that Cary wrote with theatrical space in mind, and that the Globe stage, as it approximates to the stage where Cary could have seen performances take place, offers a particularly useful environment to explore this idea. In Gay McAuley's terms, the Globe also offered an extraordinary opportunity to put site and text together and attempt 'to prise open the contemporary reality of the place and permit the past to surge into the present'.<sup>14</sup>

We presented 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 4.8. Exploring the scenes with an emphasis on the long entrances and exits, what emerged was the attention with which Cary crafted these actions. In 1.1, Mariam is initially alone on the stage; she then observes the approach of her mother, whose entrance makes Mariam attempt to disguise her tears. By crafting a long entrance for Alexandra, Cary

creates a theatrical tension — will Alexandra see the tears or not? — and also tells us reams about this mother/daughter relationship. At the end of 1.2, when Salome enters unnoticed by Mariam and Alexander, the Globe's pillars readily offered a highly visible 'hiding place'; the audience could relish Salome's eavesdropping on Mariam, and take in Cary's salient points about Salome's duplicity, the soured sister-in-law relationship, and the political tensions in Herod's palace. Later in the performance we progressed to playing with the entrances, entering in and out through the audience, positioning the audience alongside the characters.

Evidence of Cary's theatrical craftsmanship and the possibility that *Mariam* was written with a Globe-like space in mind also appeared in 4.8, where an imprisoned Mariam encounters Herod's returned first wife, Doris. In this scene Doris plays a game of cat and mouse with the distraught Mariam. Arriving unseen in Mariam's cell, Doris calls out, casting judgmental insults at Mariam, who initially fears that Doris is a demon sent to taunt her. Mariam's inability to see Doris gets theatrical support from the two Globe pillars which again provide a hiding place in full sight of the audience, easily and simply presenting the theatrical tension of watching Mariam being preyed upon by Doris.

Cary's theatricality and stagecraft continued to be the most significant threads for us at the Globe. The soliloquy emerged as the predominant form for all of the female characters, and these soliloquies came easily and fluidly to life in the public intimacy of the Globe space. Directly addressing the audience, forging connections and allegiances, hectoring, bantering, and appealing, the performers enacted wonderfully what for Cary could only ever be an imagined Globe performance. While the performance context for *Mariam* was most probably the private intimacy of elite family theatricals, placing Cary's writing in the Globe, a place of theatrical life, affirmed for me the robustness of the piece. As a director, I feel certain that this play, despite presenting some challenges to performance, nonetheless has within it the necessary theatricality to make successful contemporary performances possible.

Perhaps more profoundly the Globe performance suggested to what degree Cary in her writing was, like Mariam, clamouring for a public voice. She understood fully that she had something important to say and that she possessed the necessary gifts and talents to say it engagingly. That this affirmation took place on a single occasion, on a December morning at the Globe, in the 'elite' context of a conference is, for me, bittersweet. It affirms, yes, that

*Mariam* is worthy of performance, but also that Cary is, like so many female playwrights, still a marginalized voice. That the journey of these workshops came full circle, beginning and ending in theatre spaces, serves to illustrate for me the richness site-specific processes offer to marginalized texts. By getting away from traditional theatre spaces, where traditional expectations dominate, and working instead with sites that activate imaginings in their audiences to provoke, elaborate, and provide unexpected insights, connections, relevancies we can give texts such as *Mariam* an impact. So the Globe performance is part of an ongoing journey, and my hope is that moving forward, academic and practitioner interest in *Mariam* will continue to develop until this most female of tragedies can take a centre-stage position in our cultural landscape, and Cary's past can 'surge into the present' challenging and inspiring women of today.

## Notes

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- 1 Gay McAuley, 'Remembering and Forgetting', Gay McAuley (ed.), *Unstable Ground: Performance of the Politics of Place* (Brussels, 2006), 150.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Clifford McLucas, 'Ten Feet and Three Quarters of an Inch of Theatre', Nick Kaye (ed.), *Site-Specific Art* (London, 2005), 128.



- 4 Carol Chillington Rutter, 'Preface', *Enter the Body: Women and Representation on Shakespeare's Stage* (London and New York, 2001), xiii
- 5 Ibid, xv.
- 6 For images from these processes see images by photographer Jamie Smith <http://rebeccamccutcheon.com/category/the-mariam-project/> and <http://rebeccamccutcheon.com/category/mariam-in-peckham-the-cary-cycles/>
- 7 *Women's Aid: The Survivor's Handbook* [www.womensaid.org.uk](http://www.womensaid.org.uk) url <http://www.womensaid.org.uk/domestic-violence-survivors-handbook.asp?section=000100010008000100360002> accessed 8 May 2015.
- 8 Raymond and Joan Moody, *A Thousand Years of Burford* (Burford, 2006), 21.
- 9 'The Lady Falkland: Her Life', *The Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry*, ed. Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson (Berkeley, 1994), 199.
- 10 Best known is Cary's eldest son, the Royalist hero Lucius Cary who is also shown kneeling at the Tanfield tomb.
- 11 Ibid, 187–8.
- 12 See Ramona Wray, 'Introduction', *The Tragedy of Mariam*, ed. Ramona Wray (London, 2012), 6–8. Also Kimberley Woolsey Poitevin, 'Counterfeit Colour: Making up Race in Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*' in Karen Raber (ed.), *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England 1550–1700* (London, 2009), 327–9.
- 13 Via questionnaires.
- 14 Gay McAuley, 'Remembering and Forgetting', Gay McAuley (ed.), *Unstable Ground: Performance of the Politics of Place* (Brussels, 2006), 150.

