Early Theatre

A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama

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Submissions

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 6,000–8,000 words, although longer articles will be considered) and **notes** (300–5,000 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.

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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.

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Editorial

Guest edited by Helen Ostovich, this special issue of *Early Theatre* shares key insights arising from the March 2019 Toronto production of John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* and the symposium that accompanied it. Building on a recent surge of interest in Marston's career and in his best-known play, this group of articles attends to issues of gender, sexuality, religion, and linguistic or cultural difference operating in Marston's play-text — and in performances inspired by it. Along the way, the contributors offer keen insights about Performance as Research as a methodology: what it teaches us about early plays in light of their original historical contexts, and what questions it opens up about early theatre in our own contemporary moment. In addition to the ten essays on Marston presented here along with the guest editor's Introduction, readers of this journal issue will find a small selection of book reviews, the first to be curated by our new book reviews editor, Georgina Lucas. As always, we hope this work calls attention to (and inspires further) thought-provoking, innovative research.

Work on this issue of the journal has taken place under particularly challenging circumstances. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, we had to cancel a planned farewell party to honour our founding editor Helen Ostovich at the Shakespeare Association of American annual meeting in April 2020. The global public health crisis has forced us into isolation and physical distancing, yet we hope that *Early Theatre*'s readers can still experience a sense of scholarly community as they read the work that Helen and her contributors are sharing with us. In the midst of what is otherwise a time of great uncertainty, we are immensely grateful to our book reviewers, for the time and effort they invest in helping to amplify the reach of important new work in our field; we thank our authors for the trust they place by submitting their research to the journal; and we remain indebted to our anonymous peer-reviewers, whose expert advice helps to strengthen the quality of the work we publish.

A number of medieval and early modern English plays and performances, including *The Dutch Courtesan,* were written and performed in decades that witnessed unexpected social and economic upheaval in the form of famine, war, and, of course, plague. Reading such texts reminds us that we are not the first to have our lives unexpectedly disrupted by public health emergencies. In addition to a

sense of historical context, attention to early theatre also reminds us how people even at the worst of times have found creative ways to come together to share ideas, to make new work, and even to be entertained. This sense of connection to the past and of common purpose in the present sustains the ongoing work of *Early Theatre*.

THE EDITORS

Gerrit van Honthorst, 'Smiling Girl, Holding an Obscene Image', 1625. Courtesy St Louis Art Museum Online Collections, Friends Fund, CC0 1.0 https://www.slam.org/collection/objects/1059/

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Helen Ostovich

Introduction: Strangers and Aliens in London ca 1605 — Is Anyone Stranger than a London Gallant?

This special issue on John Marston's The Dutch Courtesan *illustrates the various tensions in London at the start of James I's reign. This city comedy deploys satire to urge its audience to see the anxiety and fears caused by misogyny, xenophobia, religious dissent, and contact with European foreigners, all of which create an alien environment infecting those who live in it. Each of the ten essays that make up the issue touches on these anxieties, or at least elements of strangeness that need arguing away or accepting as unresolvable in Marston's view of human nature.*

Like John Marston himself — son of a lawyer, law-student at the Middle Temple, satirical poet, and experimenter with revenge plays, ultimately and abruptly a country parson breaking all ties with theatre — this special issue on *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605) offers something surprising and new. Its goal is to illustrate how the play-text, both in the form of an early printed book and a modern edition, can inspire performances sustaining multiple reactions and points of view, which the bodies of actors communicate to the receptive audience. Often unexpected actions, gestures, facial expressions, and sounds produced by actors and musicians give significance to staged verbal silences based on absences in the text. We can only speculate on the bodies of the boy actors who presented Marston to his audience, but we can, if we are lucky, see modern productions that bring us closer to understanding Marston's theatrical world.[1] Even Edward's Boys, the company of schoolboys at King Edward VI's School in Stratford-upon-Avon, superb as they are, will never replicate a 400-year-old theatrical interpretation as it was performed in Blackfriars: the space, the neighbourhood, the atmosphere, and the physical bodies of audiences and actors cannot be the same.[2] The authors in this issue examine both the play's original context and its modern resonances to

Helen Ostovich (ostovich@mcmaster.ca) is professor emerita of English and Cultural Studies, McMaster University, and now editor emerita of this journal, *Early Theatre*, which she founded in 1998.

explore otherness, gender, sex, religion, and foreignness. They also discover ways in which actorly and scholarly ways of knowing extend and enrich each other.

Marston's London was cosmopolitan[3] and deeply anxious about the place of 'strangers' within its urban landscape, and the play's plots push both factors to dizzying complications. The main plot deals with the treatment of a foreign sex worker whose accent helps establish her otherness; the counterplot[4] follows two members of a distrusted religious minority as they are tricked and abused, presumably for the audience's entertainment. This double plot line understood as the superficial context, we reconsider *The Dutch Courtesan* based on the production at the University of Toronto during the week of 19–24 March 2019, and the symposium on 22 and 23 March partnering that production.[5] The symposium speakers whose work is published here have revised their papers in light of what they learned about the play in performance and its impact on their theories, having been confronted by both practice and collegial discussion. The key observation that emerges concerns how London accommodated the foreign: suspiciously, looking askance at its own citizens as much as at aliens. Xenophobia aroused wide-spread hostility, with fears that a surge of 'strange' persons, languages, diseases, or customs from some other country or neighbourhood might adulterate or somehow substantially infect 'pure' English habits.[6] That notion activates Freevill's caprices in the play, but he is not alone. Such qualms become tangled with related misogynistic fears among the play's men, particularly fear of sex workers. Bizarrely, those workers include wives and daughters, when husbands and fathers feel the need to sequester chaste women from learning about the power women can exert over men. Marston brings these fears together in *The Dutch Courtesan.*

This introduction attempts to find a path among the essays collected here, to enhance the accomplishments of the authors by putting them into virtual conversation with one another, beginning with an analysis of the text of Marston's play and its place in Jacobean printed drama as our 'deep background' for studying *The Dutch Courtesan,* and then grouping the remaining nine essays in clusters of three, moving from text to performance. Productions of this Marston play are rare on the professional stage, thus reducing our access to and understanding of the kind of entertainment it offers, but I will give an extended example from the Edward's Boys Archive of how I came to a richer understanding of the Freevill-Malheureux relationship by reading what Owen Hibberd (Malheureux) had to say about rehearsing and performing his part in 2008:

> From the meaning of the name I … believe[d] that the character was … a weaker personality than Freevill, but much prefer the idea of 'eyebrow' [that is, responding

> ironically], of Malheureux also being a strong personality, and of playful banter between Freevill and Malheureux.

Owen then recounted his summer experience working in the City — the part of London inside the walls, primarily concerned with issues of commerce, law, and government — on the trade floor of a bank:

> The majority of people who worked in the City seemed to be men, and the whole place worked in a very 'male' way, in the sense there was an extremely competitive air about, everybody was trying to get 'one over' on each other, they were constantly throwing out sexual innuendos, verbally but jokingly attacking each other, and at one point some guys went around the room (massive trade floor) planting a remote controlled fart box under unsuspecting victims' chairs — which received wails of laughter from the men I was with. I see SO much of this behaviour in *The Dutch Courtesan,* especially between Freevill and Malheureux: absolute male 'banter'. At the beginning of the play when Freevill is convincing Malheureux to come with him to the brothel they are verbally attacking each other just like these 'City boys' on the trade floor — hilarious, dirty and intellectual word play. And also, most probably just like these City boys, they go out in the evening, spend lavish amounts of money on fine food and wine, and then find some woman to shag.

This theory works, or is workable, in the play, giving us a Malheureux who is both (a) 'knowing' about sex, raising a brow at Freevill's appraisals of life, crime, and trade, and (b) 'unknowing' about how far a youth might go with a prostitute.[7] Malheureux seems less a novice and more a doubting Thomas in face of Freevill's 'performance' as a worldly-wise man-about-town.

Such working out of potential meaning for performance begins with the play-text, and the first essay in this collection, Martin Butler's 'The Oxford Marston and *The Dutch Courtesan*', sets the context for this issue, and indeed for the whole Marston project, by considering the relationship between text and performance. Butler explains the rationale for the new Oxford Works of John Marston (in progress): the need for a modern text, the first complete critical edition of all the plays, poetry, and other documents pertaining to Marston's life, the print history, and, importantly, the theatre history. Text, when we speak of a playwright, precedes performance, although clearly Marston was influenced by the playwrights who preceded him, the actors he wrote for, and the performances that surprised or aroused his own experiments with the stage. Simply put, the text takes on fuller meaning when the actors make the text physically present, seen and heard.

Butler discusses some of the unusual print features of Marston quartos that might enhance or suggest performance, such as the numerous epigrams and sententiae set off by italics, some of which were familiar proverbs and some apparently invented. He gives us a graphic view of how a reader 'talks back' to the text through annotation; and illuminates Marston's negative approach to play publication: he wrote his plays for performance, not for print. The essays that follow reveal the conditions and impacts of performance in order to better understand the theatrical possibilities and conceptual implications of the Marston text.

In taking up Marston's play, therefore, we have to keep in the forefront of our minds that his text records potential for performance, and seeds and snippets of other performances, because Marston has his characters converse with and about ideas in books (for example, Montaigne) and demonstrate theatrical ideas (in plays by Shakespeare, Jonson, and others) gleaned from observation as an audience member. Marston was innovative in his approach to dramatic structure and balance, and as a result his work sometimes can seem off-kilter or chaotic (on this point see Michael Cordner's essay in this issue). If we understand Marston's strategy as deliberate, we have to rethink what his plays mean and how audiences, then and now, might respond.

The three essays following Butler's consider the 'Foreign Inf[l]exions' expanding (or some would say contaminating) English commerce, theatre, and religion in the mixed culture of London at the beginning of James I's reign: specifically, foreign theatre (Tom Bishop), foreign religion (Sophie Tomlinson), and foreign disease (Andrew Fleck). In '"La bella Franceschina" and Other Foreign Names in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', Bishop relates the history and impact of commedia dell'arte on the English stage, especially in the figure of Franceschina, whose name has a pan-European connection with saucy maids and sexually knowing women. Marston's Franceschina, however, is not alone in her Italian naming: Crispinella and Beatrice, nurtured by Putifer, form an Italianate group combining the practical (St Crispin, the patron of shoemakers, curer of soles/souls) with the poetic (Dante's ideal woman), in young women intelligently conversing and questioning literary and cultural ideas, tended by a governess who has taught her nurselings how to think and evaluate (*puto,* Latin). On the other hand, Franceschina is Dutch, and her language is as various as her previous lovers and her transnational theatrical representations as a commedia character. In London streets and in city comedy, foreign accents and dialects were comic class markers, implicit put-downs of alien characters; London attitudes towards such sounds and mannerisms explain why Freevill and Cocledemoy both assume accents in their

disguises (French, Welsh, Scottish, Dutch, Italian), because native Londoners can shrug off foreigners disdainfully as invisible or unimportant.

Both Tomlinson and Fleck talk about how Dutch infiltration can have serious consequences socially, commercially, and culturally. Theatrically speaking, Franceschina, as the play's prime representation of foreign invasion, is not a first for the London stage. Robert Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London* (1582; rev. 1594), an earlier dystopian comedy of pollution, shows us an even darker London organized by the crime boss Lady Lucre (born Italian), who co-opts men to do her dirty work, spreading disease, theft, eviction, and murder, while she enjoys seducing the properly English Lady Love and Lady Conscience into her 'family of love' where brothels, trade, church, and politics mingle. Like Marston's Franceschina, performance itself, seductive and hypocritical, becomes a polluting import with its comic love-triangles, disguises, revenges, pan-European popular song, and the disruptive cosmopolitanism of overseas mercantile or commercial ventures destroying honest English businesses.[8]

Among other factors intervening in English life (status of gender, class, trade, or religion), the Dutch sect, the Family of Love, plays a defining role in *The Dutch Courtesan*'s fictional world. In 'Sensuality, Spirit, and Society in *The Dutch Courtesan* and Lording Barry's *The Family of Love*', Sophie Tomlinson discusses two different theatrical representations of Familism, Marston's (1605), particularly in the Mulligrub plot, and Barry's (1608), the latter virtually 'in dialogue' (p. 71) with the earlier play, and probably written much closer in time to Marston's first performance and subsequent printing of *The Dutch Courtesan.* Tomlinson points out a significant difference between the *incidental* presence of Familism in Marston's play, as the background to the crushing hypocrisy that exists at all levels of the London community, and the *direct* focus on Familism in Barry's play, echoing and expanding Marston's comedy into a lighter farce about free love and women's freedom to choose — this last, of course, also Crispinella's purpose and Mistress Mulligrub's practice. Both plays trace women's behaviour by following their rings as symbols of containment within legal or illicit arrangements. Although Franceschina thinks that possession of Beatrice's ring will free the rejected courtesan of her desire for revenge, she (Franceschina) is the one who ends up contained in prison because of it. The staged circulation of rings ends abruptly in both plays, but the ring in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* seems to follow the magical journey of the exotic handkerchief in *Othello,* from Egypt to Italy, from Othello to Desdemona, from Emilia to Iago, from Bianca to Cassio, gradually getting sullied in the process, and eventually abandoned in the street. The physical object symbolically tracks the devaluation of everyone who touches it. In Marston, although the ring

may return to the right hand, it too confirms devaluation, alongside the women's isolation and commodification within marriage, calling into question the worth of the husband who consigns them to such a bond. (See Meghan Andrews's essay, in this special issue, on the exchange of rings). In Barry, the ring confirms marriage vows, and paradoxically allows for a woman's freedom to love — to love anyone God gave life to. In the words of Marston's '*Fabulae argumentum*', both plays claim to distinguish the love of a courtesan and a wife, but the terminology gets twisted into morally ambiguous arguments about values, trust, and faith, calling into question the easy distinction between the morality of English sacred institutions and foreign religious practice, defying the black-and-white simplicity of the original storyline.

Familism conflicted not only with the Church of England, but also with other dissenting or puritan sects. In 'Proximity and the Pox: Pathologizing Infidelity in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', Andrew Fleck connects syphilis and heterodoxy through the play's emphasis on the Family of Love: Familists often kept their faith secret (for purposes of subversion, as orthodox Christians commonly thought), or seemed to comply with the majority faith (and thus popular writings often accused Familists of hypocrisy), in order to secure their occupations and stimulate increase in the trades or professions. As a result, the sect seemed to be an infection, invisibly destabilizing the English establishment, just as Franceschina, a strange woman, corrupts those who desire her. But the strangeness she represents was already current in London immigration and trade, forcing audiences to account for their reception of actions that seem distorted and defamiliarized in the city setting, recognizing and not recognizing themselves in the play's funhouse mirror, and, as Erin Julian remarks later in this issue, laughing inappropriately at what they cannot deal with. The uncomfortable ambiance renders dramatic action hostile, repugnant to families, communities, or faiths. Nothing is safe.

Fleck gets right to the heart of the contagions unsettling London's status quo. His historical survey of venereal disease latches onto Franceschina as the pernicious foreign agent of corruption, seducing and infecting the City in a mercantile pattern traced with different emphasis by Liz Fox later in this issue. Fleck shows us the disease infesting alehouses and brothels, seeping into private spaces, and then infecting everyone from infants to seniors. This pandemic blights Christian morality with challenges that could overturn the Church of England itself. Threatening with apocalyptic rhetoric, her brothel the heart of sedition, her broken English the harbinger of England's fate, Francheschina, as Fleck notes in an earlier version of his essay 'the Whore of Babylon in Anglo-Dutch form'. Her infection of religion is the last stage of depravity corrupting family, law, and commerce with what

amounts to viral contamination. The history of the Family of Love, hand in hand with the history of venereal disease in Europe, links Marston's play to the anxieties in England: the fear of multiplying infections that destroy body and soul, a dark conspiracy that explains the complications in these 'Foreign Inf[l]ections', and sets us up to read the next three essays.

The common theme for this second triad of papers is 'Commodification and Seduction': together, these essays examine the relationship between theatrical space and commercial enterprise, seeing the commodification of boys and women within a system of seduction (by the seller, whether tradesman or actor or character) in order to build capital. In 'Living by Others' Pleasure: Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* and Theatrical Profit', Lucy Munro discusses aesthetics and money-making in relation to the Children of the Royal Chapel and the music crucial to their plays. New documentary evidence on the circumstances of the choir both as spiritual support in the Queen's Chapel and as entertainment (in the form of acting and singing) for paying customers in the theatre, establishes for the first time the importance of keeping the boys attached to both, despite legal disputes raised by the Clifton affair. The legitimacy offered by the chapel choir places the pleasure of hearing the boys' voices beside the commercial profit they accumulate in their theatre work. With a foot in both worlds — profit for the spirit, profit for the theatrical company, both offering pleasure for ears, eyes, and minds — the boys were able to merge two hitherto mutually exclusive properties into the renamed Children of the Queen's Revels. The business side, formerly seen as infecting viewers with sinful behaviour and ideas, became acceptable when the theatrical music now exculpated and heightened audience pleasure endorsed by the prestige of royal and church patronage. Marston's play, nevertheless, still seems uneasy with this convergence, if, as Munro argues, music becomes a way of questioning the sincerity of Freevill and other seducers.

In 'How Marston Read his Merchant: Ruled Women and Structures of Circulation in *The Dutch Courtesan*', Meghan Andrews identifies potent source material for Marston's play in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice,* a play sharply critical of the commodification of minds and bodies, and the hollowness of a young man's choice between 'purse and person', in this author's wryly witty assessment. Both Shakespeare and Marston critique male sexuality, with Bassanio trying to be a romance-narrative hero and Freevill failing completely at the role. Instead Freevill reveals his performance as 'inauthentic', completely misinterpreting Beatrice's Patient Griselda, a performance she may grow out of by act 5 scene 3. Before that, she does all the suffering, and he escapes feeling anything by successfully blaming Franceschina for all wrongs. Whereas *Merchant* shows the transition of Bassanio

from fashionable gallant commodifying others and marrying wealth, to kept husband ruled by a strong Portia (herself no slouch at commodifying and scapegoating others), Freevill demonstrates the complete cynicism of the commodifying male: mercenary, manipulative, interested only in his own financial and social security. He marries a virgin who won't know her husband's cruel nature until it's too late, despite her close questioning of his absence and activities. The ring plot in each play gives the female protagonist opportunity to expose her false lover, but only Portia seizes the advantage. In that sense, she is the true mother of Freevill: her spouse-testing, like his, depends on disguise and deceit, finally blaming the other (Shylock) for all the commercial, social, and moral problems of the play. So too, Freevill blames Franceschina and wins Beatrice, the golden prize — even though, as Tomlinson recalls, Carmen Kruk's Beatrice raised an eyebrow at Freevill's 'performance' in the 2019 Toronto production, just like Owen Hibberd's Malheureux in 2008.

Liz Fox addresses commodification in acts of salesmanship like those suggested in the old proverb, 'Things farre fet and deere bought are good for Ladyes', in her essay 'Cosmopolitan Desire and Profitable Performance in *The Dutch Courtesan*'. The salesman dazzles the customer with exotic products, the customer's desire causes loss of judgment, and the salesman's performance wins the profit: seducing the customer causes a 'conversion' from initial indifference or mild curiosity to raging lust for whatever is on offer. In brief, this summary is not far off the boys company's use of music to draw in patrons (Munro), or Freevill's and Portia's performances at home and abroad to achieve their own ends (Andrews). This paradoxical transformation of sense not only provokes a material commercial transaction but also simulates religious conversion, which, Fox ponders, may have more of a sexual dimension than hitherto thought. Certainly the Family of Love, according to Marston's sect-members, meet for sexual sharing of 'God', combining the spiritual and physical. The salesman-seducer, however, does not convert: Franceschina uses her Dutch accent and European sex appeal to market herself as a foreign luxury, desired first by Freevill, then Malheureux, and coincidentally Cocledemoy — although Cocledemoy is also a salesman, using foreign accents, misleading costumes, and seductive manner to persuade or convert his audiences to his use. In these cases, the seducer balances the potential risk of action against the profits of seduction. Cocledemoy lets the audience into the secrets of his exploitation of others, thus making spectators complicit in his tricks; so too Franceschina amazes her audiences with sinuous song and dance, seducing with her foreign wares, and converting good English capital into bad foreign deals. The offstage audience, the final target of these seductions, encourages the characters/

players'[9] outrageous trickery, a fact of theatrical pleasure that kept the Children of the Queen's Revels a successful money-maker.

The final three essays fall under the rubric of 'Learning from Rehearsal and Production', with authors focusing on the 2013 performance at the University of York and the 2019 production at the University of Toronto, especially what they learned about potential for action and character. In '*The Dutch Courtesan* and "The Soul of Lively Action"', Michael Cordner focuses on what characters do and say — 'lively action' (the 'performed facts' of the plot) being the most important dynamic, according to Aristotle's experience as a spectator in the theatre. Performance embodies the many ways to play relationships like the triangle of Freevill, Franceschina, and Malheureux, because actors and spectators alike have to listen to see what is at stake, especially for those characters more or less at the margins of early modern life: women, foreigners, dissenters. The real meaning of a plot emerges if we ask questions about choices and silences in the text, where knowledge we thought we had earlier seems to erode; for example, we cannot know that Beatrice will marry Freevill at the end of act 5, when she has no lines and Freevill stops speaking mid-scene, after the rescue of Malheureux — but Tisefew does ask his future father-in-law for Crispinella's hand. Cordner argues effectively that the 'passionate man' in the Prologue does not refer to Malheureux, but to all the characters who experience extremes and contradictions, and then have to rethink the ethics of suicide, deceit, betrayal, false report of death, promises of love, vows of vengeance, and objections to libertine excess. What should we think of a jeerer who mocks principles we know to be valid? Freevill's clever arguments throughout the play show skills dedicated solely to promoting his own self-interest and self-display, like the schoolboy public-speaking competitions at Bartholomew Fair, or the moots at the inns of court. We don't see evidence of something akin to Malheureux's self-analysis, Beatrice's sincere questions, or Crispinella's clear responses to social inequities — or Mulligrub's decency — in anything Freevill says. Marston's plot is not about London's polarized worlds of class, gender, national origin, or personal income, but about overlapping experiences, seen and heard in complicated performances that provoke rich responsiveness on and off the stage, interactions that are ultimately unresolved.

Erin Julian, in '"Our hurtless mirth": What's funny about *The Dutch Courtesan?*', gives similar attention to the complexities of comedy, but focuses more on representations of gender. The early modern world, like ours, was full of anxiety and danger, caused by general xenophobia and fear of change, whether at home, in the city, or in innovations imported from another country — like forks, used in Italy and France well before they arrived in England, or religious practices from

the Netherlands seeping into England. Such a society meets confrontations with hostility, separating into in-groups and out-groups, whether among gentlemen, between gentlemen and tradesmen, or between men and women. The basis of the city comedy they enact is humiliation of one before the others, scapegoating to confirm an established pecking order. And what's funny to the in-group is not so funny to the out-group. In his mock-sympathy for Mulligrub's loss in the opening scene, Freevill establishes himself as the kingpin in male/male relations, the master storyteller enjoying the humiliation of the tavern owner while seeming to console him. Crispinella enjoys spiteful storytelling too, and in male/female relations shows herself top dog: Caqueteur suffers humiliation when she teases him and then lets Tisefew attack him physically and verbally. Only in the context of female relations is the bite lessened: the sisters mock their roles as sex objects, but when something serious emerges, like Beatrice's collapse at Freevill's 'death' and sudden 'rebirth', Crispinella sides with her sister in flatly rebuking Freevill as a wrong-doer. Much of the comedy is hurt*ful,* not 'hurtless', compounded by lies, masquerades, and brutality that lead to the gallows. Cocledemoy desensitizes the audience with his cat-and-mouse games, to make sure the audience directs laughter unsympathetically at the mice. When Beatrice experiences the game, she cannot laugh, but inadvertently censures the culprit, perhaps most comically in act 4 scene 4, where she unthinkingly reverses the pain of her loss of Freevill onto Franceschina. The male relationships provoke the most laughter through a potent combination of tricksters, dupes, and audiences: the liars who break the weakest link escape blame.

Like Julian, Noam Lior also discovers the hurt*ful* mirth of Marston's comedy through his analysis of the play in rehearsal and performance, in '"Unwholesome Reversions": Contagion as Dramaturgy in *The Dutch Courtesan*'. Scenes, characters, and events alter their meaning by propinquity. At the same time the sequence gives the spectators means by which to reassess and reject xenophobia and gender violence by recognizing these problems in repeated patterns. When a positive model of social or economic relationship becomes contaminated by a negative model, the audience sees the consequences of intolerance and complete lack of compassion. They may also lack the intelligence to see the impact of bad behaviour on both models, when an unjustly injured party accepts suffering inflicted by the self-serving arguments of self-styled moralists like Freevill and Cocledemoy. The circulation of Beatrice's ring shows how a positive model can be progressively contaminated — as I suggest on page 15 above, regarding *Othello*, and as Andrews argues in her essay, pages especially 130–5. Franceschina herself represents the 'human cost' of foreign and sexual commerce, just as Mulligrub

becomes the scapegoat for his outsider status, even though the worst offenders are the xenophobic intolerant tricksters who spread their evil when it need not have existed at all. The reason? The social education that allows Englishmen to perform acts of intolerance and xenophobia also keeps them blind to the pain others experience. As Owen Hibberd says, it's just 'male banter'. Freevill's conversion is shallow, as is Cocledemoy's unrepentant self-justification. Only the self-aware are hurt and then silenced: Malheureux, Beatrice, Mulligrub, and Franceschina. As Cordner suggests, the play ends oddly *in medias res*.

Marston's text is challenging, and so is the performance of its dialogue and silences, its material staging, and its actorly interpretation of meaning. These theatrical elements work most valuably when they unsettle an audience's certainty about the urban values we live by. The contributors to this issue open up areas of new interest in *The Dutch Courtesan* by concentrating on Marston's attacks on urban corruption. What I have found most persuasive is the consensus among all the authors *not* to locate the moral centre of the play in Freevill, the gallant among gallants, none of whom show us much to admire.[10] How does Marston dispose of his 'hero' and why does he balance Freevill's plots with Cocledemoy's practical jokes? If the fool wins the contest by taking over audience attention, framing both Mulligrub's near-hanging and the play's epilogue, how much weight do we give the problem of alienated, frivolous, and manipulating London gallants?[11] Altogether, this special issue's contents offer a fresh and complicated awareness of what it means to be part of Marston's appallingly funny appraisal of humankind. In the essays, *The Dutch Courtesan* seems constantly to reinscribe the play's words and events with ourselves as audience and hapless victims, our intellectual, emotional, and physical awareness of social injustices reshaped as the embodied city comedy makes us see it. Much as we try to avoid it, we find ourselves at the heart of what is strange and alienating in Marston's world, including our own laughter.

Notes

Many thanks to Erin Julian for assisting with first drafts of essays, and to Melinda Gough and Erin Kelly for improvements to this introduction.

1 Consider, for example, David Crane's impish suggestion that Marston decided to cast the prettiest boy in the Children of the Revels as a whore who consciously plays on relations between audience and stage, going beyond the role's demands to bewitch and critique 'what is on offer and at issue': schoolboys in the vicinity of commercial London with onlookers very much aware (on both sides) of the 'market' that lures them into the theatre. See 'Patterns of Audience Involvement at the Blackfriars Theatre in the Early Seventeenth Century: Some Moments in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy,* ed. Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock, and Anne-Julia Zwierlein (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2004), 98.

2 Visit http://edwardsboys.org/ for a complete history of director Perry Mills's theatrical career making plays with his students and making their work available in performances around the UK, especially Stratford itself and the Globe, and producing DVDs for a worldwide audience. I am fortunate that Mills made the boys' unpublished archive on *The Dutch Courtesan* available to me, cited later, when introducing the essays that track text into performance, as Edward's Boys Archive. See also Ollie Jones, 'Edward's Boys', Questions and Resources, *The Dutch Courtesan,* University of York, 2013, http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/edwards-boys/.

3 Scholars usually credit Jean E. Howard, 'Mastering Difference in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Shakespeare Studies* 24 (1996), 105–17, as the first to apply this description.

4 *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (OED) s.v. 'counterplot', n. 1 — 'plot contrived to defeat another plot' — does not express exactly what I mean here. The play balances the two plots against each other in a kind of contest, more like Samuel Johnson's definition in *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755): 'An artifice opposed to an artifice. The wolf here, that had a plot upon the kid, was confounded by a counterplot of the kid's upon the wolf; and such a counterplot it was too, as the wolf, with all his sagacity, was not able to smell out. L'Estrange, *Fab.* 174' (*Lexicons of Early Modern English* [LEME]). To some extent, Cocledemoy foils Freevill's success by seizing control as the ironic commentator in act 5 scene 3 and the epilogue. Freevill is unaccountably silent from the middle of that scene to the end, although he remains on stage — a serious dramaturgical and conceptual lacuna. See the essays in this *Early Theatre* special issue by Michael Cordner, Erin Julian, and Noam Lior.

5 *The Dutch Courtesan* was presented by Poculi Ludique Societas (artistic director Linda Phillips) and the Centre for Drama, Theatre, & Performance Studies, University of Toronto, and organized by Helen Ostovich (dramaturge) and David Klausner (producer), with Noam Lior (director) and Erin Julian (dramaturge), at the Luella Massey Studio Theatre, March 21–24, 2019, with a preview for Renaissance Society of America members on March 19. The symposium, 'Strangers and Aliens in London and Toronto: Sex, Religion, and Xenophobia in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', took place 22–3 March, by which time most of the participants had seen the show. This double-barrelled project was supported by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Connections Grant, as well as by the University of Toronto and McMaster University. The impetus for this project was the in-progress Oxford Works of John Marston, ed. Martin Butler and Matthew Steggle, for which *The Dutch Courtesan* is being edited by Helen Ostovich and Erin Julian.

6 *OED* s.v. 'strange', adj. and n. 1–3.

7 The video archive for this 2008 production is available for watching only a trailer on the website, but the DVD for *The Dutch Courtesan* (and all their productions) is available for purchase at http://edwardsboys.org/shop/.

8 See *Performance as Research in Early English Theatre Studies:* The Three Ladies of London *in Context,* McMaster University, 2015, http://threeladiesoflondon.mcmaster.ca/contexts/index.htm for several discussions of the play in relation to early modern topics that have also come up in *The Dutch Courtesan.*

9 In combining these two words, I am stressing not only Marston's roles for the boys, but also the boys themselves as cheeky and alluring presences on stage, teasing the audience directly and encouraging participation in the comedy.

10 Tisefew's last lines in act 5 scene 2 (condemning women, certainly annoyed with Beatrice and Crispinella for 'talking back') and scene 3 (joking about marriage with his future father-in-law) confirm he is still a flighty urban gallant. On the subject of marriage in this play, I find I have not changed my views since I wrote 'Marriage in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Michael Cordner (2013), https://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/marriage-the-dutch-courtesan/, although I have become more suspicious of Tisefew. The spelling of Tisefew comes from Karen Britland's recent edition of the play in the Arden Early Modern Drama series, London, 2018. The essays in this special issue use her text for references.

11 Freevill's last words, directed not to Beatrice but to Malheureux, jeer at his friend's stunned silence: 'Frolic! How is it, sir?' (5.3.64). He echoes Franceschina's seductive urging of Malheureux earlier, 'Frolic, frolic, sir —' (2.2.64), when he reacts uncomfortably to her singing and dancing. Malheureux's final address to his friend is far

more sober, weighing Freevill's actions with forgiveness, like Mulligrub's response to those who have come to see him hang — the audience.

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Martin Butler

The Oxford Marston and *The Dutch Courtesan*

This paper situates the play in the context of the ongoing Complete Works of John Marston*, under preparation for Oxford University Press, the first such collected critical edition ever to have been created. It discusses the edition's aims and working practices as well as the new picture of Marston we expect to emerge from it. Scholars now often encounter* The Dutch Courtesan *in isolation, as Marston's single best-known and most-read play. This paper approaches the play in the context of Marston's career and publication history as a whole, in addition to the textual and theatrical relationships which work on the edition is gradually coming to disclose.*

This essay addresses *The Dutch Courtesan* (ca 1603–5) in the context of the new *Complete Works of John Marston,* currently under development for Oxford University Press. The Oxford Marston aims to generate a critical text of the complete canon — Marston's six comedies, three tragedies, and two tragicomedies, his Ovidian epyllion and two volumes of satires, two aristocratic and civic entertainments — and is being produced by a team of seventeen scholars, led by Matthew Steggle and Martin Butler as general editors. Work on the Oxford Marston has been under way for four years and is already well advanced. The Oxford Marston team will issue the edition in two parallel formats: a modern spelling print text in four volumes with full introductions and commentaries, and an old spelling version, text and collation only, for digital publication. Helen Ostovich and Erin Julian serve as editors for the Oxford Marston's print version of *The Dutch Courtesan;* the editor of the old spelling text is José A. Perez Diez, who has overall responsibility for the whole project's digital component. In this essay, I offer some preliminary remarks about *The Dutch Courtesan* in relation to the encompassing project of retrieving Marston's works for a modern readership.

In embarking on this enterprise, we are doing something that runs up against what Marston himself wanted. In 1633 an early attempt was made to produce a

Martin Butler (m.h.butler@leeds.ac.uk) is a professor in the School of English at the University of Leeds.

volume of his works, just a year before his death at the age of 57. Publisher William Sheares assembled the collection, which was far from complete: it comprised only six plays, including *The Dutch Courtesan,* and notably omitting *The Malcontent.* Nonetheless, Sheares titled it *The Works of Mr. John Marston, being Tragedies and Comedies, Collected into One Volume.* In his preface, Sheares praised Marston's plays and added that 'were it not that he is so far distant from this place' he would probably have revised them before they were reprinted.[1] Marston, of course, had no such plans. He had been residing in Hampshire, where he held a living as a minister, and had long cut himself off from the London theatres. It appears that when he became aware that copies of the volume had been issued, he demanded that Sheares supply a new title page calling it simply *Tragedies and Comedies* and suppressing mention of the author's name. This is a characteristic gesture from a writer who put on his tombstone the inscription '*Oblivioni Sacrum*' — not sacred to the memory, but sacred to the forgetting of John Marston.

After 1633, Marston drops almost completely from view, and it's not until 1856 that James Orchard Halliwell (subsequently Halliwell-Phillipps) attempted to bring together a collected works. This small three-volume set is interesting as a landmark but is of limited value textually, being a largely unemended reprint of Sheares's work with *The Malcontent* and some other texts added. This collection makes a few attempts at editorial correction but essentially reproduces the quartos without change. The preface states that the plays 'are reprinted absolutely from the early editions, which were placed in the hands of our printers, who thus had the advantage of following them without the intervention of a transcriber'.[2] We have to wait until 1887 and Arthur H. Bullen's *Works of John Marston* in three volumes to get a properly edited collection, but Bullen (who edited in modern spelling) did not know about Marston's authorship of *Histriomastix* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment;* conversely, he includes *The Mountebank's Masque,* which we now know to be spurious. In 1934–9 H. Harvey Wood produced an old spelling edition of just the plays, and Arnold Davenport edited the poems and entertainments in 1961, but since 1887 no one, astonishingly, has thought it worth producing a complete text.

Marston has long been thought of as a difficult writer, and despite a resurgence of critical interest in the twentieth century, he has tended to languish on the margins of readers' attention.[3] One suspects this neglect is bound up with the absence of a reliable edition. Recent decades have seen major editions of Jonson, Webster, Ford, Middleton, Chapman, Massinger, Dekker, Brome, and Beaumont and Fletcher, but Marston is the obvious missing figure. Not only is he less available in print, but also he has not had the focused, systematic editorial work directed to

him as have his fellow dramatists. Unsolved problems remain in his chronology, and scholars disagree over Marston's authorship of several texts. Fine editions of individual plays exist, most recently Karen Britland's splendid *Dutch Courtesan* for the Arden series (2018), but there is no complete consolidated collection that reflects the state of knowledge or offers an up-to-date overview of his writing. These things have to be pieced together from multiple sources. Indeed, some of the plays that were only attributed to him in modern times, such as *Histriomastix* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment,* have never been properly edited at all.

But sadly the situation is still more problematic. By default, Harvey Wood's edition of the plays from the 1930s has become the standard text, but it falls a long way short of what we need. Wood's lasting claim to fame is that he was a brilliant arts administrator: he founded the Edinburgh International Festival, Britain's premier arts event. As an editor, however, he lacked experience, and his three volumes do not come up to the levels of a definitive text. His textual work is tentative: he is often unsure about how to handle problems, inconsistent in his principles, and, despite many sensible choices, spotty over details. Wood seems rather embarrassed to be editing Marston at all, his introductions voicing a prudishly Victorian view of his author as neurotic and obsessed with sex. Discouragingly, he says that Marston's plays 'have probably disappointed more readers than those of any other Elizabethan dramatist'.[4] He is also disarmingly frank about his own sense of falling short, informing the reader that although he recognizes that the texts frequently need correcting, he is reluctant to do it, and refrains from tinkering out of a consciousness of his own uncertainty. 'I have preferred the corruptions of 1602', he says, 'to original corruptions of my own'.[5] When his first volume came out, W.W. Greg gave it a coruscating review, adding that the work is so defective it should not 'interfere with the production of the serious edition which is rather urgently needed'.[6] But Wood completed the other two volumes and Greg's 'serious edition' has never materialized. This means there is no central point of reference for how Marston's writings fit together or what his most tricky details signify.

So the hope is that the Oxford edition will help to make Marston more available for modern scholarship. The edition will appear on two levels, in print and online. The print volumes aim at students and ordinary readers. They will set out the works in chronological order and modern spelling, with full introductions and notes; general introductions will describe Marston's life and career, discuss his history in print and in the theatre, and collect references to him during his lifetime and afterwards. The aim is to allow the texts and the shape of his career to be seen on their own terms. The Oxford Marston's second level of online texts

will present the works in unmodernized form, preserving the original spellings and giving a detailed account of printing house and editorial changes. These texts will have collations but no introductions or notes; they will form a reference edition that documents the texts as first printed and allows readers to inspect the data from which modern spelling editors have made their choices. This two-level format aims to accommodate the needs of different kinds of users: to create an accessible but serious reading edition and a digital text in which semantics, punctuation, orthography, and textual history are all visible. At the same time, the digital edition will not be an unemended reprint of the copy-texts but will include some regularization and correction to enable the texts to be readable in old spelling form. For instance, the editors will standardize speech-headings, introduce minimal but necessary regularization of punctuation, and add sufficient stage directions, in square brackets, to allow the action to be understood without the reader having to refer constantly to the print text.

Of all Marston's plays, *The Dutch Courtesan* probably needs least editorial rethinking as it has already had several serious modern editions. *Dutch Courtesan* is a relatively straightforward text since there is only one witness, the 1605 quarto, and there is no doubt about its authorship or about when and where it was first performed. Nonetheless, resituating it in the context of the works as a whole does provoke questions about how this play sits in the overall dynamic of Marston's career, questions we can usefully pursue through comparative bibliographical analysis. The following comments are not intended to anticipate Ostovich and Julian's account of the play, but are merely my personal reflections independent of any perspective that the editors are developing in their more detailed work.

Because Marston is one of those writers who attended to the circulation of his texts in print as well as the theatre, we may usefully think about whether he presents himself consciously as a literary writer or not. This question has been ventilated a lot recently, particularly following the influential work of Lukas Erne, who has made the case for seeing Shakespeare not just as a working playwright but as a literary writer alert about being read.[7] The issue applies powerfully to Ben Jonson who, as Marston's great rival, used print publication as a means of shaping a literary identity for himself. The landmark book here is Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour,* printed in 1600 in a quarto bristling with prologues, inductions, character descriptions, a printer's note, and other paratextual devices designed to underline that it was written for readers as much as for the stage. Jonson went on to do something similar in the 1601 quarto of *Cynthia's Revels,* the 1602 quarto of *Poetaster,* and the 1607 quarto of *Volpone,* with its famous prefatory essay and its dedication of the volume to the 'two universities'.[8] Notably on the title page

of *Every Man Out,* Jonson calls himself 'the Author' — an unusual word in the printed drama of this period, which more normally refers to play 'makers' or eventually 'playwrights'. (The term 'dramatist' doesn't crop up until the 1640s.[9]) Jonson signals his literary ambitions through this designation of himself as Author; he uses the term even more prominently the next year in *Poetaster.* Conversely, Jonson is the first person to use the word 'playwright' as a pejorative term for a stage writer — in the opposition between authors and playwrights, playwrights have lower status, and 'playwright' is a demeaning term against which authors measure their legitimacy. A good case exists for supposing that Jonson actually invented this word. Its earliest appearance in print is in three epigrams poking fun at someone called 'Playwright', poems which are thought to be satirical attacks on Marston.[10] So simply in the semantics of authorship, it is Marston whom Jonson sees as his principal rival.

By contrast, Marston's attitude towards authorship seems more casual. In the Induction to *Jack Drum's Entertainment,* the stage tireman comes onstage and refers neutrally to the writer as 'he that composed the book'.[11] In the preface to his satirical comedy *The Fawn,* Marston writes, 'Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read: remember the life of these things consists in action'.[12] And in the preface to *The Malcontent* he says he is afflicted 'to think that scenes invented merely to be spoken should be inforcively published to be read' and hopes that 'the unhandsome shape which this trifle in reading presents may be pardoned for the pleasure it once afforded you when it was presented with the soul of lively action'.[13] Here, then, we find an affectation of nonchalance towards stage writing, a pose of casualness concerning whether plays should be printed. They belong in the playhouse not the study. But this attitude is at odds with the way that elsewhere Marston does pick up on the term 'author'. The induction to *What You Will* opens with two gentlemen seated on the stage discussing the performance, and they refer more than once to their 'friend, the author'.[14] Other than Jonson, no other stage writer is using the term at this time. Marston is (I think, though would be happy to be corrected) only the second playwright to call himself an author.

Moreover, Marston was quick to imitate Jonson's habit of conducting dialogues with his readers. In 1601, *Antonio and Mellida* begins with a mock dedication to 'Nobody'.[15] *The Malcontent* has an address to the reader and a dedication to Ben Jonson. *The Dutch Courtesan* has its brief *fabulae argumentum* prefixed to the whole play. *The Fawn* has a long address to the reader, as does the tragedy *Sophonisba,* the last text Marston completed before he retired from the stage. In the first decade of the century, paratextual material quickly becomes common in printed plays. By 1607 it had been taken up by Dekker, Day, Field, Chapman,

Sharpham, and others, but five years earlier this was a novel gesture. Marston and Jonson together pioneer the habit of setting out plays with addresses to the reader as part of the process of articulating their models of authorial self-presentation. Remarkably, if we set aside closet drama that was written only to be read, then Marston's epistle to Jonson at the head of *The Malcontent* was the first time that any play intended for professional performance appeared with a dedication to a named individual.

Marston, then, oscillates between being a writer who effaces himself, removing his name from the title page, and one who plays the game of authorial identities going on during his brief writing career. When editing his works, it thus becomes a special point of interest to pin down what happened in the print shop as his texts came onto the market. Was the author actually overseeing his works as they were printed and shaping their appearance, or was he just providing the copy (either directly or via an intermediary)? How far can we be sure whether he was actively involved in fashioning the printed texts, and what does this mean for how we go about editing them?

We can approach this question by thinking about the sequence in which Marston's plays were printed. Broadly speaking, his texts fall into two groups. On the one hand are those five plays which have no sign of any authorial involvement in their printing. Three are collaborations (*Histriomastix* [ca 1599–1602], *Eastward Ho!* [1605], and *The Insatiate Countess* [ca 1608–13]) — and two are single-authored plays printed in a chaotic style which suggests the copy had not been fully finalized (*Jack Drum's Entertainment* [1600] and *What You Will* [1601]). Interestingly, in several copies of the first quarto of *The Insatiate Countess* someone cut Marston's name from the title page, leaving only a hole, and one copy has a cancel title page with his name omitted; something similar happened in Q3 (1631; STC: 17478), which also has a cancel omitting his name. We might think of these variations as further acts of authorial disavowal, or anti-authorship.

This leaves seven volumes that are much better printed. These fall into two groups, those appearing down to 1602 (roughly the time of his involvement with the Children of Paul's) and those printed after 1604 (his years at the Blackfriars). The earlier group are two volumes of poems (*The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image* and *The Scourge of Villainy,* both 1598) and the two *Antonio* plays (*Antonio and Mellida* [ca 1599] and *Antonio's Revenge* [ca 1600]), issued as a pair. The poems are Marston's best presented works, carefully laid out with paratextual material and, in the second edition, clearly revised by the author. The second quarto of *The Scourge of Villainy* shows Marston actively reshaping his text. He not only adds new poems and a dedication, but also tinkers with the language, refines the metre

and edits out repetitions. He moves passages out of roman type and into italics, particularly sententious lines and phrases. And he even alters some orthography, for example changing the spelling of the Roman satirist from Persius to Perseus. Spelling variants usually reflect compositorial preferences, but this change seems more deliberate and a sign of Marston policing textual minutiae.[16]

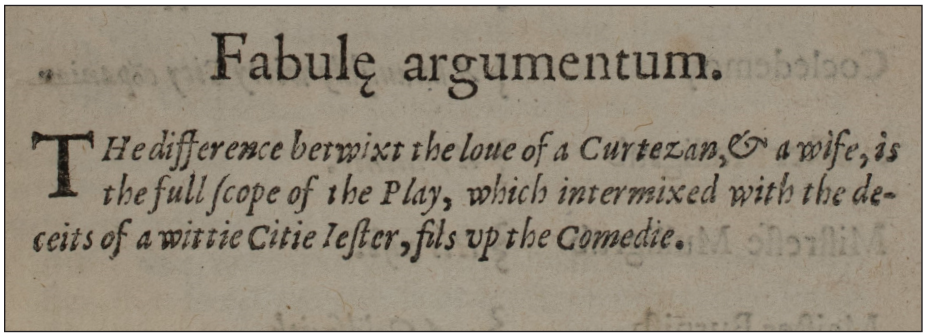
The *Antonio* plays are also typographically very intelligent, though this probably reflects the preferences of the printer Richard Bradock (who produced the first quarto of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1600) rather than the author. These plays show much careful thought in layout, choice of type, and mise-en-page, as well as some unusual features, notably the use of pilcrows to signal stage directions — a striking and rare device. We may find it tempting to speculate that this attentiveness originates with the author, were it not that we find pilcrows in three other plays from the same printing house around these months.[17] Moreover, it appears doubtful that Marston proofed the text, for there are very few variants, and several places where the text makes no sense, which one would have expected an author to put right were he closely involved. So the situation seems to show not Marston's own hand but the playwright benefitting from an experienced printer who set out the play in a manner that does justice to it as a reading text.

The Dutch Courtesan belongs to the second group of four texts, alongside *The Malcontent* (ca 1602–4), *The Fawn* (ca 1604), and *Sophonisba* (1605), printed in close proximity. Each of the other playtexts shows signs of an author engaged on some level with printing house production. *The Malcontent* is one of the period's most heavily revised plays. There are three separate quartos from 1604, each of which is quite different. The second quarto is printed from standing type that had been used for the first, but has revisions that must have originated with the author; and the third is expanded for performance by the King's Men to include new passages supplied by Marston and a collaborator (John Webster). *Sophonisba* is unusual by virtue of its stage directions: it has by far the most elaborate music cues of any play in the period, reflecting what must have been a carefully prepared manuscript. There are numerous proof-changes and, while these are not always reliable, some may have been Marston's, for an authorial note at the end, apologizing for surviving errors, indicates that he inspected some sheets during the printing (although the evidence is ambiguous). Meanwhile *The Fawn* has a remarkable story since there are two quartos issued in 1606, and these were not produced in clear sequence but passed through the print shop virtually simultaneously — an almost unique situation that seems to have been an attempt by the printer, expecting big sales, to produce a large edition without having to obey the rules that set limits on the number of copies that could be printed in a single issue. And

since there are numerous verbal differences between the two *Fawn* quartos, Marston must have been on hand, making his own revisions for the second quarto as the sheets for the first came off the press.

There are various factors that suggest close links between the printing of these four plays, notably an intricate web of connections between the printers and publishers of *The Fawn, Sophonisba,* and *The Dutch Courtesan.* The only publisher named for *The Dutch Courtesan* was John Hodgets, but Eleazar Edgar, who was the publisher of *Sophonisba* must also have had some interest in it. A Stationers' Register entry on 19 April 1613 transferred Edgar's residual interest to Hodgets, who also took over Edgar's publication rights to *Sophonisba,* and other evidence suggests there was a long-standing business relationship between the two.[18] Moreover, Edgar had no shop of his own, so there is a puzzle as to where *Sophonisba* was marketed. The title page says copies 'are to be sold near Ludgate', and Martin Wiggins has plausibly suggested that this may have been the shop owned by William Cotton, who was the publisher for *The Fawn.*[19] If Wiggins is correct, then *The Fawn* and *Sophonisba* were being sold side by side, and this is indeed what is suggested by the preface to the second quarto of *The Fawn,* which Marston uses to advertise the impending publication of *Sophonisba.*

The Dutch Courtesan further links to *The Fawn* since both plays were printed by the same man, Thomas Purfoot. These two quartos interestingly share a small typographic oddity in that each makes use of the 'caudated e' (that is, an 'e' with a small tail or cedilla below, which is used as an abbreviation in medieval Latin to signal 'ae').[20] (See Figure 1.) This piece of type is normally restricted to learned publications and is extremely rare — perhaps almost unknown — in books in English, and there is no obvious printing house rationale, such as shortage of


Fabulę argumentum.

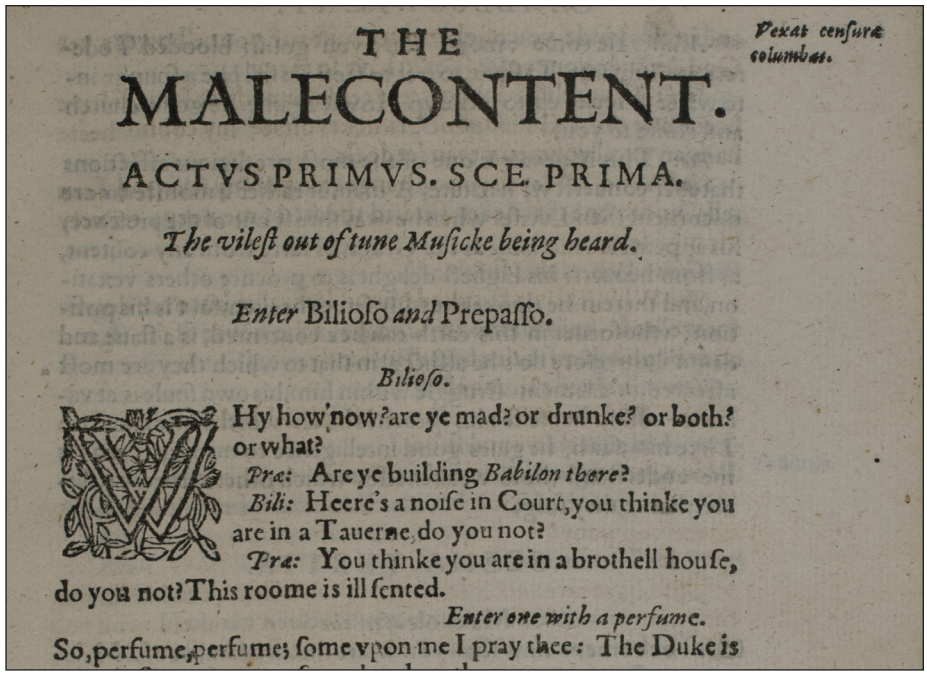
THe difference betwixt the loue of a Curtezan, & a wife, is the full ſcope of the Play, which intermixed with the deceits of a wittie Citie Ieſter, fils vp the Comedie.

Figure 1. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), A2. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

space, for its appearance here. Caution would require us to see this usage as essentially an unusual compositorial preference, though given its visual prominence in *The Dutch Courtesan,* where the type appears as part of a header in the paratext, we could think of it as a Marstonian thumbprint, one which suggests the author's ambitions to make his play visible as a serious, learned piece of work.

The Malcontent has no explicit links to the other three titles in terms of printer or publisher, but the unusual textual situation — with the extensive and irregular use of standing type — is very similar to the printing house tactics adopted for *The Fawn,* suggesting that both plays were expected to reach an uncommonly large readership. These four plays were all very fresh: each was printed within just a few months of its original appearance on stage. It was often the case that companies held onto their texts while they were performing them and resisted their being published as books, but this looks like an impactful marketing strategy for the works of a single author associated with one of London's leading playhouses. The care with which Marston's earliest texts got printed seems of a piece with his literary ambitions at that stage of his career, but the concatenation among these four later texts is no less striking. Marston has been called a 'chastened author' at this point in his life, no longer writing plays with the experimental flair and ambition for novelty that was so apparent earlier on.[21] Yet these four are arguably his most substantial and weighty works, and suggest how, with his move to the Blackfriars, his style changed and deepened into something more weighty and demanding. The attention to layout and printing house detail, and the impression of a distinct strategy for their publication, suggests that this seriousness was matched by the care that went into the presentation of these four plays as they came before a readership.

So how does this state of affairs bear onto *The Dutch Courtesan?* Unlike the other three plays, *The Dutch Courtesan* has no preface or dedication, but it does have a brief summary of the theme, a reliable list of characters, and a Latin epigraph tucked strangely into the right-hand margin of the first page of dialogue. Although these features need not have originated with Marston, they are paralleled in the other three texts, sometimes closely. *The Malcontent* and *The Fawn* both have Latin epigraphs similar to *The Dutch Courtesan* and in the same unusual marginal position at the head of the first scene. (See Figures 2a, 2b, and 2c.) *Sophonisba* has a preface offering a short argument summarizing the play's theme, albeit in verse rather than prose. All three plays feature lists of persons with layouts very close to that used in *The Dutch Courtesan, The Malcontent*'s layout being especially similar with its parallel columns, curly brackets and descriptive character explanations. (See Figures 3a, 3b, and 3c.) These are Marston's only plays



THE
MALECONTENT.

Vexat censura columbas.

ACTVS PRIMVS. SCE. PRIMA.

The vileſt out of tune Muſicke being heard.

Enter Bilioſo *and* Prepaſſo.

Bilioſo.

WHy how now? are ye mad? or drunke? or both? or what?

Pra: Are ye building *Babilon there*?

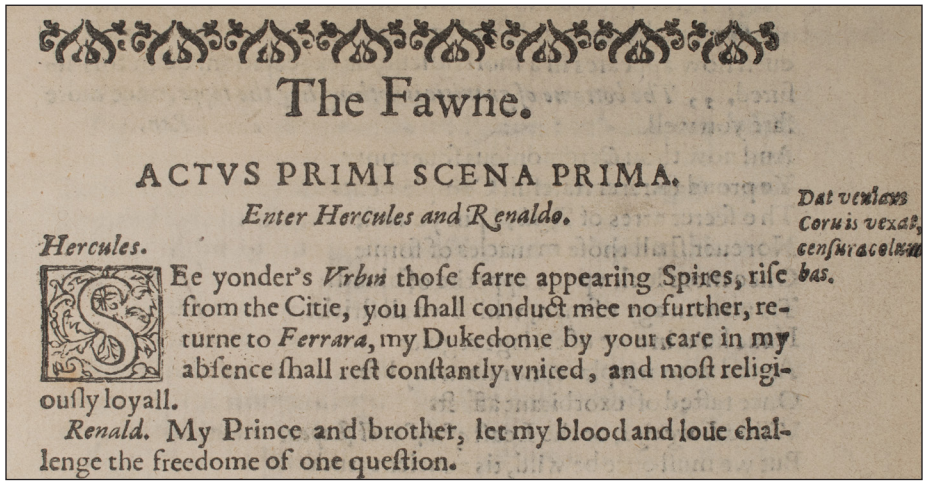
Bili: Heere's a noiſe in Court, you thinke you are in a Tauerne, do you not?

Pra: You thinke you are in a brothell houſe, do you not? This roome is ill ſented.

Enter one with a perfume.

So, perfume, perfume; ſome vpon me I pray thee: The Duke is

Figure 2a. *The Malcontent* (London, 1604; STC: 17481), B1. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



The Fawne.

ACTVS PRIMI SCENA PRIMA.

Enter Hercules and Renaldo.

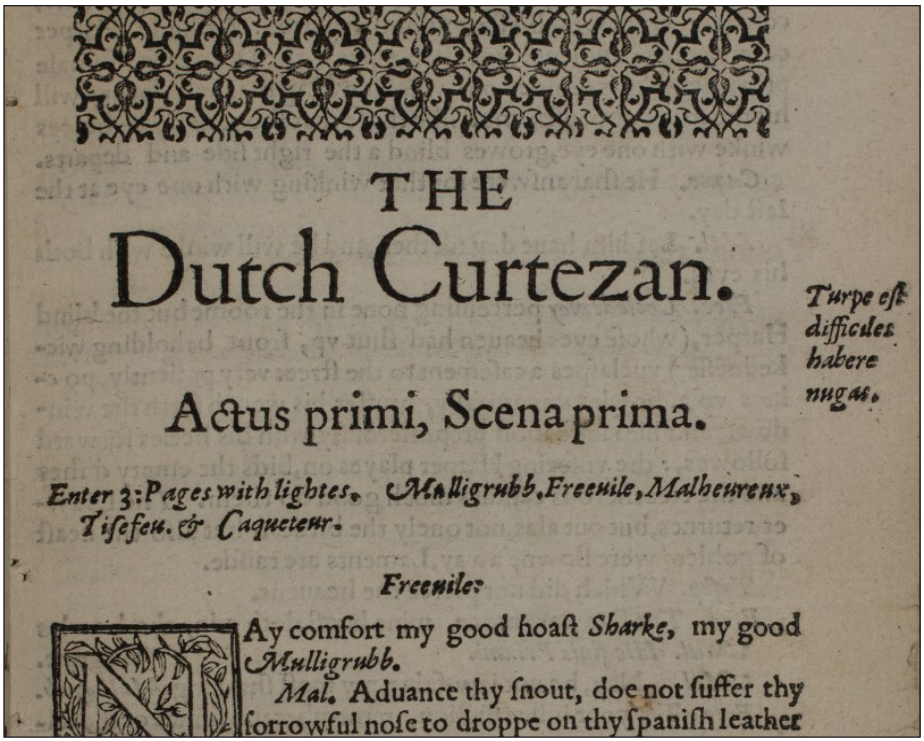
Dat veniam Corui vexat, cenſura columbas.

Hercules.

SEe yonder's *Vrbin* thoſe farre appearing Spires, riſe from the Citie, you ſhall conduct mee no further, returne to *Ferrara*, my Dukedome by your care in my abſence ſhall reſt conſtantly vnited, and moſt religiouſly loyall.

Renald. My Prince and brother, let my blood and loue challenge the freedome of one queſtion.

Figure 2b. *The Malcontent* (London, 1604; STC: 17481), B1. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.


THE
Dutch Curtezan.

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas.

Actus primi, Scena prima.

Enter 3: Pages with lightes. Mulligrubb, Freevile, Malheureux, Tiſefeu. & Caqueteur.

Freevile:

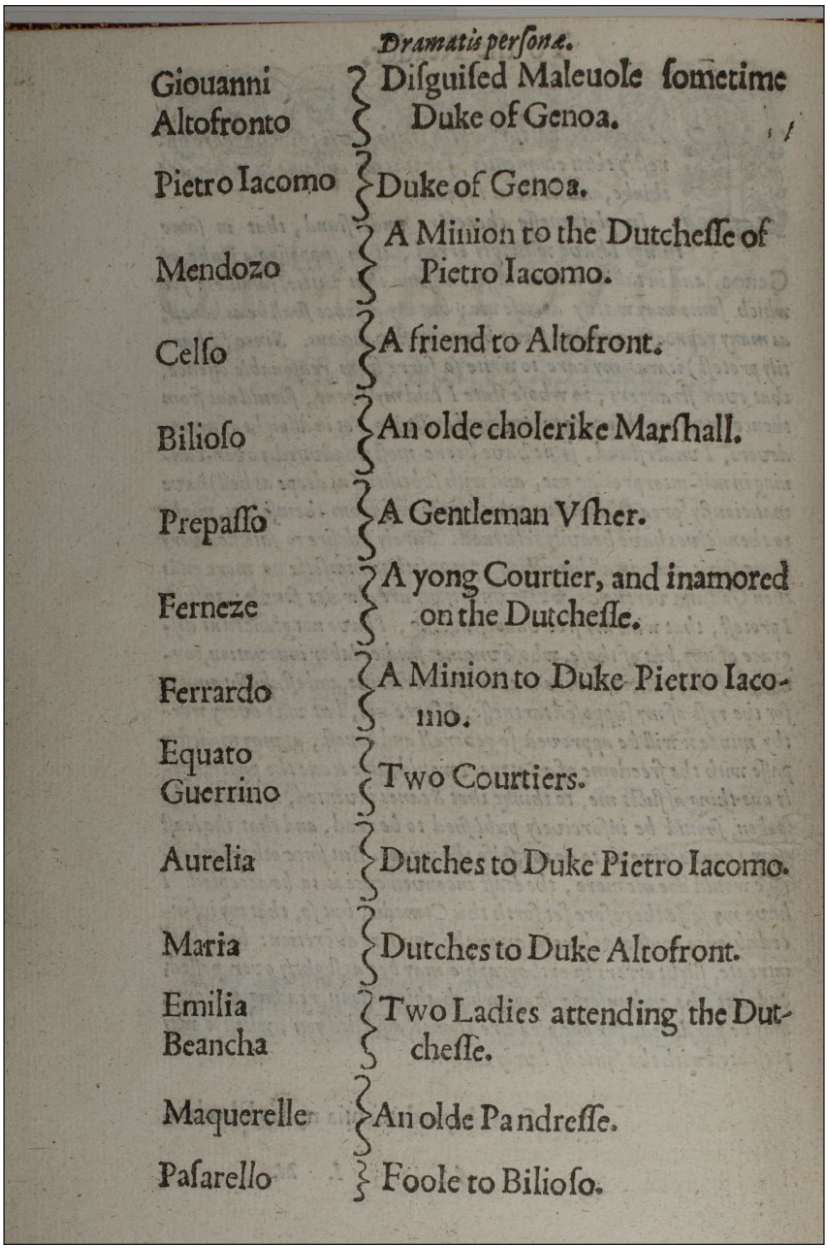
NAy comfort my good hoaſt *Sharke*, my good *Mulligrubb*.

Mal. Aduance thy ſnout, doe not ſuffer thy ſorrowful noſe to droppe on thy ſpaniſh leather

Figure 2c. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), A3. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

printed with lists of characters. All four use Latin scene headings, along the lines of Actus Primi, Scena Prima, etc. These similarities are all the more remarkable in that three different printers were involved in their production, so the resemblances of layout derive not from one print shop but either from a common scribe or ultimately from Marston himself. There is a plausible case, then, for seeing a single template or intelligence at work behind their presentation.

What can we say about the text that the printer reproduces in the quarto? Here I defer to Helen Ostovich and Erin Julian but offer the following comments as tentative reflections from my own perspective as interested party. The text frequently received corrections as it went through the press. Collation reveals that almost three-quarters of the book (eleven out of sixteen formes) survives in multiple states, giving us more than forty variant readings across the whole play. It is difficult to be confident whether Marston himself was responsible for any of these as many are simple corrections of a kind that any printer's reader



Dramatis personæ.

Giouanni Altofronto — Diſguiſed Maleuole ſometime Duke of Genoa.

Pietro Iacomo — Duke of Genoa.

Mendozo — A Minion to the Dutcheſſe of Pietro Iacomo.

Celſo — A friend to Altofront.

Bilioſo — An olde cholerike Marſhall.

Prepaſſo — A Gentleman Vſher.

Ferneze — A yong Courtier, and inamored on the Dutcheſſe.

Ferrardo — A Minion to Duke Pietro Iacomo.

Equato Guerrino — Two Courtiers.

Aurelia — Dutches to Duke Pietro Iacomo.

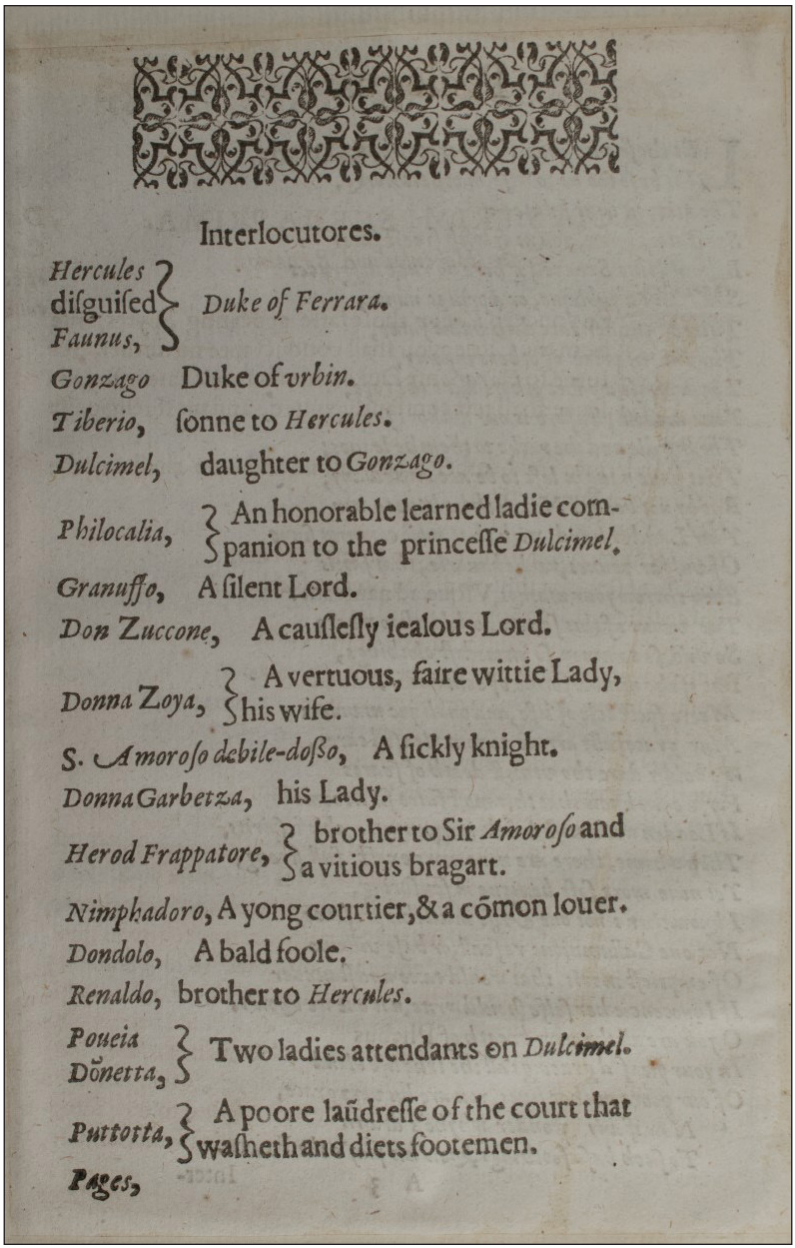
Maria — Dutches to Duke Altofront.

Emilia Beancha — Two Ladies attending the Dutcheſſe.

Maquerelle — An olde Pandreſſe.

Paſarello — Foole to Bilioſo.

Figure 3a. Cast list for *The Malcontent* (London, 1604; STC: 17481), A2v. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Interlocutores.

Hercules disguised, *Faunus*, } *Duke of Ferrara.*

Gonzago Duke of *vrbin.*

Tiberio, sonne to *Hercules.*

Dulcimel, daughter to *Gonzago.*

Philocalia, } An honorable learned ladie companion to the princesse *Dulcimel.*

Granuffo, A silent Lord.

Don Zuccone, A causlesly iealous Lord.

Donna Zoya, } A vertuous, faire wittie Lady, his wife.

S. *Amoroso debile-dosso*, A sickly knight.

Donna Garbetza, his Lady.

Herod Frappatore, } brother to Sir *Amoroso* and a vitious bragart.

Nimphadoro, A yong courtier, & a cõmon louer.

Dondolo, A bald foole.

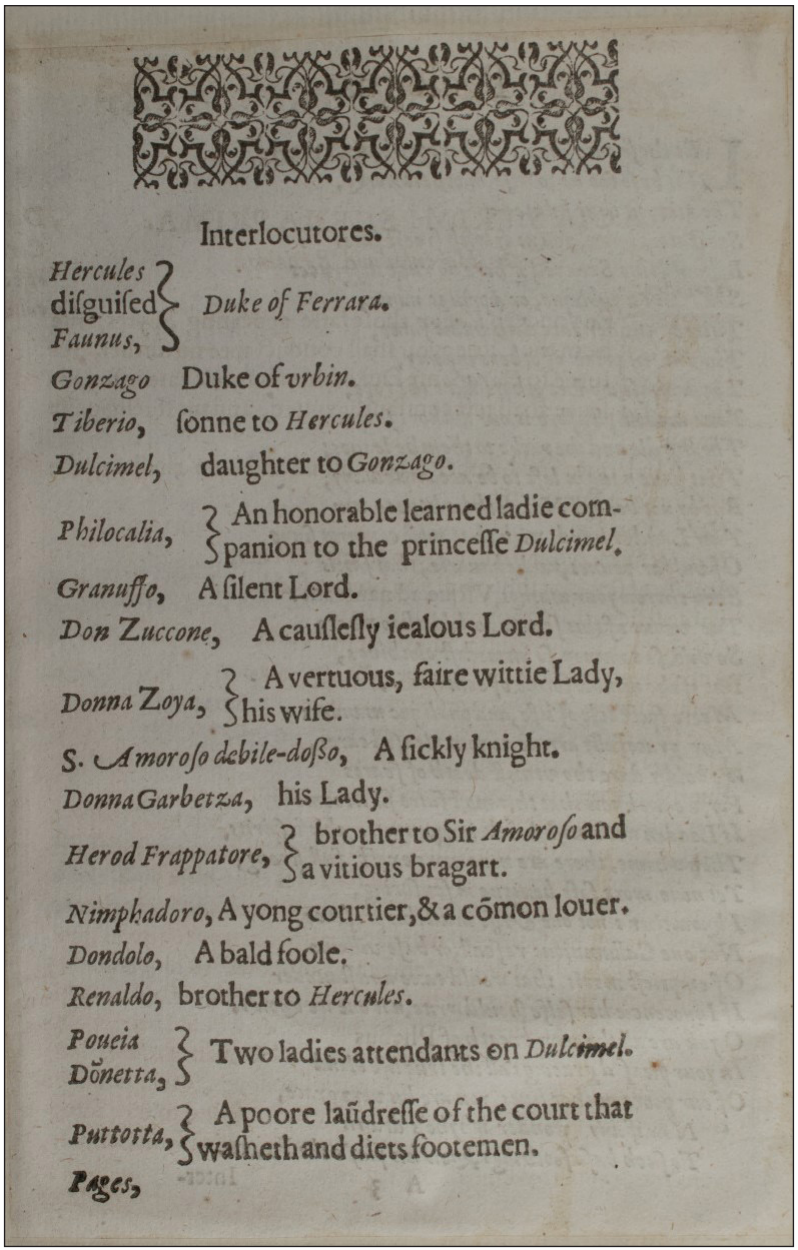
Renaldo, brother to *Hercules.*

Poueia *Dõnetta*, } Two ladies attendants on *Dulcimel.*

Puttotta, } A poore laũdresse of the court that washeth and diets footemen.

Pages,

Figure 3b. Cast list for *Parasitaster, or The Fawne* (London, 1606; STC: 17484), A3v. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Interlocutores.

Hercules disguised *Faunus*, } *Duke of Ferrara.*

Gonzago Duke of *vrbin.*

Tiberio, ſonne to *Hercules.*

Dulcimel, daughter to *Gonzago.*

Philocalia, } An honorable learned ladie companion to the princeſſe *Dulcimel.*

Granuffo, A ſilent Lord.

Don Zuccone, A cauſleſly iealous Lord.

Donna Zoya, } A vertuous, faire wittie Lady, his wife.

S. *Amoroſo debile-doſſo*, A ſickly knight.

Donna Garbetza, his Lady.

Herod Frappatore, } brother to Sir *Amoroſo* and a vitious bragart.

Nimphadoro, A yong courtier, & a cõmon louer.

Dondolo, A bald foole.

Renaldo, brother to *Hercules.*

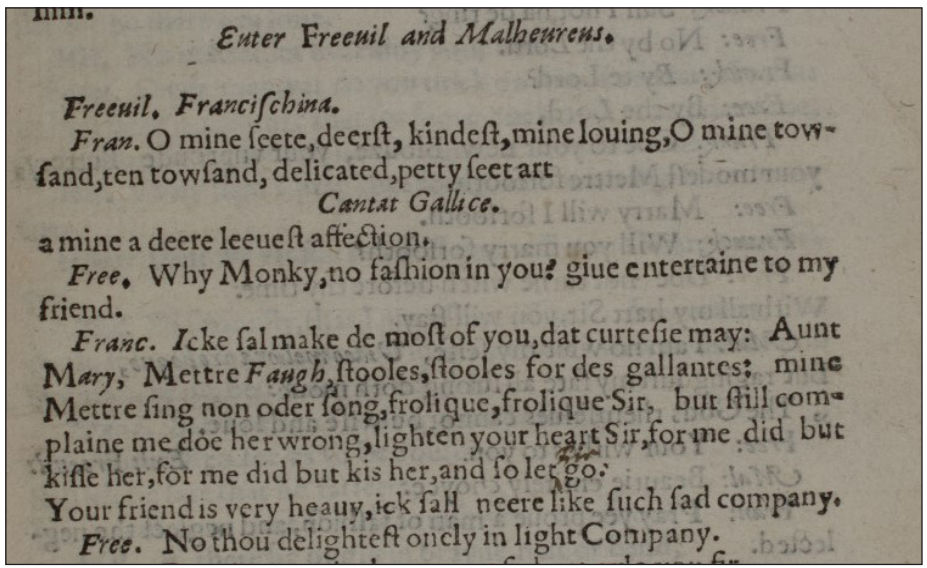
Poueia *Dõnetta*, } Two ladies attendants on *Dulcimel.*

Puttotta, } A poore laũdreſſe of the court that waſheth and diets footemen.

Pages,

Figure 3c. Cast list for *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), A2v. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

might have made. The most Marstonian thumbprints appear where passages in roman type shift into italic since this detail is something with which printers might not bother but is a habit we do find elsewhere in Marston. For example, as Karen Britland points out, on G4 in some copies the word 'Cataracks' and the name 'Don Dubon' change from roman to italic.[22] More striking, though, is the printer's failure to correct some obvious errors, which remain in all copies. So the Latin tag in Malheureux' speech on B4v (2.1.80)[23] is flawed: the fourth word is '*gaudia*', but a full stop is sitting in place of the letter i. Similarly, the stage direction '*Cantat Gallice*', meaning 'she sings in the French style', crops up incorrectly on C3 in the middle of a speech by Franceschina (2.2.62). It not only interrupts the speech, but also appears in the wrong place altogether, for it relates to a passage five lines below, where Franceschina sings 'Mine Mettre sing non oder song'. Probably the direction was written in the margin of the manuscript but has been inserted randomly into the text. (See Figure 4.) And again, on B2 the stage direction '*Enter Cocledemoy*' is quite wrong, for Cocledemoy is already present on the stage from earlier in the scene. Remarkably, collation shows that the printer added this direction when the page was proofed, so it constitutes an incorrect change made during the process of correction. This mistake suggests that at this point in the process the proofing happened without reference to the author.[24]



Enter Freeuil and Malheureus.

Freeuil. Franciſchina.

Fran. O mine ſeete, deerſt, kindeſt, mine louing, O mine tow-
ſand, ten towſand, delicated, petty ſeet art

Cantat Gallice.

a mine a deere leeueſt affection.

Free. Why Monky, no faſhion in you? giue entertaine to my friend.

Franc. Icke ſal make de moſt of you, dat curteſie may: Aunt Mary, Mettre *Faugh*, ſtooles, ſtooles for des gallantes; mine Mettre ſing non oder ſong, frolique, frolique Sir, but ſtill com-plaine me doe her wrong, lighten your heart Sir, for me did but kiſſe her, for me did but kis her, and ſo let go.

Your friend is very heauy, ick ſall neere like ſuch ſad company.

Free. No thou delighteſt onely in light Company.

Figure 4. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), C3. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Another question to consider is what we can deduce about the manuscript lying behind the printed text, and its possible features. One aspect of *The Dutch Courtesan* quarto that looks distinctively Marstonian is the large number of typographical marks used to highlight sententiae or aphoristic speech. Something like 30% of the pages have marks that serve this purpose. To take some random examples, at the end of act 1 scene 2, two sententious lines get marked with double commas as a strong finish to the act (B3v; 1.2.184–5). In the next scene, two individual aphorisms a few lines apart are marked in the dialogue between Freevill and Beatrice: 'He that is wise, pants, on a priuate brest'; 'But not to be extreame, nothing in loue's extreame' (B4, 2.1.36, 48). Shortly after that we have an aphorism that begins in mid-line — 'O accursed reason … ' (B4v, 2.1.87) — so that the typographic marks intrude directly into the line rather than being placed at the beginning. Even more striking on C1 is a whole passage set off typographically: 'InContinence will force a Continence …'. (See Figure 5.) These lines are in fact a paraphrase of an idea from Montaigne, framed by lines which foreground its generality — 'take this as firmest sence … This is something too waighty for thy [st]oore' — hence the typography is literally and pointedly enclosing a quotation (2.1.123–8). These examples suggest the variety and range of citational typography adopted in the quarto, a factor which points towards a text designed for reading as much as performance. In the theatre actors might acknowledge such marks by adopting a heightened dramatic style, but really these devices are

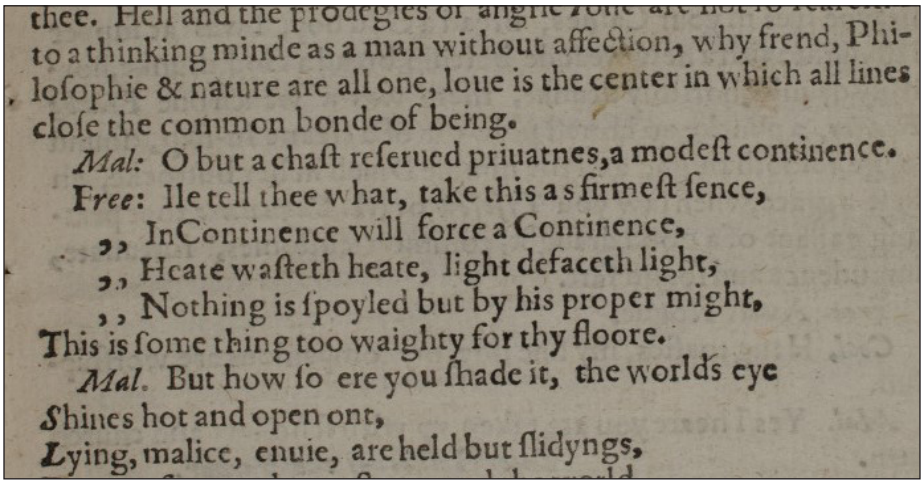

thee. Hell and the prodegies of angric Ione are not to
to a thinking minde as a man without affection, why frend, Phi-
loſophie & nature are all one, loue is the center in which all lines
cloſe the common bonde of being.
Mal: O but a chaſt reſerued priuatnes, a modeſt continence.
Free: Ile tell thee what, take this as firmeſt ſence,
,, InContinence will force a Continence,
,, Heate waſteth heate, light defaceth light,
,, Nothing is ſpoyled but by his proper might,
This is ſome thing too waighty for thy floore.
Mal. But how ſo ere you ſhade it, the worlds eye
Shines hot and open ont,
Lying, malice, enuie, are held but ſlidyngs,

Figure 5. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), C1. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

directed at the eye and invite the reader to recognize the intellectual habits of quotation or commonplacing that lie beneath the writing. And this device appears frequently elsewhere in Marston, who in many quartos uses double commas, or italics, or symbolic typography to highlight passages. Such marks are so regular in Marston's quartos that in the Oxford edition we are considering retaining them rather than relegating them to the collation, as most previous editions have done (if they acknowledge them at all). This punctuation signals an authorial aspect of the texts that contributes functionally to their meaning.

So there is evidence of careful literary preparation in the underlying manuscript. On the other hand, some loose ends suggest that the manuscript was less than completely tied off. One is some inconsistency in the plotting which, arguably, does not always seem fully thought through. A possible example is the dialogue among the young gentlemen in the first scene, which has a passage discussing jewellery that sets up the plot point later on where Caqueteur shows off to Crispinella a ring that he pretends is his own but that he has borrowed from a friend. In the middle of the play, the ring is on loan from Tisefew, but at first mention in this early scene it is being worn by Freevill. To resolve this discrepancy, editors alter the speech headings so that the remarks attributed to Freevill in the quarto get transferred to Tisefew. Q's speech heading could just be a compositorial slip, but another possibility is that in writing this dialogue Marston had not yet worked out how this plot strand was to develop and only later discovered that he needed to engage Tisefew in it rather than Freevill. If so, then the underlying copy here reflects a state of the play before it came into production in the theatre. (A further discrepancy is the confusion over the name of the character Garnish, mentioned below.)

The other large inconsistency in the quarto is its muddle over how to spell the characters' names. The names are complex, of course, and the quarto does present a firm list at the outset, but what follows is a chaos of competing spellings. Malheureux appears spelled five ways, Freevill six ways, and Tisefew in no less than eight different forms. Particularly notable is the fact that Malheureux is spelled more often with an s than an x, and Freevill is more often Freevile than Freevill. Tisefew is completely irregular, with no one form of the name dominant, but Caqueteur more often appears as Caqueture, and Mary Faugh with an a appears less frequently than Mary Fough with an o. Some of these variations are clearly misprints, and it may well be the compositors had trouble with the copy and were doing their best with unfamiliar names. A reader might easily confuse a secretary hand terminal s with an x, and spellings of words that are essentially expletives, like 'faugh', are notoriously difficult to pin down, so that in such circumstances

compositors resort to personal preference. Nominal confusion is common in early playtexts, in which spellings are often inconsistent or appear different from what we are used to (Gertrad in *Hamlet* Q2, for example), but the range of variation in *The Dutch Courtesan* does make it an extreme case. Most modern spelling editors assume that the forms in the prefatory list are authorial and standardize based on those. This interpretation is probably right, but the list is not definitive. The minor character that the play commonly calls Garnish is listed in the Dramatis Personae as Burnish, so clearly there is some confusion, with maybe Marston himself being inconsistent. Ultimately in a modern spelling text these things will not matter because standardization will render them invisible, but they remain a problem in our old spelling text where the Oxford Marston will preserve the different forms, except for speech-headings, which are being standardized according to whichever spelling the text uses most frequently. If so, the Oxford *Courtesan* could end up with Freevill and Malheureux being named differently in the speech-headings of the online text than in the print edition — an inevitable consequence of the division between the edition's two levels of text.

In adjusting the text to the collected edition, then, the Oxford team must take a series of issues into account. The decisions that the editors make must reflect their sense of what's at stake in the quarto as well as what duties the Oxford Marston project has towards conveying Marston's self-construction as an author and his relations with printers and stationers, plus an awareness that different constituencies of modern readers want slightly different kinds of texts. Finally, is there anything to be said about what happened to the text after it left the printer? Here I shall finish with two matters that illustrate the play's post-publication history. One small but striking feature of its afterlife is the dialogue that must have happened on the bookstalls between *The Dutch Courtesan* and Dekker and Middleton's comedy *The Honest Whore*.[25] *The Honest Whore* was staged by the Prince's Men at the Fortune in 1604, then printed later that year. Two more editions quickly followed, and all of these were sold by John Hodgets, the same person who in 1605 published *The Dutch Courtesan* and acquired the rights to *Sophonisba* in 1613. Interestingly, one of the two reprints of *The Honest Whore* was given a new title, *The Converted Courtesan*. This volume survives today in only two copies; sadly, for neither of them do we have the title page or any documentation as to what form it took, but the new name is clearly present in the head title and running titles. Apparently, then, *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Converted Courtesan* were being marketed side by side on the same bookstalls belonging to Hodgets in St Paul's churchyard. *The Dutch Courtesan* has often been seen as a satirical riposte to Dekker and Middleton's sentimental depiction

of Bellafront, the penitent harlot who converts to a better life, this sort of response being symptomatic of the competition over repertoires and audiences between the adult companies and their Blackfriars rivals. But considered from the bookseller's point of view, it looks less like rivalry and more like a good marketing strategy. Commercially speaking, rivalry between the companies is good for selling the printed texts.

Additionally, one useful result of collating multiple copies of the same text is that sometimes annotations turn up telling us what readers noticed or thought about. With *The Dutch Courtesan* we are fortunate in having one such copy, today owned by the Harry Ransom Center in Austin, Texas.[26] This copy is remarkable for a series of annotations probably left by two different readers. The names of these readers do not survive, but one put pencil crosses in the margin against passages they were interested in, mostly picking out the satire against the Scots. These marginal notes suggest someone reading the play fairly early in its life, when anti-Scottish sentiment was still a hot topic (as it was when Marston ran into trouble over *Eastward Ho!*). The other reader, who worked in ink, leaves more elaborate comments. He or she makes two dozen interventions, some being corrections to the text, others being additions or changes. Some of these marks are worth exploring since they give us insight into how the reader responded to the play's plot and language.

Our early reader's corrections to some errors in the quarto provides useful confirmation for modern editions that have to make the same or equivalent corrections. Thus the reader spotted that in Mary Faugh's conversation with Franceschina in C2v the beginnings of two lines had dropped out, and added in letters to change 'Ireand' to 'Ireland' and 'atte-caps' to 'flatte-caps' (2.2.34–5). On H1v, they spotted that a long speech supposedly by Beatrice only made sense if one realized that a speech prefix for Freevill had gone missing (5.2.65). These are simple corrections which editors now make as a matter of course, but it is reassuring to have them confirmed by a contemporary. Rather more interesting are places where the annotator spots something that may have dropped invisibly from the text, as in C3, in Franceschina's song in the French style, where the reader has added the word 'hir' into the final line: 'for me did but kisse her, for me did but kis her, and so let ∧⌜hir⌝ go' (2.2.67–9). The reader may have been comparing the play with other books that they knew, and recognized the lyric, which was first printed in 1600 in Robert Jones's *First Book of Songs and Airs* (Song 19: 'My mistress sings no other song'). In Jones's volume the final line does indeed read 'and let her go'. In Marston's version ('and so let go'), the grammar is opaque, which may be meant to reflect Franceschina's slightly off-key idiom, but the reader's

correction suggests that they, at least, understood it not as alien speech but simply as a dropped word.[27]

An even more interesting situation arises when the annotator suggests a potentially worthwhile correction to a crux. In the final scene, Cocledemoy picks Malheureux's pocket on the scaffold, and Malheureux offers the rather baffling comment 'You are a Welyman' (H2v; 5.3.23). Most editors emend this to read 'wily man', which makes sense but still sounds odd, but the early reader has corrected this to 'Welchman'. (See figure 6.) This emendation is a possibility that David Crane speculates about in the Mermaids edition, where he notes that later in the scene Cocledemoy uses various words from Welsh dialect.[28] Crane's suggestion has not been accepted into Britland's text, but it gains contemporary support from the annotator. Did the reader change the word on a whim, or did they have some inside information? Had they seen the play performed and knew that in his final disguise Cocledemoy affected a Welsh accent? If so, this is an emendation that tells us something about the possibilities of performance.

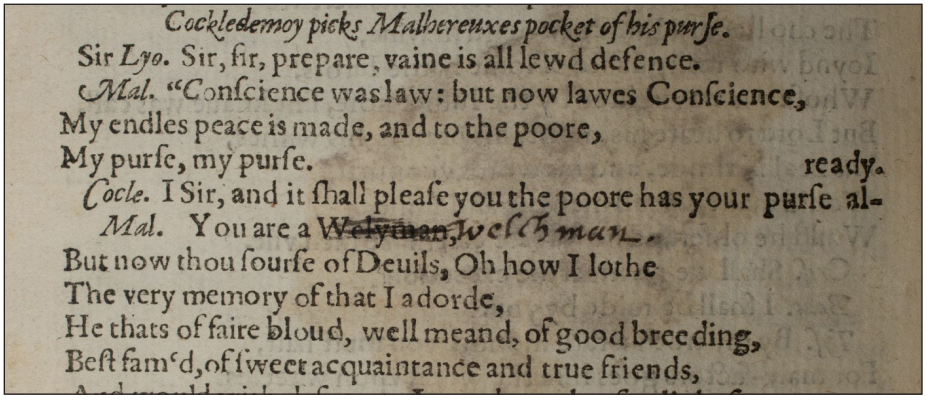

Cockledemoy picks Malhereuxes pocket of his purſe.
Sir *Lyo.* Sir, ſir, prepare, vaine is all lewd defence.
Mal. "Conſcience was law: but now lawes Conſcience,
My endles peace is made, and to the poore,
My purſe, my purſe. ready.
Cocle. I Sir, and it ſhall pleaſe you the poore has your purſe al-
Mal. You are a ~~Welyman~~ *welchman*.
But now thou ſourſe of Deuils, Oh how I lothe
The very memory of that I adorde,
He thats of faire bloud, well meand, of good breeding,
Beſt fam'd, of ſweet acquaintance and true friends,

Figure 6. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), H2v. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

No less striking are moments where this annotator attempts to improve the text. Thus when Freevill sends Malheureux off for his fatal assignation with Franceschina, he says 'I will lurke / Where none shall know or thinke, close Ile withdraw, / and leaue thee with two friendes: a whore and knaue' (F3, 4.2.36–8). (See Figure 7.) Some modern editors have speculated that this final phrase should be reversed, so that the two lines rhyme: 'and leave thee with two friends, a knave and whore'. The early reader felt something similar, but instead of reversing the terms they deleted the last word, replacing it with 'lawe': hence 'a whore and

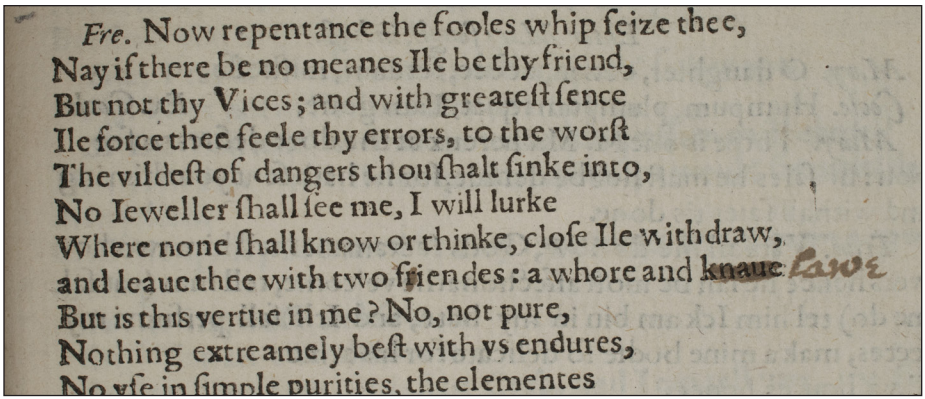

Fre. Now repentance the fooles whip ſeize thee,
Nay if there be no meanes Ile be thy friend,
But not thy Vices; and with greateſt ſence
Ile force thee feele thy errors, to the worſt
The vildeſt of dangers thou ſhalt ſinke into,
No Ieweller ſhall ſee me, I will lurke
Where none ſhall know or thinke, cloſe Ile withdraw,
and leaue thee with two friendes: a whore and knaue Lave
But is this vertue in me? No, not pure,
Nothing extreamely beſt with vs endures,
No vſe in ſimple purities, the elementes

Figure 7. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), F3. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

law'. This emendation is remarkable, though it has no textual merit as such. The reader, however, also makes a smaller alteration earlier in the line, from 'friendes' to 'fiendes': 'and leave thee with two fiends'. No editor has proposed this change, though it seems worth recording since it makes as much sense to call the whore and knave fiends instead of friends.

Finally, on the very last leaf (H4) we have three changes crowded together. (See figure 8.) The nonce-word 'Castrophomicall' is emended to 'catastrophonicall', a change which is clearly correct, for this same word appears earlier in the play. (It is otherwise unknown.) Lower down the page, the phrase 'I can tell you' is added into a speech by Cocledemoy, which is slightly puzzling as it seems to offer nothing extra in this context. And near the top, where Cocledemoy pleads with Mulligrub to forgive him from his heart and midriff and entrails, the annotator adds in the nonce word 'and malagutlins'. This suggested correction is also perplexing, since the noun 'malagutlins' is otherwise unknown. (I have not found it anywhere else in the early modern lexicon.) But of course, as we know, Marston is notorious for his peculiar and often invented vocabulary. Is the annotator again reporting something they remembered from performance? Could this strange word be another of those fanciful Marstonian neologisms, like glibbery, gargalize, or paraphonalian? The hypothesis is a long shot, of course, and there is nothing to support it, but to find someone writing in an invented word, even one perhaps not originating with Marston, confirms our general sense that he had a reputation for linguistic daring, and that at least one reader felt that such an imaginative embellishment could be a suitable response to his play. Delightfully, in performance at Toronto in 2019, the actor playing Cocledemoy added the

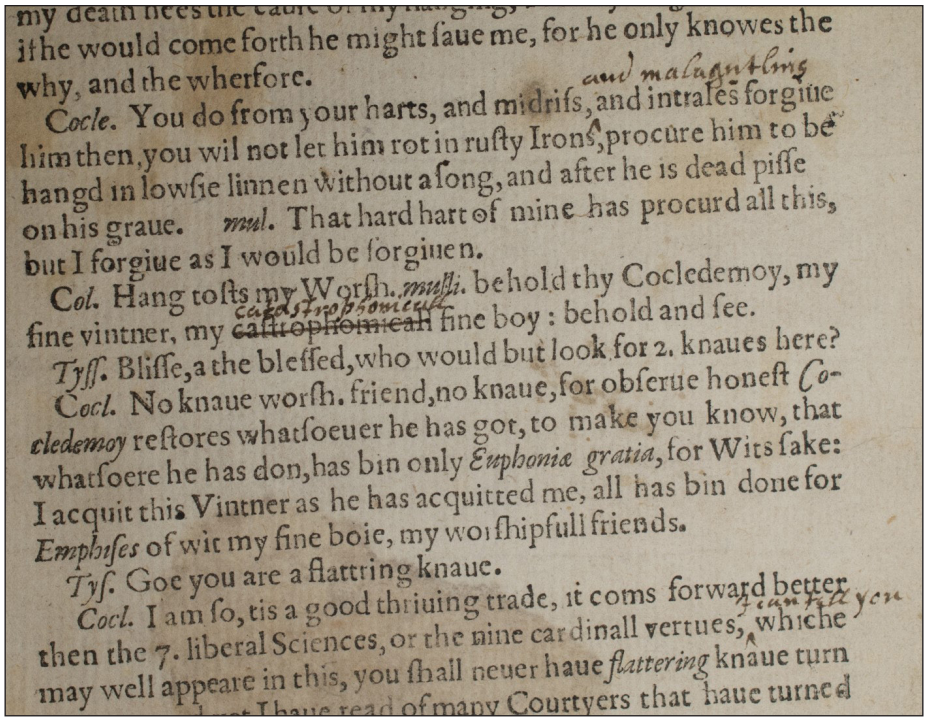

my death hees the cause of my hanging
if he would come forth he might saue me, for he only knowes the
why, and the wherfore.
Cocle. You do from your harts, and midriſs, and intrales forgiue
him then, you wil not let him rot in rusty Irons, procure him to be
hangd in lowsie linnen without a song, and after he is dead pisse
on his graue. *mul.* That hard hart of mine has procurd all this,
but I forgiue as I would be forgiuen.
Col. Hang tosts my Worsh. *mulli.* behold thy Cocledemoy, my
fine vintner, my catastrophomicall fine boy: behold and see.
Tyſſ. Bliſſe, a the bleſſed, who would but look for 2. knaues here?
Cocl. No knaue worsh. friend, no knaue, for obſerue honeſt *Co-*
cledemoy reſtores whatſoeuer he has got, to make you know, that
whatſoere he has don, has bin only *Euphoniæ gratia*, for Wits sake:
I acquit this Vintner as he has acquitted me, all has bin done for
Emphiſes of wit my fine boie, my worſhipfull friends.
Tyſ. Goe you are a flattring knaue.
Cocl. I am so, tis a good thriuing trade, it coms forward better
then the 7. liberal Sciences, or the nine cardinall vertues, whiche
may well appeare in this, you ſhall neuer haue *flattering* knaue turn

Figure 8. *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), H4. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

word 'malagutlins' into his dialogue. It seemed an entirely appropriate moment of Marstonian extravagance.

Amongst these annotations, only 'Welchman' offers a substantive alteration to the received text. But what they do show is the text in the process of reception as well as one early reader's response to the experience of a Marston play. Because Marston abandoned his literary career so suddenly, we have relatively little evidence of his afterlife. His early satirical exchanges with Joseph Hall are well known, as are his arguments with Jonson in the War of the Theatres, but much less is known about the kind of attention and appreciation that he received in the later part of his career and immediately afterwards. Since there are around three hundred copies of his quartos, plus upwards of sixty copies of Sheares's 'collected' Marston, one hopes that a much better profile for Marston's readers might emerge from any annotations that are found. This account could enable us to document more fully what we might call the Marston effect, the trail that remained once

he had withdrawn from writing. In the long term, Marston declined to curate his own memory and preferred to fall into oblivion, but we hope that the Oxford edition will have the consequence of enabling a rethinking that, against the author's own wishes, will retrieve him from at least some of this obscurity.

Notes

I am very grateful to José A. Perez Diez for his many helpful comments on this essay.

1 *The Works of Mr. John Marston* (London, 1633; STC: 17471), A4.

2 *The Works of John Marston,* ed. J. O. Halliwell, 3 vols (London, 1856), 1.xxii. The Folger copy of *What You Will* has printer's marks indicating breaks between gatherings, showing that this was the individual copy of the play that Halliwell gave to the printer. John Marston, *What You Will* (London, 1607; STC: 17487), STC 17487.

3 The best account of Marston's afterlife is T.F. Wharton's *The Critical Fall and Rise of John Marston* (Columbia SC, 1994).

4 *The Plays of John Marston,* ed. H. Harvey Wood, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1934–9), 1.xxxi.

5 Ibid, 1.xli.

6 W.W. Greg. 'The Plays of John Marston by H. Harvey Wood, John Marston', *The Modern Language Review* 30.1 (1935), 94, https://doi.org/10.2307/3715658.

7 Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge, 2003), https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139342445; *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge, 2013), https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511803406. See also Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge, 2004).

8 Jonson, *Volpone* (London, 1607; STC: 14783).

9 James Howell, 'Upon Master Fletcher's dramatical works', in *Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen* (London, 1647; Wing: B15181), b4.

10 *Epigrams* 49, 68, and 100: 'To Playwright' and 'On Playwright', in *The Works of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616; STC: 14751), 3V1, 3V4, 3X4. Although not printed until 1616, these were probably part of the earlier debate with Marston, hence ca 1598–1601. The earliest occurrence of the word in print also comes in a Jonsonian context, the commendatory verses by 'Cygnus' (probably Jonson's school friend Hugh Holland) in the 1605 quarto of *Sejanus*.

11 *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (London, 1601; STC: 7243), A2.

12 *Parasitaster, or The Fawn* (Q2, London, 1606; STC: 17484), A2v.

13 *The Malcontent* (Q3, London,1604; STC: 17481), A4.

14 *What You Will* (London, 1607; STC: 17487), A3, A4.

15 *Antonio and Mellida* (London, 1602; STC: 17473), A2.
16 I am grateful to Colin Burrow, who is editing the poems for the Oxford Marston, for informing me about these details. The spelling Perseus also appears in the epistle to *The Fawn*.
17 Ben Jonson, *Poetaster* (London, 1602; STC: 14781); Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle, *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon* (London, 1601; STC: 18271), and *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon* (London, 1601; STC: 18269).
18 Hodgets was the bookseller for four titles owned by Edgar: *A True Report of the Great Overthrow* (London, 1605; STC: 1900); *The Double PP* (London, 1606; STC: 6498); Francis Beaumont, *The Woman Hater* (London, 1607; STC: 1692); and Anthony Nixon, *The Three English Brothers* (London, 1607; STC: 18592). He later took over Edgar's rights to a tranche of books by the cleric and satirist Joseph Hall.
19 Martin Wiggins, *British Drama*, 10 vols (Oxford, 2015), 5.1434.
20 *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), A2 (Fabulę); *The Fawn*, Q2, H4v (Aquauitę). I am grateful to Henry Woudhuysen for advice on this unusual type. I would be very happy to be corrected, should any reader have better evidence concerning its use.
21 Wharton, *The Critical Fall and Rise of John Marston*, 16.
22 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018), 85; also see 5.1.80, 90.
23 Line references to Britland's edition are added here and subsequently for the reader's convenience. Inevitably they do not correspond exactly to the 1605 text.
24 One other peculiarity that has not been discussed by previous editors is the handling of sheet H, and the printer's decision to end the text on H4 and leave H4v blank. While this blank could be a measure designed to protect the unbound sheets on the bookstall, it has the consequence of causing excessively cramped layouts in this sheet, including obvious signs of space-saving on H4. Additionally, the speech-headings for the Mulligrubs on H3v-4 are incorrectly standardized, appearing as '*mull.*' and '*mist. mull.*' instead of '*Mull.*' and '*Mrs.*' as elsewhere. It seems an odd choice by the printer not to take the end of the text over to H4v.
25 This relationship is discussed by *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 78. See also Taylor and Lavagnino, 508.
26 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), PFORZ 654 PFZ.
27 Robert Jones, *The First Book of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1600; STC: 14732), F4.
28 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. D. Crane (London, 1997), 5.3.23. José A. Perez Diez suggests that the 'y' could be a transcription error from a secretary hand 'ch', since 'c' would look like 'r', followed by a long descender on the 'h'. Combined, they may have looked like a 'y'.

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Tom Bishop

'La bella Franceschina' and Other Foreign Names in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*

John Marston's play, The Dutch Courtesan*, presents characters with remarkably polyglot names for action set in England. My essay examines this naming practice, attending in particular to the Italian name and background of the 'Dutch' courtesan, Franceschina, familiar to theatre-goers as a traditional character in commedia dell'arte troupes and scenarios. Overall, the essay argues that Marston's deployment of foreign and polyglot names plays out and extends the ambivalences criticism has identified in the play, and in the genre of city comedy, towards hybridizations springing up in England in response to contemporary mercantile and cross-cultural relations.*

John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* makes its mark in the new genre of 'city comedy'. Alexander Leggatt and Brian Gibbons treat it as city comedy in their earlier overviews, and more recent critics, such as Pascale Aebischer and Marjorie Rubright, have followed suit, the latter assimilating it to Adam Zucker's broad definition as a play 'set in London that relies predominately on comic narrative elements … to produce and make sense of the complexities of an urban setting'.[1] Although G.K. Hunter preferred to see it as an 'intrigue comedy', arguing that it lacked 'a young gallant struggling for self-realisation against the impersonal requirements of a cash economy', the play's comic exploration of the contemporary city follows a different track from the travails of an upwardly mobile hero.[2] Jean Howard distinguishes two basic configurations of the city in the genre. Down one line, 'London comedies present the city as a synecdoche for the nation'; down the other, 'the city is pitted against the country'. But a central matter across the genre, she argues, is 'the fact that commercial energies … were hybridizing [London] culture', so that the comedies staged and reacted to a city increasingly displaying 'a cosmopolitanism at odds with a narrowly conceived nationalism'.[3]

Tom Bishop (t.bishop@auckland.ac.nz) is professor of English at the University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Such hybridizations can occur in different ways across the landscape of a genre, and may be differently valorized, even at alternative locations in the same play. Howard identifies several versions of hybridity deployed in *The Dutch Courtesan* in registers commercial, sexual, and religious. Most of these versions are roundly rejected by the play, but the comic figure Cocledemoy offers a successful and productive version, a 'cosmopolitan absorption' rather than a defensive rebuff. Marjorie Rubright argues in turn that even 'Dutch' and 'English' as conceptual categories entwine each other throughout the play. The present essay attends to another such area of collaboration and slippage in Marston's play — the matter of the naming of characters, where, I argue, the genre's negotiation between Englishness and foreignness plays out linguistically and metatheatrically.

Marston's naming of characters in *The Dutch Courtesan* differs from that of other city comedies. Most plays broadly included in the genre, being committed at once to nationalist barracking and satiric moralizing, use vigorously English word-names for their dramatis personae, with a strong sprinkling of moral markers that direct audience expectation and evaluation in a straightforward way. Typical of such dramaturgic practice are such figures as Frank Monopoly and Captain Whirlpool in Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Westward Ho* (1604), or Richard Easy with the three gallants Rearage, Salewood, and Cockstone in Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (1604). Comparison with *The Dutch Courtesan* reveals a signal difference: though Marston's play is set in London, most of its characters do not have solidly English names. Though most are English by birth, Marston's characters, with some exceptions, are notably French and Italian by name. Or rather, they tend towards polyglot names, signalling that the play, for all its interest in resisting contaminations, sees some kinds of crossover as acceptable. The trio of gallants common in city comedy all have French names in Marston, though Tisefew, which editors regularly gloss as a Frenchism for 'firebrand', could as easily be rendered in English as 'entice few'.[4] Sir Hubert Subboys, an English knight whose name is a French calque for the common English 'Underwood', has two daughters with Italianate names — Crispinella and Beatrice. The former name we will discuss later. The latter, although a creditable English name, had recently belonged to an Italian heroine in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing,* and also points to a well-known Italian source in Dante.[5] Even their maid Putifer has a name which, though demonstrably English, has disreputably Italianate overtones — from 'putire', to stink, and 'putana', a whore.[6] Marston seems to have deliberately jumbled his character naming across several languages, offering the linguistic equivalent of just the sort of hybridizing and contamination that preoccupies the city comedy genre.[7]

Indeed, the two characters in the play who have the most recognizably 'real' names are the diametric antagonists of the main plot: the English gentleman, Freevill, and the Dutch courtesan, Franceschina.[8] Freevill's name is easy to move into moral territory as indicating his applauded ability to choose between his 'frou', as he calls Franceschina, and his fiancée, Beatrice. But his is nonetheless a fully proper English name, listed in *Burke's Peerage* from the reign of Henry III.[9] So likewise Franceschina, a name linked subversively to her lover's by the 'frank and free' chime of their opening syllables. Her name is, of course, decidedly not English.

But neither is it Dutch. If naming conventions in the play are not exactly realist, Franceschina's stands out for its inaptness given her description as 'a pretty, nimble-eyed Dutch Tannakin' (1.1.158–9). Editors noting this oddity have generally glossed it as not a national but a cultural reference: Marston invites his audience to compound their suspicion of Dutch infiltrations into England with their knowledge of contemporary Italian theatrical conventions, since, as M.L.Wine puts it, Franceschina is 'the name of the light-of-love servingmaid in the commedia dell'arte'.[10] A 'Franceschina' in the role of Dutch courtesan is thus debased and conflated several ways — not merely a double Dutch-Italian foreigner, but also, courtesy of her theatre ancestry, a promiscuous housemaid masquerading as a high-class *cortigiana*.[11]

Foreign contaminations have been a productive theme of critical discussion of Marston's play. Howard speaks of the play's 'defensive repudiation of foreign impurity' — in commerce, in sex, and in religion — but argues that the play's clown, Cocledemoy, offers an alternative response — an aggressive comic appropriation of 'the mastery of tongues and personae' which was required by an increasingly cosmopolitan economy, an appropriation that 'disrupts the neat ideological closure implied by the main action'.[12] Bruster also pursues the theme of sexual and commercial contamination, noting how the play's 'dual emphasis on (marital) chastity and (commercial) honesty … conjoins in a dialectic of purity discourse'.[13] In Franceschina, we would seem to have a composite character who is herself in some ways contaminated as well as contaminating. As Ton Hoenselaars has explored in some detail, the overlapping stereotypes and sources brought together in her depiction constitute a figure for the mingle-mangle of foreignness itself, and Scott Oldenburg sees her ultimate fate as promoting 'a national agenda of unjumbling the realm'.[14]

Given the overdeterminations in Marston's naming practice, we must go back to the primary allusive resonance of the choice of the name Franceschina for the Dutch courtesan. Of course, the choice may be a casual or passing allusion. Yet

Marston's thorough acquaintance with contemporary Italian literature and the known if spectral presence of the commedia traditions in Jacobean England suggest the benefit of a more sustained look at what the 'servetta' role of Franceschina evoked for the informed contemporary theatregoer. Franceschina was clearly, at least for Marston, a name to conjure with, but what was he conjuring?

The Commedia Franceschina

The role of Franceschina in early modern Italian theatre practice is a very early one. Indeed, she may well be the very first established female character in the performance tradition that eventually became the *commedia improvisata*. The earliest accounts we have of commedia-style performances with named characters date from the later 1560s, though the record of Italian actors in companies goes back to the 1540s, and 'Zanni … Avec son Magnifique à la venitienne' [Zanni … with his Magnifico in the Venetian style] are recorded by du Bellay as carnival entertainers in Rome in the 1550s.[15]

That there was an established female character called Franceschina is attested as early as 1574. In that year, Orlando di Lasso, the Flemish composer, was sent to Italy from the court of Bavaria in Munich, where he was employed, to recruit new players for the Duke. Gasparino Venturino, a player in the Duke's service, accompanied him, and entertained them nightly on the journey with improvised skits which Lasso reports in a letter back to the Duke:

> Il Venturino ogni sera … fa lui solo una comedietta di tre persone, il magnifico, Zannj, é Franceschina di tanta bona gratia, che ci fa quasi pisciar de ridere.
>
> [Every night Venturino makes up a solo comic skit with three characters — the Magnifico, Zanni, and Francescina — with such brilliance that he makes us almost piss ourselves laughing.][16]

This record may in turn point back to revels Lasso organized at the court in 1568, in which he played Pantalone, the Magnifico, in what is only the second account we have of a commedia-style performance.[17] Again, the context suggests that this style and these characters were well-established. The name of the female servant role, played by a man, Ercole Terzo, is not recorded, but it may well have been Franceschina.[18]

Shortly after the 1574 letter, references to Franceschina multiply. In 1575, the Gelosi company were playing at the court of Emperor Maximilian II in Prague

and again in Vienna. The Hofkasseackten, or Court Treasury Accounts, for that year record a payment of 100 florins for a performance by 'Franciscina Comedianten und seinen mitgesellen'.[19] When, two years later, the Gelosi appear in France, belatedly answering a summons from Henry III, this same Franceschina is presumably still with them. The actor in question is identified as Battista Amorevole da Treviso in 1578, when he publishes two works in Paris describing himself as 'comico geloso detto la Francischina (actor in the Gelosi known as Francischina)'.[20]

Vito Pandolfi in his *La Commedia dell'arte: storia e testo* claims that Battista Amorevole da Treviso was in fact 'the very first interpreter of this role, under the name of Franceschina'.[21] Whether or not this is so, Amorevole is the first for whom we have a name, and he may indeed have been the first to play the role *under* that name, though 'Franceschina' was used for a slightly different figure in January 1577 in an amateur performance at Comachio by the Duke of Ferrara and courtiers, the Duke playing the buffoon role of Tedesco. In this performance, Franceschina was a *ruffiana,* a type of an older woman, often a bawd, and was played by one of the ladies of the court.[22]

So by the mid-1570s at the very latest, and possibly considerably earlier, the female Zanni role in the commedia in at least one famous troupe was established under the name of Francescina, possibly by Battista Amorevole, who had adopted it as his professional stage name. In fact, however, that name as a young woman involved in a trio with a young man and an older man long predates this, in another medium from which it may have been borrowed by commedia artists. This was the very well-known folk-tune 'La Bella Franceschina', attested from as early as 1520 and often over subsequent decades, in French, German, Flemish, and Spanish as well as Italian sources, so that it may fairly claim to be a European song.[23] Though not originally a commedia song as such, it tells, in its most widespread version, the very Italian and commedia-like story of a young woman who resists her father's choice for her husband — the son of a count — in favour of her beloved, currently in prison.

La bella Franceschina, ninina, bufina, la filibustachina,
  che la vorria mari, nini la filibustacchi.
Lo suo padre a la finestra, ninestra, bufestra, la filibustachestra,
  ascolta quel che la di', nini la filibustacchi.
Tasi, tasi Franceschina, ninina, bufina, la filibustachina,
  che te daro mari, nini la filibustacchi.

Te darogio lo fio del Conte, ninonte, bufonte, la filibustaconte,
del Conte Constanti, nini la filibustacchi.
E no voglio lo fio del Conte, ninonte, bufonte, la filibustaconte,
del Conte Constanti, nini la filibustacchi.
Che voglio quel giovinetto, ninetto, bufetto, la filibustachetto,
che sta in prigion per mi, nini la filibustacchi.[24]

[Lovely Franceschina, ninina, bufina, la filibustachina,
who yearns for a husband, nini …
Her father at the window, ninestra …,
listens to what she says, nini …
'Be quiet, Franceschina', ninina..,
'I will give you a husband, nini …
'I will give you the Count's son, ninonte …,
Count Constanti', nini …
'I don't want the Count's son, ninonte..,
Count Constanti, nini …
'I want the young man, ninetto …,
who is in prison for me', nini ….]

This is what Louise George Clubb would call this a powerful theatregram: the old man, the young man, and the young woman in a tussle over whom she will marry.[25] This trio of relations can be and was inflected many ways — it informs all the tales in the *Romeo and Juliet* lineage for instance — and its popularity may have led a commedia actor, possibly even Battista Amorevoli, to adopt 'Franceschina' as the name for his *servetta* role. Thereafter the name seems to have become so firmly identified with the stage persona that later composers incorporated the tune into polyphonic pieces featuring *other* commedia characters, fully expecting audiences to get the allusive joke. Published works by Marenzio, Eckard, and Vecchi use this tactic.[26]

A collection of contemporary woodcuts and other images (later brought together and now named the *Recueil Fossard* [Fossard Collection] after its collector) includes several images relevant to the history of both Franceschina and her deployment in Italian theatre at the end of the sixteenth century. The woodcuts clearly show that the comic triad of Pantalone, Zanni, and Franceschina established itself early as one of the central stock situations of commedia.[27] Several images depict Franceschina, though Arlecchino — a character mask developed and made popular by Tristano Martinelli in the 1580s — was by then competing with Zanni for the slot of lead underling. In addition to the images themselves, the captions recording

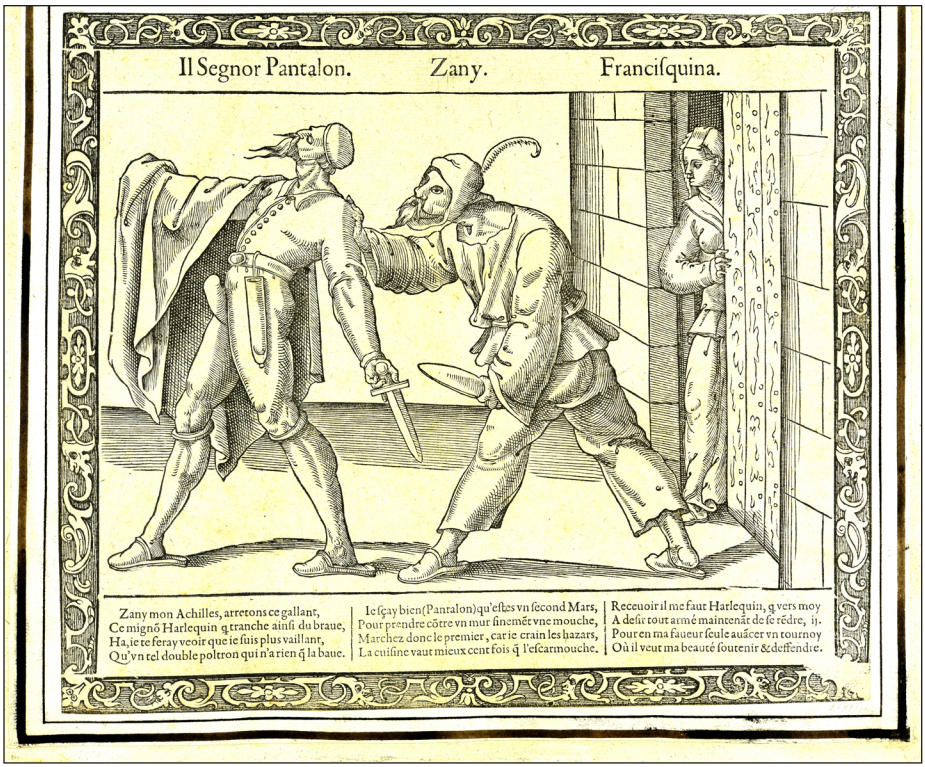

Figure 1. *Recueil Fossard* (G2199–1904, fol. 7b), by permission of the National Museum of Sweden. Foto: Nationalmuseum.

what each character is 'saying' in the illustrated scenes are particularly revealing about the personnel and relations depicted. These images may possibly have been known in England, even if commedia troupes are very rarely recorded there in the later sixteenth century. Franceschina commonly appears in the *Recueil*. In one image (Figure 1), Pantalone recruits a reluctant Zanni to support him in fighting 'Harlequin' for her love. In a parody of courtly love-romance, Pantalone vaunts, and Zanni responds, using the bravado idiom more frequently associated with the braggart Spanish Captain. Franceschina watches from the doorway and comments on how Harlequin will 'en ma faveur seule avancer un tournoi / Où il veut ma beauté soutenir et deffendre' [for my favour alone propose a tournament where he will affirm and defend my beauty].

In another Fossard image (Figure 2), Arlecchino surprises Franceschina in the arms of Pantalone and, wielding a phallic knife that matches Pantalone's codpiece

Figure 2. *Recueil Fossard* (G2207–1904, fol. 11b), by permission of the National Museum of Sweden. Foto: Nationalmuseum.

(as does that of Zanni in the previous image), vows his revenge on both the 'putain de haulte gresse' [high-class whore] and the 'vieux radoteur' [old dotard]. In a third image (Figure 3), however, the coupling is reversed, with Pantalone in his most notorious pose behind a curtain, spying on the pair of servant lovers.[28] This scenic layout was so familiar it could be referred to offhand in Heywood's 1605 play *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody,* Part 2: 'Now they peepe like Italian pantelownes / Behind an Arras'.[29] And a version of this regular trio had already appeared in Nashe's 1592 dismissal of Italian companies as nothing but 'a Pantaloon, a Whore and a Zany'.[30] A notably direct link between the popular song and the commedia character who may have derived from it is established in the Fossard image (Figure 4) of a Quixote-like Harlequin setting off to assault Hell on his ass, to prove his heroic love for 'la belle Francischine'.[31]

Figure 3. *Recueil Fossard* (G2202–1904, fol. 9a), by permission of the National Museum of Sweden. Foto: Nationalmuseum.

The Fossard images display characters in action in scenarios typical of contemporary commedia narratives. But they do not certainly depict actors who correspond to those genders. Although Franceschina was played in some troupes by a woman, she also continued to be played by male actors well into the seventeenth century, in a performance tradition likely sustained, if not established, by the long career of Battista Amorevoli. The latter may have left the Gelosi, where Sylvia Roncagli replaced him, around 1578, along with Isabella Andreini's principal rival, Vittoria Piisimi. At any rate, Amorevole was with the Uniti-Confidenti company in 1584 and seems to have become their capocomico by 1587.[32] A final record from 1594 places him still with the Confidenti, in Milan for an aristocratic celebration.[33] He had a career of at least twenty years, and likely considerably longer, as the 1575 imperial account already lists him as a leader of the troupe, and the convention of male performance seems to have outlasted him. In 1614, a

Figure 4. *Recueil Fossard* (G2204–1904, fol 10a), by permission of the National Museum of Sweden. Foto: Nationalmuseum.

later list of Uniti actors at Genoa records one Ottavio Bernardino, a Roman, in the Franceschina role.[34]

Meanwhile, a separate splinter Confidenti company under the Martinelli brothers seems also to have had a male Franceschina, including in their touring visit to Spain in 1587. The latter is especially interesting, since in order to license the actresses in the troupe to perform on stage, a special dispensation was issued at Madrid on November 18:

> Dase licencia para que pueda representar Angela Salomona y Angela Martineli las quales consta por certificacion del Sr. Alcalde Brauo ser mugeres casadas y traer consigo sus maridos con que ansimesmo no puedan representar sino en abito he vestido (?) 28 de muger y no de honbre y con que de aquí adelante tanpoco pueda representar

> ningun muchacho bestido como muger. En Madrid a 18 de nobienbre 1587. Esta asimismo rubricado.
>
> [Give permission by which Angela Salomona and Angela Martinelli can perform, since they declare for the certification of Lord Mayor Bravo that they are married women and accompanied by their husbands, provided that they cannot perform except dressed as women and not as men, and in the same way no young man may perform dressed as a woman. At Madrid the 18th November, 1587. So likewise let it be initialed.][35]

Some theatre historians have taken this record to indicate that a third woman in the company may have played Franceschina. Hugo Rennert's 1907 *Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* claimed it was Silvia Roncagli, and though Falconiere in his later 'Historia de la Commedia dell'Arte en España' had his doubts about Roncagli, who was then with the Gelosi, he still spoke of an 'otra mujer que representaba el papel de La Franceschina' [another woman who played the role of Franceschina].[36] A full reading of the licence, however, confirms that 'La Franceschina' was in fact an adult man and neither a woman nor a boy. With carefully poised parsing of the rules about the gender, age, and marital status of permitted players, the licence adds a further stipulation after those just quoted: 'Si la Francisquina es la que yo bi en la posada del Sr Cardenal no la tengo por muchacho y ansi podra representar' [If the Franceschina is the one I saw in the Inn of the Lord Cardinal, I don't hold her for a boy and therefore she can perform].[37] This Italian non-boy Franceschina may have been the Carlo or Carletto recorded again with the company in letters concerning internal disputes in both 1591 and 1598.[38]

Marston's Italians

The history of 'Franceschina' establishes both that the name was, as Marston's editors have noted, associated with a particular type of role in the commedia repertory, and also that in the Italian troupes the role had often been performed by a man, and was still being so performed well past the date of Marston's play in at least one troupe, the Uniti. In the recent entirely laudable attention to the emergence of the woman actor on continental stages in the later sixteenth century, the latter piece of theatrical history has tended to be forgotten. Yet it provides a link between continental practice and English staging, which continued for many more years to, in Stephen Orgel's phrase 'take boys for women'.[39]

Marston's Franceschina also combines with her *servetta* persona another female commedia role directly germane to her status as 'courtesan'. In many ways, indeed, she behaves less like the *servetta* and more like the *primadonna innamorata,* a character role made famous, though not originated, by Isabella Andreini — so much so that leading female roles were often named Isabella after her in later years. Ton Hoenselaars notes the Italianate resonance of her vengefulness and Howard makes a general connection with Franceschina's tirades, particularly the irate quasi-incoherent speeches of act 2, scene 2, 'like an avenging fury from an Italian revenge drama'.[40] In her wilder moments, Franceschina may even recall the *pazzia* or madness scenes that Andreini was famous for, in which:

> Come pazza se n'andava scorrendo per la Cittade, fermando hor questo, & hora quello, e parlando hora in Spagnuolo, hora in Greco, hora in Italiano, & molti altri linguaggi, ma tutti fuor di proposito.
>
> [Like a madwoman she went running through the city, stopping now this one, now that one, and speaking now in Spanish, now in Greek, now in Italian, and many other languages, but all without reason.][41]

Though Marston's Franceschina does not run mad quite like this, he gives her her own ranting moment, provoked by erotic betrayal just as was Isabella. She enters the scene with the classic '*pazza*' demeanour of the mad woman '*with her hair loose, chafing*' (2.2.0 sd). Provoked by news of Freevill's defection, she rounds on Mary Faugh:

> FRANCESCHINA It is, it is, vile woman, reprobate woman, naughty woman, it is! Vat sal become of mine poor flesh now? Mine body must turn Turk for twopence. Oh divila, life o'mine 'art! Ik sall be revenged! Do ten thousand hell damn me, ik sall have the rogue troat cut, and his love, and his friend, and all his affinity sall smart, sall die, sall hang! Now legion of divil seize him. De gran' pest, St Antony's fire, and de hot Neapolitan poc rot him!
>
> (45–53)

As if to underline a connection with commedia nomenclature, the very next line *after* this speech is the first time Marston's courtesan is called 'Franceschina' in the play, one of only two times she is directly named. And immediately, in a theatrical volte-face designed both to earn a laugh of incongruity and to showcase the actor's facility, Franceschina turns on her flirtatious charm ('Ah mine alderlievest

affection!' [57]) and '*sings in the French style*' (62.1 sd), recalling again rather the talents of the *prima donna innamorata* than the *servetta*.[42]

There seem therefore to be significant commedia resonances in the design of Marston's Franceschina, so that her 'jumbled' foreignness in the play offers not only the contamination of honest English sexuality, but also a compound figure of Italianate theatrical femininity. That Franceschina was so often played by a male actor may be relevant, for her history of cross-dressing figures just the sort of *kinship* between continental and insular performance that Nashe and others had vigorously refused using precisely the differentium of English transgendered performance. A male Franceschina is a plausible import, equally legal on an English *and* an Italian stage.

Marston is, moreover, the playwright of the early Jacobean moment least entitled to float chauvinist claims, having positioned himself throughout his career as an Italian-oriented writer. Half-Italian on his mother's side, he was thoroughly acquainted with contemporary Italian literature, as Jason Lawrence documents.[43] His plays were the most consistently set in Italy of any of his contemporaries, his *Antonio and Mellida* contains an original section of dialogue in Italian verse (4.1), and he was the first playwright we know of to call one of his works by the cutting-edge Italian term 'Tragicomedia'. Indeed, *The Dutch Courtesan,* with its English setting, is a distinct outlier in his work. Importation of foreign literary goods was clearly a business in which Marston was heavily invested. If 'the difference between the love of a courtesan and a wife'[44] maps onto the difference between flirting with Italian theatregrams and remaining loyal to the honest kerseys of English practice, Marston was clearly an unreformed 'jumbler'.

The deployment of Italianate names does not stop there in Marston's play though. We additionally have to reckon with the odd fact that Sir Hubert's loyal English daughters also have Italian-sounding names: Beatrice and Crispinella. And even if we reclaim Beatrice from Dante as instead an English name of medieval antiquity (as in Beatrice of England, the daughter of Henry III), there remains the intriguing puzzle of her sister.

Crispinella's name turns out to be Marston's most complex in the play, just as her character wittily mediates several kinds of oppositions. The name is in fact a fascinating index to the sleight of hand by which Marston capitalizes on Italianate resonances, even while disavowing them in the 'Dutch' plot of the play. Unpacking the name suggests how Marston's play walks a fine line between the excitement of foreign entanglement and the sobriety of domestic discipline — just that balancing act which is the thematic and ideological preoccupation of the play.

Crispinella is an entirely made-up name — there is no earlier record of it traceable in *any* language. Certainly, it sounds Italian. Indeed, alongside Pulchinella, Brighella, Isabella, Conella, and Pimpinella it evokes specifically the Italian commedia. Editors have variously glossed it. Wine has no specific discussion, but refers to the 'crisp colloquial dialogue' in which she is involved, which is a sort of embedded gloss. MacDonald P. Jackson and Michael Neill suggest a 'pseudo-diminutive from the Latin *crispus:* 1) curled, crisped, crimped; 2) in tremulous motion, quivering' adding that 'the obsolete sense of "crisp" (bright, shining, clear) may also be relevant'. David Crane digests this etymology as 'from *crispus* (Lat. = curly-haired), but with a glance at the brisk, decisive quality of "crisp"'.[45] Britland gives a longer gloss:

> a diminutive, derived from the Latin '*crispus*', 'curled' or 'quivering'. St Crispin, the patron saint of shoe-sellers, is an appropriate namesake for a woman who wears 'high cork shoes' (3.1.116).[46]

This is clearly quite a nest of references, but we can add some additional notes that complicate the matter further. The 'crisp colloquial dialogue' in Wine, picked up by Crane as 'the brisk, decisive quality of "crisp"', is in fact a resonance specifically *not* available to Marston, since this meaning of crisp, as a certain sharpness of manner, dates only from the nineteenth century. Jackson and Neill, followed by Britland, delve further into the Latin root, '*crispus*', that lies behind the diminutive, noting that it designates both a specific hairstyle and, perhaps more importantly, a wavy, wavering or 'tremulous motion, quivering'.[47] This seems a good description of Marston's dialogue for Crispinella as a rapidly moving intellectual back-and-forth that recalls at once Shakespeare's Beatrice and the *contrasti scenici* for which the Italian *innamorate,* and especially Isabella Andreini, were well known.[48] A different sort of 'back-and-forth' motion however, is suggested by a specifically erotic meaning of Latin *crispus* that occurs in both Juvenal's Sixth Satire and in Virgil's short poem 'Copa'.

In Juvenal, the poet is describing, with heavily eroticized irony, the typical behaviour of wives who love music. Regarding plucked instruments he notes how:

> crispo numerantur pectine chordae,
> quo tener Hedymeles operas dedit: hunc tenet, hoc se
> solatur, gratoque indulget basia plectro. (380–2)

> [the strings are worked through with the quivering quill that tender Hedymeles used to perform with; she holds it, she consoles herself with it, she lavishes kisses on the loved plectrum.][49]

Juvenal makes it perfectly clear what sort of quivering the plectrum of Hedymeles (Greek for 'sweet-singer') has been doing. Similarly, the opening of Virgil's short poem has the barmaid undulating erotically as she dances and sings, and her waggling motion is specifically '*crispus*':

> Copa Syrisca, caput Graeca redimita mitella,
> crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus,
> ebria fumosa saltat lasciva taberna
> ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos. (1–4)

> [The Syrian barmaid, hair bound up in a Greek bandana, adept at moving her shaking flank to the castanet, dances drunk and sexy in the smoky tavern, clashing the loud tambourine on her elbow.][50]

A humanist-educated satirist like Marston would likely be aware of this additional type of 'crisp' motion — and we may easily picture him enjoying the chance to incorporate it into a character who is as fluent, quick-witted, and provocative as Crispinella.

Meanwhile, along an English thread, 'crisp' was a crepey kind of textile, and a 'crisp' specifically a headscarf or veil worn by English women in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[51] Indeed, this usage is the oldest recorded in English for the noun. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (*OED*)'s entries begin in 1397, and include one usage close in time to Marston's play: a line in Thomas Hudson's 1584 translation of Du Bartas's *Judith* poem ('Upon her head a silver crisp she pinned / Loose waving on her shoulders with the wind').[52]

So in 'Crispinella' we would seem to have one derivation pointing to an Englishwoman's modesty in dress and manners and another Latinate one evoking an erotically and intellectually exciting motion, the two brought together in a diminutive form that evokes commedia dell'arte naming practices. Crispinella's name can therefore be taken as a perfectly Janus-facing emblem of Marston's own relation to Italian theatre, absorbing and aligning it with, or concealing it within, an English plain-spokenness that owes much of its theatrical force to the very Italian models it elsewhere seeks to restrict. Crispinella corresponds on the female and theatrical side of the character ledger to Cocledemoy, similarly 'disrupt[ing]

the neat ideological closure' through her theatrical cosmopolitanism.[53] She is a vehicle through which Marston absorbs the energies of contemporary theatrical traditions that included the powerfully popular but, in England, largely inaccessible Italian commedia troupes. That Crispinella's name may thus be a fleeting and half-amused emblem of his own dramaturgical practice suggests that Marston knew exactly what he was doing with her.

Reporting on the critical evaluation of relations between English and Italian theatre some twenty years ago, Frances Barasch distinguished two lines of approach: an older one that argued the interchange had been minimal, and a more recent one that saw their relations as much more extensive and cordial.[54] The latter line has since had additional adherents with more developed arguments, including Barasch herself and Louise Clubb, but also Pamela Allen Brown, Robert Henke, and Eric Nicholson, among others.[55] In Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* it may be that we have a contemporary instance of an English playwright finessing the same question, in effect adopting the latter attitude but pretending to the former, using Crispinella and 'la bella Franceschina' as his cover.

Notes

I wish in particular to thank Helen Ostovich, Deanne Williams, Pamela Brown, and the anonymous readers of *Early Theatre* for their helpful comments in developing this essay.

1 Alexander Leggatt, *Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare* (Toronto, 1972), 120, https://doi.org/10.3138/9781487585938; Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy,* 2nd edn (New York, 1980), 118–20, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315270517; Pascale Aebischer, *Jacobean Drama* (New York, 2010), 84; Marjorie Rubright, 'Going Dutch in London City Comedy: Economies of Sexual and Sacred Exchange in John Marston *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605)', *English Literary Renaissance* 40.1 (2010), 88–112, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6757.2009.01062.x; Adam Zucker, 'The Social Logic of Ben Jonson's *Epicene*', *Renaissance Drama* 33 (2004), 60, https://doi.org/10.1086/rd.33.41917386.

2 G.K. Hunter, *English Drama 1586–162: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1997), 320.

3 Jean E. Howard, 'Mastering Difference in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Shakespeare Studies* 24 (1996), 105–17, 107.

4 See John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018), 101. All further references to the play are to this edition unless otherwise indicated. For the alternative reading of "tise", see *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) *Online* s.v. tise.

5 Marston's naming practice in his play has, in effect, pasted the name of Beatrice over the top of the role function that, in Shakespeare's play, is taken by Hero, and provided a new name, Crispinella, for Shakespeare's witty satirist of male vanity and resister of marriage.

6 The English surname occurs repeatedly, for instance, in a court record for 1386 from Ramsey, Huntingdonshire (*BL* Add.Roll 39626r). See the transcript available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/r/ramsey/5811550.0001.001/1:73?rgn=div1;view=fulltext. Britland (101) cites Florio's dictionary to show the contemporary currency of the Italian words in England. MacDonald P. Jackson and Michael Neill in their *Selected Plays* (Cambridge, 1986) give the note 'from Italian *putiferio:* stench' (295), but this etymology appears to be incorrect. Modern Italian *putiferio* 'a rumpus' dates from the nineteenth century. M.L. Wine's edition of *The Dutch Courtesan* (Nebraska, 1965) does not gloss the name. The Latin verb *putāre* has a range of meanings including 'cleanse' and 'prune'. Helen Ostovich points out that the latter may relate to the character's status as a nurse (greenhouses are still known as nurseries) in 'Dramatis Personae', *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. E. Julian and H. Ostovich, *Oxford Works of John Marston,* ed. Matthew Steggle and Martin Butler (forthcoming), 10

n. Marston presumably had access to both Latin *putus* [clean] and *puter* [rotten]. It would be characteristic of him to leave the ambiguity in full play.

7 Marston's may indeed be altogether the most polyglot of early modern English plays. Wiggins and Richardson note a total of seven languages making an appearance in it, plus two in gibberish or nonsense langauges, Coclede moy's 'Greek' and Franceschina's cod-Dutch dialect. See Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue,* 9 vols (Oxford, 2015), 5.123.

8 Mary Faugh's name is a nominalized expletive of some kind, obscene or scatological.

9 John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland and Scotland,* 3rd edn (London, 1846), 214–15. Properly, the name was De Freville. Though the title was extinct by 1500, the family continued and the name is still especially marked around Cambridge, where a street and a farm bear it (as did a former pub, now a furniture store).

10 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Wine, xviii–xix.

11 In the 1605 quarto text, the courtesan's name is spelled 'Francischina', a variant somewhere between the Italian 'Franceschina' and the spelling 'Francisquina/Francisquine' given in contemporary woodcuts (see below). The importance of the title character to the play is underlined by the highly unusual placement of her name at the top of the opening list of *Dramatis personae* in the 1605 quarto (A2v).

12 Howard, 'Mastering Difference', 115–17, 109.

13 Douglas A. Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1992), 90, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511553080.

14 A.J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (London, 1992), 117–20; Scott Oldenburg, *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (Toronto, 2014), 121–7, https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442667495.

15 See the overview of this material in M.A. Katritzky, 'How did the *Commedia dell'arte* cross the Alps to Bavaria?', *Theatre Research International* 16.3 (1991), 201–15, https://doi.org/10.1017/s030788330001498x. The du Bellay reference occurs in Sonnet 120 of *Les Regrets,* written during the poet's time in Rome in the mid-1550s and published in 1558. See *Les Regrets: choix de poèmes,* ed. Yvonne Wendel-Bellenger (Paris: 1969), 130.

16 See Horst Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1977), 2.70.

17 Katritzky, 'How Did the *Commedia dell'arte*', discusses passim a set of diary entries by Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria travelling in Italy in 1565–6 that offer the first record of a commedia-style play performance.

18 Massimo Troiano's account of these 1568 revels for the Bavarian royal wedding is well known. See Katritzky, 'How did the *Commedia dell'arte*', 201–2 and the relevant footnotes.

19 See Karl Trautmann, 'Italienische Schauspieler am bayerischen Hofe', *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte* 1 (1887), 193–310. The entry is discussed on p 229 and transcribed on p 292.

20 'Amorevole, Battista', in *Dizionaro Biografico degli Italiani*, vol 3 (1961), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/battista-amorevoli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; this article gives the titles of the Parisian works.

21 'Primissimo interprete di questo ruolo, con il nome di Franceschina, è Battista Amorevole da Treviso'. Vito Pandolfi, *La Commedia dell'arte: storia e testo*, 6 vols (Florence, 1957; rpt 1988), 1.163, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0307883300008981.

22 See *Ferrara e la corte estense: del secolo decimosesto: i discorsi di Annibale Romei*, ed. Angelo Solerti (Città di Castello, 1891), 121–3. Tasso provided a prologue for the play.

23 See the full account of the song and the art-music derived from it by Warren Kirkendale, 'Franceschina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal "a diversi linguaggi" by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi', *Acta Musicologica* 44.2 (1972), 181–235, https://doi.org/10.2307/932169.

24 Text as given in Kirkendale, 'Franceschina', 191. There are variants. This version, the fullest, dates from 1576, about contemporaneous with the Lasso text quoted above. An earlier version appears in the second part of a villotta (a polyphonic piece incorporating dialect songs) published in 1549 by Matthias Werrecore, the choirmaster of Milan cathedral, quoting the tune clearly, with similar words also elsewhere recorded: 'la bella Franceschina che la piange'et la sospira che la vorre mari' (Venice, 1549), 10. See the facsimile edited by Martine Sanders (Musica Alamira, 1987). The song was also known as 'La Bustachina' after its nonsense words and continued to be cited in drama and elsewhere. In Camillo Sbrozzi's *Liceo, favola pastorale* (Venice, 1606), for instance, Liceo sings fragments of it when he goes mad ('impazzisce') in act 3, scene 2: 'Ton, ton, teri, ton, ton, la bustachina, / Ninina la buffina, / La bella franceshina' (C4r–v).

25 Clubb proposes the very useful concept of the 'theatregram' as a way of pointing to borrowings and flows of influence not tied to particular texts, but focusing on flexible situations and practices moving through a decentralized theatre industry and across national borders and cultures. See Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven, 1989), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt211qz0b.

26 For Marenzio and Eckard see Kirkendale, 'Franceschina', passim. Orazio Vecchi (who added four voices to Marenzio's work) also referred to Franceschina as the wife

of Zanni in an obscene dialogue song featuring Zanni and his master ('Tich-toch'), published in 1590. See Paul Schleuse, ""Balla la mona e salt ail bubuino": performing obscenity in a musical dialogue', in *Sexualities, Textualities, Art and Music in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Melanie M. Marshall, Linda L. Carroll, and Katherine A. McIver (London, 2016), 41–72. Lasso, Eckard's teacher, has a similar dialogue song ('Zanni'), but it does not mention Franceschina.

27 On this collection, see Katritsky, 'The *Recueil Fossard*, 1928–88: a review and three reconstructions', in *The Commedia dell'arte from the Renaissance to Dario Fo*, ed. Christopher Cairns (Lampeter, 1989), 99–117. Franceschina in the Fossard collection is generally spelled 'Francisquina'; in Marston she is consistently 'Francischina' in full, but variously in speech prefixes (even 'Frank').

28 This image is discussed as a pretext for two scenes in *Hamlet* by Frances Barasch, '"He's for a Iigge or a tale of Baudry": Sixteenth Century Images of the Stage Jig', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 13.1 (1995), 24–8.

29 Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, pt 2 (London, 1605; STC: 13336), *Early English Books Online* (*eebo*).

30 Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless*, in *Thomas Nashe: Selected Works*, ed. Stanley Wells (1964; repr. 2015), 66. Ben Jonson refers to a similar triad when he has Corvino ask Scoto of Mantua angrily 'What, is my wife your Francischina, sir?' and expresses his fear of finding himself 'new christened' as 'the Pantalone' (Jonson, *Volpone*, ed. Brian Parker and David Bevington (Manchester, 1999), 2.3.4.7–8). A "Francischina" also appears in Chapman's *May Day*, also set in Venice (London, 1611; STC: 4980; performed before 1608). Such references indicate that the stock characters were well-known in England as Marston was writing. We do not know to what extent such familiarity was from direct contact or from the circulation in England of accounts or images such as those collected by Fossard.

31 A further *Recueil Fossard* image (National Museum of Sweden G2213–1904, fol 14b) shows Arlecchino and 'Zany Cornetto' in a comic 'combat amoureux' of gymnastic feats for 'Francisquine'.

32 Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro in Italia*, 2 vols (Florence, 1877), 2.486 (for 1584) and 2.492 (for 1587). If Battista Amorevoli was with the Uniti-Confidenti troupe in 1584, as seems likely, then he was also in Paris later that year with Fabrizio dei Fornaris, who played as 'Captain Cocodrillo'. Since this character appears in the images in the *Recueil Fossard*, it seems therefore also possible that the *Recueil* images featuring Franceschina may be based on actions and scenarios in which Amorevoli was the Franceschina.

33 'Amorevoli, Battista', http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/battista-amorevoli_(Dizionario-Biografico).

34 Pierre Louis DuChartre, *The Italian Comedy* (London, 1929), 93.
35 Reproduced in *Los Corrales de Comedias y los Hospitales de Madrid: 1574–1615 Estudio y documentos*, ed. Charles Davis and J.E. Varey (Madrid, 1997), 128.
36 John V. Falconiere, 'Historia de la Commedia dell'Arte en España (conclusión)', *Revista de literature* 12.23 (July 1957), 69–90, 74–5, including n 25. Oliver Crick and John Rudlin in their *Commedia dell'arte: A Handbook for Troupes* (Routledge, 2001), 34, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203181737, misidentify this Franceschina again as Sylvia Roncagli.
37 Davis and Varey, *Los Corrales de Comedias y los Hospitales de Madrid* (1997), 128.
38 D'Ancona, *Origini*, 2.505 (1591) and 525 (1598). This Martinelli company seems to have shared significant personnel with the one that toured to England in 1578, including probably with women players. Whether that company had a male actor to play Franceschina is unknown. See E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923), 2.261–3. More light is thrown on the Martinelli company in Flanders at this time in Willem Shrickx, 'Italian Actors in Antwerp in 1576: Drusiano Martinelli and Vincenzo Beladno', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 50.3 (1972), 796–806, https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.1972.2925.
39 Stephen Orgel, "Nobody's perfect; or, Why did the English stage take boys for women?" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 88.1 (1989), 7–29.
40 Howard, 'Mastering Difference', 110; Hoenselaars, *Images*, 117.
41 See the account printed and discussed in Anne Macneil, 'The Divine Madness of Isabella Andreini', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120.2 (1995), 195–215, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrma/120.2.195 . The performance described took place in 1589, but by then Isabella was famous in such parts. 'The Demented Princess', a scenario printed in Flaminio Scala's collection of 1611 but possibly played by Andreini earlier, calls for such a performance for Alvira, princess of Portugal. See Richard Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala* (Plymouth, 2008), 264–73.
42 The English stage also had its tradition of mad women, of course, but these may themselves have been linked to Italian precedents. For the complexity of relations between continental and insular traditions of feminine-gendered performance, see Pamela Allen Brown, '"Cattle of this colour": Boying the Diva in *As You Like It*', *Early Theatre* 15.1 (2012), 145–66.
43 See Jason Lawrence, *'Who the Devil taught thee so much Italian?': Italian Language Learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2011), 129–51, https://doi.org/10.7228/manchester/9780719069147.001.0001.
44 '*Fabulae argumentum*', *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 96.
45 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Wine, xx; Jackson and Neill, *Selected Plays*, 295; John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (New York, 1997), 4.

46 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 101. Britland also refers to her earlier discussion (27–33) of the name as alluding to the character 'Crispinus' in Jonson's *Poetaster*, taken to be a satiric portrait of Marston himself. Crispinella, under this view, would be a diminutive comic female image of Marston though 'in no way intended as a sustained self-portrait' (33).

47 Jackson and Neill, *Selected Plays*, 295; *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 101.

48 See the discussion in Clubb, *Italian Drama*, 268–9 in relation to Beatrice in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

49 Juvenal, 'Satura VI', ed. G.G. Ramsay (New York, 1918); rpt in *Perseus Digital Library*, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2007.01.0093%3Abook%3D2%3Apoem%3D6. Translation mine.

50 Virgil, 'Copa', in *Virgil*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson, 2 vols (Cambridge MA, 2001), 2.438. Translation mine.

51 *OED*, s.v. 'crisp', 1.

52 Thomas Hudson, *The Historie of Judith in Forme of a Poeme* (Edinburgh, 1584), 4.51–2, ed. James Craigie (Edinburgh, 1941), 58.

53 Howard, 'Mastering Difference', 109.

54 Frances K. Barasch, 'Shakespeare and the Italians', *The Shakespearean International Yearbook* 1 (1999), 240–54.

55 See, for example, Robert Henke, 'Back to the Future: A Review of Comparative Studies in Shakespeare and the Commedia dell'Arte', *Early Theatre* 11.2 (2008), 227–40; Eric Nicholson, 'Ophelia Sings like a Prima Donna Innamorata: Ophelia's Mad Scene and the Italian Female Performer', in *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Drama*, ed. Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (Aldershot, 2008), 81–98; Pamela Allen Brown, *The Diva's Gift to the Shakespearean Stage* (forthcoming); Brown, 'Cattle of this Colour'.

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Sophie Tomlinson

Sensuality, Spirit, and Society in *The Dutch Courtesan* and Lording Barry's *The Family of Love* (1608)

This essay stages a dialogue between The Dutch Courtesan *and the comparatively neglected* The Family of Love *by Lording Barry, discussing the differing ways Marston and Barry deploy the Familist fellowship that had recently come under fire from England's reigning monarch. I juxtapose the dramatists' representation of sensuality and spirituality across a broad range of characters. By attending to their shared preoccupation with the humoural, excretory body, the essay shows how these comedies leave us with divergent social visions.*

Facets of *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Family of Love* suggest that the plays not only share a common context of Jacobethan comedy, but also were written in dialogue with one another. Both plays share proximate dates of composition, performance by London boy companies, and interest in the religious fellowship stigmatized by King James I as 'that vile sect … called the Familie of loue'.[1] Each animates the humoural, excretory body with a flamboyance typical of boy companies' youthful actors. In other respects, the plays offer contrasting perspectives. While John Marston's plot requires the expulsion of the Dutch courtesan and the erotic disappointment of the Familist Mistress Mulligrub, in Lording Barry's comedy the sole woman upbraided in the dénouement is the doctor's wife, Mistress Glister, whose flaws consist of anger at her husband's disloyalty and a fixation on cleanliness.

The reading that follows rests on the hypothesis that Barry and Marston wrote their comedies within less than two years of each other, between 'late summer or autumn of 1604' and the end of 1606.[2] This conjecture makes sense of the plays' rich intertextual and intertheatrical relationship. Assuredly, the influence runs one-way; *The Family of Love* emulates and pastiches Marston's play at many points. The playwrights' dramatic use of Familism is one element leading

Sophie Tomlinson (s.tomlinson@auckland.ac.nz) is senior lecturer in English and drama at the University of Auckland.

Charles Cathcart to propose that *The Family of Love* is 'a play partly composed by Marston'.[3] But while *The Dutch Courtesan* inhabits *The Family of Love* to an uncanny degree, this coexistence occurs not because Marston had a hand in the writing, but because Barry was a consummate 'sampler' of Elizabethan drama.[4]

This essay explores the comedies' representation of Familism concentrated in their citizen women. It next considers women as commodities in both texts, comparing the varieties of female wit each playwright stages. Linking with these discussions, I focus on the authors' portrayals of the earthy, sensual body. Finally, by analyzing the plays' strikingly different endings, I propose that Marston and Barry leave their audiences with divergent social visions; to paraphrase Montaigne on marriage and 'amorous' love, 'Indeed these [plays] have affinitie; but therewithall great difference'.[5]

The Family of Love was a mystical religious fellowship founded by Dutch merchant Hendrik Niclaes in the early 1540s. It took root in England in the mid-1570s via printed translations of Niclaes's writings by Christopher Vittels, an itinerant, bilingual spiritual teacher. English Familism developed as 'a series of micro-networks', bound together by 'kinship, intermarriage, trading interests, the use of coded phrases, household meetings and book-reading'. Familists denied Christ's divinity, believed in late baptism, and held that when divinely illuminated, or '"godded with God" [they could] live without fear of the Last Judgement since this experience made them inheritors of Christ's eternal kingdom'.[6] In reality an undogmatic group, Familists preferred outward conformity to proselytizing or martyrdom. Through attacks by the Family's 'clerical antagonists' under Elizabeth I, however, a stereotype of the Familists emerged as licentious, subversive, and hypocritical. Niclaes's welcoming of novices into a 'holie Communialtie … of Love' led to the perception by dramatists and the populace alike of this spiritual 'love' as a form of libertinism or sexual sharing.[7] Both *The Dutch Courtesan* and Barry's *Family of Love* build on the popular misperception of Familists as living in brothels. This sensationalized view of the Family flourished in inverse proportion to the group's decreasing cultural visibility as the seventeenth century wore on.[8]

The Family of Love charts a successful love intrigue between the impecunious Gerardine and Maria, the closely confined niece of the mercenary, promiscuous Doctor Glister. Their romance plays out against the backdrop of two citizen households, the Glisters and the Purges. Mistress Purge attends Familist meetings independently, arousing her husband's suspicions about her marital fidelity. The libertines Lipsalve and Gudgeon hunt after sex and solubility (freedom from constipation), receiving more than they bargain for from Glister with respect to

the latter. An intriguing alliance between the gentle Gerardine and the 'precise' merchant Dryfat ensures the lovers' victory over Glister.[9]

From the vantage-point of plot, the Familist fellowship is central to Barry's comedy but incidental to Marston's. Barry's play involves two Familist meetings attended by three characters and infiltrated by three more. Differing accounts of what transpired in one meeting are crucial to the dénouement. Marston invokes the Family of Love in the context of the brothel run by Mary Faugh and the Familist household of the vintner Mulligrub. His characters use the full name 'the Family of Love' as if signalling the audience each time they invoke the scandalous group. This single note differs markedly from the casual, pervasive resonances of 'the Family', 'Familists', and their meetings in Barry's play.[10] *The Family of Love,* moreover, has its characters discuss Familist spiritual beliefs and practices not just with mockery and alarm, but with genuine interest. Informed by older critical assumptions, Margot Heinemann nonetheless made a valuable point when she wrote that 'both in realism and moral tone (if one can call it that) [Barry] is much closer to what he is describing'.[11]

Both *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Family of Love* feature citizen women who partner their husbands in trade: Mistress Mulligrub, wife to Mulligrub the tavern host, and Mistress Purge, wife to Purge the apothecary. Like city wives in contemporaneous comedies such as Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho* (1604), Jonson's *Epicene* (1609), and Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (1611), both women have husbands who perceive them as 'gadding' outside the home.[12] Each of them is the subject of unwitting sexual innuendo; each, to varying degrees, succumbs to the temptation of extra-marital sex. In common with Chapman's Florilla in *A Humorous Day's Mirth* (1597), whom the author represents as a puritan, both female Familists are characterized as broadly hypocritical. But where Florilla's religion is a solitary pursuit, the faith of Mistress Mulligrub and Mistress Purge is striking for its sociability, a characteristic that bears out Christopher Marsh's stress on the importance of 'patterns of sociability' to English Familism and Lollardism.[13]

As well as their work ethic and greed, Marston emphasizes the Mulligrub couple's aspiration to infiltrate the upper ranks of society. Mistress Mulligrub lends money to some of the 'squires, gentlemen, and knights' who 'diet at [her] table', probably at a high rate of interest. She further boasts of her intellectual authority over her husband: 'tis I that must bear a brain for all' (3.3.34–5).[14] This same scene mocks her pretence to superior intelligence when she unwittingly hands over to a disguised Cocledemoy the expensive standing-cup Mulligrub bought from Master Garnish, the goldsmith, to replace the 'nest of goblets'

Cocledemoy stole from their tavern at the play's outset (1.1.7). While she bears the name that conveys her husband's weakness, expressing both the fits of depression and stomach ache that were known as the 'mulligrubs', Mistress Mulligrub has more equanimity than the vintner.[15] Marston shows her predisposition to chat at the start of the scene in which the Garnishes' servant Lionel delivers the replacement cup. An entreaty to Lionel to 'Stay and drink' shows the generosity of a woman used to playing the host. Enquiring after his mistress, with whom she has been 'inward' (3.3.3), Mistress Mulligrub segues into a reminiscence of her youthful intimacy with Lionel's master, who, she says, 'knew me before I was married' (6). This steering of the discourse toward the subject of sex culminates in Mistress Mulligrub's extolling of a handsome wife's erotic power as a magnet for customers: 'In troth, a fine-faced wife in a wainscot-carved seat is a worthy ornament to a tradesman's shop, and an attractive, I warrant. Her husband shall find it in the custom of his ware' (11–15). The monologue creates a strong feeling of the older woman exploiting the younger male servant's sense of obligation; the impression that Mistress Mulligrub is coming on to him is borne out by the fact that Lionel does not reply.

As well as hinting at Sapphic relations, Mistress Mulligrub's reference to being 'inward' with the socially superior goldsmith's wife shows that *The Dutch Courtesan* 'is surprisingly attuned to Familist vocabulary'.[16] As Cathcart points out, 'inward' embraces devotional and sexual senses; the anonymous comedy *Club Law* (1600), which influenced *The Family of Love,* uses the word thus.[17] The quarto list of characters in *The Dutch Courtesan* refers to the goldsmith as 'Master Burnish', but otherwise in the text he is called 'Master Garnish'. In Vittels's translations of Niclaes's texts the word 'garnish' evokes an embellished quality of spiritual beauty, consequent on believers' confessing their sins and embracing Christ's mercy. In his *Epistolae* (1575), Niclaes urges his readers (or listeners) to 'laye open the Inwardness of your heartes; and bring forth right fruits of Repentance … suffer yourselves to be washed with the pure and safe-making Water of the Love … receaved into the holy Comunialtiee of Love, to be fellow-members of the Bodye of Jesu Christ, and understanding in holy Garnishing'.[18] Once entered into this spiritual space, Niclaes implies, believers will be adorned but also armed with Christ's mercy.[19] Thus the quarto of *The Dutch Courtesan* encourages us to view the Mulligrubs and the Garnishes as a Familist cell bound by trading interests and coded language.

While Marston represents the Mulligrub household and Mary Faugh's brothel as Familist-affiliated spaces, Barry concentrates his Familism within the Purge domicile, identifying only one marital partner — Mistress Purge — as a devotee.

Yet her religion radiates outwards in a distinctive, sociable manner. The first act of *The Family of Love* ends with a supper party at the Purges, at which Gerardine's will is sealed prior to his (apparently) going to sea. Master Purge is Gerardine's cousin. The other guests are the Glisters and Maria; the gallants Lipsalve and Gudgeon; and Dryfat, who urges Glister to favour Maria's marriage to his friend Gerardine. The group forms a close-knit community, bonded by kinship, friendship, and profession. As co-host and recipient of a legacy, Mistress Purge occupies a prominent role in the scene. Furthermore, she challenges the gallants who arrive direct from the playhouse: 'This playing is not lawful, for *I cannot find* that either plays or players were allowed in the prime church of Ephesus by the elders' (1.3.97–8, emphasis mine). In the context of a puritan sect, 'elders' would have taken a leading role in the management of church affairs, often acting in concert with the minister. Mistress Purge's remark has a parallel in *The Dutch Courtesan* where Mistress Mulligrub cites a personal conversation with 'one of our elders [who] assured me … tobacco was not used in the congregation of the family of love' (3.4.4–6). The key difference between the passages is that Mistress Purge does her own research and speaks for herself, as indicated by the phrase 'I cannot find'. Her initiative squares with the quarto's designation of her in the list of characters as 'an elder in the Family'.[20] The fact that Mistress Purge takes her book with her to meetings further illustrates her active intelligence (3.2.79–80).

Both Barry and Marston depict Familism as a barometer by which these citizen women live their daily lives. Whereas Marston scapegoats his Familists, however, *The Family of Love* gives greater scope to discussion and questioning of the group's beliefs. Barry uses the lower-status figure of Club, the Purges' apprentice, to mediate popular notions of Familism, such as their promiscuity. After he delivers the trunk in which Gerardine is concealed to the doctor's, Mistress Glister asks Club, 'I prithee … what kind of creatures are these Familists? Thou art conversant with them' (2.4.59–60). More interesting than Club's reply, on this occasion, is Mistress Glister's curiosity about her neighbour's religion. She expresses concern that Mistress Purge may be trying to convert Glister: 'But tell me, doth she not endeavour to bring my doctor of her side and fraternity?' (71–2). Club takes advantage of Glister's entrance to deflect the question: 'Let him resolve that himself' (73). During his farewell feast, Gerardine had strategically warned Mistress Glister of her husband's adultery with Mistress Purge: 'Let me tell you in private that the doctor cuckolds Purge oftener than he visits one of his patients; what 'a spares from you, 'a spends lavishly on her' (1.3.143–5). The questions Mistress Glister puts to Club derive not solely from her desire for more knowledge

about Familism; they also constitute discreet digging around the possibility that Mistress Purge has seduced her husband.

In comparison with Marston, Barry is relaxed about his citizen wife's immorality; Mistress Purge *is* having an affair with Doctor Glister, but this adultery is not the focus of the comedy's interest. In fact, the mock trial in act 5 vindicates Mistress Purge from a charge of concupiscence brought against her by her husband, not referring to Glister but to an incident Purge engineers to make his wife appear guilty. In the view of the attorney 'Poppin the proctor', a role played at the trial by Dryfat, the wider social threat represented by 'loose-bodied' Familists such as Mistress Purge is that men's 'wives, the only ornaments of their houses and of all their wares, goods, and chattels the chief movables, will be made common' (5.2.163, 169–71). In this passage, the sexual commonality practiced by the Family of Love poses a direct threat to the position of women as commodities to be exchanged between men. But Barry's innovative treatment of the ring motif in Purge's plot against his wife exposes the anxiety voiced by Poppin for exactly the catastrophizing it is. In this way, Barry's comedy exposes masculinist ideology more pointedly than does Marston's.

In Marston's play, the ring that gets passed sequentially from Beatrice to Freevill to Malheureux to Franceschina and back again to Freevill, now disguised as the pander Don Dubon, symbolizes *The Dutch Courtesan*'s 'challenge to the idea of woman as commodity'.[21] Franceschina's desire for the ring drives the 'intensely humorous interaction' in which she asks Malheureux to kill Freevill, requesting the love token gifted him by Beatrice as proof of his death.[22] The voluptuous desire aroused in Malheureux by the courtesan's toying with him fuses with Franceschina's pitch of sensual passion, uttered aside and marking the separation of their goals as well as their staged bodies. Malheureux ponders his task while Franceschina voices her anger to the audience:

> Now does my heart swell high, for my revenge
> Has birth and form. First, friend sall kill his friend;
> He dat survives, I'll hang; besides de chaste
> Beatrice I'll vex. Only de ring! (2.2.221–4)

Franceschina's coveting of Freevill's ring calibrates her desire for revenge, rendering her a figure of passion, bloodlust, and devilishness. The ferocity with which she longs for the ring is patent. Nothing in *The Family of Love* resembles this tone of authentic menace.

Refreshingly, Barry puts a new spin on a ring as a symbol of wifely chastity in the subplot of *The Family of Love* concerning the efforts of the libertines Gudgeon

and Lipsalve to seduce Mistress Purge. To this end, they disguise themselves as Familists and infiltrate a meeting of the fellowship. They are foiled by the jealous Purge who, himself disguised and 'the candle out' (4.4.7), takes the wedding ring from his wife's finger as testimony of her infidelity. The action involving the ring in Barry's play inverts the dynamic of the bed tricks familiar to us from comic plots where a woman deceives a man by substituting herself for another in his bed. So Angelo is deceived when he takes Mariana for Isabella in *Measure for Measure,* and Alsemero in *The Changeling* when he has sex with Diaphanta rather than Beatrice.[23] At the trial of his wife, Purge insinuates a coupling took place with a triumphant flourish: 'Short tale to make, I got her ring, and here it is! Let her deny it if she can, and what more I discovered, *non est tempus narrandi locus* [now is not the place for telling]' (5.3.241–3).

Mistress Purge telling Dryfat in a previous encounter that 'we fructify best i'th' dark' (3.2.17–18) primes the audience for the notion of sex under the cover of Familist night-time meetings. She further avers, 'These senses, as you term them, are of much efficacy in carnal mixtures … when we crowd and thrust a man and a woman together' (45–6). Purge's choice of verb in his testimony echoes his wife's earlier statement as he testifies, 'I … thrust in amongst the rest (as I had most right), on purpose to sound her, to find out the knavery' (5.3.238.41). Barry knocks back the jealous husband's attempt to frame, and publicly shame, his wife. Purge's charge suffers at first by the gallants' inability to testify to anything more than kissing Rebecca Purge, 'once at coming, once at going, and once in the midst' of the meeting (210–11). Gerardine, now disguised as Doctor Stickler, a judge, dismisses their evidence as insufficient. Mistress Purge delivers the weightiest blow to the apothecary. Pushed to explain the ring's whereabouts, she assumes an attitude of sprezzatura:

> My wedding ring? Why, what should I do with unnecessary things about me when the poor begs at my gate ready to starve? … Now truly … however he came by that ring, by my sisterhood, I gave it to the relief of the distressed Geneva.' (5.2.222–4, 233–5)

In claiming to have donated her ring to the Protestant burghers of the besieged Geneva, Mistress Purge puts humanitarian need and religio-political allegiance above the demands of marital loyalty. She shifts nimbly from this defiance of conventional mores to a humanistic appeal to the 'right use of feeling and knowledge'. She addresses Purge:

> as if I knew you not then, as well as the child knows his own father. Look in the posy of my ring: does it not tell you that we two are one flesh? And hath not fellow-feeling taught us to know one another as well by night as by day? Now, as true as I live I had a secret operation, and I knew him then to be my husband e'en by very instinct. (5.3.244–53)

In a similar vein to Mariana in act 5, scene 1 of *Measure for Measure* (1604), Mistress Purge asserts agency and consent in the sexual encounter, punningly alleging that, despite the secrecy of the night-time meeting, she 'knew' Purge as her husband.[24] Few characters can rival the Falstaffian élan with which Mistress Purge claims 'a secret operation' that allowed her to sense her husband's body 'by very instinct'.[25]

More than bravado is at play in this confrontation between a Familist and her jealous husband. The values she espouses highlight Purge's blindness in seeking to subject her to public shame. This absence in Purge of what his wife terms a 'light of nature' underpins her preservation of spiritual independence in response to his attempt to proscribe her pursuit of her faith. When Purge reluctantly makes peace with the proviso that his wife 'come no more at the Family', Mistress Purge replies, 'Truly husband, my love must be free still to God's creatures; yea, nevertheless preserving you still as the head of my body, I will do as the spirit shall enable me' (5.3.367–9). As Familists practiced their faith while professing conformity to the Church of England, so Mistress Purge pays lip service to patriarchal marriage with the key difference that she boldly declares her spiritual autonomy.[26] Simon Shepherd comments that 'the language of Puritanism allows [Mistress Purge] her freedom of sexual choice'.[27] We can be more specific than this assertion, for Rebecca Purge's declaration of faith echoes a verse of a Familist ballad printed in 1574:

> Let us obeye the Governours,
> And lyue under their lawes a;
> And eake to them all tribute paye,
> Eaven for the Peace's cause a.
> *Yet loue is free* though she agree,
> That they shall have such thynge a;
> And what is right to God Almight,
> That must wee to him brynge a.[28]

A suggestive consonance links Mistress Purge's qualified assent to her husband's 'favour' with the ballad's assertion that, although obedience to temporal authority is required, 'Yet love is free'.

Beyond Familist free love, purging and evacuation dominate *The Family of Love*'s rhetoric of bodily humours. Remarking on the 'dung-hill' humour found in the 'small, merry books' of early modern England, Margaret Spufford notes that 'jokes about defecation and urination' appear to have been universally relished in seventeenth-century England; women, as well as men in the playhouses, would have laughed at such jests.[29] In *The Dutch Courtesan* Cocledemoy's and Crispinella's language distinguishes itself with scatological oaths and quips. Cocledemoy rises to the philosophical insight that 'Every man's turd smells well in's own nose' (3.3.52–3). His questioning of Mulligrub on the scaffold, 'You do, from your hearts and midriffs and entrails, forgive him, then' (5.3.135–6), shows his refusal to divorce the affections from their visceral origins. Crispinella embraces the body wholeheartedly even while she makes fun of men's physicality. We see her robust attitude as she satirizes the male practice of saluting women, declaring 'I had as lief they would break wind in my lips' (3.1.24–5).

The association between doctors and the tubes with which they administered 'clysters' or enemas to their patients circulates in Jacobean satirical comedy.[30] When Cocledemoy addresses Mary Faugh as '[his] worshipful clyster-pipe' (1.2.12), the joke is that Faugh administers women to men as a doctor administers enemas or suppositories. Barry fully embraces the obscene pun in naming his play's antagonist 'Doctor Glister'. With sure comic instinct, he juxtaposes his disease-spreading, 'pocky doctor' (3.3.66) with an ultra-fastidious wife. Barry took a few hints from Marston's female vintner for his house-proud Mistress Glister, such as Mistress Mulligrub's sensitivity to tobacco smoke and her scolding of the boy servants for their 'arsy-varsy' laying of the table (68). Early in *The Family of Love* Mistress Glister cautions her servant: 'I pray, let's have no polluted feet nor rheumatic chaps enter the house' (2.4.1–2). No wonder that she is severely tried by the visit of Gerardine disguised as a London porter who coughs, spits, and smells, threatening her punctilios of hygiene. Dressed in a white labourer's frock, complete with porter's badge, Gerardine delivers a letter for Doctor Glister purporting to come from one 'Thomasine Tweedles', wet nurse to Glister's alleged bastard in the country (4.3.88). The fraudulent letter serves a dual purpose. Arousing jealousy in Mistress Glister, it biases her to believe that her husband is unfaithful; reading it deflects her attention from Gerardine, who takes the opportunity to update Maria (the Glisters' niece) on their love intrigue's progress.

> MISTRESS GLISTER Did ever such a peasant defile my floor, or breathe so near me! — I'faith, sirrah, you would be bummed [walloped[31]] for your roguery if you were well served.
>
> GERARDINE I am bummed ['My bum sticks out'[32]] well enough already, mistress. Look here else: [*Offering his bum to Mistress Glister*] sir-reverence in your worship, master doctor's lips are not made of better stuff. (4.3.73–78)

Gerardine has introduced himself to Mistress Glister as 'Nicholas Nebulo', a marked allusion to Hendrik Niclaes.[33] The surname 'Nebulo' pokes fun at the esoteric discourse produced by the Dutch mystic, the meaning of which is often hard to make out. Gerardine's demeanour as a London porter demands a strongly physical impersonation, set off by traits of bodily incontinence shared with figures such as the hard-drinking merchants Hans Van Belch in Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!* (1605) and Franceschina's former client Haunce Herkin Glukin Skellam Flapdragon (2.2.19n).[34] According to Mistress Glister, 'Nicholas' reeks of 'grease and taps-droppings' (a Barry neologism for beer), and he admits to the fashionable habit of taking 'tobacco at the alehouse' to cure his cough (4.3.67, 72). Possible effluvia associated with him in this sequence include sweat, saliva, phlegm, vomit, and excrement. The performative puns that typify the repertoire of the King's Revels Children lend gusto to this passage.[35]

Another way that Marston's and Barry's comedies speak to each other is through their dramatization of female wit, particularly that of the unmarried women Crispinella and Maria.

As defined by Marston's Crispinella, 'Virtue is a free, pleasant, buxom quality' (3.1.51–2). Maria's enthusiastic invocation of Gerardine's 'buxom limbs' (3.4.2) after they have made love in Barry's play seems partly inspired by Crispinella's Montaignian-inflected account of virtue. In early modern English the epithet 'buxom' gathers to itself the senses of 'pliant', 'vigorous', 'lively', as well as 'plump' and 'wanton'.[36] Of course, neither Maria nor Crispinella has a monopoly on wit in their respective plays; witness the musically accomplished Franceschina or the voluble, articulate Mistress Glister. Given the conversation between the plays, it is perhaps unsurprising that Barry scripts a balcony scene for Maria in *The Family of Love* that requires the actor to sing.[37] The intimate environment of the Whitefriars playhouse, the well-honed association between feminine singing and pathos, as well as a talented youthful performer contribute to this moment. To a greater extent than other characters in Barry's play, Maria pushes at comedy's boundaries. Her body swells with her and Gerardine's child over the course of the

action, threatening to shame and betray her. In a troubled soliloquy, she indicates their lovemaking has given 'life and limb to generation's act'; she portrays her body as a text inscribed with 'wordless notes' of guilt, representing a potential 'argument of scorn' (5.2.1–4). From the moment of her entrance in the play's final scene, Maria is silent; this is a feature she shares with her romantic counterpart, Marston's Beatrice. I offer below one example of the way Beatrice may be made expressive in performance terms of posture, gesture, and facial changes, to add nuance to Marston's dénouement. In Maria's case, her body is made to speak by Mistress Glister who addresses the court, intent on incriminating her lecherous husband: 'what say you to his own niece *that looks big upon him?*' (5.3.322–3, emphasis mine). This marvellous performative pun evokes Maria's physicality in the sense of her being 'big with child'; it implies further that she looks boldly at Glister, confronting her uncle with his alleged misdeed.

Having examined some features these plays have in common, as well as some of their differences, can we draw meaningful connections between the endings of *The Family of Love* and *The Dutch Courtesan?* The latter prepares its audience for two executions, that of Malheureux and Master Mulligrub; in the manner of tragicomedy, the play forestalls both. Mistress Mulligrub presents herself at her husband's imminent hanging as a supportive spouse. In 3.3 she is caught off-guard by the whirlwind of Cocledemoy's cunning, exclaiming 'How everything about me quivers' (3.4.95). In the last scene she becomes similarly affected by her husband's reprieve, stating 'I could weep, too, but God knows for what!' (5.3.162–3). Reading empathetically, one might say that her humoural responsiveness resonates with her spiritual practice. Moments earlier, she has reassured Cocledemoy, 'I have a piece of mutton and a featherbed for you at all times' (100–1). The overriding impression is that Mistress Mulligrub feels disappointed at losing the conviviality and social prestige offered to her by Cocledemoy when he invokes his status as a widower and glances at the citizen wife being 'almost a widow' (98).

Mistress Purge's short-circuiting of Purge's revelation of her ring in *The Family of Love* prompts reflection on the formal substitutions created by Marston's comic design. Freevill tries to substitute Malheureux for himself in Franceschina's bed, but her keen apprehension of men's inconstancy drives Franceschina to block that plot with her demand that Malheureux kill Freevill, giving her the ring Beatrice gave him as proof of his death. Through his witty deceits, Cocledemoy substitutes himself as proprietor of all of Mulligrub's possessions (including his wife's bed), but his plot doesn't depend on keeping these possessions. Both Cocledemoy and Freevill bring their 'alter ego' to near-death confessions, but neither man

recognizes their shared likeness as manipulative rascals who have wriggled out of punishment. Freevill displaces his culpability onto Franceschina, saying, 'what you can think / Has been extremely ill is only hers' (5.3.56–7). Having witnessed his callous use of Franceschina and Beatrice, the audience feels troubled by his attempted manoeuvre. In the 2019 Toronto production, during Freevill's indictment of Franceschina (37–57), the actor who played Beatrice widened her eyes and raised an eyebrow in a manner that led some spectators to question the justice of Franceschina's fate. Such questioning sits awkwardly with celebration. Both university productions of the play at York in the United Kingdom (2013) and Toronto omitted a concluding dance, notwithstanding Cocledemoy's invocation of 'merry nuptials and wanton jigga-joggies' (171–2).

If *The Dutch Courtesan* leads us to question the patriarchal society it dramatizes, *The Family of Love*'s conclusion may be read as 'a carnivalesque reaffirmation of patriarchy'. In this reading put forward by Christopher Marsh, Barry's comedy works as a caution against 'bad patriarchy [which] forces good people, like Gerardine and Maria, to behave mischievously'.[38] Alongside this reading, we should consider the effect of both plays in performance. The Children of the King's Revels was a company composed of 'younge men [and] ladds'.[39] While Mary Bly estimates that the actors 'were probably between 14 and 17 years of age', Lucy Munro shows that players from the Children of the Queen's Revels, who acted *The Dutch Courtesan,* performed into their early twenties. Importantly, the actors comprising both companies were, in Munro's words, 'sexually liminal adolescent performers'.[40] In Marston's tragicomedy, the theatrical power of a young male actor playing Franceschina mitigates both the disempowerment of her 'will' and her hauling away by officers 'to the extremest whip and jail!' (*Dutch Courtesan,* 5.3.63).[41] The young lovers in Barry's play defeat the lecherous Glister with palpable ebullience; the displaying of Maria's swollen belly contributes to the scene's hyper-theatricality. Sarah Scott suggests *The Family of Love* 'should end with a marriage or a dance, preferably both'[42] because these actions would celebrate Maria's and Gerardine's union. The predominant tone of the last scene is riotous merriment, effecting what Dryfat calls 'the death of melancholy' (5.3.2). Once the lovers clinch their victory over the avaricious doctor for whom 'wealth command[ed] all' (3.1.163), the disguised Gerardine, Dryfat, and Club reveal themselves, as do Freevill and Cocledemoy at the end of Marston's play. *The Family of Love* enacts no final expulsion; instead, its hero Gerardine goodhumouredly invites everyone to 'join with me, / For approbation of our Family' (5.3.391–2). He punningly draws together his wife-to-be Maria, and their unborn

child, with the Familist fellowship satirized in the play, the play *The Family of Love,* the ensemble of actors, and the audience.

The dialogue between *The Dutch Courtesan* and *The Family of Love* with which this essay has been concerned indicates a lively interest in religious separatism among Jacobean coterie theatre playwrights and audiences. Composed and performed in close proximity to *The Dutch Courtesan,* Barry's comedy pays enthusiastic homage to Marston's. While Marston displays a paranoid approach to religious dissent, his treatment of citizen women as Familists, commodities, and wits inspired Barry's interest and emulation. Both dramatists emphasize the sensual female body. Each of them experiments with new registers of female speech: Crispinella, Beatrice, and Maria all have their own way of speaking back. Both plays end in trial scenes; both suggest that men abuse freedom and that women might do a better job of preparing a new generation for public life. As a mixed mode play, *The Dutch Courtesan* has greater subtlety than Barry's bawdy farce. Franceschina may leave the stage, but her theatrical impact prevents her from fading out. While Marston's play has enjoyed a modest number of modern productions, *The Family of Love* remains unperformed in modern times.[43] Though critical opinion has been unfavourable, a re-attribution and a twenty-first-century edition of Barry's play should stir up interest. If some visionary (and well-endowed) theatre company should stage these plays in parallel, then the dialogue between Marston's and Barry's treatment of religious minorities, sensualized women, and witty actresses would take on new life.

Notes

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1 King James I, *Basilikon Doron. Or His Majesties Instructions to his Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince* (Edinburgh, 1603; STC 14351), A4v.

2 I cite the composition date proposed for *The Dutch Courtesan* by Karen Britland, who estimates that the play was performed 'in the early months of 1605', 'Introduction', in *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018), 62. It was played by the Blackfriars Boys. Barry completed *The Family of Love* between mid-May 1605 and the end of 1606, which was performed by the Children of the King's Revels at their Whitefriars playhouse in late 1606 or early 1607. See Gary Taylor, Paul Mulholland, and MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Thomas Middleton, Lording Barry, and *The Family of Love', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 93 (1999), 224, 239.

3 Charles Cathcart, *Marston, Rivalry, Rapprochement, and Jonson* (Aldershot, 2008), 8, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315594057.

4 The authorship debate on *The Family of Love* is beyond the scope of this essay. See Darren Freebury-Jones, Marina Talinskaja, and Marcus Dahl, 'Attributing John Marston's Plays', *Studia Metrica et Poetica* 5 (2018), 30–1, 47–8, https://doi.org/10.12697/smp.2018.5.1.02; MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Lording Barry, Trigrams and *The Family of Love*', *Notes and Queries* 66 (2019), 49–52, https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjy197.

5 *The Essayes of Michael, Lord of Montaigne,* trans. John Florio, 3 vols (London, 1897), 3.5.102–3.

6 Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge, 1994), 30; Jean Dietz Moss, 'Variations on a Theme: The Family of Love in Renaissance England', *Renaissance Quarterly* 31 (1978), 189. See also Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia, 2014), 47–50, https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812290066.

7 J.W. Martin, 'Elizabethan Familists and English Separatism', *Journal of British Studies* 20 (1980), 56, n8; H[endrik] N[iclaes], *The Prophetie of the Spirit of Love* (Cologne, 1574), C5. On Niclaes's concept of 'communialtie', see Martin, 'Elizabethan Familists', 62.

8 Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), 76.
9 Lording Barry, *The Family of Love,* ed. Sophie Tomlinson, Revels Plays (Manchester, forthcoming), 4.2.34. Hereafter references appear in parentheses in the text.
10 Barry's play references 'Familist(s)' eight times, 'Family' or 'the Family' twenty-nine times, and 'the Family of Love' twice. Britland renders *The Dutch Courtesan*'s three usages of 'family of love' in lower case (1.1.158, 1.2.18, 3.4.6).
11 Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuart* (Cambridge, 1980), 83.
12 See further on 'gadding' in this issue's essay by Andrew Fleck, 'Proximity and the Pox: Pathologizing Infidelity in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*', 100. With the exception of the essay title, where '1608' is the publication date of *The Family of Love* quarto, dates in parentheses following play titles in the main text of this essay are dates of performance.
13 Marsh, *Family of Love in English Society,* 30.
14 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). All further references to the play are to this edition.
15 *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), s.v. 'mulligrub', n., 1a, 1b.
16 'Introduction', *Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Britland, 58.
17 Charles Cathcart, '*Club Law, The Family of Love,* and the Familist Sect', *Notes and Queries* 50 (2003), 67–8, https://doi.org/10.2307/20477986.
18 Hendrik Niclaes, *Epistolae HN, the Principall Epistles of HN* (Cologne, 1575; STC: 18552), 8; 'Introduction', *Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Britland, 53.
19 *OED Online,* s.v. 'garnish', v. 2a (OBS).
20 See Moss, 'Variations on a Theme': 'The elders, or priests as they were termed interchangeably [in Niclaes' group], advanced through ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as they increased in "holy understanding" … Interestingly, women were eligible to become members of the first rank of the priesthood in Niclaes' scheme though they could rise no higher' (192). Christopher Marsh, '"Godlie matrons" and "loose-bodied dames": Heresy and Gender in the Family of Love', in *Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture,* ed. David Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge, 2007), 60–1, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511627507.004.
21 Sarah K. Scott, 'Discovering the Sins of the Cellar in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013), 70. See also in this issue Meghan C. Andrews, 'How Marston Read His Merchant: Ruled Women and Structures of Circulation in The Dutch Courtesan', and Noam Lior, '"Unwholesome Reversions": Contagion as Dramaturgy in The Dutch Courtesan'.
22 *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Britland, 2.2.190–3n.

23 Marliss C. Desens calculates that (based on her research), 'male characters arrange almost 60 percent of bed-tricks in English Renaissance drama, [thus] the bed-trick is not a convention exclusive to female characters', *The Bed-Trick in English Renaissance Drama: Explorations in Gender, Sexuality, and Power* (Newark, 1994), 59. For Desens's discussion of the bed trick in *The Family of Love,* which she treats as authored by Middleton, see 74–5.

24 William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure,* in *The Norton Shakespeare,* gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York, 2016), 5.1.205–8. I am indebted to Melinda Gough for this point. Subsequent references to Shakespeare's plays cite this edition.

25 Compare Falstaff's claim to have recognized Prince Hal during the Gadshill robbery: 'I knew ye as well as he that made ye'; William Shakespeare, *1 Henry 4,* 2.4.244. Mistress Purge adapts the proverb 'it is a wise child that knows his own father'; see M.P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), C309.

26 Martin, 'Elizabethan Familists', 55, 58, 66–7; Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas,* 49–50.

27 Simon Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (Brighton, 1981), 61.

28 W.[illliam] S.[eres], 'Another Ballad, out of Good-Will', in *The Roxburghe Ballads,* ed. J. Woodfall Ebsworth (Hertford, 1896), 8.40, emphasis mine. See Marsh, *Family of Love in English Society,* 42–3.

29 Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1981), 184. For evidence of early modern noblewomen telling and enjoying bawdy jests, see Pamela Allen Brown, 'Jesting Rights: Women Players in the Manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange', in *Women Players in England, 1500–1660,* ed. Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin (Aldershot, 2005), 305–14.

30 See, for example, Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *Westward Ho!* (London, 1607; STC: 6540), *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*), A3: 'what meanes hath your Husband to allow sweet doctor Glister-pipe, his pention?'

31 *OED,* s.v. 'bum', v.[3], 1.

32 *OED,* s.v. 'bum', v.[4], 1.

33 Cathcart, '*Club Law*', 66–7.

34 Helen Ostovich has suggested to me that Flapdragon's full name itself is incontinent as 'it all rushes out like projectile vomiting or violent bowel expulsions', as might the brandy-soaked flaming raisins in the game flapdragon when a player cannot tolerate the burning.

35 Mary Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queans on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford, 2000), 116.

36 These definitions are my glosses of the word 'buxom' in Barry, *The Family of Love,* 3.4.2n.

37 I indicate this action in my edition of Barry, *The Family of Love,* 1.2.80–2n.

38 Christopher Marsh, 'Heresy and Gender', 74, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315233703.

39 Articles of agreement between Martin Slater and shareholders in the Whitefriars Playhouse, 10 March 1608, cited in H.N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*, 1926 (New York, 1964), 224.

40 Bly, *Queer Virgins*, 127; Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge, 2005), 41, 47, http://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511486067.

41 Tom Bishop's discussion of Franceschina's continental genealogy is illuminating in this respect; see in this issue Tom Bishop, '"La bella Franceschina" and other foreign names in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan'*, esp. 50–4.

42 Sarah K. Scott, '"Modern for the times": Barry, Marlowe, and Ovid', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1800* 60 (2020), forthcoming.

43 Britland lists eleven productions of *The Dutch Courtesan*, 'Modern Productions Cited', 264–5. She omits a 1992 production by the Orange Tree Theatre, Richmond (Peter Porter, 'Cage of Discontent', *TLS*, 6 November 1992, 18) and an 'off-off-Broadway production by the Casa Italiana Renaissance Theatre (June 1966)'. For the latter, see John Marston, *The Selected Plays of John Marston*, ed. MacDonald P. Jackson and Michael Neill (Cambridge, 1986), 161. The 2019 Toronto production brings the current tally to fourteen.

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Andrew Fleck

Proximity and the Pox: Pathologizing Infidelity in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*

Marston's Dutch Courtesan *links the dangers of sexually transmitted infection and false religious doctrine, both spread by the Family of Love. The play finds dark comedy in the syphilis epidemic that urban sexual promiscuity perpetuated and in ridiculous religious heterodoxy. Both seem to thrive on infidelity. By making the tavern-owning Mulligrubs, the sex worker Franceschina, and her bawd Mary Faugh members of the Family of Love, Marston makes the corporeal dangers of illicit sex during an epidemic even more dangerous when its companion is the contagion of Familism, threatening to spread as efficiently as the syphilis ravaging early modern London.*

When he first arrives on stage, Cocledemoy, the exuberant joker of John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan,* trades affectionate insults with his paramour Mary Faugh. Their ribald banter first touches on the set of costly goblets they stole from Mulligrub the vintner, described in the previous scene. Cocledemoy demands their stolen goods from his 'worshipful, rotten, rough-bellied bawd', the 'blue-toothed patroness of natural wickedness' (1.2.3–5).[1] Doubting his intentions, Mary Faugh at first refuses, prompting Cocledemoy to launch into a witty — if somewhat elliptical and truncated — defence of his plans to profit from the theft. 'Restitution is Catholic', he says, 'and thou know'st we love —', but he leaves this thought hanging in the air, again insulting his lover as a 'worshipful clyster-pipe' and commenting on her profession (8–9, 12). Mary Faugh parries the insults of this 'foulest-mouthed, profane, railing *brother*', the first ironic phrase hinting at her sectarian identity, and then proudly professes her calling, 'a bawd that covers a multitude of sins', and her religious identity, 'one of the family of love … none of the wicked that eat fish o'Fridays' (14–15, 18–20). In the space of about two dozen lines introducing this unscrupulous couple, Marston comically weaves together sex work, divergent religious identities, and a sexually transmitted

Andrew Fleck (ajfleck@utep.edu) is associate professor of English and director of the Liberal Arts Honors Program at the University of Texas.

pathogen. As with many of the comedies set in Jacobean London, *The Dutch Courtesan* explores the commerce in sex and the risks of infection that result from sexual infidelity. Many London comedies of the period also explore infidelity of a religious kind, with overzealous or hypocritical characters turning from orthodox English Protestantism in favour of sectarian interests, and Marston's comedy takes up these issues as well, imagining a cell of members of the Family of Love, a disreputable sect popularly linked to sexual promiscuity, appropriate for a play centred on a Familist courtesan and her rotten bawd. In *The Dutch Courtesan,* however, Marston weaves together all of these concerns, creating a comedy in which infidelity — both unfaithfulness to the Church of England and unfaithfulness to monogamy as a result of dalliance with Familist sex workers — carries with it a potentially fatal infection of the body and the soul.

Syphilis in the Stews

A cloud of sexual contagion hovers over the London of Marston's *Courtesan.* In its opening scene, randy gallants comfort Mulligrub over the loss of gold vessels to Cocledemoy and his 'moveable chattel, his instrument of fornication, the bawd Mistress Mary Faugh' (1.1.18–20). As they bid one another good night, Tisefew's wistful valediction, '*Sound* wench, soft sleep, and sanguine dreams' (63–4, my emphasis), casually acknowledges how rarely his friends sleep with an uninfected woman. Cocledemoy, who makes similar gibes when departing from gallants, hopes Freevill will have 'Grace and mercy' to 'keep your syringe straight' (1.2.82), a medical joke about the risk to his friend's member and its potency by keeping company with Franceschina, a sex worker. Later, as he tricks the young apprentice barber Holofernes Reinscure into lending him the tools of his trade, Cocledemoy offers a variety of knowing double entendres about a barber's main duty in taverns and brothels: the treatment of syphilis.[2] Preparing to 'shave' Mulligrub of more of the vintner's money, he makes several wisecracks, including one about the sexual contagion of the place, as Freevill leaves the courtesan Franceschina's rooms ('Does your worship want a barber surgeon?' [2.1.170]). Cocledemoy jokes frequently about syphilis, sometimes caustically, with the comedy's women, as we have seen. He calls Mary Faugh his 'fine rattling phlegmy cough o'the lungs and cold with a pox … my precious pand'ress, supportress of barber surgeons and enhauntress of lotium and diet drink' (1.2.22–6). As his remarks indicate, the threat of disease goes both ways, with Crispinella lamenting that healthy young women must accept social kissing, even 'if a nobleman or knight with one lock visit us, though his unclean, goose-turd-green teeth ha'the palsy … and his loose beard drops into

our bosom, yet we must kiss him with a cur'sy' (3.1.20–4). A suitor losing his facial hair, a symptom of syphilis, must still be kissed for courtesy's sake, even if it endangers a healthy young woman. Mary Faugh's recollection that it was she 'Who paid the apothecary' (2.2.30) suggests that Franceschina herself, as a result of her profession, has experienced sexual infections. Cocledemoy's ironic praise of Mary Faugh's profession, setting it 'above the twelve companies' because she sells 'the best ware … virginity, modesty and such rare gems … by wholesale' — referring to the sale of the prostitute's holes — returns to the cramped conditions of early modern London, where bawds must live and die well because 'they live in Clerkenwell and die in Bridewell' (1.2.32, 38–42, 58–9), one a parish notorious for its brothels, and the other a prison for women, many of them syphilitic prostitutes. Nearly everyone in Marston's cramped London worries about contracting syphilis.

The syphilis that swept through early modern London seems to have been more virulent and thus more terrifying than we may now realize. In England, its keenest observer was the surgeon William Clowes, whose *A Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions* appeared in three editions at the end of the sixteenth century. Clowes describes the terrifying symptoms of syphilis, which 'corrupteth the bloud, and poysoneth the whole body & bredeth in the partes thereof paynes, aches, ulcers, nod[e]s, and foule skabbs'.[3] He does not focus on the hair loss or the damage to the nose later commentators mention. For Clowes, among the most obvious signs that an individual has contracted syphilis, or the French disease, are the disfiguring sores and 'venemous pustules with a certayne hardnes sticking out in the head, forehead, browes, face, or beard, and in other partes of the bodye, especially about the secret partes, or lowest part of the bellye, or in the corners of the lippes, and that especially in infantes'.[4] This last detail about syphilis in infants points to the broad threat of the early modern disease. It could pass from infected nursemaids to infants at the breast. Physicians thought this disease could also be caught 'by sitting on the same stoole of easement which some infected persons frequenteth' or by sharing a cup with an infected person, wearing their cast-off clothing, or lying in sheets in which an infected person had slept.[5] Although he pities infants and others who innocently became infected, he has the greatest contempt for the 'filthy lyfe of many lewd and idell persons, both men, and women, about the citye of London', especially for those 'filthy creatures' who undergo treatment for the malady, 'the best kinde of cure used', and then 'reneweth' syphilis by returning to the source of disease.[6] The 'relentless' Clowes, as William Kerwin observes, combined moral opprobrium with a clear-eyed, empirical observation.[7] Early modern

syphilis in the popular imagination might have seemed as contagious as the more lethal bubonic plague found in the densely populated parishes of early modern London.

Women bore the popular and medical blame for the disease. Men's sexual violence may have spread the infection across Europe, but women were treated as the source of the outbreak. Peter Lowe, another London surgeon, recounts how soldiers carried the malady from one campaign to another. When he turns to fundamental questions about the transmission of the disease in individuals, however, he declares that 'this maladie proceedeth cheefely from the act of Venus, whe[n] men haue to doe with women polluted with that infection'.[8] The disease finds an amenable host in a woman's 'Matrix, whereof for the most part, proceedeth the originall of this disease'.[9] Thomas Nashe, in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem,* inveighs against the social sins he observes in London, misogynistically warning women not to make 'your bodies stincking dungeons for diseases to dwell in'.[10] Ascribing the source of pollution to women, these writers turn the city's brothels, in which women typically entertain a male clientele, into the most threatening source of this relatively new sexual affliction.

Early modern urban comedies make much of the connection between the relative anonymity of urban life, the attraction of the stews, and women's role in spreading the disease. In Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Honest Whore* (1604), for instance, Hippolito confronts the courtesan Bellafront with the variety of dangers she poses. He returns again and again to the risk to her own health and the health of her clients. Hippolito declares, for example, that 'a toad is happier then a whore' since the loathsome amphibian 'with *one* poison swells, with *thousands* more / The other stocks her veins' (2.1.360–2, my emphasis).[11] The sexually transmitted diseases within the prostitute's body represent an epidemic menace. Hippolito recalls examples of 'As many by *one* harlot, maym'd and dismembered, / As would ha' stuft an Hospitall' (332–3). From this hyperbolic description of Bellafront's threat to men's health, Hippolito descends into popular, comic stereotypes, asserting that her international clientele must surely include a syphilitic Frenchman who

> sticks to you faith: gives you your diet,
> Brings you acquainted, first with monsier Doctor,
> And then you know what followes. (356–8)[12]

The combination of moral disapproval and physical disgust in Hippolito's invective prompts Bellafront to abandon her profession, frustrating her many clients. In response, she urges them to heap calumny on her for her former life and to turn

away from their own incontinence. 'Let me perswade you to forsake all Harlots, / Worse then the deadliest poysons' (3.3.49–50), she declares, and further asks

> What shallow sonne and heire then, foolish gallant,
> Would waste all of his inheritance, to purchase
> A filthy, loathd disease. (60–2)[13]

While gallants may spend some of their wealth in order to enjoy a courtesan's favour, providing her with temporary gain, in the long term their offerings cannot help the courtesan when her body fails; moreover, the foolish gallants waste their remaining wealth acquiring the malady that will leave them financially, physically, and morally destitute.

Many other plays in the years before *The Dutch Courtesan* testify to the fear that female sex workers fostered the syphilis epidemic. Some familiar scenes from Shakespeare remind us of the prevalence of this discourse. Falstaff and his friends associate with bawds and prostitutes in Quickly's tavern. In *Henry IV Part Two* (1598), as figurative illness saps the nation's health, Falstaff and the prostitute Doll Tearsheet trade barbs about her role in 'mak[ing] the diseases' her clients take from her (2.4.41).[14] At the end of *Henry V* (1599), Pistol will report that, while he has been away in the wars, Doll has died 'i' th' spital of a malady of France' (5.1.73). The oppressive atmosphere of *Measure for Measure* (1604), in which sexual licentiousness and widespread sexual infection go hand in hand, is one in which 'sexual desire is intrinsically, disgracefully errant' to authority and when 'subject to public punishment, it becomes by reflex something to hide'.[15] The bawd, Mistress Overdone, arrives on stage prefaced with a series of punning references to syphilis.[16] Lucio announces the arrival of 'Madame Mitigation' by lamenting that he has 'purchased as many diseases under her roof as come to … three thousand dolors a year … [and] A French crown more' (1.2.41–8). Having earlier needled the First Gentleman with claims that he is losing his hair due to the effects of syphilis, Lucio derides him with a promise to toast 'thy health, but, whilst I live, forget to drink after thee' (36) lest he catch the French disease by sharing a cup. The gibes about additional symptoms of syphilis, such as hollow bones and sciatica, that they trade through the rest of the scene make light of the syphilis ravaging the city (superficially, Vienna, though recognizably London) and prompting Angelo's crackdown on sexual vices in the capital.

Freevill, the compromised protagonist of *The Dutch Courtesan,* expresses some of the same fears of lurking sexual contagion in the urban squalor that figures elsewhere in the play and in other contemporary city comedies. This gallant, who chooses between 'the love of a courtesan and a wife' (1–2), according to the

comedy's '*Fabulae argumentum*', witnesses the murderous wrath of his spurned lover and the remarkable fidelity of his betrothed Beatrice, learning to value their loves accordingly. Having enjoyed London as a young libertine, he now plans to wed, seems prepared to abandon his wandering ways, and expects sexual fidelity from his bride-to-be. Of course, having participated in the sybaritic ways of London gallants, Freevill knows that some dangers to marital bliss lurk in London's shadows.[17]As the gallants disperse after Tisefew's wish that they find sound wenches, Malheureux sticks close to Freevill, whom he suspects will be heading toward 'some common house of lascivious entertainment' (1.1.70), prompting a debate about the merits and vices of prostitution. Taunting his puritanical friend, the sardonic Freevill claims to think of brothels as 'necessary buildings' that serve a social purpose (71).[18] He once frequented them, rather than seducing citizens' wives, and now he hopes they will serve a similar purpose and preserve the health of the bed he will enjoy when he weds. Malheureux, on the other hand, whose 'cold blood' and 'professed abstinence' (1.2.86, 124) eventually melt in the face of sudden desire, initially makes the case against prostitutes and the maladies they spread. Echoing the reformed prostitute Bellafront, Malheureux warns Freevill not to 'grow wild in loose lasciviousness / … to expose your health and strength … / to the stale use, / The common bosom, of a money-creature' (1.1.98–104). He objects to an immoral and degrading commerce, but also worries about the risk to his friend's health.

Although Freevill defends sex work, he acknowledges some of its risks. In responding to the moralizing disgust of Malheureux, Freevill initially makes the case that enterprising prostitutes deserve sympathy before he eventually mocks their dire straits, arriving at one of Malheureux's points from a different angle: 'employ your money upon women, and a thousand to nothing, some one of them will bestow *that*', usually glossed as syphilis, 'on you which shall stick by you as long as you live' (128–31, my emphasis). Freevill may dismiss the sinful aspect of sex work, but he acknowledges and jokes about the syphilis spreading through the trade. Making his point almost more explicit, he goes on to say 'give them the French crown', the money they require for services, 'they'll give you the French —', meaning pox or syphilis (134–5). The fashionable gallant initially prefers not to 'call things by their right names', using a variety of euphemisms for Franceschina and noting that if a syphilitic gallant is 'pocky' the better nomenclature is to 'say he has the court scab' (1.2.112, 115–16). Although Garrett Sullivan Jr notes the uncanny overlap of prostitution in the varieties of early modern women's labour, the commercial element of sex work is not this essay's focus; nevertheless, as Jonathan Gil Harris notes, syphilis and the 'compromise formation' of the emerging

mercantilist economy in early modern England shared a 'bivalent' etiology, seeming at once to emerge from within and to affect the individual from without.[19] By the end of Marston's comedy, Freevill comes to understand the play's supposed purpose, the 'difference betwixt the love of a courtesan and a wife', having witnessed Franceschina's wicked plot to kill him and frame her new innamorato Malheureux. In his final soliloquy, the apparently reformed Freevill now asks in disbelief what man 'Would leave the modest pleasures of a lawful bed' for 'the unhealthful loins of common loves' whose 'use makes weak, whose company doth shame, / Whose bed doth beggar, issue doth defame' (5.1.78, 83–4).[20] As these lines suggest, the risk to the body and the risk to the soul associated with visiting prostitutes can be hard to untangle.

Morality and Mortality in London's Brothels

As shocking as Freevill's joke about the 'necessary buildings' on the city's margins might be, the notion that tolerating their existence, even if immoral, might be pragmatic, includes a calculation about social control of contagion.[21] Regulated brothels had operated in Southwark from the medieval period through the reign of Henry VIII. John Stow records that adjacent to the Bear Gardens 'was sometime the Bordello, or Stewes, a place so called of certain stew-houses privileged there, for the repair of incontinent men to the like women'.[22] These brothels, in the same neighborhood where the Elizabethan amphitheatres now stood, 'had signs on their fronts, towards the Thames … as a Boar's head, the Cross keys, the Gun, the Castle' and so on.[23] The women who worked in these establishments, Stow notes, 'were forbidden the rites of the church' and were 'excluded from Christian burial'.[24] At mid-century, 'this row of stews in Southwarke was put down by the king's commandment' and 'the inhabitants of the same to keep good and honest rule as in other places of this realm'.[25] That resolve lasted only briefly. By the time of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan,* brothels had again arisen on the crowded south bank of the Thames, much to the frustration of moralists, physicians, and (at least superficially) satirists.

As syphilis swept through London, accelerated by the early modern sex trade practiced in necessary buildings like Franceschina's and Mary Faugh's, its ravages did not inspire the appropriate action from civic authorities, prompting satirists to criticize the weak response. The Bellman of London, the narrator of Thomas Dekker's *Lantern and Candlelight* (1608), laments the city's diseased, 'pockily dry' suburbs with their proliferation of alehouses.[26] Adding a figurative register to the literal spread of disease associated with prostitution, Dekker's Bellman laments

that 'the plague a whore-house lays upon a city is worse, yet is laughed at; if not laughed at, yet not looked into; or if looked into, winked at'. That malady, the Bellman shows, is not simply the syphilis that spreads out through the open 'Hell-gates' of the Cross-Keys or other brothels, but the moral decay that accompanies prostitution. A 'strumpet', the Bellman goes on, is 'the cockatrice that hatcheth all these eggs of evils'. Recombining the physical and the spiritual, the Bellman concludes by arguing that when 'the Devil takes the anatomy of all damnable sins, he looks only upon her body'.[27] With Middleton, his collaborator on *The Honest Whore,* Dekker penned another grim account of London's competing epidemic, bubonic plague, 'This proud Inuader', in *News from Gravesend* (1604).[28] Pointing to the many vices in its urban sprawl, the narrator suggests that if only London would 'Cease vexing heauen', it could 'cease to die'.[29] The sexual infidelities staged in London comedies may imagine a jealous husband, whose 'wyfe has played the womans part / And lyen with Death', taking satisfaction in the fact that her paramour contracts a sexually transmitted infection and dies 'of all forsaken', while elsewhere panderers and strumpets overconfidently believe 'their deaths come o'er from France' and its pox, making them immune to the plague.[30]

Attributing syphilis to something more than the promiscuous sexual contact that helped it spread, writers of all sorts made moral judgments about the disease. In *Syphilis, sive Morbus Gallicus,* Giralomo Fracastoro, the first European physician to offer a comprehensive view of the malady, had associated syphilis with divine punishment for blasphemy. In this remarkable georgic, the physician imagines the origin of the disease in divine displeasure when a shepherd named Syphilus apotheosizes Alcithoos, his king, and raises an altar to him. When the king learns that Syphilus has created a new religion to worship him, 'he ordered that no god be honored on earth or be held higher than himself' (3.319–20).[31] For this heresy, the gods punish the king and his high priest. An 'unknown pollution arose', striking Syphilus first, with 'disfiguring sores throughout his body' and leaving him sleepless and his body 'convulsed', in retribution for his blasphemy (329–31). The king suffered next and the new malady spread throughout his territory. For his role in angering the gods, the infamous Syphilus metonymically names the disease. Syphilis, then, beyond its association with immoral sexual conduct, might suggest for some at least a connection to heresy.

The illicit sexuality observed in London prompted others with a more vested interest in the problem to speak out about the immorality, as well as the literal diseases, running rampant in the stews. Harris notes that earlier in the century, John Colet had attributed the rise of syphilis to an imbalance of humours associated with indulgence of the immoral and 'inordinate misuse of the flesh'.[32]

Clowes would draw on his medical experience to articulate a disappointment akin to Dekker's Bellman, declaring that 'except the people of the land doe speedily repe[n]t their most ungodlylife, and leave this odious sinne, it cannot be but the whole land will shortly be poysoned with this most noysome sickness'.[33] In a more straightforward piece of invective, Nashe would enumerate the sins of London in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* (1593). There, he describes the suburbs' brazen prostitutes in nauseating detail, recalling 'The speech-shunning sores and sight-ircking botches of theyr vnsatiate intemperence'.[34] These sites of sin may no longer have the royal patronage Stow recalls, but the magistrates' tolerance for vice earns some of the satirist's scorn as well. Like Dekker, this satirist asks how 'so many brothel-houses of salary sensuality & sixe-penny whoredome (the next doore to the Magistrates)' can operate openly and be 'maintained, if brybes dyd not bestirre them?'[35] As Alexandra Walsham notes, in early modern England, where individuals of different confessional backgrounds lived cheek by jowl with one another, the 'insidious link between disease and deviance remained close to the surface of contemporary assumptions, ever ready to inject an element of distrust into inter-confessional relations'.[36] Although some in early modern Europe thought they could detect unsound doctrine in unsound bodies, the bodily and spiritual degeneration in *The Dutch Courtesan* does not align so neatly along confessional lines.[37] Regardless, the shared confessional trope that linked heterodox belief with sexual incontinence crops up in Marston's comedy.

Contagious Sects and Unfaithfulness in London Comedy

Marston goes a step further than his contemporaries in the use to which he puts comedy about prostitution, syphilis, immorality, and unorthodox religious views. In Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penniless,* the narrator, Pierce, laments the prevalence of sexual infections in 'Ladie London' who has 'more diseases than Newgate', and observes that in Westminster 'not a Wench sooner creepes out of the shell, but she is of the Religion'.[38] Pierce's ironic phrase 'of the Religion' comes to mean one participating in the sex trade, thereby trafficking in sexually transmitted infections. A few years later in *Henry IV, Part Two,* Falstaff (sometimes himself linked to the hypocritical linguistic tics of early modern puritans) turns to Doll Tearsheet who is in the dumps — or mulligrubs — in Quickly's tavern, and declares that she and 'all her sect' have become 'sick', prompting Doll to reply, 'A pox damn you' (2.4.33–5).[39] For Falstaff, prostitutes jokingly represent a diseased 'sect', and he draws on figures not simply from moralizing discourse but from the arsenal of theological critiques directed at those who do not conform to the church's

teachings. In *The Dutch Courtesan,* Marston combines a satirical moral lens with a satirical treatment of venereal disease, taking the extra step of moving from a general sense of immorality in the brothel to a specific kind of unsavoury religious expression: the sect known as the Family of Love. This theologically quiet but theatrically sexy sect had taken root in England more than half a century earlier.[40] As Marston wrote his comedy, most faithful English Protestants abhorred the Familists' infidelity to the Church of England and worried that this secretive, licentious sect was furtively infecting others with its diseased teachings.

The language of contagion has demarcated confessional communities for millennia, but the spread of syphilis, a disease typically communicated through extramarital sexual contact Christians deemed immoral, gave even greater urgency to these prophylactic tropes. The idea that heretics' ideas could prove viral satisfied polemicists of all stripes. Some wondered whether 'unclean members i'the congregation' (3.3.3) — to quote Mistress Purge in Barry's *Family of Love* (1608) — should be expelled from the community.[41] An English translation of Jean-François Salvard's *Harmonia confessionum fidei orthodoxarum et reformatarum ecclesiarum* (1586), for instance, informed English readers that the reformed Swiss community excommunicated those with 'strange, and wicked opinions', and that obstinate members should be 'bridled by the Magistrate, lest by their contagion they infect the flocke of Christ'.[42] The Hebrew Bible and the New Testament offered precedents for shunning heretics, who might spread their impious disease. The puritan divine William Attersoll, for instance, produced a lengthy commentary arguing that Moses, and after him Christ, had shown that sinners 'should not be admitted to the fellowship … lest they defile them and corrupt them through their contagion', with 'Sinne therefore being infectious, the sinner is not to be tollerated in the assembly of the righteous'.[43] John Paget, an English minister resident in Amsterdam, defended his critiques of the English Brownists, intended as 'wholesome and necessary warnings to keep every Christian man from such a contagious and polluted communion'.[44] The notion that profane ideas might spread like a disease had wide application in the period.

These threads of concern about the contagion of dangerously heretical ideas reach a culmination in the figure of Revelation's Whore of Babylon. The whore, 'araied in purple & skarlat' had 'a cup of golde in her hand, ful of abomination, and filthines of her fornication'.[45] This abominable, lecherous woman — who might stand behind Marston's promiscuous courtesan — spreads her heresy to the unsuspecting and she figures prominently in Protestant polemic.[46] John Bale, for instance, cannot get enough of the Whore of Babylon. In addition to her appearance throughout the *Image of Both Churches* (1544), he turns to the figure

of the pampered Whore adored by hypocrites when he attacks the conservative episcopacy of the Henrician church. Condemning their inadequate reformation and refusal to rebuke the papal antichrist, Bale sarcastically commends their 'unlerned legerdemaynes' that will earn 'double vpon that Romysche whore your malygnau[n]t madame / the mother of all fylthynesse / Idolatrye / … lechere / sodometrye' and so on.[47] As zealous communities debated separating themselves from their national church, they could consult Philippe de Mornay for justification. He argued that 'lyuinge in the middest of a wicked and peruerse Nation', even a nominally Protestant one, made a godly person risk 'to bee so infected with the contagion of Babylon' from long exposure to others' vices.[48] Dekker would bring these tropes to the stage in *The Whore of Babylon* (1605), his allegorical attack on the church of Rome and its threats to Protestant England.[49] The Whore's pollution, figuring spiritual seduction through the contamination received in sexual contact, had great potency.

When Marston linked the polluted sex workers and other promiscuous figures of his play to the Family of Love, he contributed to an English tradition of using the language of contagion to rebuke the nebulous Dutch sect that had spread invisibly in England for decades. After a period of quiet, Familism experienced a new outbreak at the start of King James's reign, just as Marston was writing *The Dutch Courtesan* and Lording Barry was writing his satire of the sect, *The Family of Love.* The king's revision of *Basilikon Doron* to fit the circumstances in his new kingdom may have prompted the renewed interest in this mystical sect at the start of his reign.[50] Familists appear in about a dozen London comedies early in King James's reign and a piece of polemic, *A Supplication of the Family of Love,* appeared in 1606. In the heated dispute at the time of their first Elizabethan prominence, the mystical movement's critics had warned of the infectious danger of harbouring this sect in England. John Knewstub complained, 'the Church of God in euery age hath suffred at the hands of straungers & open enemies … but yet nothing so grieuous, as that hurte which she hath fro[m] time to time had at home, by some who have long layen in her owne bosome'.[51] Putting aside Familists' amorphous theology, the Jacobean theatre traded in a comically exaggerated version of the Family of Love. This mystical sect of Nicodemites was popularly believed to be so devoted to communal principles that they held their wives in common. In other words, one of the stereotypes of the Family of Love was that they were sexually promiscuous, a particularly risky practice given the prominence of syphilis in non-monogamous settings.

The promiscuous, heretical sex worker and bawd at the heart of *The Dutch Courtesan* makes that aspect of the popular notion of Familism conveniently

overdetermined. Franceschina seems out of place, a strange hybrid, in the play, since her Italian sophistication (and fury, for that matter) jars with her guttural stage Dutch.[52] Moreover, when she swears, she uses terms associated with syphilis. Enraged that Freevill plans to abandon her, she refuses Mary Faugh's mollification, declaring 'Grand grincome on your sentences' (2.2.7), and curses her faithless lover Freevill with 'de hot Neapolitan poc rot him' (52–3). Her disease-inflected curses even combine blasphemy and syphilis, as when she gets frustrated with Cocledemoy's teasing and chases him off stage shouting 'God's sacrament! Pox!' (4.3.10). The most sexually available figure in the comedy, a hedonistic sex worker who carries corporeal and spiritual infection, drives home Marston's figuration of the dangers of the brothel. Malheueux may wilt when confronted with Franceschina's attractions, but in abandoning his moral principles to pursue her, he risks not simply hypocrisy, but also physical and spiritual infection.

Franceschina is not the only professed member of the Family of Love in the play. The Mulligrubs are Familists and Mistress Mulligrub — often 'a-gadding' (3.4.101) as heterodox early modern women were prone to doing — pauses over fine points of theology that her simply sectarian husband does not. Besides the more well-known example of her worries about whether their wines are Protestant, one of Mistress Mulligrub's other significant monologues involves sexual innuendo that reinforces her sexual availability in commercial and religious professions.[53] Adopting the archaic language associated with sects, she worries about her customers' love of tobacco, which 'one of our elders assured me … was not used in the congregation of the family of love' (4–6). Her train of thought leads her to use an unfamiliar word, 'methodically', and then to try to remember where she learned it, recalling at last that another Familist: 'Sir Aminadab Ruth bade me kiss him methodically' (10–11). Alluding to the sexual freedom supposed to form part of Familist gatherings, she recalls a moment of marital infidelity that occurred in the context of her infidelity to Protestant English orthodoxy. Inverting the figure of Pierce Penniless's naive young woman who indulges in promiscuity and quickly becomes one 'of the Religion', Mistress Mulligrub is 'of the Religion', and therefore promiscuous. When Mistress Mulligrub remarks that customers bring her a 'piece of flesh' (3.3.26) — with its sexual connotations — she pushes to the theatrical extreme the concern that London tradesmen's wives displayed not only their wares but themselves in order to improve their husbands' custom.[54] As Cocledemoy in his sergeant's disguise makes lewd offers to Mistress Mulligrub while leading her husband to execution, her seductive reply — 'I have a piece of mutton and a featherbed for you at all times' — makes her openness to infidelity even more apparent (5.3.100–2). Her education in carnal pleasure from

an elder in her sect relies on the notion of Familist promiscuity even as it links this heterodox group with the play's illicit sexuality. Secretly maintaining unorthodox religious views and unorthodox erotic energies, Mistress Mulligrub shows that in the early modern imagination, women need not be literal prostitutes to spread heretical contagion. Her clients and lovers may include others of the sect, but not all of the knights and courtiers who patronize the Mulligrub tavern are Familists and her potential coupling with them would spread her contagion beyond the sect's bounds.

Finally, the most decrepit character of the comedy, the 'rattling phlegmy cough o'the lungs and cold with a pox' bawd, Mary Faugh, is also a pragmatically promiscuous Familist. She is, as Cocledemoy asserts, an 'ungodly fire that burnt Diana's temple' (1.2.11), an affectionate insult that links the fire of syphilis, her impious beliefs, and her threat to chaste conventionality. Like one of Nashe's cynical 'Merchants of maiden-head' in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*,[55] she has arranged Franceschina's numerous previous liaisons with a Spaniard, an Italian, an Irish lord, and a Dutch merchant (2.2.16–19), not to mention the 'honest flat-caps, wealthy flat-caps, that pay for their pleasure the best of any men in Europe, nay, which is more, in London' (35–7). She facilitates an urban and international promiscuity as she sells Franceschina's holes wholesale. Her harsh exchange with Franceschina, who calls Faugh a 'reprobate woman' — not simply immoral, but spiritually damned — and worries what she herself will do, now that for twopence 'Mine body must turn Turk' or become apostate (45–7), connects the promiscuity of their immoral sex trade and the contagion of their heretical beliefs. The spiritually depraved Mary Faugh facilitates the circulation of diseases of the body and the soul. As she exits to find chairs for Freevill and Malheureux, Freevill alludes to the pestilence that lingers in this necessary, Familist building. He asks the visibly symptomatic bawd 'How far off dwells the house-surgeon' who can cure Malheureux of a toothache if he is not busy treating her other employees or clients for syphilis. To this provocation, Mary Faugh defensively responds, 'You are a profane fellow, i'fait. I little thought to hear such ungodly terms come from your lips' (79–81). Like the other fallen women of her sect, she understands her practices as pious and others' practices as profane. The humour of this line — an unfaithful Familist who facilitates prostitution condemning someone else for being immoral — brings together Marston's unique combination of not simply immorality and disease, but the dangerous sectarian vector of disease, a risk both to the body and soul as well as to orthodoxy, in *The Dutch Courtesan*.

Marston, then, uses *Courtesan*'s amoral Familists to heighten the concerns of early modern London comedy's depiction of the brothel as a menacing location.

Brothels and their residents may entice immoral men to risk their health in coupling with carriers of a disease that might 'stick by [them] as long as [they] live' (1.1.128–31). Those who submit to the brothel's appeal may evince their immorality and 'the soul's eternity' in committing a sin with their courtesan (96). Unlike those of his fellow playwrights who treat the comical appeal of the brothel as a source of disease or a source of immorality, Marston adds a new layer of spiritual danger by making the pestilential brothel a source of heretical ideas. Nashe might have predicted Marston's decision when he inveighed against the brothels overlooked by the magistrates in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*. Notorious denizens of the stews may avoid the services of their parish church, lest the pious 'wonde[r] and how[l] at' them, as moralists had advised, but if the magistrates do finally haul them to church courts for failing to participate, the sex worker typically claims 'scrupulousity of conscience, and that they refraine only for religion. So if they be imprisoned or carried to Bridewel for their baudrie, they giue out they suffer for the Church'.[56] The idea that a dangerous Familist prostitute, her pocky Familist bawd, and the lascivious Familists of the Mulligrub tavern might be eschewing the orthodox practices of London's churches due to their scrupulous consciences and suffering throughout the play, not for their diseased practices but for their diseased church, must have made Marston and his audiences laugh.

Notes

1 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). All further references to the play are to this edition.

2 In addition to reading Cocledemoy's dissembling as a reference to contemporary concerns about quack medical practitioners in early modern London, Eleanor Decamp notes that one aspect of Cocledemoy's role here is to remind the audience of the syphilitic threat emanating from the bawdy house. See *Civic and Medical Worlds in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2016), 72, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137471567. William Kerwin offers a much more nuanced analysis of the role of surgeons and barbers in early modern London, noting that 'the rise of the pox' created a more pressing need for their services. *Beyond the Body: The Boundaries of Medicine and English Renaissance Drama* (Amherst, 2005), 98.

3 William Clowes, *A Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions* (London, 1579; STC: 5447), B6r–v.

4 Ibid, B6v.

5 Ibid, B5r. Gail Kern Paster alerts us to the early modern attitude toward the porous body and to female shame, particularly in connection with excremental functions, in *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 1993).

6 Clowes, *A Short and Profitable Treatise,* B1r.

7 Kerwin, *Beyond the Body,* 105.

8 Peter Lowe, *An Easie, Certaine, and Perfect Method, to Cure and Preuent the Spanish Sicknes* (London, 1596; STC: 16872), B2r.

9 Ibid, B1v. Eleanor Hubbard discusses women who weighed the income to be made in the sex trade against the risk of syphilis. *City Women: Money, Sex, and the Social Order in Early Modern London* (Oxford, 2012), 109, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199609345.001.0001. Her discussion of women who illicitly offered medical assistance to those suffering from syphilis shows that bitterness about the disease was often directed at women (217).

10 Thomas Nashe, *Christs Teares over Iervsalem,* in *Works,* ed. Ronald McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford, 1958), 2.154. Further references are to McKerrow's edition.

11 Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Honest Whore, Part 1,* in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1955), vol. 2. Sarah Scott reminds us that Dekker associated syphilis with female bodies, especially in the context of dangerous religious beliefs, elsewhere, including in *The Whore of Babylon* (1605). 'The Empress of Babylon's "carbuncles and rich stones":

The Metaphorizing of the Pox in Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*', *Early Theatre* 7 (2004), 68, https://doi.org/10.12745/et.7.1.671.

12 Jean Howard discusses the trope of prostitutes' international clientele in London comedies as a kind of 'cosmopolitan perverse', an anxiety about the greater international contact in early modern England. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia, 2007), 145.

13 Margaret Healy argues that the newly fervent Bellafront wants to convert her former clients and effectively marshals the otherwise misogynistic rhetoric in this scene. *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies, Plagues, Politics* (Basingstoke, 2001), 163, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230510647.

14 Frankie Rubenstein catalogues the euphemisms for illness in the Boar's Head and elsewhere in Shakespeare. 'They Were Not Such Good Years', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40.1 (1989), 72, https://doi.org/10.2307/2870754. All quotations from Shakespeare refer to *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare,* ed. Stephen Orgel and A.R. Braunmuller (New York, 2002).

15 Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and the Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, 1995), 160.

16 As Stephen Spiess observes, the scene traffics in euphemism, the right names 'conspicuously absent from their dialogue'. 'The Measure of Sexual Memory', *Shakespeare Survey* 67 (2014), 323, https://doi.org/10.1017/SSO9781107775572.022.

17 William Hamlin traces the evolution of critical responses to Freevill, from an older view of him as the comedy's 'moral center,' to one recognizing that he evolves over the course of the comedy and has only recently turned over a new leaf in his decision to abandon Franceschina and marry Beatrice. 'Common Customers in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* and Florio's Montaigne', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1800* 52.2 (2014), 411, https://doi.org/10.1353/sel.2012.0015.

18 Kate Aughterson argues that Freevill's permissiveness and embrace of virile masculinity mark him as a descendant of the Vice figure of morality plays. '"Going the Way of All Flesh": Masculinity as Vice in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Cahiers Elisabéthains* 76 (2009), 76, https://doi.org/10.7227/ce.76.1.4. Salkeld argues that Marston enhances the tension between the friends he found in Nicholas de Montreaulx, his source, arraying Malheureux and Freevill, at least at first, on opposite sides of the view of brothels' utility. *Shakespeare among the Courtesans: Prostitution, Literature, and Drama, 1500–1650* (Farnham, 2012), 165, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315608556.

19 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia, 2004), 49, 44. See Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr, '"All Things Come into Commerce": Women, Household Labor, and the Spaces of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Renaissance Drama* 27 (1996), 21,

https://doi.org/10.1086/rd.27.41917326. On the role of commodity and the market in the period's comedies more generally, Douglas Brewster remains critical. *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1992), 41.

20 Hamlin argues that even as Freevill alludes to Montaigne in this speech, he misapplies the French essayist's view of custom. 'Common Customers', 414.

21 Steven Mullaney articulates the ambiguous space of London's liberties, the location of lazar houses, brothels, hospitals, and the theatres that enjoyed license in more ways than one and 'revealed the gaps and seams, the limits and contradictions of the social fabric'. *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago, 1988), 38. Revising this essay in March 2020, in the midst of a global pandemic, highlighted for me the difference between our modern notions of handling epidemics and the early modern mindset.

22 John Stow, *Stow's Survey of London* (London, 1956), 360.

23 Ibid, 361.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid, 362. As Spiess notes, Stow memorializes an uncanny location. The brothels lost royal protection and were pulled down, creating something of a 'cartographic lacuna', for Stow's contemporary readers. 'Measure of Sexual Memory', 317.

26 Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light,* in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* ed. Alexander Grosart, 5 vols (rpt New York, 1963), 3.265.

27 Ibid, 3.276–7.

28 *News from Gravesend,* in *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker,* ed. F.P. Wilson (Oxford, 1925), 101. Further references are to page numbers in this edition.

29 *News from Gravesend,* 102.

30 Ibid, 95, 99. Catherine Reedy argues that Middleton makes extensive use of the belief that a woman could suffer from the plague or the pox but not both simultaneously. '"French Amulets", Expelling Poisons, and Contagion in *The Changeling*', *Early Modern Literary Studies* (forthcoming).

31 Girolamo Fracastoro, 'Syphilis, or the French Disease', in *Latin Poetry,* trans. James Gardner, (Cambridge, MA, 2013).

32 Gil Harris, *Sick Economies,* 44.

33 *A Short and Profitable Treatise,* B2r–v.

34 Nashe, *Christs Teares over Ierusalem,* in *The Works of Thomas Nashe,* ed. Ronald McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford, 1958), 2.148.

35 Ibid.

36 'In Sickness and in Health: Medicine and Inter-Confessional Relations in Post-Reformation England', in *Living with Religious Diversity in Early Modern Europe,* ed. C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist, and Mark Greengrass (Farnham, 2009), 180.

37 Charles Parker argues that in Reformation polemic, Calvinists tended to associate Catholics with 'inordinate sensuality' while Catholics tended to link the bodies of their heretical Calvinist enemies with 'humoral contamination'. 'Diseased Bodies, Defiled Souls: Corporality and Religious Difference in the Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67.4 (2014), 1268, https://doi.org/10.1086/679783.

38 Nashe, *Pierce Peniless his Supplication to the Diuell,* in *Works,* ed. Ronald McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford, 1958), 1.216. Further references are to McKerrow's edition. All references to Nashe in this paragraph are to page 216.

39 Kristen Poole explores the palimpsest of Falstaff superimposed onto his original, Sir John Oldcastle, a heroic puritan *avant la lettre. Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006), 37.

40 Christopher W. Marsh offers the most sustained treatment of the sect in its English context. *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge, 1994), 201.

41 [Lording Barry], *The Family of Love,* in *Works of Thomas Middleton,* ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 vols (Boston, 1885).

42 *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches* (Cambridge, 1586; STC: 5155), 469.

43 *A Commentarie on the Fourth Booke of Moses* (London, 1618; STC: 893), 288.

44 *An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists* (Amsterdam, 1618; STC: 19098), 90.

45 Rev. 17:4, in *The Geneva Bible,* ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison, 1969). Further references are to this edition.

46 Adrian Streete argues that this seduction of an international clientele aligns Franceschina with the Whore of Babylon, who 'committed fornication [with] the Kings of the earth, and the inhabitants of the earth are drunken with the wine of her fornication' (Rev. 17:2). *Apocalypse and Anti-Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century English Drama* (Cambridge, 2017), 88, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108235914.

47 *The Epistle Exhortatorye* ([Antwerp, 1544]; STC: 1291a), D6r. Bale also used the Whore of Babylon to characterize the Church of Rome in his history of the proto-Reformation martyr Sir John Oldcastle, the inspiration for Shakespeare's Falstaff.

48 *The Mysterie of Iniquitie,* trans. Samson Lennard (London, 1612; STC: 18147), 544.

49 Scott shows the 'graphic quality, scale, and intensity of his dark rendering' of this nexus in Dekker's play. 'The Empress of Babylon's "carbuncles and rich stones"', 91.

50 Marsh argues that after a period of accommodation in the second half of Elizabeth's reign, the king's revision of his book of princely advice to his son on the occasion of his ascent to the English throne, explaining that by an earlier reference to puritans he intended members of the Family of Love, returned the sect to a place of critical examination, including in printed invective and in plays like Barry's and Marston's. *The Family of Love in English Society,* 201.

51 *A Confutation of Monstrous and Horrible Heresies, Taught by H.N.* (London, 1579; STC: 15040), *2r. Janet E. Halley offers a sophisticated reading of the slippery textuality of Elizabethan Familism, arguing that Familism and the established church create a sort of mutually constitutive understanding of each other. 'Heresy, Orthodoxy, and the Politics of Religious Discourse: The Case of the English Family of Love', *Representations* 15 (1986), 105–6, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928393. Christopher Carter suggests that the English divines who attacked the Dutch Familists dwelling in England did so in order to deflect the English hierarchy's attention from their own desire for further reformation. The Familists, associated with foreign prophets and tolerant even of the papacy (they were a spiritual movement, rather than a doctrine, after all), could be made scapegoats, 'a dangerous crypto-Catholic force within England'. 'The Family of Love and Its Enemies', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 37 (2006), 662–3, https://doi.org/10.2307/20477986.

52 In her new edition of the play, Britland traces the layers of Italian and French outlines that survive in Marston's use of his sources, even as he labels Franceschina a Dutch Familist. 'Introduction', *The Dutch Courtesan,* 22.

53 Sullivan addresses Mistress Mulligrub's sexual openness in his '"All Things Come into Commerce"', 32.

54 Ibid, 32. Leslie Thomson surveys the treatment of tradesmen's wives in the commercial context of London shops and London comedies, arguing that the playwrights' ambivalence undermines the 'fantasy' of the women as commercial commodities. '"As proper a woman as any in Cheap": Women in Shops on the Early Modern Stage', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 16 (2003), 149.

55 Nashe, *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem,* 2.151.

56 Ibid.

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Lucy Munro

Living by Others' Pleasure: Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, and Theatrical Profit

We have known for over a century that John Marston held a share in Children of the Queen's Revels, the all-boy playing company that first performed The Dutch Courtesan *in 1604, but how this knowledge affects our understanding of his plays requires further exploration. Drawing on neglected documentary sources, this essay reappraises the company's links with the Chapel Royal choir to argue that* Dutch Courtesan *capitalizes on the skills that most clearly connected its performers with the royal choir, even while scrutinizing the ways in which the company turned pleasurable recreation into profit.*

Early in the second scene of *The Dutch Courtesan,* the 'witty city jester', Cocledemoy, offers a mock 'oration' in praise of the 'most pleasurable function' of the bawd, Mary Faugh. Opening by describing her 'profession or vocation' as 'most worshipful of all the twelve companies', he eventually concludes that 'only my smooth-gummed bawd lives by others' pleasure and only grows rich by others' rising' ('*Fabulae argumentum*' 2–3; 1.2.27, 28, 31–2, 32–3, 50–2).[1] Cocledemoy's 'only' serves to distinguish the bawd from the merchant, lawyer, and physician, whose trades he has just described, but the sex-trade was not, of course, the only means through which pleasure was sold in early Jacobean London. Cocledemoy's paean to the bawd carries with it hints of another form of 'trade', much closer to home: the theatre was itself a means of 'liv[ing] through others' pleasure', that is, the enjoyment of the paying audience. Anti-theatrical writers frequently made such associations. As long ago as the early 1580s, Stephen Gosson described playhouses as 'markets of bawdry', while in 1603 Henry Crosse described the 'arguments', or plots, of plays as 'pleasing and rauishing … made more forcible by gesture and outward action'.[2] In perhaps the most explicit elision of theatre and

Lucy Munro (lucy.munro@kcl.ac.uk) is professor of Shakespeare and early modern literature at King's College London.

brothel, a 1616 epigram by William Goddard argues '*to choose ther'es not a pinn / Whether bawdye-howse or plaie-howse you goe in*'.[3]

Such presumed associations between playhouse and bawdyhouse bring to the fore some uncomfortable aspects of the 'labour' that brought plays to life, and the forms of economic and erotic exploitation on which it depended. In this context, the representation of labour in *The Dutch Courtesan* has unsurprisingly received valuable attention from earlier scholars, notably in Garrett A. Sullivan Jr's exploration of the representation of prostitutes and working women in the play.[4] I adopt here a different approach, arguing that *The Dutch Courtesan*'s interactions with ideas of labour, trade, and profit were shaped by the institutional structures that produced it: that of the all-boy playing company, the Children of the Chapel, later known as the Children of the Queen's Revels, in which Marston himself invested.[5] As Tom Rutter notes in his important study of work and the early modern stage, the status of actors 'as workers or non-workers was itself vexed and problematic'.[6] Rutter focuses on adult actors as workers, noting that plays written for the children's companies around the turn of the seventeenth century 'invoke the idea of work negatively, insisting that their theatres are spaces from which workers should be absent'.[7] The material that I will explore here, however, suggests that the practices and performances of the Chapel/Queen's Revels children were no less affected by anxieties about the status of acting and singing as work.

By 1604, when *The Dutch Courtesan* was first performed, the Queen's Revels company appears to have been a profit-making enterprise, with a set of shareholders in both its goods and the lease of the Blackfriars playhouse where it performed.[8] Yet — as I will demonstrate — its links with the Chapel Royal choir, from which it took its original name, appear to have endured into the Jacobean period.[9] The various uses of music and singing in *The Dutch Courtesan* therefore provoke questions that cut across the play's dramatic fiction and its status as theatrical commodity, directing us to consider not only the financial gain that Mary Faugh makes from the musical accomplishments of titular 'Dutch courtesan', Franceschina, but also the proceeds that the company's shareholders hoped to make from the performances of all of the boy actors and musicians. They prompt us, moreover, to consider singing and acting as vocations in themselves, and the status of the boy actors as people engaged in a 'trade' that combined these skills.

The first part of this essay explores the institutional background to these questions, revisiting what we know about Marston's involvement with the company and introducing new and neglected documents that illuminate its relationship with the Chapel Royal choir. I then turn to the question of labour in *The Dutch Courtesan* and the broader network of allusions to vocation and trade in which its

representation of music and singing sits, before exploring in detail the function of music and the figure of the singer in the play. Looking in detail at its entr'acte music, and the various forms of song that appear within it, I argue that music is a crucial means through which the company 'liv[ed] by others' pleasure'. Reading theatre-historical material through the lens of the play, and viewing the play through the lens of theatre history, help to open up some of the persistent tensions within the simultaneously aesthetic and commercial enterprise of the Children of the Queen's Revels, tensions that helped to shape *The Dutch Courtesan* itself.

Recreation and Profit

In 1610, an investor in the Children of the Queen's Revels, Robert Keysar, brought a suit in the Court of Requests against Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, John Heminges, and Henry Condell.[10] The suit focused on the Blackfriars playhouse, which Richard Burbage had leased to Henry Evans in 1600 for a term of twenty-one years, and on claims that Evans had divided his rights in the lease and the Queen's Revels company with other investors. In his bill of complaint, Keysar claims that Evans had granted John Marston a one-sixth share in the playhouse lease plus

> one full Sixt parte of and in Certaine goodes apparell for players, p*ro*pertyes, playe bookes and other thinges then and still vsed by the Chilldren of the Queenes ma*ies*tyes Revells in and aboute their playes, enterludes and other exercises by them to be acted, shewed, exercised or done, in the said great Hall, or roome, or elsewhere; by good Conveyance from the said Evans and others.[11]

Keysar had, he claimed, in turn purchased this share from Marston. We do not know exactly when Marston first became an investor in the company, but this event occurred before November 1604 and may have taken place as early as 1603, the apparent date of *The Malcontent,* the first play that he wrote for the company.[12] If Keysar indeed bought a share from Marston, he had probably done so before May 1606, when he negotiated with Thomas Middleton over a play and appears to have been managing the company.[13]

Marston appears to have become involved with the company during the extended aftermath of its involvement in a scandal surrounding the acquisition of boy actors. In December 1601, a Norfolk gentleman named Henry Clifton sued Henry Evans, Nathaniel Giles — who was master of the choristers of the Chapel Royal and a partner of Evans in the Blackfriars enterprise — James Robinson,

and 'others' in a bill of complaint that he entered in the court of Star Chamber.[14] Clifton claimed that his son, Thomas, had been abducted by Robinson and taken to the Blackfriars playhouse, where Giles, Evans, and 'oth*e*r confederat*es*' intended to 'excercize him … in acting of part*es* in base playes & enterlud*es* to the[ir] mercinary gayne & pryvat comoditie'.[15] Clifton arrived at the playhouse and demanded that his son be released; however, he claims, Giles, Robinson, and Evans 'moste arrogantlie then & there aunswered that they had aucthoritie sufficient soe to take any noble mans sonne in this Land'.[16] Furthermore, he asserts, they assured him 'that his sayd sonne should be employed in that vyle & base manner of a mercynary player in that place'; they then allegedly handed Thomas 'a scrolle of paper conteyning p*ar*te of one of theire said playes or enterlud*es* & him the said Thomas Clifton comaunded to learne the same by harte'.[17] Despite Clifton's furious protests, Thomas was kept at the Blackfriars for 'the space of about a day & a night'.[18] Eventually, however, Clifton was able to call on influential friends, including Sir John Fortescue, a member of the privy council, and his son was released.

At the heart of Clifton's case was the claim that Thomas's abduction represented an abuse of a patent issued in 1597 to Nathaniel Giles as choirmaster, which enabled him entirely legitimately to 'take such and so many Children as he or his sufficient Deputie shall think meet in all Cathedrall Collegiat parishe Churches Chappells or any other place or places aswell within liberite as without within this our Realme of England whatsoever they be'.[19] Clifton claims, however, that the 'confederat*es*' abused 'the aucthorytie & truste by yo*u*r highnes to him the said Nathaniell Gyles & his deputy or deputies by yo*u*r highnes sayd letters patent*es* given & reposed' in order to set up a company of boy actors 'for their owne corrupte gayne and Lucre'.[20] He makes a series of further accusations: that the boys have been taken 'againste the will*es* of the said Childeren theire parent*es* tuto*u*rs masters & governo*u*rs'; that they were 'childeren noe way able or fitt for singinge nor by anie the said confederat*es* endeavo*u*red to be taught to singe but … abusively employed … only in playes & enterlud*es*'; and that it was 'not fitt that a gentleman of his sorte should have his sonne & heire … to be soe basely vsed'.[21] Clifton does not attack the principle of the royal patent itself; he instead claims that the patent was abused. In doing so, he alleges that Evans, Giles, and Robinson asserted that 'they had aucthoritie sufficient soe to take any noble mans sonne in this Land' and declared that 'yf the Queene … would not bear [at] them furth in that acc*i*on, she … should gett another to execute her comission'.[22] Clifton's bill of complaint thus raises a series of questions about social rank, the limits

of royal authority as divested in a commission or letters patent, and the relative status of singing and acting as vocations.

No answer of Evans, Giles, or Robinson to Clifton's bill has been traced, and much of the procedural records of the court of Star Chamber have been lost. As a result, the impact that the scandal over the impressment of Thomas Clifton had on Evans and the other managers of the playing company has been difficult to trace. In 1612, a later partner of Evans, Edward Kirkham, professed to be amazed that Evans could continue to lay any claim to the Blackfriars when he had been 'Censured by the Right honorable Courte of Starr-Chamber for his vnorderlie carriage and behauiour in takinge vp of gentlemens Children against theire wills and to ymploy them for players, and for other misdemeanors in the said Decree Conteyned', asserting that 'all assureanc*es* made to the said Evans Concerning the said house or playes or Interludes should be vtterlye voyde and to be deliuered vpp to be Cancelled'.[23] This assertion receives some support in a reference to the abduction of Thomas Clifton and the Star Chamber's judgment — which appears to have been overlooked by theatre historians — in the *Reports* of Sir Edward Coke.[24] As Attorney General, Coke acted as advisor and prosecutor in Star Chamber; he was also a neighbour of the Cliftons in Norfolk.

Originally published in law-French in 1611, Coke's notes cite 'l' case dun *Evans*' as a precedent for a case involving a patent for the King's tennis courts. The comments on the Clifton case read, in full:

> Issint ou un Com*m*ission est fayt a prend garsons chauntant in Cathedrall esglises &c. ou auters lieus ou childre*n* sont instructe a chanter, pur le furnishing del Chappell le Roy, ceux generall parrols per construction del ley ount reasonable intendement, s*c,* que tiels garsons que sont educate & taught a chaunter a querer & susteiner lour viver pur ceo, ceux poent este prize pur le service le Roy, & serra bone preferment de eux a server le Roy in son chappell, mez le fils dun gentl'hom*me* ou alcun auter que est taught a chaunter pur son ornament, delight ou recreation, & nemy per ceo a querer son viver, ne poyt estre prise incounter son volunt, ou le consent de les parents ou amyes, & issint fuit resolve per les deux chief Justices & tout le court del Starre-chambre *anno 42. Elizab.* [sic] in l' case dun *Evans,* que avoit p*ar* colour d*es* tiels letters patentes prise le fils d'*un Clifton* (un gentle hom*me* d*e* qualitie de Norff.) q*ue* fuyt instruct a chaunter pur son recreation, quel *Evans* fuit pur le dit offence grievousment punie.[25]

A late-seventeenth-century translation of the *Reports* presents them thus, omitting the original's comments about the 'good preferment' that choristers may find in their royal service:

> where a Commission is made to take boyes singing in Cathedral Churches, &c. or other places where children are taught to sing, for the furnishing of the Kings Chapel, these general words by construction of Law have a reasonable intendment; *sc.* that such boyes as are brought up and taught to sing to seek and get their living by it, may be taken for the Kings Chapel; but the son of a Gentleman, or any other who is taught to sing, for his ornament, delight, or recreation, and not thereby to get his living, cannot be taken against his will, or the consents of his parents or friends; and so it was resolved by the two Chief Justices, and all the Court of Star-chamber *Anno* 43 *Eliz.* [sic] in the Case of one *Evans,* who had by colour of such Letters Patent taken the Son of *Clifton* (a Gentleman in *Norfolk*) who was taught to sing for his recreation: which *Evans* for the said offence was grievously punished.[26]

Intriguingly, Coke's notes do not mention acting at all. Instead, the point at issue is whether high-status children who have been taught to sing but have not been brought up with the expectation that they will work as choristers can be impressed without the consent of their 'parents or friends'. In both Coke's assessment of Evans's transgression and Clifton's complaint, the question of trade or occupation is raised, but where Clifton attacks acting as a 'base trade',[27] Coke opposes singing for financial reward, or to 'get [a] living', with singing for 'ornament, delight, or recreation'.

Apparently in response to Evans's punishment at the hands of the Star Chamber, the Chapel company was reorganized. On 20 April 1602 Evans and his son-in-law and business partner, Alexander Hawkins, entered into an agreement with three new investors, Edward Kirkham, William Rastall, and Thomas Kendall.[28] In return for paying half of the playhouse's annual rent, Kirkham, Rastall, and Kendall were to take half of the profits, and they also seem to have bought into the goods of the company. It seems, however, that some aspects of the company's practices remained consistent. Rastall's role in the company has hitherto been obscure, but an overlooked suit brought by Evans and Hawkins against Kirkham in the court of Chancery in 1608 sheds a little light on his activities. In his answer, which is the only part of the suit that I have so far traced, Kirkham refers to 'Articles of Agreement' between Nathaniel Giles and William Rastall, stating that 'in and by the said Articles it was Agreed and Concluded that Rastoll should paye to the said Gyles in said some of Two and Twenty shilling*es* weekely for ffowreteene

yeares yf the said Gyles should continewe so longe the Maister of the Children of the Chapple', and referring to Rastall as Giles's 'deputye'.[29] This evidence suggests that Giles did not withdraw from the company after the Clifton case, and that he appointed Rastall in place of an earlier 'deputy' who was probably Evans himself. As deputy, Rastall would have gained the power to use the royal patent to impress boys for the choir and, potentially, the playing company.

Thus, rather than detaching the Chapel/Queen's Revels company from the Chapel Royal, as earlier scholarship has assumed, the Clifton case seems only to have resulted in the replacement of Evans with Rastall.[30] The company may have continued to acquire actors through Giles's patent — albeit, perhaps, with the assent of their parents or 'friends' — for some years. They certainly continued to offer highly polished musical performances to spectators. In September 1602, some months after the Star Chamber case, a visitor to London, Frederic Gershow, described approvingly a performance at Blackfriars, commenting that 'For a whole hour before the play begins, one listens to a delightful instrumental concert … as on the present occasion, when a boy *cum voce tremula* sang so charmingly to [the accompaniment of] a bass-viol that we have not heard the life of it in the whole of our journey, unless perhaps the nuns at Milan may have excelled him'.[31] It may be more significant that we have realized that when Giles was issued with a new patent by James I in September 1604 it did not mention the use of choristers as actors and thus continued to provide a legal loop-hole through which boy might be recruited for the Blackfriars company.[32]

Only in November 1606 does this practice appear decisively to have been halted. On 7 November, Giles was issued with another patent in which the king ordered that

> wee do straightlie charge and com*m*aunde that none of the saide Choristers or Children of the Chappell so to be taken by force of this Com*m*ission shalbe vsed or imployed as Comedians or Stage players or to exercise or acte anye … Stage playes Interludes Comedies or tragedies for that it is not fitt or decent that suche as shoulde singe the praises of god Allmightie shoulde be trayned vpp or imployed in suche lascivious and p*ro*phane exercises.[33]

Furthermore, a week later, on 14 November, Thomas Kendall took on an apprentice actor, Abel Cooke, and when another Blackfriars sharer, the musician Martin Peerson, sold his share to Thomas Kendall on 11 December, the sale included a stipulation that Peerson was to continue paying 'for the dyet of one w*hi*ch was then his boye or servaunte and one of the actors of the sayde playes or

enterludes'.[34] Peerson's 'boye' may have appeared on the Blackfriars stage before November 1606, which would mean that impressment and apprenticeship were used in tandem in the years between 1602 and 1606, but both Kendall and Peerson could also have taken on apprentices in response to the royal prohibition against choristers working as actors.

Both the documents relating to the company and its plays are suffused with a concern over the status of the boy players' activities as what is variously termed 'imployment', 'trade', 'living', 'occupation', or 'vocation' — the question of the purpose for which they are being trained. This concern chimes in intriguing ways with Hamlet's comments about the 'little eyases' in Shakespeare's play: 'What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escotted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards if they should grow themselves to common players — as it is most like if their means are no better — their writers do them wrong to make them exclaim against their own succession?' (2.2.343–9).[35] Roslyn L. Knutson dates this passage, which appears only in the folio version of *Hamlet,* to the years 1606–8, citing the Queen's Revels company's performance of political and social satire, and the danger in which they appear to have placed the entire theatre industry around this time.[36] In the light of the new evidence of the continued connection between the company and the Chapel Royal, and the context of Giles's new patent in 1606, Hamlet's comments may also relate to the persistent question of whether these trainee actors were, or were not, trainee singers. Giles's revised patent suggests that the line between choirboy and player had continued to be blurred in the period between 1602 and 1606, but how many of the choirboys acted, and how many of the players could sing, as yet remains unclear.

The Dutch Courtesan and the Singing Boy

The controversy over the use of the royal patent, the appointment of Rastall, and the eventual prohibition on the use of choristers as actors form a powerful backdrop against which to consider *The Dutch Courtesan,* one of the Blackfriars company's 'lascivious and profane exercises'. Hamlet's comments and their freshly revealed contexts give an additional charge to Cocledemoy's 'oration' in praise of the trade of the bawd, with its references to the kinds of civic and professional roles for which other boys in their teens were being prepared through apprenticeship or education. In fact, *The Dutch Courtesan* is deeply interested in what it variously calls trade, occupation, profession, vocation, and function. When Freevill attempts, like Cocledemoy, to defend prostitution, he declares that 'Every man

must follow his trade and every woman her occupation' (1.1.109–10). The play puzzles over the nature and status of these forms of professional and personal activity, and the ways in which they are shaped by factors such as age, gender, social class, nation, and criminality. Cocledemoy questions the young Holofernes Reinscure about his apprenticeship and parentage (2.1.173–87), and Mulligrub in turn questions Cocledemoy, who is disguised as a Scottish barber, about his training and trade (2.3.15–31). Towards the end of the play, Tisefew exclaims at Cocledemoy, 'Go, you are a flattering knave', to which the other man replies, 'I am so. 'Tis a good, thriving trade' (5.3.153–4). The '*Fabulae argumentum*' printed with the play asserts that its '*full scope*' is '*The difference betwixt the love of a courtesan and a wife*' (1–2) — that is, between a woman whose love is the commodity she trades in, and the wife whose love is the basis of her 'occupation'.

In the midst of these deliberations on the status of work and trade, questions about the status of the boy actors lurk most powerfully behind the uses of music and song in *The Dutch Courtesan*. A commodity that the company 'sold' to its spectators, and a crucial means through which it 'liv[ed] by others' pleasure', music pervades Marston's play, helping to structure its engagements with questions of trade and profit. Like Queen's Revels plays such as George Chapman's *May Day* (ca 1601), Marston's own *Parasitaster, or The Fawn* (ca 1604) and *The Wonder of Women, or The Tragedy Sophonisba* (1605–6), Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (ca 1607), and Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* (ca 1607), *The Dutch Courtesan* self-consciously blurs the boundaries between the play 'proper' and the act breaks, which at Blackfriars were famously filled with instrumental music.[37] Act 2 begins with the entrance of Freevill, accompanied by 'Pages *with torches, and* Gentlemen *with music*' (2.1.0 sd), the appearance of the 'gentlemen' providing a retrospective source for the music that the audience have just heard. The other act breaks are preceded by calls for music from the vintner Mulligrub and his tormentor Cocledemoy. At the end of act 2, having been literally and metaphorically 'shaved' by Cocledemoy in the guise of a barber, the distraught Mulligrub cries, 'Is there any fiddlers in the house?', to which Mistress Mulligrub replies 'Yes, Master Creak's noise' (2.3.121–2). Mulligrub's response cues the musicians: 'Bid 'em play, laugh, make merry. Cast up my accounts, for I'll go hang myself presently. I will not curse, but a pox on Cocledemoy. He has polled and shaved me. He has trimmed me' (123–6). The tunes that follow presumably adhere to Mulligrub's instruction for 'merry' music, but in doing so they also pursue Cocledemoy's project of mocking the vintner.

The end of act 3, which comes after Cocledemoy has cheated the Mulligrubs of both a goblet and an expensive jowl of salmon, follows a similar pattern, but

here Mulligrub calls not for merriment but for sad music: 'Come, let's go hear some music. I will never more say my prayers. Let's go hear some doleful music' (3.4.123–5). Here, the music aligns with Mulligrub's emotions, but the effect is nonetheless comic, especially because it replays in a different vein his call for music at the end of act 2. At the end of act 4, in contrast, Cocledemoy is the one who calls for music. After Mulligrub has been carried off by officers, Cocledemoy preens himself: 'Afore the Lord God, my knavery grows unparegal. 'Tis time to take a nap, until half an hour hence …. God give your worship music, content and rest!' (4.5.144–7). The entr'acte music thus both charts and intensifies Cocledemoy's hold over Mulligrub, presenting the persecution of the vintner as a multiply pleasurable product for the spectators to delight in.

Marston's calculated use of the entr'acte music and its orientation towards both pleasure and profit provides a framework in which the play's uses of song itself appear. *The Dutch Courtesan* presents four characters who sing: Franceschina, Freevill, Mulligrub, and Cocledemoy. Franceschina's and Freevill's songs occur in amatory or erotic contexts, and each singer performs only for a character of another gender: Franceschina sings for Freevill and Malheureux, while Freevill sings for Beatrice. Franceschina has three songs, two for which lyrics are provided within the 1605 play-text (see 1.2.125–32 and 2.2.63–9), and one in act 5, scene 1, for which there is only a direction, '*Cantat saltatq{ue}, cum cithera*' ('*sings and dances to the cittern*' [5.1.19 sd]).[38] Freevill has two songs, one in act 2, scene 1, for which the 1605 quarto edition provides only a direction, 'Cantat' (B3v), and one in act 5, scene 2, for which a lyric, 'O love, how strangely sweet', is provided. The songs may have used the same lyric and, perhaps, tune, an approach taken in two recent productions of *The Dutch Courtesan,* the first at York University, directed by Michael Cordner (2013), and the second at the University of Toronto, directed by Noam Lior (2019). Additional support for using the same song twice may appear in the fact that Beatrice faints when she hears the second song: she perhaps does so because she recognizes the song as well as the singer's voice.

Erotic singing is crucial to *The Dutch Courtesan* but it is not the only form of singing that appears in the play. As we have seen, Cocledemoy and Mulligrub both make use of music and both are presented as singers. Their songs are different from those of Franceschina and Freevill in terms of their forms and contexts, making use of ballads and tradesmen's cries, and being less dependent upon the trained voice of the professional singer. In his dialogue with Holofernes, Cocledemoy quotes from a ballad, 'Peggy's Complaint for the Death of her Willy':

HOLOFERNES My father, forsooth, is dead.

COCLEDEMOY And laid in his grave. Alas, what comfort shall Peggy then have? (2.1.182–4)

It seems likely that this ballad was written by Richard Tarlton to mark the death of his fellow actor William Knell in 1587.[39] In singing it, Cocledemoy places himself in a line of professional clowns, and in the process he aligns the 'work' of the boy actors of the Queen's Revels company with that of the professional stage.

A later song exploits a different set of associations. In his appearance '*like a bellman*' (a town-crier or night-watchman) in act 4, scene 5, Cocledemoy sings a variation on a bellman's cry:

The night grows old,
And many a cuckold
Is now — Wa, ha, ha, ho!
Maids on their backs
Dream of sweet smacks,
And warm — Wo, ho, ho, ho!
….
Maids in your night-rails,
Look well to your light (–)
Keep close your locks,
And down your smocks;
Keep a broad eye,
And a close thigh — (4.5.72–7, 80–5)

The rhyme word at line 81, which is probably 'tails', is likely to have been sung on stage — adding to the song's pervasive innuendo — but is omitted in the quarto. Another version of this song also appears in Chapman's Chapel play *May Day,* sung by an elderly nobleman, Lorenzo, who disguises himself as the chimney sweep Snail and imitates his cries:

Maids in your smocks, set open your locks,
Downe, downe, downe:
Let Chimney sweeper in:
And he will sweepe your chimneys cleane,
Hey derry, derry, downe.[40]

The repetition of the song across different plays of the same company not only establishes connections between their narratives but also connects the actors who

played the roles — if they were not played by the same boy. Both appearances of the 'Maids in your smocks' song also stage — like the ballad fragment — the commercialization of the boy singer's 'art' in the playhouse, as he is pulled further away from the divine service of the chorister or the 'recreation' of higher-status boys.

Mulligrub's song is different again. Left alone 'in the suds' by Cocledemoy (2.3.88), he initially thinks that he is talking to 'Andrew' the barber:

> Dost know one Cocledemoy in town? He made me an ass last night, but I'll ass him. Art thou free, Andrew? Shave me well. I shall be one of the Common Council shortly and then, Andrew — why Andrew? Andrew! Dost leave me in the suds? (*He sings.*) Why, Andrew! I shall be blind with winking. Ha, Andrew! Wife! Andrew! What means this? Wife! My money! Wife! (84–90)

Karen Britland translates the 1605 quarto's '*Cantat*' but otherwise lets the original direction stand. In this, she takes a different approach from another editor, David Crane, who argues that the stage direction is an error for '*Clamat*' ('he shouts'), which he inserts before Mulligrub's 'Ha, Andrew!', on the grounds that 'Mulligrub would hardly sing here'.[41] Britland notes, however, that 'In Marston's sources for this episode — Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias* and George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* — the scene serves as a musical interlude, lending credence to the idea that Mulligrub sings'.[42] We can, in fact, easily see how Mulligrub's singing could be played: he would first ask quite amiably 'Dost leave me in the suds?', and then sing to himself to pass the time before Cocledemoy returns, gradually realizing that he has been fooled as he speaks the words, 'Why, Andrew! I shall be blind with winking. Ha, Andrew! Wife! Andrew! What means this?' (87–90). Moreover, the fact that Mulligrub is twice associated with the entr'acte music reinforces his links with music and makes the idea of his singing more plausible.

Singing thus cuts across genders and social classes in *The Dutch Courtesan,* and across various forms of song, such as art-song, ballad, bellman's cry, and the song of the nightingale in act 2, scene 1. Even the tradition of religious song in which choristers were trained makes an appearance, in the form of Mulligrub's reference to the singing of psalms at executions (3.2.10–12), a moment that may have been richly self-conscious in its original context. This reference perhaps points up the profane uses of song elsewhere in the play, and especially its use to provide erotic pleasure. Scholars of playhouse music have spent much time on Franceschina's first song, 'The Dark is My Delight', with its bawdy punchline, 'I love to sleep

'gainst prickle, / So doth the nightingale' (1.2.131–2), and on the way in which she is presented by Freevill as a 'siren'.[43] Freevill's own use of song for erotic purposes, however, has been less often taken into account. Entering with his 'Pages *with torches, and* Gentlemen *with music*' at the start of act 2, he says,

> The morn is yet but young. Here, gentlemen,
> This is my Beatrice' window, this the chamber
> Of my betrothed dearest, whose chaste eyes,
> Full of loved sweetness and clear cheerfulness,
> Have gaged my soul to her enjoyings,
> Shredding away all those weak under-branches
> Of base affections and unfruitful heats.
> Here bestow your music to my voice. (2.1.1–8)

He then delivers his song, a stage direction again reading '*Cantat*'. As noted above, no lyric is provided in the 1605 text, but the lyric that appears in act 5 could possibly be featured here:

> O love, how strangely sweet
> Are thy weak passions,
> That love and joy should meet
> In selfsame fashions?
> Oh, who can tell
> The cause why this should move?
> But only this —
> No reason ask of love! (5.2.36–43)

If this lyric was indeed used in act 2, scene 1, its appearance there frames Freevill's preceding speech. His reference to his former love for Franceschina as 'base affections and unfruitful heats' (2.1.7) recalls Malheureux's criticism in the play's opening scene of his friend's tendency to 'grow wild in loose lasciviousness, / Given up to heat and sensual appetite' (1.1.93–4). Franceschina's song is an embodiment of this stigmatized 'lasciviousness', challenged and succeeded by Freevill's song, which he presents as the expression of his newly disciplined and sanctified love for Beatrice.

Yet, although Freevill's singing appears to be directed to different ends it exists in an uneasy relationship with Franceschina's singing. His first song in act 2, scene 1 appears between Franceschina's songs in act 1, scene 2 and act 2, scene 2, and these juxtapositions, as Britland points out, perhaps 'cal[l] the romantic intentions of Freevill's musical display into question, rendering it either naively disingenuous

or cynically calculating'.[44] Freevill's song might also undercut itself in performance. Crane suggests that it hardly matters what its lyrics said, commenting that 'Whatever the words sung to the music played by the gentlemen were, they yield place in importance to the words of Freevill's speech that precedes them'.[45] I am not convinced, however, that the relationship between song and dramatic context is this straightforward. If Freevill indeed sings the same song twice, as I have suggested above, its lyric would seem to reinforce the chaste romance of the situation in act 2, scene 1, and Freevill's desire to put his illicit love of Franceschina behind him. In performance, however, the tune might support long, drawn out 'O's, meaning that the song would begin to hint that Freevill's attitudes towards Franceschina and Beatrice are not as different as he would like us to think.

The singing boys who play Franceschina and Freevill both inhabit a similar position within the company's structures. The dramatic fiction presents Freevill as what Coke describes in his judgment on the Clifton case as 'the son of a Gentleman, or any other who is taught to sing, for his ornament, delight, or recreation, and not thereby to get his living'. Spectators would nonetheless have been aware that this was a boy whose performances were generating profit for company's shareholders — including, it seems, Marston himself. Freevill's singing apparently delights its onstage female spectator in act 2, scene 1, only to unsettle her emotions in act 5, scene 2, while Franceschina's song in act 1, scene 1 both delights and disturbs Malheureux. Both songs are, moreover, part of a theatrical economy in which delight is a saleable commodity, and Marston repeatedly exploits the desire of audiences to hear the boy players sing.

I opened this essay with the figure of the bawd and have ended it with the figure of the singing boy. If the former sought to 'liv[e] by others' pleasure' the latter was no less dependent on that dynamic relationship between pleasure and profit, as the amatory and erotic singing of Freevill and Franceschina demonstrates with particular force. As I have shown, in 1604, when *The Dutch Courtesan* was first performed, the choirmaster and the theatrical investor appear still to have been colluding in the 'training up' and 'employment' of performers in 'lascivious and profane exercises'. The financial 'trade' of the playing company was intertwined with the processes through which the boy actors learned their own 'trade' or vocation, either as singers or stage-players. The play exploits the skills that most clearly connected its performers with the more elevated tradition of singing for the royal choir, even as it holds up for scrutiny the way in which they accrue profits and 'get their living' through what Henry Clifton called 'the base trade of a mercenary interlude player'.

Notes

1 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). Unless otherwise stated, all further references to the play are to this edition.

2 Stephen Gosson, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (London, 1582; STC: 12095), G5v; Henry Crosse, *Vertues Common-wealth: or The High-way to Honour* (London, 1603; STC: 6070.5), P2v.

3 William Goddard, *A Neaste of Waspes* (London, 1615; STC: 11929), F1v.

4 Garrett A. Sullivan Jr, '"All Thinges Come into Commerce": Women, Household Labor, and the Spaces of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Renaissance Drama* 27 (1998), 19–46, https://doi.org/10.1086/rd.27.41917326. On alternative contexts for considering women's work, prostitution, and the theatre, see Natasha Korda, 'Staging Alien Women's Work in Civic Pageants', in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama,* ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Natasha Korda (Farnham, 2011), 53–68, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315546384; Duncan Salkeld, 'Comedy, Realism, and History in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *The Dutch Courtesan,* http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/comedy-realism-and-history-in-the-dutch-courtesan.

5 On the play's institutional contexts see also David Crane, 'Patterns of Audience Involvement in the Blackfriars Theatre in the Early Seventeenth Century: Some Moments in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy,* ed. Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock, and Anne-Julia Zwierlein (Aldershot, 2004), 97–107, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315246659.

6 Tom Rutter, *Work and Play on the Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge, 2008), 27, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511481451.

7 Ibid, 119.

8 See Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge, 2005), 27–33, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511486067; Munro, '"As it was Played in the Blackfriars": Jonson, Marston, and the Business of Playmaking', *English Literary Renaissance* 50 (2020), 256–295, https://doi.org/10.1086/708231.

9 On the links between the choir schools and the children's companies, see Michael Shapiro, *Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and their Plays* (New York, 1977), 5–29.

10 See Charles William Wallace, 'Shakespeare and his London Associates', *Nebraska University Studies* 10 (1910), 261–360 (336–60). The bill, answer, replication, and rejoinder are now catalogued as The National Archives, Kew (hereafter TNA), REQ 4/1/1; digital facsimiles of the major documents connected with this case are available on *Shakespeare Documented,* http://shakespearedocumented.org.

11 Bill of complaint in Keysar v. Burbage et al., TNA, REQ 4/1/1/1; Wallace, 'Shakespeare', 340–1.

12 Martin Wiggins in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642, A Catalogue,* 9 vols (Oxford, 2012–19), 5.16. On Marston's involvement with the company see Wallace, 'Shakespeare', 78–9, 80–2, 85–8, 90–1, 93, 100; Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History* (Urbana, 1926), 202; Munro, *Children,* 28; Munro, 'As it was Played'.

13 Robert Keysar v. Thomas Middleton, Court of King's Bench, Trinity 7 Jas I (1609), KB 27/1416, m. 1056d; for a transcription see Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, 'Thomas Middleton's *The Viper's Brood*', *Modern Language Notes* 42 (1927), 35–8, https://doi.org/10.2307/2914471. Keysar also signed two bonds with Thomas Dekker in June 1606 and one with Robert Daborne in September, all of which became subjects of lawsuits. See Robert Keysar v. Thomas Dekker, King's Bench, Hilary 10 Jas I (1613), KB 27/1437, m. 997; Robert Keysar v. Robert Daborne, King's Bench, Trinity 5 Jas I (1607), KB 27/1404, m. 904d.

14 Bill of complaint in Henry Clifton v. Henry Evans et al., STAC 5/C46/39; for a transcription see Mary C. Erler, ed., *Records of Early English Drama (REED): Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto, 2008), 172–7. For commentaries on this suit, see Charles William Wallace, 'The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597–1603', *University Studies of the University of Nebraska* 8 (1908), 103–321 (esp. 73–83); Hillebrand, *Child Actors,* 160–4; Edel Lamb, *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children's Playing Companies* (Houndmills, 2009), 45–8, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230594739; Julie Ackroyd, *Child Actors on the London Stage, Circa 1600: Their Education, Recruitment and Theatrical Success* (Brighton, 2018), 1–22.

15 STAC 5/C46/39; Erler, ed., *Ecclesiastical London,* 175.

16 Ibid, 175–6.

17 Ibid, 176.

18 Ibid.

19 TNA, C 66/1466, mm 7d, 8d; transcribed in Erler, ed., *Ecclesiastical London,* 228.

20 STAC 5/C46/39; Erler, ed., *Ecclesiastical London,* 173.

21 Ibid, 173–5.

22 Ibid, 175–6. The word 'at' is deleted in the original.

23 Replication in Edward Kirkham v. Richard Burbage et al., Court of Chancery, 1612, C 2/JasI/K5/25. For a transcription see Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559–1642* (London, 1890), 248.

24 I am very grateful to Susie Attwood for alerting me to an account of the Clifton family in Francis Bloomfield's *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1769), 867, which paraphrases and cites Coke's report. The

report is also cited in Allen D. Boyer, *Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age* (Stanford, 2003), 262.

25 *La Huictieme Part des Reports de Sir Edward Coke Chevalier, Chiefe Justice del Common Bank* (London, 1611; STC: 5513), 45–6.

26 'Mich. 6 *Jacobi,* In the Common Pleas. *Jehu Webbs* Case', in *The Reports of Sir Edward Coke Kt. Late Lord Chief-Justice of England* […] *Faithfully Rendred into English* (London, 1658: Wing C4944), 692.

27 STAC 5/C46/39; Erler, ed., *Ecclesiastical London,* 174.

28 On the 1602 agreement and its contexts, see Wallace, 'Children', 84–94; Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse: Its History and its Design* (New York, 1964), 186–9; Brian J. Corrigan, *Playhouse Law in Shakespeare's World* (Teaneck, NJ, 2004), 75–9.

29 Answer of Edward Kirkham in Henry Evans and Alexander Hawkins v. Edward Kirkham, Court of Chancery, 1608, TNA, C 2/Chas I/E31/43.

30 See Hillebrand, *Child Actors,* 186, 190–1; Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse,* 184–5; Munro, *Children,* 17–18.

31 Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*, 551–2. For the original German text see Gottfried von Bülow, 'Diary of the Journey of Philipp Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, Through England in the Year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ns, 6 vols (1892), 6.1–67 (28), https://doi.org/10.2307/3678189.

32 Commission for Nathaniel Giles, 13 September 1604, TNA, PSO 2/25; SP 38/7; for a transcription see E.K. Chambers, ed., 'Commissions for the Chapel', *Malone Society Collections*, 1.4–5 (1911), 357–63 (359–62).

33 Commission for Nathaniel Giles, 7 November 1606, TNA, C 66/1708, membranes 6d, 7d; for a transcription see Chambers, ed., 'Commissions', 363.

34 Thomas Kendall v. Alice Cooke, Court of King's Bench, 1607, TNA, KB 27/1405, m. 582; Answer in Edmund and Anne Kendall v. Martin Peerson, Court of Requests, January-February 1609, REQ 2/462, pt 1. See Hillebrand, *Child Actors*, 197–8; Mark Eccles, 'Martin Peerson and the Blackfriars', *Shakespeare Survey* 11 (1958), 100–7, https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521064244.011.

35 Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, eds, *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623* (London, 2006), https://doi.org/10.5040/9781408188125.00000040.

36 Roslyn L. Knutson, 'Falconer to the Little Eyases: A New Date and Commercial Agenda for the "Little Eyases" Passage in *Hamlet*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46 (1995), 1–31, https://doi.org/10.2307/2871152.

37 See Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 1992), 79–81, 83–92.

38 *The Dutch Courtezan* (London, 1605; STC: 17475), G3r.

39 See Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'MS Rawl. Poet. 185: Richard Tarlton and Edmund Spenser's "Pleasant Willy"', *The Bodleian Library Record* 20.1–2 (2007), 76–101.

40 George Chapman, *May-Day. A Witty Comedie* (London, 1611: STC 4980), F1r. A further variation appears in William Haughton's 1598 play for the Admiral's Men, *English-men for my Money* (London, 1616; STC: 12931), G2r, in which the song is sung by a genuine bellman.

41 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London, 1997), 48; see *Dutch Courtezan*, D2v.

42 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 159.

43 See, especially, Linda Phyllis Austern, '"Art to Enchant": Musical Magic and its Practitioners in English Renaissance Drama', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115 (1990), 191–206 (205–6), https://doi.org/10.1093/jrma/115.2.191; Katrine K. Wong, *Music and Gender in English Renaissance Drama* (London, 2013), 29–34, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203080801.

44 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 128.

45 Crane, 'Patterns', 106.

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Meghan C. Andrews

How Marston Read His *Merchant*: Ruled Women and Structures of Circulation in *The Dutch Courtesan*

This essay argues that The Merchant of Venice *was highly influential on John Marston's* The Dutch Courtesan*, guiding the changes Marston made to his source text. Marston extends* Merchant's *critiques of nascent capitalism and is especially critical of the commodifying male sexuality embodied by Freevill and influenced by the characterizations of Portia and Bassanio. Recognizing* Courtesan's *debts to* Merchant *also enables a better understanding of how Marston's move to the Children of the Queen's Revels affected his dramaturgy. By showing how Freevill self-consciously and inauthentically performs the role of a romance hero, Marston participates in the company's characteristic ironizing of romance.*

Much like the rest of John Marston's œuvre, *The Dutch Courtesan* owes considerable debts to a variety of Shakespeare plays.[1] Perhaps the most obvious influence is *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598–9), as Crispinella reminds us of *Much Ado*'s Beatrice, and thus Crispinella's courtship with Tisefew becomes an echo of Beatrice's merry war with Benedick. Similarly, Marston's patiently suffering Beatrice and callous Freevill take on shades of Hero and Claudio, and the bumbling constables who apprehend Mulligrub recall Dogberry and his men.[2] Looking beyond *Much Ado,* Malheureux is a 'man of snow' very much like Angelo in *Measure for Measure,* which one editor has called 'a companion piece' to *Courtesan* (2.1.83);[3] Freevill and Beatrice's balcony scene is reminiscent of *Romeo and Juliet,* as is Nurse Putifer; and we can see shades of *Twelfth Night* in Cocledemoy's assumption of a fake persona to torment the innocent Mulligrub, whom he has had imprisoned as part of a trick, and perhaps even *Othello,* in Franceschina's refusal to speak as she is hauled away for punishment at play's end.[4] Thus, like many Marston plays, and appropriately given its depiction of London as a cosmopolitan centre of trade,

Meghan C. Andrews (andrews@lycoming.edu) is assistant professor of English at Lycoming College, Williamsport, PA.

Courtesan teems with Shakespearean wares, fusing them to create Marston's own new and unique commodity.

One Shakespeare play that has never been substantively connected to *Courtesan*, however, is *The Merchant of Venice*, a play that perhaps not coincidentally was performed twice at court in front of King James in February 1605.[5] In fact, studies of Marston's drama rarely mention *Merchant* at all, even though the murderous usurer Mammon in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1599) is a clear parody of Shylock. *Merchant*'s omission from discussions of *The Dutch Courtesan* is particularly striking given that the plays share significant similarities. Most notably, both see a resident alien in a metropolis, who has schemed to take the life of a citizen after being wronged by that citizen, turned into a scapegoat by play's end. Both Franceschina and Shylock are punished by the legal system for their crimes but also become figures onto whom the play's citizens project their own failings, a repository for society's disavowed and abjected energies.[6]

But the similarities extend beyond the plays' parallel examinations of xenophobia. This essay argues that *The Merchant of Venice* had a much stronger influence than has been recognized on *The Dutch Courtesan*'s critiques of the commodification of individuals in a nascently capitalist society as well as the sexual morals and conduct of fashionable young gentlemen, and especially how the former informs the latter. *Courtesan* extends *Merchant*'s concerns about confusion between purse and person; if *Merchant* reflects a culture undergoing a transition to capitalism and uneasy about the implications of this shift, *Courtesan* depicts a world in which that transition is complete and everything — including humans — are commodities in an open market, especially in the eyes of voracious young gallants. *Courtesan*, like *Merchant*, is critical of this new world, and Marston's play uses and amplifies narrative elements taken from *Merchant* to make its critiques. Marston accomplishes this work largely through the character of Freevill, who becomes a kind of bastard child of Bassanio and Portia as the play goes on, merging more extreme versions of Bassanio's mercenary attitude toward sexuality with Portia's manipulations of and control over the bodies of others. Understanding how Marston read *Merchant* thus gives us a better understanding of *Courtesan* itself as well as how Marston's mid-career move to the Children of the Queen's Revels affected his dramaturgy and helped shape the second half of his career.

Free Will Unfettered

Since the publication of John J. O'Connor's 'The Chief Source of Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*', critics have widely acknowledged that Marston's primary narrative

source for *Courtesan* was Nicholas de Montreux's *Le premier livre des bergeries de Julliette* (1585), a French romance never translated into English.[7] Marston found in the inset story of Dellio (Freevill), Cinthye (Franceschina), the Sieur de la Selve (Malheureux), and Angelicque (Beatrice) a plot he followed almost entirely faithfully, though his thematic concerns are very different from Montreux's focus on male friendship, honour, virtue, and love. Much more like *Merchant* as well as other early city comedies, *Courtesan* takes a searing look at not only xenophobia but also the collision of capitalism and communities, and especially vulnerable individuals — vulnerable bodies — in those communities. Shakespeare's play shows significant reservations about the social effects of the nascent cultural transition to capitalism, and specifically the dehumanization and commodification of human beings this commercial system entailed. When a pound of Antonio's flesh is worth 3,000 ducats, when Shylock confuses his ducats with his daughter, and when Bassanio's affection for both Antonio and Portia seems inextricably tied to their finances, Shakespeare shows the dangers of confusing purse and person. *Courtesan,* while it possesses the same anxieties, portrays a world in which this cultural transition is a fait accompli. In Marston's play, we are fully immersed in a world in which everything, including human bodies, can be bought and paid for, and one in which all of the characters unquestioningly acknowledge that reality of the game.[8]

Perhaps the most adroit player of the game is Freevill, who, as O'Connor notes, is very different from the generally honourable, well-intentioned Dellio of *Les bergeries*.[9] Dellio is genuinely infatuated with the courtesan Cinthye, but Freevill sees Franceschina as little more than a convenient outlet for his lust, and the play raises questions about his attitude toward Beatrice as well. In consistently using language that dehumanizes and demeans Franceschina even as he pays her for sex, giving an encomium to prostitution, or going directly from being serenaded by his courtesan to serenading his fiancée, Freevill reveals his perception of a fundamental link between sexuality and money as well as the transactional nature of sexuality more broadly, an attitude nowhere present in Dellio. This confusion of purse and person makes Freevill more reminiscent of Bassanio, whose affection for Portia and Antonio both is suspect insofar as it seems premised on their financial support. Bassanio is not nearly as extreme in his misogyny or commodifying impulse as is Freevill, and the ways in which Bassanio and Freevill intertwine sex and money are oriented differently — Freevill seems to see money as a way to get sex, while for Bassanio sex is a way to get money[10] — but the seeds of Freevill's attitude are present in Bassanio.

Bassanio's influence on the character of Freevill, however, is most obvious in the rings plot, for one of the greatest continuities between *Merchant* and *Courtesan* is the circulation of, and significance invested in, the main couple's rings. To be sure, a ring does feature in *Les bergeries*, as Cinthye asks the newly-engaged Dellio for a ring Angelicque has given him; he refuses, but then loans it to the Sieur de la Selve so that the Sieur can swear to have killed him and thus have sex with Cinthye. But while Marston follows his source text faithfully in the first half of *Courtesan,* we can discern *Merchant*'s influence in several smaller changes he makes to Montreux. First, Beatrice's gift of her ring to Freevill mirrors Portia giving her ring to Bassanio. In *Les bergeries,* while the ring is symbolic of their love and engagement, Dellio and Angelicque invest it with no significance beyond the obvious. Even the gifting of the ring is a quick affair, as the text simply states 'Angelicque gave an elegant ring to Dellyo, which he valued with his life, so much was the devotion he had for her';[11] later the text also states that 'he held it more dear than his own eyes because it was Angelicque who had given it to him as a foundation and plan for their love', and later still a taunting Cinthye says to Angelicque that Dellio 'promised you to hold [it] more dear than his own heart'. While the ring is clearly important to Dellio, it holds no meaning other than as a symbol of his devotion to and love for Angelicque.

In contrast, when Beatrice gifts Freevill a ring in 2.1, she invests it with emotional significance beyond its status as a token of their upcoming engagement:

> BEATRICE Dear my loved heart, be not so passionate.
> Nothing extreme lives long.
>
> FREEVILL But not to be extreme!
> Nothing in love's extreme; my love receives no mean.
>
> BEATRICE I give you faith and, prithee, since, poor soul,
> I am so easy to believe thee,
> Make it much more pity to deceive me.
> Wear this slight favour in my remembrance.
> *Throweth down a ring to him.*
>
> FREEVILL Which, when I part from, hope — the best of life — ever part from me.
>
> BEATRICE I take you and your word, which may ever live your servant.
>
> (2.1.48–58)

When she gives her ring to Freevill, Beatrice makes it a token of not only their love but more specifically her belief in Freevill's vow of constancy in love. In this it mirrors Portia gifting her ring to Bassanio:[12]

> PORTIA This house, these servants and this same myself,
> Are yours, my lord's. I give them with this ring
> Which, when you part from, lose or give away,
> Let it presage the ruin of your love,
> And be my vantage to exclaim on you.
> ….
> BASSANIO But when this ring
> Parts from this finger, then parts life from hence;
> O, then be bold to say, 'Bassanio's dead.' (3.2.170–85)

Both Portia and Beatrice make their ring symbolic not only of their impending nuptials but also of their trust in their fiancés' emotional fidelity. Portia is more pessimistic than is Beatrice — she couches Bassanio's imagined betrayal as a 'when' in contrast to Beatrice's 'if', and more explicitly places conditions upon Bassanio's possession of the ring — but both women make the ring a token of their faith in their lover's emotional commitment. And Freevill and Bassanio have identical responses, both swearing that the rings will be taken over (or from) their dead bodies, setting their love above life itself.

And, of course, neither man holds to his vow. Both Bassanio and Freevill rebuff a first request for their ring but eventually give it to another man (or, in Bassanio's case, what he thinks is another man) for the sake of their best friend, which in both plays is a devastating commentary on the relative lack of importance heterosexual romantic relationships hold relative to male homosocial relationships.[13] But if Bassanio is reluctant to give up his ring, Freevill is all too willing.[14] Twice he shows no hesitation in giving Malheureux the ring, first in his initial concoction of the plan, when Freevill states, 'this ring only lent … Then, to thy wench; protest me surely dead, / Show her this ring, enjoy her, and, blood cold, / We'll laugh at folly' (3.1.274–82). An act later he shows that same lack of hesitation when he actually gives the ring to Malheureux, saying again:

> I'll lend this ring. Show it to that fair devil.
> It will resolve me dead;
> Which rumour, with my artificial absence,
> Will make most firm — Enjoy her, suddenly. (4.2.17–20)

In fact, unlike Bassanio, Freevill does not even have to be asked to give up his ring; twice he offers it freely, and never displays any of the reluctance that either Dellio or Bassanio do when he hands it over, showing no regard for his broken vow. Worse still, Freevill's words and actions reduce the ring to a token not of love but of sex, devaluing his relationship with Beatrice and implicating her in the game of sexual circulation played in London that has very little to do with love.[15] A further Marstonian addition to Montreux — the ring subplot with Crispinella, Tisefew, and Caqueteur, which mirrors the main plot just as Gratiano and Nerissa's ring mirrors Portia and Bassanio's — only reinforces this connection, emphasizing that for gallants, rings are currency in a homosocial world of circulation and that they will lie outrageously about them to women. As Caqueteur's feelings for Crispinella seem not to be truly authentic, the subplot again casts rings as tokens of sex, not love, emphasizing Freevill's devaluation of Beatrice's gift.

Marston's additions and changes to the rings plot provided in *Les bergeries* thus take their cue from *Merchant* and emphasize Freevill's faithlessness and transactional attitude toward sexuality. In investing Beatrice and Freevill's ring with the kind of symbolic value invested in Portia and Bassanio's ring, Marston makes Freevill's loan of the ring to Malheureux a worse version of Bassanio's emotional betrayal, both because Freevill offers his ring freely while Bassanio is reluctant to give his up and because Bassanio relinquishes the ring in thanks for a life saved while Freevill offers it for the baser purpose of (supposedly) enabling Malheureux to have sex with Franceschina. The changes Marston makes to the ring plot in *Courtesan*'s first half make Freevill into a worse version of Bassanio, making more pronounced Bassanio's flaws and opening them up to sharper critique.

But the moment in which Freevill loans Malheureux his ring is important in another way, as it also marks Marston's greatest deviation from his source text as well as the point at which Freevill begins to take on Portia's worst qualities in addition to Bassanio's. In *Les bergeries*, Dellio does not double-cross the Sieur as Freevill does Malheureux. Instead, the plot to enable the Sieur to have sex with Cinthye is played straight. Dellio, genuine in his desire to help the Sieur win Cinthye, gives him the ring and hides in the countryside to fake his own death. The Sieur comes to Cinthye claiming to have killed Dellio, she promptly alerts the authorities, and he is apprehended in her chambers and imprisoned. Cinthye, meanwhile, takes Dellio's ring to a distraught Angelicque, leaving it with her along with taunts about how Dellio never loved her. The Sieur is only saved from death because Dellio fears something has gone awry and returns to Venice the night before the Sieur is scheduled to be executed. He learns of the impending execution

and reveals himself in the courtroom the next day, saving his friend. Dellio then goes to Angelicque's house, where she lies in a deathlike state thanks to a broken heart, and his presence revives her. After some recriminations on her part, the lovers are reunited and live happily ever after, while Cinthye leaves Venice in bitterness and the Sieur departs because Venice has been bitter to him.

In other words, Freevill's disguise, subsequent betrayal of and orchestration of a near-death experience for Malheureux, return of the ring to Beatrice in person, and manipulation of the rest of the characters stands as Marston's most radical change to his source text. Marston had good dramaturgical reasons to make these changes; keeping Freevill, probably played by the company's leading actor, offstage and passive for the entire last two acts is far less dramatically compelling than allowing him to be the disguised orchestrator of the play's denouement. Similarly, allowing Freevill to be the character who saves Beatrice by returning the ring to her is a powerful and dramatically economical move that enables Freevill and Beatrice to reunite before the final scene and therefore allows the play to end with his triumphant overthrow of Franceschina and saving of Malheureux. These changes perhaps remind us of *Measure,* which similarly ends with a disguised male manipulator revealing himself after appearing to double-cross a wrongfully-accused party, ultimately vindicating said wrongfully-accused party and punishing the play's duplicitous villain in what had been the villain's moment of triumph. But *Courtesan*'s changes to the ring plot also create similarities between Freevill and Shakespeare's Portia, who is also given a great deal of control over the bodies and sexualities of her play's other characters. Like Portia, Freevill takes on a disguise to help someone he loves, testing Beatrice's love and loyalty in the process just as Portia tests Bassanio's, and uses his disguise to save a wronged citizen (Malheureux) from the imminent threat of death, re-acquiring his own wayward ring along the way — a ring whose waywardness signifies a broken oath to a female partner. Also like Portia, Freevill is involved with the near-execution of that same wronged citizen, thwarting it only at the last second with xenophobic machinations that scapegoat and sentence a resident alien, Franceschina, ostensibly punishing her for a crime against Malheureux even as the metropolis projects all its worst qualities onto her — just as, in *Merchant,* Portia saves Antonio by scapegoating Shylock, onto whom the Venetians similarly project *their* city's worst qualities. Especially as Marston not only has changed the resident foreigner from the Sieur in Montreux to Franceschina in *Courtesan,* but also has imposed on Franceschina a far heavier punishment than is received by Cinthye, who simply leaves Venice of her own accord, the influence of *Merchant* is strongly felt in *Courtesan*'s final scene.

Further, and perhaps unfairly given *Courtesan*'s events but again like Portia, by the play's end Freevill has solidified his position as the dominant partner in his relationship with Beatrice just as Portia cements herself as her relationship's dominant partner in yet another subsidiary change Marston made to Montreux. As noted above, in *Les bergeries* Angelicque ends the narrative in possession of her ring, symbolizing her equal status with Dellio. The ring is passed to her by a taunting Cinthye, but Angelicque does not return the ring to Dellio at their reunion; she only mentions it as part of a more general reproach to him, believing that Dellio gave the ring to Cinthye to signify his lack of love for her. Dellio, while defensive about the fact that he did not give the ring to Cinthye and thus feeling unjustly accused, nevertheless is willing to kill himself to show his devotion to Angelicque and clear his name. She stops him and the two are reconciled. In *Courtesan*, on the other hand, Freevill ends the play with the ring in his possession and without having truly apologized to Beatrice for his misdeeds or having repented. Angelicque's possession of her ring at her narrative's end signifies that she *has* been wronged by Dellio, and is metonymic of her control over herself and the need for Dellio to make amends before they can be reunited, whereas in *Courtesan* Freevill's possession of the ring signifies that all of his plots have come successfully to fruition and that his control over the heretofore passive, subservient Beatrice is complete without any need for penance. Tellingly, the ring drops entirely out of the reunion scene in *Courtesan*, not mentioned in dialogue nor in the stage directions (though much could be done with the ring in performance). And the ring is not the only thing to be lost in the transition between texts, as alongside it, Angelicque's face-to-face recriminations also do not make it into Marston's play. Beatrice is given neither the opportunity nor the inclination to air what would be well-deserved grievances against Freevill, though we have seen her offer gentle rebukes earlier. Instead, Crispinella gets a single line of chastisement against Freevill — 'Brother, I must be plain with you: you have wronged us' — only to be quickly brushed aside by Freevill:

> I am not so covetous to deny it,
> But yet, when my discourse hath stayed your quaking
> ….
> You will be mild and quiet, forget at last.
> It is much joy to think on sorrows past. (5.2.64–71)

As Keith Sturgess observes, Freevill 'can slide (Marston lets him)' from facing real consequences for his actions.[16]

If, like Bassanio, Freevill has broken faith with his fiancée, his dominant position in his relationship with Beatrice nevertheless casts him as Portia, which emblematizes the gender roles *Courtesan* seeks to critique. In *Merchant*, as Karen Newman has argued in an article that helped give this essay its title, Portia's acquisition of the ring and then ostentatious return of it to Bassanio via Antonio with a short-lived lie about having slept with 'Balthazar' is a power move that bucks patriarchal trends by empowering a woman.[17] Giving Bassanio the ring back signals both that Bassanio and Antonio are newly indebted to Portia and that she knows about Bassanio's broken vow and thus would be justified (if so inclined) to repay it with one of her own. Her return of the ring is a move that humbles Bassanio, placing Portia in control. In *Courtesan*, on the other hand, Freevill is always on top; his possession of the ring at play's end signifies this position, and is indicative of a sharp difference between the two plays' gender politics — one designed, again, to link the commodification of individuals with Freevill's particularly predatory brand of male sexuality.[18] Freevill is thus the character through which Marston links the commodification of humans much more tightly than did Shakespeare to an unsettling male attitude toward sexuality that sees women as objects, not people. Freevill becomes a more extreme version of both Bassanio and Portia, merging their worst qualities to invite questions about his conduct and 'mak[e] it evident that he and the social values he ultimately represents are open to sharp scrutiny'.[19]

Marston's critique of Freevill, however, does not mean that his ideas regarding women were particularly progressive. The play strongly supports Beatrice's model of patiently suffering femininity, and that the 'Kill Claudio' scene of *Much Ado* is given to Franceschina and Malheureux instead of to Crispinella and Tisefew, Beatrice and Benedick's spiritual descendants, signals that *Courtesan* sees female sexuality as fundamentally dangerous. The play's sympathies are often with its women, as *Courtesan* shares with *Much Ado* the recognitions that male homosociality is almost always bad for women and that early modern women were societally restricted such that they needed men to act for them. Nevertheless, that the one moment in *Courtesan* in which a woman pushes back is a moment of obvious, murderous villainy suggests that female sexuality is a threat, presenting a rival to predatory male sexuality in allowing women to play the game men would prefer to hold as their exclusive preserve. Active female sexuality empowers women, giving them the tools to have power over and manipulate men (which may help explain Freevill's attraction to Beatrice's virginity, as her *lack* of sexual experience helps ensure his dominance).[20] For, aside from the plots of Franceschina and her bawd Mary Faugh, female sexuality is either nonexistent or nonthreatening

in *Courtesan*; for all of Freevill's valuation of chastity, unlike *Much Ado* but like *Merchant*, *Courtesan* does not feature any male paranoia about female sexuality, founded or otherwise. In fact, the far more paranoid gender in *Courtesan*, rightly so, is the female, as Beatrice alone asks Freevill four or five times not to toy with her and even Franceschina tests Freevill's fidelity in 2.2, just as *Merchant*'s women are more suspicious of their husbands than vice versa. But if *Courtesan* has sympathy for women caught in men's manipulations, and if it allows Crispinella a voice with which to sharply criticize male conduct, it nevertheless cannot envision a world in which women have any substantial refuge against male mistreatment. It may be true that both Franceschina and Beatrice 'object to Freevill's easy recourse to totalizing stereotypes of woman-as-deity or woman-as-whore', but on a larger level the play itself reifies a slightly different binary: woman as passive sufferer or active evil.[21]

In so doing, *Courtesan* offers a pessimistic outlook to London's women, far more pessimistic than the outlook suggested by the endings of *Merchant* or *Much Ado*. Unlike Portia, *Much Ado*'s Beatrice, or even Hero, all of whom are empowered in different ways by the end of their respective plays, *Courtesan*'s Beatrice and Franceschina both seem trapped by the men around them into playing their designated roles. Recent critics have also suggested that Crispinella and Tisefew, too, may end the play on an uneasy note that can suggest future discord if Crispinella continues to be independent and outspoken.[22] If Shakespeare in what we might call his 'suburban' comedies offers a fantasy of at least limited female empowerment against male strictures, Marston offers his heroines no such succor.[23]

Caught in a Bad Romance

In closing, I want to suggest that understanding Marston's debts to Shakespeare's 'suburban' comedies *Merchant* and *Much Ado* helps illuminate the effects of Marston's change in theatrical company on his dramaturgy. Marston began his career writing for the Children of St Paul's, producing *Antonio and Mellida*, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, *Antonio's Revenge*, and *What You Will* for them between 1599 and 1601/2. But with *The Malcontent* (1603/4), he moved to the Children of the Queen's Revels, who performed at the Blackfriars under various names in the first decade of the seventeenth century. At some point, Marston also became a sharer in the Blackfriars company, giving him a vested interest in the company's development and consolidation of its repertoire, potentially also a voice in shaping its repertory. Perhaps for this reason, his move to the Queen's Revels seems to have shifted his vision of comedy as well as his relationship to Shakespeare's texts.

In her important study of the Queen's Revels, Lucy Munro argues that the company developed a distinct style of comedy that at times defeated generic expectations. Contending that their comedies 'demonstrate a striking awareness of the problematic aspects of comic closure, and the equally problematic relationship between comedy and laughter', as 'jokes often seem to work against narrative structures, complicating or negating comedy's movement towards reconciliation', Munro notes that this approach to comedy also carried over into the company's vision of tragicomedy.[24] While the King's Men drifted toward Shakespearean romance in their tragicomic plays, Munro argues that the Children of the Queen's Revels embraced a mode better labeled anti-romance, since in their tragicomedies, 'romance is complicated by the introduction of material which reverses, complicates, exaggerates, or, especially, ironises it', a strategy that extended to the company's treatment of biblical or folktale motifs as well (visible in for example *Eastward Ho* [1605]'s subversion of the prodigal son narrative), as the company staked out a different, more cynical position in London's theatrical marketplace than did Shakespeare's company.[25] Both of these observations are important for understanding how Marston reworked Shakespearean material to suit the Queen's Revels' style. For — unsurprisingly given its roots in *Les bergeries* — *Courtesan*, while among the earliest Jacobean city comedies, also possesses strong affinities to romance and closely related folklore motifs, particularly the story of Patient Griselda. And, perhaps unsurprisingly given the nature of the Queen's Revels' repertory, *Courtesan* works to complicate the Patient Griselda story in a way that serves the play's larger aim of critiquing male sexuality.

From her very first speech, Beatrice is introduced to the audience as a recognizable version of the wife or fiancée who possesses exemplary loyalty to her husband typical in chivalric romance. In that first speech, it takes Beatrice less than ten lines to tell Freevill 'I am your servant' (2.1.18), and she stresses her maidenly silence, modesty, and general subservience to his will. She calls herself Freevill's servant twice more before his supposed death (at 2.1.58 and 3.1.220), an average of once per scene to that point in the play. This consistent self-identification coupled with her general submission of herself to his will and focus on being properly virtuous all lead the audience to see Beatrice as, if not yet a Patient Griselda figure (though her repeated identification of herself as Freevill's servant is suggestive of that narrative), at least as a version of the unimpeachably loyal and virtuous wives of chivalric romance.[26] But when false news comes of Freevill's death, Beatrice's status as a Patient Griselda figure becomes sharper given her refusal to hate Franceschina because 'I cannot hate what he affected' (4.4.58–9) as well as her inability to condemn or turn against Freevill for his breach of faith.

Further, the disguised Freevill wonders at her extreme loyalty in a speech designed to highlight these qualities:

> Grief endears love. Heaven, to have such a wife
> Is happiness to breed pale envy in the saints!
> Thou worthy, dove-like virgin without gall,
> Cannot that woman's evil, jealousy,
> Despite disgrace — nay, which is worse, contempt —
> Once stir thy faith? O Truth, how few sisters has thou?
> Dear memory, with what a suffering sweetness, quiet modesty,
> Yet deep affection, she received my death!
> And then with what a patient, yet oppressed kindness
> She took my lewdly intimated wrongs.
> Oh, the dearest of heaven! Were there but three
> Such women in the world, two might be saved. (4.4.89–100)

Freevill's extended focus on Beatrice's faithfulness, patience, kindness, virtuousness, and loving nature, coupled with his use of religious imagery, 'locates Beatrice in the *Patient Grissil* tradition of martyred women and wives', as of course does the fact that Beatrice's suffering is an unnecessary result of Freevill's machinations.[27] As James Simpson observes of the troubling of romance in Chaucer's 'Clerk's Tale', 'in this case the tests that premise return to the aristocratic order are themselves the product of the aristocratic "hero", so much that he ceases to be the hero at all'.[28] But if Freevill is not the hero of this play, he is also conscious of this fact, and tries to obscure it by writing himself a heroic part.

Like Portia, Freevill is a master player of roles, and throughout the early portions of *Courtesan* is eager to script for himself the role of a faithful courtly-chivalric lover where Beatrice is concerned. His rhetoric when speaking to her is often in a high, romantic register, glimpsed, for example, in his first extended speech to her during the balcony scene:

> Still! My vow is up above me and, like time,
> Irrevocable. I am sworn all yours.
> No beauty shall untwine our arms, no face
> In my eyes can or shall seem fair,
> And would to God only to me you might
> Seem only fair. Let others disesteem
> Your matchless graces, so I might safer seem. (2.1.27–33)

This courtly lover is not the Freevill who discourses on the advantages of prostitution or who laughingly asks Malheureux 'What news from Babylon? / How does the woman of sin and natural concupiscence?' (3.1.230–1). Freevill in the balcony scene literally writes a different part for himself, but the contrast between this moment and several others points out how constructed, and how inauthentic, this role is.[29]

More generally, when Freevill serenades Beatrice under her window with protestations of devotion and loyalty, when he mock-duels with Malheureux over her, when he fakes his death, and then when he reveals himself first to Beatrice in a pathos-filled reunion scene and then to all the other characters in a dramatic scene of judgment, he self-consciously plays the role of a chivalric romance hero, a loyal partner fighting for his lady's honour and surviving trials only to come back disguised to set the world to rights (and importantly, the circulation of a ring representing a faithful woman is also a classic romance motif). Yet the audience is privy to exactly how much this narrative is *scripted*, not a reality. Because the audience knows that Freevill has come to serenade Beatrice immediately after being serenaded by Franceschina, that the mock duel over Beatrice's honour is part of a larger sordid plot, that Beatrice has been largely an afterthought to Freevill, whose disguise has not been part of any sort of larger trial or quest, and that Freevill has actually broken faith with his beloved, the audience can clearly see that this identity is nothing more than a performance. And its performative nature is never as obvious as during what ought to be the crowning moment of Freevill's script. When Freevill reveals to Beatrice that he is alive, he begins a self-centred speech — 'Cursed be my indiscreet trials! Oh, my immeasurably loving —', only to be cut off by Crispinella's brutally practical 'She stirs! Give air! She breathes!', which both deflates his romantic beginning and points out how narcissistic Freevill remains (5.2.49–51). Further, as Freevill claims shortly thereafter, 'Nor ever hath my love been false to you; / Only I presumed to try your faith too much, / For which I am most grieved' (5.2.61–3), a clear lie, the play invites the audience to see how hard he is working to perform the role of a faithful romance hero, and how this performance does match the reality of his story. Beatrice *is* a romance heroine, a Patient Griselda, but Freevill is not an honest, honourable, suffering chivalric hero, and the extent to which he attempts to play this role, as well as the clear contrast with his actual actions, contributes to the critique of his behaviour elucidated above.[30] Here Marston ironizes the romance elements of his drama in the service of critiquing the very non-romantic actions of and attitudes held by Freevill.

Further, Munro has also pointed to the undercutting of comic closure as a strategy by which the Queen's Revels did their work, and we can see that open-endedness at play in *Courtesan* as well. If 'Comic narratives tend to stress contrition and reconciliation', Freevill never quite seems repentant, nor does he actually apologize by play's end, placing stress on the comic closure of the play.[31] That Cocledemoy, whose similarities to Freevill the play takes pains to highlight, also lacks contrition and is barely reconciled to Mulligrub only further unsettles what could otherwise come off as a very generically predictable ending. Munro focuses on the Children of the Queen's Revels' querying of class status when discussing the company's avoidance of closure, but here we see Marston adopting, or perhaps even partly constructing, a familiar Queens Revels strategy to query instead normative heterosexual structures and male behaviour and, instead of its overlap with politics, London's burgeoning capitalism. If for Munro the company's comedies 'actively interrogate the social identities associated with the spectators', *Courtesan* also queries the morals of the gallants in the audience resembling Freevill.[32]

This questioning represents something of a shift in Marston's larger approach to romance elements in his drama. *Antonio and Mellida* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment* are strongly influenced by festive pastoral romance, particularly Sidney's *Arcadia*, but while romance conventions are parodied in both plays, they also provide each play's affective center, ultimately played straight insofar as each play's main set of lovers ends the play happily together in part thanks to the play's romance elements. In moving companies, Marston also moved from parodying to problematizing romance conventions. Further, in *Courtesan*, Marston's relatively newfound attention to the societal limitations placed on women, for which he used Shakespeare as a repository of material, can also stand in as a marker of his larger post-1603 shift, both in terms of his overall treatment of gender and in his relationship to Shakespeare's plays. From *Histriomastix* to *What You Will*, Marston became increasingly pessimistic about the prospect of virtue, particularly but not exclusively female virtue, and embraced a burgeoning nihilism. Beginning with *The Malcontent*, however, Marston charted an increasingly optimistic course through the remainder of his career, one that began to believe in the possibility and power of female virtue as well as to be critical of men in a manner not found in Marston's Paul's plays. Aurelia might be evil at *The Malcontent*'s start, but she repents and joins Maria in virtue; Beatrice and Crispinella (the little sister who, unlike Marston's earlier outspoken, witty women descended from *Much Ado*'s Beatrice, is allowed to fall in love and marry) are virtuous, and even Franceschina is not without sympathetic moments; and by *Sophonisba*, the title character is of course 'the Wonder of Women'. Similarly, the sexual vices of Piero (also

redeemed) as well as Mendoza, Freevill and Malheureux, and Syphax appear virtually nowhere in Marston's early plays for Paul's. His move to the Queen's Revels thus seems linked for Marston to a fundamental reimagining of gender roles and relations as well as his larger relationship to romance's generic expectations.

The same might be said for Marston's relationship to Shakespeare's plays. His great debt to *Hamlet* in the second half of his career can sometimes overshadow his other Shakespearean borrowings, but that Marston was particularly attuned to the suburban comedies and *Measure for Measure* in his plays for the Queen's Revels, particularly their distrust of men and criticism of men's baseless paranoia about female sexual fidelity (or, in the case of *Measure,* predatory male sexuality), marks a new phase in his borrowing from Shakespeare, one that perhaps better aligns with the Queen's Revels' more caustic, pessimistically satirical repertory style.[33] Something of a maturation in technique also accompanied this change in attitude. Marston's earlier, more disjunct and parodic Paul's Boys' drama can often read like Marston threw several Shakespeare plays into a blender, but his plays for the Queen's Revels are more coherent, thoughtful, and deliberate in using Shakespearean material. They are less parodic imitation-satires and more reflective engagements with, or commentary on, Shakespeare's plays, though still with elements of parody.

In the words of one editor, *The Dutch Courtesan*, 'mark[s] a new maturity of outlook in its author, still fascinated by greed and sexual depravity but generous now to accept and allow the imperfectability of human nature, suspicious, moreover, of those with idealist or absolutist claims'.[34] This elegant and accurate description of Marston's maturation in the play lets us see Marston marking for himself a more moderate position as a satirist and social critic than the one he had inhabited during the earlier phase of his career, though he never loses his indebtedness to other dramatists, chief among them Shakespeare. Marston, we might say, goes through a Bassanio-like process of metamorphosis, one that Freevill himself, the protagonist if not the titular character of *The Dutch Courtesan*, pointedly fails to attain.

Notes

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1 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). All further references to the play are from this edition.

2 See for example 'Introduction', in *The Malcontent and Other Plays*, ed. Keith Sturgess (Oxford, 1997), xxiii; 'Introduction', in *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London, 1997), xxv–xxvi; and Tom Bishop's discussion of Crispinella in '"La Bella Franceschina" and Other Foreign Names in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*' in this same *Early Theatre* special issue.

3 *Malcontent*, ed. Sturgess, xxii. The Sieur de la Selve, the Malheureux character in Marston's source (see above), does not share Malheureux's initial aversion to sexuality and women, making it overwhelmingly likely that Marston looked to *Measure*'s Angelo when creating Malheureux.

4 'Introduction', *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 11–12.

5 'Introduction', *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. John Drakakis (London, 2010), 113. All quotations from *Merchant* are drawn from this edition.

6 See for example *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Crane, xxiii–xxiv.

7 John J. O'Connor, 'The Chief Sources of Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*', *Studies in Philology* 54 (1957), 509–15. For a more recent discussion of Marston's use of Montreux, see Britland, *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 12–22.

8 See for example *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 1–4.

9 O'Connor, 'The Chief Sources', 512–15.

10 As opposed to *Les bergeries*, in which Montreux states that Dellio's parents arranged his match with Angelicque because they were concerned about his affair with Cinthye, *Courtesan* omits any mention of Freevill's motivation for marrying Beatrice. The perhaps-unintentional suggestiveness of his language in 2.1 as well as the half-heard sonnet he sends Beatrice in 3.1 may, however, indicate that he is attracted to her virginity and purity above all else.

11 I am deeply indebted to Andrew Stafford for his translation of Montreux, from which I have taken all my quotations (private correspondence).

12 Britland also notes the similarity between the exchange of rings in *Merchant* and *Courtesan* at 2.1.55–6n. She detects more sentence-level echoes of *Merchant* at

3.2.3–6 in Garnish's 'Your bill had been sufficient — you're a good man' (*Dutch Courtesan*, 3.2.3–4), which repeats Shylock and Bassanio's confusion over what it means that Antonio is good in *Merchant* 1.3, and Mistress Mulligrub's 'give me very good words and a piece of flesh when time of year serves' (*Dutch Courtesan*, 3.3.25–6), which she sees as influenced by Antonio and Shylock's original agreement to the bond in that same scene. Perhaps not coincidentally, these moments in both plays also involve confusion between the moral and the commercial, the human and the commodity.

13 Susan Baker, 'Sex and Marriage in *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *In Another Country: Feminist Perspectives on Renaissance Drama*, ed. Dorothea Kehler and Susan Baker (Metuchen, NJ, 1991), 218–32. Baker suggests that relative to Montreux, the fact that *Courtesan*'s 'theme of friendship is sharply subordinated … perhaps signals some shift of men's emotional investment to wives rather than friends' (223). But that both Bassanio and Freevill betray those wives in favour of friends is suggestive.

14 In this Bassanio is more like Dellio, who says, 'I will give you the ring that she requested, as a sign of my death, despite how dear it is to me because of who gave it to me. Because I would rather lose not just this jewel but all the riches I have on this earth, than lose a friend that I value so much', as the Sieur intends to leave Venice rather than kill Dellio or live without Cinthye.

15 Garrett A. Sullivan Jr, in '"All Thinges Come into Commerce": Women, Household Labor, and the Spaces of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Renaissance Drama* 27 (1996), 19–46, https://doi.org/10.1086/rd.27.41917326, argues that the play is anxious about the circulation of Beatrice and works to remove her from the market. I would note that Freevill himself puts her into circulation, however much he also might have anxieties about this circulation.

16 *Malcontent*, ed. Sturgess, xxiii.

17 Karen Newman, 'Portia's Ring: Unruly Women and Structures of Exchange in *The Merchant of Venice*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38 (1987), 19–33, https://doi.org/10.2307/2870399.

18 For the play as a critique of masculinity, see for example Kate Aughterson, '"Going the Way of All Flesh": Masculinity as Vice in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 76 (2009), 21–33, https://doi.org/10.7227/ce.76.1.4, and Sarah K. Scott, 'Discovering the Sins of the Cellar in *The Dutch Courtesan: Turpe Est Difficiles Habere Nugas*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013), 60–74.

19 William M. Hamlin, 'Common Customers in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* and Florio's Montaigne', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1800* 52 (2012), 419, https://doi.org/10.1353/sel.2012.0015.

20 See also Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity & Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London, 1985), 164–7, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315794419.
21 Baker, 'Sex and Marriage', 226.
22 See for example Helen Ostovich, 'Marriage in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Michael Cordner (2013), http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/marriage-the-dutch-courtesan/.
23 I use 'suburban' comedies to designate *Merchant*, *Much Ado*, and *Merry Wives* as transitional plays between the high romantic festive comedies of the early and mid-1590s and the satirically-inflected Poets' War comedies that lead into the problem comedies.
24 Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge, 2005), 87, 59, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511486067.
25 Ibid, 106.
26 On female heroines in romance, see for example Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2004), 218–323. Cooper notes the closeness of the Patient Griselda folktale to the calumniated woman tradition (276–7).
27 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 4.4.89–100n.
28 Jonathan Bate, ed., *The Oxford English Literary History*, 13 vols, James Simpson, *1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford, 2002), 2.318–19.
29 Munro notes that in Queen's Revels plays, changes in linguistic registers indicate how easily characters can shift in and out of constructed, non-authentic roles (*Children of the Queen's Revels*, 76–82).
30 Perhaps not coincidentally, *Merchant* similarly strives to cast Bassanio as an epic hero through, for example, repeated comparisons of Bassanio to Jason.
31 Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels*, 95.
32 Ibid, 66.
33 Andrew Gurr, for example, observes that in the theatrical marketplace of the first decade of the seventeenth century, 'The position of Shakespeare's company might more fairly be seen as a neutral one between the polarised Blackfriars and the citizen companies, with Paul's uneasily balanced somewhere between the other hall company and Shakespeare's, and shifting towards the citizen side as time went on'. *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1996), 161.
34 *Malcontent*, ed. Sturgess, xxii.

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Liz Fox

Cosmopolitan Desire and Profitable Performance in *The Dutch Courtesan*

The Dutch Courtesan *reflects on the uses of seduction and desire in commercial culture. The eponymous courtesan Franceschina circulates among foreign clientele; the native conman Coclademoy accumulates wealth through a range of foreign disguises. Their cosmopolitan appeal to diverse consumers illustrates the dangers of excessive desire linked to an intensifying fashion for foreign commodities in the period. The commodity that is the play itself also capitalizes on similar fascinations of London audiences. Franceschina and Coclademoy's explicitly theatrical performances display and satirize how salesmanship — in the form of seduction and trickery — preys on consumer interests to fuel commerce in the global marketplace.*

In cataloguing the clientele of Franceschina, the eponymous prostitute of John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan,* the bawd Mary Faugh presents a grand tour of the continent:

> I have made you acquainted with the Spaniard, Don Skirtoll; with the Italian, Master Beverone; with the Irish lord, Sir Patrick; with the Dutch merchant, Haunce Herkin Glukin Skellam Flapdragon; and specially with the greatest French; and now lastly with this English — yet in my conscience, an honest gentleman. (2.2.16–22)[1]

This inventory positions Franceschina as a global commodity, an object of desire, and a cosmopolitan figure since she is sought after and circulated among men from so many different countries without ever venturing outside of London. She is also a luxury commodity because the men among whom she circulates — dons, masters, lords, and merchants — are all socially elite figures. Mary Faugh, however, hesitates over what to call the English customer, unsure of his status. This

Liz Fox (efox@umass.edu) is arts and academic programs coordinator at the Kinney Center for Interdisciplinary Renaissance Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She also serves as editorial assistant for *English Literary Renaissance.*

pause potentially makes an oblique reference to the Blackfriars playhouse audience, itself composed of English gentlemen or gallants masquerading as gentlemen who, like Franceschina's customers in the play, pay to view the courtesan. Franceschina is a sophisticated figure, and her experience with men from cultures other than her own is part of her appeal to fictional clients and London playgoers alike.

Cosmopolitanism, which Margaret C. Jacobs defines as 'the ability to experience the people of different nations, creeds, and colors with pleasure, curiosity, and interest', is one of the central interests of *The Dutch Courtesan*.[2] Marston explores desire as an expression of cosmopolitanism throughout the play, which focuses on a pair of cosmopolitan figures who possess different kinds of theatrical skills that cultivate and exploit the desires of others. As a seductive foreign figure, Franceschina mesmerizes potential clients with her lute performances, vocal talents, and alluring dances. Meanwhile, Cocledemoy, the witty city companion, wields his theatrical skills differently, transforming his London identity into a range of foreign personas through a deft series of performative transformations. The appeal of both characters to a diverse set of consumers foregrounds the relationship between cosmopolitan desires and potential profits that threaten and attract consumers in a transnational marketplace. At the same time, the play is itself a commodity in London's marketplace, and Marston himself profits from the cosmopolitan interests of his audience members. This essay investigates the ways in which *The Dutch Courtesan* not only topically addresses concerns about the London consumer's desire for the foreign, but also capitalizes on that same desire among its Blackfriars audience members. The play both displays and satirizes the cosmopolitan desires that structure the cultural marketplace in which it first emerged. Through moments where desire, performance, and commerce intersect, Marston showcases the profitability of performance in a cosmopolitan context. In addition, he specifically presents the theatre as profitable because of its ability, like Franceschina's and Cocledemoy's, to repeatedly reinvent itself in ways that capitalize on London playgoers' cosmopolitan desires.

Although both Franceschina and Cocledemoy are highly theatrical characters that rely on seductive performances to exploit consumer desires, Marston inflects their theatricality with important differences. Franceschina is a theatrical figure who seduces her customers through salacious songs and lascivious dances. However, she lacks what Erika T. Lin calls 'theatrical privilege': the capacity to articulate awareness of the signifying processes through which theatre is made and the ability to manipulate such signifiers.[3] When Franceschina seduces a client, she does not showcase the mechanics of her own theatricality by speaking to

the playhouse audience, nor does she invite them to plainly view her processes of seduction. Unlike Franceschina, Cocledemoy is a theatrically privileged performer who underscores his own theatrical practice each time he transforms his identity, adopts a new costume, or alters his accent to create a new persona. Through his asides and direct addresses to the playhouse audience, Cocledemoy reveals the underpinnings of his performance to the playhouse audience.[4] In addition to highlighting the signifying processes of his craft, Cocledemoy's asides foreground the range of profit he accumulates through his dexterous theatrical skills. From his theatrically privileged position, Cocledemoy exposes not only the signifying processes of the theatre itself but commercial processes as well. While Cocledemoy topically addresses the signifying and commercial processes of the theatre, Franceschina enacts them among the Blackfriars audience, her lack of theatrical privilege keeping her performances intact and exposing Marston's playhouse audience to the influence of her seductive skill. Critical work on *The Dutch Courtesan* has rightly emphasized the ways in which the play topically addresses London's 'increasingly cosmopolitan world of trade and traffic in goods'.[5] I want to attend to the ways in which the play performs these same interests through Franceschina's and Cocledemoy's varying degrees of theatrical privilege because strategy and savvy for navigating the interconnected relationships among desire, difference, and commerce were important parts of what theatre offered its audiences while it catered to and exploited those interests at the same time.

Marston's characterization of a whore is particularly powerful with respect to the commercial interest and cosmopolitan features of the play. England's economic concerns about foreign trade and profit in the early seventeenth century connected directly to the threat of seduction by foreign luxury that whores such as Franceschina embodied. English merchants, as well as customs officials, who tried to understand the new rapidly developing global trade networks, sometimes characterized the relationship among London merchants, foreign commodities, and global markets as being reliant on seduction. For example, in *The Customer's Replie* (1604), Thomas Milles personifies the foreign market as a lascivious woman, attaching a tone of danger to transactions abroad through his colourful description:

> And thus the faire Lady Merchandising Exchange enticed and allured the Merchant Adventurers of England, to procure themselves in fraternitie, and to seek meanes to plant their Marting Townes in a forraine Realme and Country, for the utterance of the commodities of the Realme, because they might make their returne and

> imployments, from thence into Englan[d], by the reckoning of Money currant in the said Merchandising Exchange.[6]

Lady Merchandising Exchange is whore-like in her seduction of potential customers as she tempts English merchants to foreign lands.[7] At the same time, Milles associates Lady Merchandising Exchange with risk — she conflates the desire for sex with the desire for profit, which leads to other lusts and impaired judgments.[8] She coerces English merchants to bring England's commerce to foreign realms, which was a concern for some who believed that spending abroad was essentially the same as exporting money, thus transforming domestic wealth into foreign profit, ultimately amounting to a loss of currency for England.[9] The language of commerce and seduction intersects in alluring figures, like Lady Merchandising Exchange, who model the ways in which performative skills like seduction generated monetary profit in the emergent transnational economy. Popular narratives, too, frequently intimate English consumers' cosmopolitan interests in travel abroad and foreign fashion. Travel narratives in particular, as Linda Levy Peck explains: 'often reflect the seduction of the foreign and the fear of succumbing to the luxurious desires they created'.[10] Giving into that desire 'involved not merely falling into worldly concupiscence and excess, but also enriching the foreign merchants … at England's expense', according to Alison V. Scott.[11] Thus, it fell on England's merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans to adapt quickly to the fluctuations of supply and demand — prompted in part by consumer desire — to preserve profitable exchange at home.

Prostitutes, and the sex industry at large, were no exception to reflecting the taste for foreign luxury among English consumers and modelled the rapid transformation necessary for industries to accommodate the shifting tastes of their consumers. In fact, the fashion for foreign luxury reinvented an entire sector of the sex industry as 'rooms became better furnished' and whores became more genteel — displaying skill with musical instruments or fluency with foreign language.[12] The sex industry's ability to capitalize on the cosmopolitan desires of London consumers, moreover, attracted early modern playwrights, whose prologues, epilogues, and interludes document the frustration of pleasing the mercurial and varied tastes of their audiences. As the fashion for foreign commodities and thus foreign spending increased, Marston reflected on these consumer interests through the figures of the seductive foreign prostitute and the enigmatic city companion in *The Dutch Courtesan* to reveal that something beyond monetary profit drives the theatre: entertainment, pleasure, and wit.

While Franceschina's Dutchness marks her as foreign, scholars agree that her identity and profession position her as a particularly complex cosmopolitan character. Franceschina's 'artful trade', as Jean Howard has argued, 'allows her to negotiate across national boundaries, bringing her profit, but resulting, ultimately, in deformity and incoherence'.[13] Similarly, Marjorie Rubright has claimed that since Franceschina is 'a Dutch courtesan with an Italianate name who is called every slang word for an English whore in the book, her ethnically-inflected differences, projected by those around her, resist a stable national and ethnic categorization'.[14] Andrew Fleck likewise emphasises that Franceschina's accent, behaviours, and dress similarly identify her as 'an unusual hybrid whose humorous admixture of Dutch harshness with Venetian elegance contributes to the comedy'.[15]

Franceschina's complex cosmopolitanism is the very quality that renders her attractive to potential clients and allows her to accumulate profit from a diverse range of clientele. Early in the play Freevill, newly engaged to be married, invites his resolutely abstinent friend Malheureux to the brothel, where he 'will show thee my creature: a pretty, nimble-eyed Dutch Tanakin; an honest, soft-hearted impropriation; a soft, plump, round-cheeked *froe*' (1.1.158–60). By first referring to her as his 'creature', a term that indicates a subservient relationship, Freevill situates Franceschina within an economic system of patronage.[16] Freevill also commodifies difference by underscoring Franceschina's Dutch identity in his attempt to convince Malheureux of her appeal. Mary Faugh, too, celebrates Franceschina's considerable income from her rotation of elite customers, who are: 'not of swaggering Ireland captains nor of two-shilling Inns o' Court men, but with honest flat-caps, wealthy flat-caps, that pay for their pleasure the best of any men in Europe, nay, which is more, in London' (2.2.33–7). Importantly, Franceschina appeals to a wide range of clients by repeatedly reinventing and transforming herself when 'the wind is turned', a talent that draws on her complex cosmopolitan identity in a way that generates revenue (44). For Franceschina, 'turning' is a performative and lucrative skill that allows her to remain desirable to recurring clients such as Freevill and appeal to potential new clients like Malheureux.[17] In this respect, Franceschina represents the sex industry as one that thrives precisely because of its ability to negotiate differences and reinvent itself in ways that appeal to the desires of diverse clientele, thus generating monetary profit.

Theatricality is integral to Franceschina's entertaining appeal. She evokes desire among her customers through a variety of performance types that seduce as they entertain. Each time she appears on stage she dances in a new style or performs with a different musical instrument (first on a lute and later with a cittern). Freevill twice refers to Franceschina as a siren: 'Come, siren, your voice!' and 'Siren, your

voice, and away!' (1.2.117, 124). The comparison between Franceschina and a siren suggests a potentially lethal relationship between spectator and spectacle, as Freevill likens her to the mythical feminine creatures that lured sailors to their deaths with enchanting melodies. Courtesan songs, too, were reputedly seductive to their auditors, urging their listeners to abandon common sense for sensual pleasure.[18] The first song Franceschina performs suggestively compares herself to a nightingale, thought to sing more sweetly with a thorn pressed into its chest that prevented the bird from falling asleep and kept it singing all night (125–32). While the sexual innuendo of the lyric is obvious to readers, in performance, the physical posture required to play unwieldy stringed instruments such as the lute or cittern underscored the eroticism of the lyric. A musician had to sit with the instrument resting against her groin, legs slightly spread to accommodate the instrument's bulbous body.[19] Following Franceschina's seductive lute performance Malheureux exchanges his puritanical antipathy for unbridled lust, undermining his original intention 'to make her loathe the shame she's in' (1.1.170). He instead wonders aloud, 'Is she unchaste? Can such a one be damned?' revealing the desire she evokes through seductive skill (1.2.141). As Malheureux ponders his newly awakened passions, Freevill eavesdrops on his friend's declamations of love for a prostitute, delivering asides of laughter at Malheureux's expense: 'Wa, ha, ho! … By the Lord, he's caught! Laughter eternal!' (145, 155–6). Marston encourages playgoers to laugh at Malheureux not only because of his desire for Franceschina, but also because of how quickly such desire supplants his previously adamant opposition to the courtesan.

Malheureux's response to the lute performance also underscores the potential monetary profit of Franceschina's skill while foregrounding the corresponding threat foreign seduction presents to its domestic consumers. According to Malheureux's earlier characterization, Franceschina, like all prostitutes, is 'a money creature' and her singular desire for profit makes her a risky investment that could lead not only to fiscal losses but also physical and social ones by 'expos[ing his] health, and strength and name' (1.1.104, 100).[20] The humour of Malheureux's desire for the foreign whore vanishes when the symbolic danger and potential risk of Franceschina's siren-like seduction poses a legitimate threat. She convinces Malheureux to exact revenge on her behalf, vowing that she will not sleep with him until he has murdered her former patron-lover, his friend Freevill. That Malheureux initially agrees illustrates the economic threat posed by Franceschina's seductive power. Investing in revenge, according to Valerie Forman, is an investment in loss since loss becomes compounded in revenge plots.[21] By presenting Franceschina as a seductive figure who manipulates consumers through lust and

then tempts them to revenge, Marston highlights the potential losses associated with excessive desire for the cosmopolitan. At the same time, Marston makes his playhouse audience susceptible to the same excessive desires through Franceschina's staged entertainments.

What I want to suggest is that Franceschina's performance seduces her clients and the playhouse audience alike.[22] In their conversations about Franceschina, Freevill and Malheureux employ a series of euphemisms that draw upon similarities between the theatre and sex industries.[23] Malheureux calls the brothel a 'common house of lascivious entertainment' and the prostitute an 'odious spectacle,' while Freevill refers to the prostitutes' trade as a 'fleshly entertainment' (1.1.70, 166, 122). Through this series of euphemisms Marston calls his playgoers' attention to the fact that they are themselves in what was reputed to be a 'common house of lascivious entertainment' by virtue of their attendance at a play. Despite these similarities and Franceschina's overt theatrical skill, her lack of theatrical privilege increases the likelihood that playgoers attending *The Dutch Courtesan* will find themselves victims of Franceschina's seductive expertise. Here, Marston stages the very dynamics of the playhouse that anti-theatricalists like Stephen Gosson feared most, that the theatre seduced its viewers, luring them from virtue to vice. Gosson claimed that plays 'abroach strange consorts of melody, to tickle the ear; costly apparel, to flatter the sight; effeminate gesture, to ravish the sense; and wanton speech to whet desire to inordinate lust'.[24] Marston, however, emphasizes that excessive desire provoked by pleasurable performance should be ridiculed rather than imitated, ultimately showcasing the theatre's ability not only to display for its audience this corrective, but also to enact it among them. Through Franceschina's provocative entertainments, Marston foregrounds his own medium's potential to seduce its spectators through charismatic performance, foregrounding the potential for both whores and playwrights to capitalize on their consumer's desires.

While Franceschina demonstrates the profitability of consumer seduction, Cocledemoy offers an alternative model for the profitability of performance in a cosmopolitan context. Cocledemoy, described in the '*Fabulae Argumentum*' of the quarto text as a 'witty city jester', reinvents himself throughout the play into a variety of characters with different foreign accents and costumes (p 96). Like Franceschina, Cocledemoy is a complex cosmopolitan figure whose skill and familiarity with foreign types and customs allows him to exploit the desires of his victims, the gullible London vintner Master Mulligrub and his wife. Cocledemoy first disguises himself as a barber by coercing a barber's apprentice to lend him basin, razor, and apron. With his costume and props secured, Cocledemoy pauses

to ponder the appropriate accent: 'Let me see — a barber. My scurvy tongue will discover me — must dissemble, must disguise. For my beard, my false hair; for my tongue — Spanish, Dutch, or Welsh? No, a Northern barber — very good!' (2.1.217–20). Cocledemoy settles on the Scottish persona of Andrew Shark, 'a former pedlar in Germany' presently serving as apprentice to a London barber-surgeon (2.3.30). This first moment of deception emphasizes Cocledemoy's status as a cosmopolitan figure by combining multiple layers of foreignness into a single character. The Andrew Shark persona and the numerous others Cocledemoy adopts throughout the play model performance as a profitable skill — he is limited only by his knowledge of foreign cultures and his ability to convincingly impersonate them.

Similar to Franceschina's performances, Cocledemoy exploits Mulligrub's desires with entertainment. Mulligrub reveals his own cosmopolitan desires when he pompously asks during his shave, 'And what's the news? How do all my good lords and all my good ladies, and all the rest of my acquaintance?' — 'And what more news? You shave the world, especially you barber-surgeons; you know the ground of many things' (2.3.35–7, 62–3). Cocledemoy first shares a story of the conduit in Greenwich, from which snakes purportedly emerged, then transformed into mastiffs, then cocks, and then bears that are now available for viewing in Paris Garden. This outlandish story features examples of animal metamorphoses that emphasize the capacity for transformation to entertain. The gullible Mulligrub eagerly responds that he and his wife will go to view the spectacle, revealing the vintner's lack of sophistication despite his cosmopolitan aspirations. Cocledemoy's second narrative reports 'that twenty-five couple of Spanish jennets are to be seen hand-in-hand dance the old measures, whilst six goodly Flanders mares play to them on a noise of flutes', but this tale of spectacle arouses Mulligrub's scepticism (66–9). Quick to adapt to the circumstances, Cocledemoy soaps the vintner's face to end the conversation. In this first disguise as Andrew Shark, Cocledemoy's tales of shapeshifting and fantastical entertainment distract Mulligrub so completely that the knave places a coxcomb on the vintner's head, visually reinforcing Mulligrub's gullibility, and exits with a bag of the vintner's money. Similarly to Freevill's asides during Malheureux's sexual conversion scene, Cocledemoy's series of asides invite his audience to laugh at Mulligrub's foolishness by calling attention to the vintner's arrogance, referring to him as 'an arrogant knave' and 'worshipful fist' (38, 60). Cocledemoy perpetually reminds the Blackfriars audience of the joke and allows them to be 'in' on it.

Cocledemoy reinforces the profitability of performance each time he transforms his persona to con Mulligrub out of additional wealth and commodities. In

a later instance, disguised as a French pedlar, Cocledemoy overhears Mulligrub's purchase of a silver goblet from Master Garnish, a detail that allows Cocledemoy to 'shave [Mulligrub] smoother yet!' (3.2.33–4). Capitalizing on this knowledge, Cocledemoy takes on the persona of Master Garnish's apprentice, stealing the silver goblet newly delivered to the Mulligrubs' home under pretence of additional work required at the shop. Cocledemoy again exploits the Mulligrubs' social aspirations, this time by suggesting to Mistress Mulligrub that the goldsmith and his wife 'will come to dinner to season your new cup with the best wine' (3.3.38–9). Enraptured by the thought of hosting elite guests in her home, Mistress Mulligrub hands over the goblet and, mere moments later, a jowl of salmon to the knave. Although she is eager to impress the goldsmith and his wife with her generosity, she instead appears foolish to Marston's audience.

As with Cocledemoy's other appearances, direct addresses and asides that invite the playhouse audience into his antics as the trick escalates pepper this scene. Cocledemoy colourfully informs playgoers that 'I'll gargalize my throat with this vintner, and when I have done with him, spit him out'; reminds himself to 'lurk close' to the vintner's tavern; and invites viewers to anticipate his theft of the salmon by self-reflexively proclaiming, 'Cocledemoy, now for the masterpiece' (3.2.35–7, 3.3.51, 3.4.72). Each aside includes Marston's audience in Cocledemoy's trick and encourages them to laugh at the Mulligrubs' lack of savvy. Although Cocledemoy transforms his identity from Scottish to English to French and back to English, he remains, as Jean Howard rightly argues, 'linguistically coherent whatever his disguise. A chameleon, slipping from register to register, he always emerges as himself'.[25] In addition to linguistic coherence, Cocledemoy maintains consistent legibility as city knave through his theatrically privileged asides that invite the playhouse audience to view the costume as costume and indicate the ways in which the costume constructs difference. By foregrounding Cocledemoy's disguises, Marston offers a model for profitable transformation within a cosmopolitan context — one that is distinctly theatrical and profits through the pleasures of performance. The quantity and kind of things that Cocledemoy steals showcase the range of profit available through Cocledemoy's con — he accumulates commodities such as the silver goblet and the jowl of salmon in addition to the bag of coins. Through the different goods that circulate throughout Cocledemoy's plot, the play broadens what counts as profit, extending beyond the narrow definition of monetary profit taken in Franceschina's plot.

Cocledemoy's seductive methods are similar to Franceschina's in their theatricality despite the two figures' different livelihoods. Just as Franceschina appeals to her customers by singing or dancing in a new style or with a different instrument,

Cocledemoy's knavery is a skilled and seductive performance that exploits the Mulligrubs' cosmopolitan desires in ways that lead to profit. Unlike with Franceschina, however, Marston highlights the metatheatricality of the tricks Cocledemoy plays on the Mulligrubs through this character's direct address and asides to the audience. The audience's amusement with Cocledemoy's tricks and transformations derives from the fact that, despite Mulligrub's effort to discover and punish Cocledemoy, he is unable to see through the theatrical illusion to the knave beneath it all. In short, Mulligrub is a witless spectator engaging with spectacle. Marston stages the actor-audience relationship through Cocledemoy and Mulligrub — playgoers pay admission for each new play although they view the same actors over and over as different characters, essentially paying for the pleasure of being fooled via an actors' skill in transforming themselves into something new.

Although initially pleasurable, like Franceschina's seduction of Malheureux, Cocledemoy's tricks with Mulligrub also turn threatening as they escalate. Cocledemoy first has Mulligrub put in stocks for the theft of a cloak. Then Cocledemoy, disguised as a bellman, reports to the constables that Mulligrub is 'a strong thief. His house has been suspected for a bawdy tavern a great while, and a receipt for cutpurses, 'tis most certain. He has been long in the black book' (4.5.120–3). Importantly, Mulligrub's alleged crimes are ones that, like Franceschina's revenge, reveal an investment in loss. While the accusation of running a bawdy tavern poses a risk to the social and moral fabric of London, as Malheureux initially claimed about Franceschina's trade in act 1, the accusation of being a 'receipt for cutpurses' poses potential monetary loss to the local economy. The crime with which Mulligrub is charged presents his tavern as a dangerous site of transformation — one that exchanges stolen goods for honest currency, a criminal offense that purportedly landed Mulligrub's name in a criminal record. Although many of Cocledemoy's pranks on Mulligrub involve lying and exaggeration, there is some truth to this accusation. 'Adulterated or poor quality foodstuffs', as Marjorie Rubright has argued, 'are at the heart of what aggravates Cocledemoy about the Mulligrubs'.[26] The Mulligrubs speak openly about their tainted goods and cooked books throughout the play, such as when Mistress Mulligrub assures her husband that they will make up for the loss of the goblet easily, that ''tis but a week's cutting in the term' (2.3.119). Significantly, Cocledemoy associates the Mulligrubs' criminal activity with the products served in their tavern, accusing them of diluting their wines, adulterating 'the true ancient British and Trojan drinks' with 'Popish wines, Spanish wines, and French wines', imports that are ultimately detrimental to the English economy (5.3.116–8). Mulligrub's tavern is, indeed, a site of complex cosmopolitanism wherein good products transform

into bad at a loss to consumers.[27] In a play deeply invested in the profitability of cosmopolitan attitudes in a global market context, the Mulligrubs mismanage their own cosmopolitan desires, and their tavern showcases the threat of potential economic losses at home through a cosmopolitanism that contaminates rather than enhances the quality of commodities.

Act 5 scene 3 offers yet another series of transformations and performances. In this culminating scene, Franceschina's and Cocledemoy's victims both face punishment for their crimes: Malheureux for Freevill's murder, Mulligrub for the range of unsavoury activities for which Cocledemoy has framed him. Although Freevill and Malheureux had planned to fake Freevill's death to punish Franceschina, instead Freevill crafted his own plot to punish Malheureux and cure his friend of unbridled lust for a whore. Now facing execution for Freevill's murder, Malheureux transforms his desire yet again, this time reverting to his original abstemious attitudes. He repents his desire for Franceschina, regrets his risk, and grieves for the resulting losses:

> But now, though source of devils, oh, how I loathe
> The very memory of that I adored!
> He that's of fair blood, well-miened, of good breeding,
> Best famed, of sweet acquaintance and true friends,
> And would with desperate impudence lose all these
> And hazard landing at this fatal shore,
> Let him ne'er kill nor steal, but love a whore! (5.3.24–30)

Malheureux evokes Franceschina as a threatening and dangerous figure whose 'fatal shore' menaces with foreign hazards. She is no longer a luxurious courtesan but is twice referred to as a 'fair devil' as Malheureux reimagines Franceschina as the siren-like Lady Merchandising Exchange (47). In these final moments, Marston emphasizes the impending risk that Franceschina has embodied throughout the play as an object of cosmopolitan desire. Hearing his friend repent, Freevill throws off his disguise and proclaims that his purpose was 'to force [Malheureux] from the truer danger' — his lust for Franceschina for whom he almost lost all (46). As the play resolves, the men attribute all accountability for the near murder to Franceschina. Since Malheureux was not wholly seduced into killing his friend and rejected her violent revenge well before Freevill decided to teach him a lesson, Malheureux escapes ultimately unscathed, having mostly experienced some fear and embarrassment. Freevill declares, 'only what you can think / has been extremely ill is only hers', and Franceschina exits the stage to be whipped and imprisoned (56–7). Marston ultimately identifies Franceschina's seductive power

to exploit and manipulate her customers' desires as the central economic and physically destructive threat of the play that must be contained and condemned.

While Franceschina receives a sentence of violent punishment for her cosmopolitanism that threatens both economic and physical well-being, Cocledemoy cleverly escapes penalty for his similar skillset by passing it off as wit. When Mulligrub is about to be punished for his series of supposed crimes, the prosecuting sergeant urges the abused vintner not to press charges against Cocledemoy. Mulligrub excuses Cocledemoy, assuring the crowd, 'I forgive as I would be forgiven' (5.3.125–6). Only then does the Welsh officer reveal himself as Cocledemoy. Amid cries of 'knave' from onlookers, Cocledemoy defends his actions: 'No knave, worshipful friend, no knave! For, observe, honest Cocledemoy restores whatsoever he has got, to make you know that whatsoe'er he has done has been only *euphoniae gratia* — for wit's sake. [*Gives back the goblets.*] I acquit this vintner as he has acquitted me — all has been done for emphasis of wit, my fine boy, my worshipful friends' (146–52). Recognizing that he is about to be revealed as a thief, Cocledemoy returns the stolen goods and maintains that he never presented a legitimate harm to Mulligrub. Cocledemoy again employs his performance skills, this time revealing his disguise to all and ultimately returning to his original identity of the 'witty city jester' — a move that further showcases the economic advantages for Cocledemoy, and the amusing pleasures for playgoers, of his repeated transformations.

Cocledemoy's final change stages a more nuanced view of the economy by presenting the kinds of profit available in the theatre in addition to money. By staging a variety of ways in which consumer desire can be exploited for profit, Marston invites his audience to increase their own wit and cosmopolitan savvy through the playhouse. The actor playing Cocledemoy addresses the Blackfriars audience in a pseudo-epilogue that perfectly mirrors Cocledemoy's explanation for duping Mulligrub, calling the performance itself a 'hurtless mirth' performed for 'trivial wit' that does no actual harm (175, 177). These lines emphasize the extent to which the theatre itself offers pleasure, instruction, and wit, underscoring that the theatre is a commodity worth the monetary investment of its audiences. The theatre is edifying, as Cocledemoy corrects and punishes the Mulligrubs for their real crimes of cheating their customers and Malheureux is exposed for his continued sexual lust for Franceschina despite recognizing her as a danger. The pleasurable transformations that Cocledemoy displays model for Marston's audience a way to achieve mastery over their own cosmopolitan desires rather than fall victim to them. His skill and worldly knowledge, shared through asides and direct addresses, illustrate for playgoers different strategies by which they might

avoid being victimized by the threatening, exploitative, and potentially destructive forces of Franceschina.

As Marston examines both the threat and attraction of cosmopolitanism and performance through the figures of Franceschina and Cocledemoy, he enacts this same seductive power through the theatre itself. Franceschina's performance is alluring and dangerously transformative. Her power to manipulate others' wants and to accumulate profit through her seductive performances plays on those same cosmopolitan desires of some in the audience. Franceschina is the central spectacle for whom his play is named. Its provocative title draws in customers, generating monetary profit for the Blackfriars playhouse and its investors. In the same way that Franceschina's seductive arts tempt Malheureux, Marston similarly tempts his playgoers. But by punishing Malheureux, Marston obliquely chastises his audience for their own cosmopolitan desires for foreign luxury that are implied through their attendance at a play called *The Dutch Courtesan.* Cocledemoy's performance is witty and pleasurably transformative — audiences have fun laughing at Mulligrub alongside Cocledemoy. His cosmopolitan and theatrical transformations harmlessly entertain and potentially educate as Marston invites his audience to view the commercial value of theatre itself. Marston integrates the courtesan's seductive arts and the city knave's tricks into his own artistic medium, capitalizing on his audiences' demands in ways that benefit the theatre industry while simultaneously offering a didactic rebuke of such desires through characters like Malheureux and Mulligrub. Cocledemoy, speaking from a position of theatrical privilege, ultimately teaches the audience to be wary of their own desires for cosmopolitanism by offering good and bad models of consumption. Being aware of, and having mastery over, one's own cosmopolitan desires enables Londoners to indulge their appetites for foreign goods without being harmed or causing harm to the English economy. At the same time, lack of mastery and awareness of cosmopolitan performances, as is the case with the Mulligrubs and to a lesser extent Malheureux, causes English playgoers harm when they participate in cosmopolitan exchanges without savvy. This participation is, in part, why theatre is a worthwhile investment. Marston can indulge his audience's desires without their risking actual economic or moral loss. Neither foreign brothels, foreign commodities, nor the play's indulgence of consumer desire for them are problematic; rather the naïve consumption of those pleasures without awareness or regard for the potential losses they create is a far greater concern.

Notes

I would like to thank Adam Zucker, Marjorie Rubright, and the two anonymous readers at *Early Theatre* for their generous advice on earlier drafts of this essay.

1 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). All further references to the play are to this edition.

2 Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2014), 1.

3 Erika T. Lin, *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance* (Bastingbroke, 2012), 37, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137006509.

4 Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge, 2002), https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511483714.

5 Jean E. Howard, 'Mastering Difference in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Shakespeare Studies* 24 (1996), 115.

6 Thomas Milles, *The Customers Replie, or Second Apologie* (London, 1604; STC: 17932), D3r.

7 I use the term whore, prostitute, and courtesan interchangeably in this essay, following Duncan Salkeld's position that, 'the distinction should no longer distract us'; *Shakespeare Among the Courtesans: Prostitution, Literature, and Drama, 1500–1650* (Burlington, 2012), 23, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315608556. For discussion of how these terms and their relationship with sex, language, and meaning evolved during the period, see Stephen Spiess, *Shakespeare and the Making of Early Modern Whoredom* (forthcoming Oxford University Press). I would like to thank Professor Spiess for allowing me to view portions of this manuscript in advance of publication and for providing generous feedback on an early draft of this essay.

8 See, for example, Laura Mandell's discussion of consumerism as a vicious woman and bawds as merchants in Charles Mandeville's satirical defense of public stews in the early eighteenth century. Laura Mandell, 'Bawds and Merchants: Engendering Capitalist Desires', *English Literary History* 59.1 (1992), 107–23, https://doi.org/10.2307/2873420. For discussions of *The Dutch Courtesan* and women's role in the evolution of London's commercial status, see Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia, 2007), 114–61, https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812202304 and Sarah K. Scott, 'Discovering the Sins of the Cellar in *The Dutch Courtesan: Turpe est difficiles habere nugas*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013), 60–75.

9 Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (Princeton, 1978), 48. For more on the relationship between investment and the

export of treasure, see Judith H. Anderson, *Translating Investments: Metaphor and the Dynamic of Cultural Changes in Tudor-Stuart England* (New York, 2005) and Valerie Forman, *Tragicomic Redemptions: Global Economics and the Early Modern English Stage* (Philadelphia, 2008), https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812201925.

10 Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), 125.

11 Alison V. Scott, *Literature and the Idea of Luxury in Early Modern England* (London, 2014), 144, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315592657.

12 Fergus Linnane, *Madams: Bawds & Brothel-Keepers of London* (Gloucestershire, 2005), 6.

13 Howard, 'Mastering Difference', 112.

14 Marjorie Rubright, 'Going Dutch in London City Comedy: Economies of Sexual and Sacred Exchange in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605)', *English Literary Renaissance* 40.1 (2010), 95, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6757.2009.01062.x.

15 Andrew Fleck, 'The Custom of Courtesans and John Marston's The Dutch Courtesan', *American Notes and Queries* 21.3 (2008), 14. For further discussions of Franceschina's cosmopolitanism via her linguistic skill, see Howard, 'Mastering Difference', 110–12; Rubright, 'Going Dutch', 97–100; Andrew Fleck, '"Ick verstaw you niet": Performing Foreign Tongues on the Early Modern English Stage', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 20 (2007), 204–21; Alice Leonard, '"Enfranchised" Language in *Henry V* and *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Cahiers Elisabethains* 84 (2013), 1–11, https://doi.org/10.7227/ce.84.1.2; and Janghyun Nam, 'The Whore of Babylon: Language and Identity in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Shakespeare Review* 50.3 (2014), 541–62, https://doi.org/10.17009/shakes.2014.50.3.006.

16 *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), s.v. 'creature', n. 4.

17 The inconstant woman appears often in early modern plays, and framing Franceschina's ability to transform herself to appeal to new clients as a 'turn' connects to potential conversations about economic implications of the sexualized religious conversions well-covered in early modern scholarship. For example, Othello says of Desdemona, 'she can turn, and turn, and yet go on, / And turn again' (4.1.50–1), raising questions about the efficacy and artifice of serial conversions; William Shakespeare, *Othello,* in *The Norton Shakespeare,* ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York, 2008). For discussion of these lines in conversion narratives, see Jane Hwang Degenhardt, 'Dangerous Fellowship: Universal Faith and its Bodily Limits in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Othello*', in *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh, 2010), 32–72, 64–7, https://doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748640843.003.0002 and Daniel Vitkus, 'Othello Turns Turk', in *Turning Turk: English Theater and the*

Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630 (New York, 2003), 77–106, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-05292-6 4. For a discussion of turning, (re)turning, nonlinear, and contradictory processes in sexual conversion narratives, see Spiess, *Shakespeare and the Making of Early Modern Whoredom.*

18 For the ubiquity of courtesan songs as siren-like, see Martha Feldman, 'The Courtesan's Voice: Petrarchan Lovers, Pop Philosophy, and Oral Traditions', in *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives,* ed. Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon (Oxford, 2006), 103–23. For discussion of courtesan songs as sexually seductive, see Gustav Ungerer, 'The Viol da Gamba as a Sexual Metaphor in Elizabethan Music and Literature', *Renaissance and Reformation* 8.2 (1984), 79–90.

19 Katrine K. Wong, '"A Damnd Divel, or an Angel?": Women and Music', in *Music and Gender in English Renaissance Drama* (New York, 2013), 31, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203080801. See also Elizabeth Kenny, 'Revealing Their Hand: Lute Tablatures in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies: Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 26.1 (2012), 112–37, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-4658.2011.00792.x.

20 Jonathan Gil Harris discusses the metaphors of syphilis in mercantilist writing to think about the damaging impact of global exchange. Although he does not address whores explicitly, their kind of marketplace seduction is the source of the disease that Harris discusses. See Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia, 2004), 29–51, https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812202199.

21 Forman, *Tragicomic Redemptions,* 40,

22 David Crane points to moments when this dynamic might be particularly effective in 'Patterns of Audience Involvement at the Blackfriars Theatre in the Early Seventeenth Century: Some Moments in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *Plotting Early Modern London,* ed. Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock, and Anne-Julia Zwierlein (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2004), 97–107.

23 For more on the similarities between theatre and prostitution, see Joseph Lenz, 'Base Trade: Theater as Prostitution', *English Literary History* 60.4 (1993), 833–52, https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.1993.0005.

24 Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse* (London, 1587; STC: 12097), B6v.

25 Howard, 'Mastering Difference', 115.

26 Rubright, 'Going Dutch', 107

27 Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr explores the mixedness of the Mulligrubs' tavern as a response to the 'the perceived rampant commercialization of urban life' in '"All Thinges Come into Commerce": Women, Household Labor, and the Spaces of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Renaissance Drama* 28 (1997), 19–46, https://doi.org/10.1086/

rd.27.41917326. Marjorie Rubright, too, emphasizes the variety of adulterations — religious, culinary, and sexual — at work in the Mulligrubs' tavern: 'By the play's conclusion Mistress Mulligrub's religious affiliation has joined with her professional role as a public house keeper to set in motion an imputation of sexual transgression articulated in terms of culinary mixedness. So, too, her culinary transgressions are depicted as a religious sin'; Rubright, 'Going Dutch', 110.

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Michael Cordner

The Dutch Courtesan and 'The Soul of Lively Action'

The Dutch Courtesan *has traditionally been the subject of critical interpretations which offer simplified accounts of both its overall design and its scene-by-scene complexities. This article charts some of the recurrent problems that have, in particular, affected scholarly accounts of the Freevill/Malheureux/Franceschina plot, which became apparent as the author worked on the play in production. The aim is to map more clearly some of the key givens of the script, but not to dictate performance outcomes, since the play is sufficiently rich to invite and to accommodate contrasting realizations on stage.*

The Dutch Courtesan offers the most ambitious assembly of narrative materials of any of John Marston's plays. It deftly combines three plots, each with a distinctive atmosphere, and unites them all in its final scene, as characters from two of the plots face death by hanging. This article grows from my experience of directing the play in 2013.[1] As a long-term devotee of early modern drama, I already knew the script well and relished the high adrenalin potency and stylistic variety of its writing. Its dialogue seemed to me to cry out for realization in performance. Preparing for rehearsals, I re-explored the scholarly inheritance and have since kept up to date with subsequent publications on the play. The gap between rehearsal room discoveries and the default emphases of published analysis turned out to be substantial. What follows seeks to map selected aspects of the play where that divide seems widest to me.

In rehearsing a production, the devil is always in the detail. In my view, too much of the commentary I read tends to tidy the provocative intricacy of the play's action and characters into static formations and, by so doing, tames the mercurial, lightning transformations — of dramatic mood and of narrative direction and expectation — which constitute one of the key distinctions and the principal performance largesse of this extraordinary play. Doubtless multiple factors

Michael Cordner (michael.cordner@york.ac.uk) is professor of Theatre, in the department of Theatre, Film, Television, and Interactive Media at the University of York, UK.

account for mismatches between script and the tradition of commentary. But I would argue that one key one is the pressure scholars experience to offer synoptic accounts of tonally complex and performatively volatile plays within the constraints of a few pages in a monograph or in an article of, typically, only 6,000 to 8,000 words in length. Space constraints of this kind ineluctably breed diagrammatic simplification.

Marston's characteristic theatrical pyrotechnics resist this treatment even more emphatically than does the work of his theatrical peers. But commentary on *The Dutch Courtesan* by no means represents a unique instance of a tendency to subdue the unruly energies of great dramatic writing to generalized headline accounts, which risk scanting the features that give such writing its true theatrical distinctiveness. My article therefore aims both to offer a new perspective on *The Dutch Courtesan* and, in that process, to raise some questions about how easy it is for concise scholarly treatments to misrepresent the demanding intricacy in performance of the best early modern writing for the stage. In the pages that follow I will sometimes be sharply critical of the views of the play propounded by distinguished scholars. I have nerved myself to do this, despite being only too well aware that some of my own earlier work is vulnerable to comparable accusations. The insidious pressures of limited word count have worked their effects on my writing also. So an element of mea culpa arises in this essay. But my increased work in the rehearsal room over the last two decades has made me rethink my priorities in this respect, and the current article is one of the results of that rethinking.

I could not have written it if I had not directed the play. But I should make clear how that experience will be reflected here. I do not, on this occasion, intend to talk in detail about particular wrestlings in rehearsals with this or that sequence, or to recount, say, a sequence of experiments in how a specific encounter might be realized in performance. I hope to return to that kind of analysis on another occasion. For the present my concern will mainly be with larger sequences of action. Nor does the article aspire to answer conclusively the questions about the play which it raises. By their nature, they admit of multiple, contrasting solutions in performance. The aim is to identify some of the key givens in the script which, from my perspective, have been obscured by the recurrent presuppositions that much of the writing the play has inspired.

Meeting Marston's Interpretative Challenges

Scholarship has rarely engaged with the sheer plenitude of the experience Marston offers us. Instead, a couple of discrete areas of the play — particularly the

Freevill/Franceschina/Malheureux plot — have absorbed most of the attention, with parts of it remaining almost entirely neglected, and others being sometimes explicitly downgraded. Take, for instance, this observation by Mary Bly: 'Crispinella similarly rants against her sister Beatrice's comment that she "[speaks] too broad"'. But Crispinella is expressly a secondary character, a sidekick to the fair and chastely spoken Beatrice'.[2] I am unsure what '*expressly* a secondary character' means. It posits a novel species of character which comes with label attached: do not regard anything this character says as being of the same potential significance as speeches by characters higher placed in the dramatic pecking-order. How we might distinguish these two kinds of character from one another Bly leaves unexplained.[3] Her proposition looks particularly suspect when applied to a character whose dialogue contains such scornful puncturings of conventional pieties as Crispinella's does. The role's performer is given a series of scorching one-liners likely to embed themselves in spectators' memories. Notice, also, Bly's choice of the verb 'rants' to describe Crispinella's retort. The latter's responses to Beatrice's criticism of her free speaking include material lifted from one of Montaigne's most provocative essays[4] — a source not usually regarded as being characterized by ranting. Finally, the notion of Crispinella as merely a 'sidekick' to her sister begs multiple questions. Ask a performer which of the two roles seems to offer the richer opportunities. Hardly any will answer 'Beatrice'.

Bly's move, however, is not unique. Donna B. Hamilton accords Crispinella greater status than Bly, but counsels us not to take seriously her tussles with her suitor Tisefew: 'While the wit-combat gives the appearance that they are quarrelling, the reality is that they are in love. Neither lover takes the conversation seriously, but both are serious about their love. Love precedes the language which follows merely as an external formality'.[5] How can Hamilton be sure of this 'reality', if it precedes language — ie. the dialogue of the play, the only data available to us? I can imagine a writer attempting to support this view via a close analysis of these characters' major 'wit-combat' in 4.1, though I remain skeptical about the chances of ultimate success. Hamilton, however, simply asserts the truth of her interpretation as if it were self-evident. She thus reduces the two characters' often combative duologue to a matter of a mere 'external formality'. Consequently, an article examining the play's uses of language empties language, in this instance, of all significant meaning — especially problematic when the encounter in question starts with Crispinella's protestations, to the man who seeks to marry her, about the tyrannous nature of the power society awards to men over women. I doubt if I would be received with joy if I told two actors that they should disregard

everything which is overtly at stake in their exchanges and play them instead as a seventy-one-line reiteration of the fact that they are 'serious about their love'.[6]

Other characters have received similar treatment. David Crane repeats, for example, a familiar critical line on the eponymous character, Franceschina: 'When she does speak it is with an accent that to a seventeenth-century English audience habitually out of love with foreigners largely blocks out the notational authority of words'.[7] Again the instruction is to disregard the specific force of Marston's lines, in favour of a performance style calculated to deny them meaning. The route to this conclusion is via a reification of early modern English spectators into a chauvinist stereotype.[8] That stereotype then justifies a claim that we are not intended to treat what Franceschina says seriously.

Such pre-emptive strikes, if heeded, will anaesthetize our capacity to be surprised by what Marston has actually written — if, for instance, Franceschina started landing effective blows against the lover who is now discarding her. What about her indictment of the misogynist maltreatment she believes she has been subjected to? 'O vnfaithful men, tyrantes, betrayers, de very enioying vs, looseth us, and when you onely ha made vs hatefull, you onely hate vs.'[9] At the very least, this riposte exhibits someone capable of drawing blood in a quarrel. In the first quarto's spellings (as above), only two words here arguably testify to Franceschina's origins: 'de' for 'the', and, more debatably, 'ha' for 'have', though 'ha'' is also a common elided form for 'have' for English speakers in this period. In a pattern common in the early printings, whenever Franceschina's lines gather special force (as, I would argue, happens here) the notation of her accent as foreign becomes lighter in touch. Instructing a performer that, even so, they should colour such a rebuke in a manner which will neuter its 'notational authority' looks counter-intuitive. Why would Marston craft such a piercing accusation if he wanted performers to undermine its ability to hit home by the way they deliver it?

Malheureux has been the victim of parallel tactics. I will let M.L. Wine speak for many other writers:

> Malheureux may seem tragic to himself, but whatever is tragic about 'passionate man' is from the comic vision melodramatic at best and absurd at worst; and it is from the comic vision — from the vision of the thinking, not feeling, mind — that the play derives its structure. On no level of plot does Marston permit us to become seriously involved.[10]

Here too, a move with massive consequences depends on a questionable premise. *If* all comedy were indeed so unrelentingly cerebral in its design, then what Wine

proposes might be plausible — *if* we could also demonstrate that Marston had the same constrained generic definition in mind when writing his play and had designed it in conformity with that definition. But Marston never assigned a generic label to it, calling it 'easy' and 'slight' in the Prologue (1, 16) and leaving it at that. Plus, comedy is a house with many mansions, and its diversity includes modes which combine moments of empathetic involvement with sequences where derision dominates.[11] Finally, Marston himself is notorious for his slipperiness in handling audience expectations. So, why seek to confine the possibilities of what he might have achieved in this way? As with our earlier examples, Wine's assertions are unaccompanied by textual investigations which might lend plausibility to his headline claims. In the end, such a critical approach unhelpfully interposes itself between the script's moment-by-moment impulses and the responses of readers and potential performers.

Matching problems can arise with something as apparently straightforward as plot-summary. In one of the great achievements of contemporary research into this period, their multi-volume catalogue of pre-1642 British drama, Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson describe the play's concluding movement thus: 'Cocledemoy, disguised as a sergeant, talks Mulligrub into equanimity, then reveals himself, secures his release, and returns his property. Freevill and Beatrice decide to be married at once'.[12] But the dialogue records no such decision by Freevill and Beatrice. In addition, Beatrice has no lines in the last scene, nor does the script indicate any interaction between her and Freevill. Finally, Freevill's last words are spoken 116 lines before the play's end. After that, the stage is dominated by Cocledemoy's stratagems and the tying-up of the Mulligrubs' story. The summary Wiggins and Richardson offer effectively re-orders the play into an implicit hierarchy in which Freevill's fortunes rank highest. It thus obscures one of the scene's most intriguing aspects, self-evident once you observe it in action — ie, the high percentage of characters who might, at key points, in another dramatization of this story, intervene vocally, but to whom Marston gives no dialogue. That includes making the hitherto overwhelmingly articulate Freevill a mute spectator, in the scene's concluding half, of events he is not permitted to influence, or even to annotate ironically in his previously familiar sardonic style. This silence is a major re-sorting of dramatic emphasis.

Noting this fact identifies a previously unremarked similarity between Marston's play and *Measure for Measure*. That some kind of cross-dialogue is active between the two has often been remarked; but priority of date between them and, with it, the direction of the flow of influence between the two dramatists have proved difficult to establish incontrovertibly. Since Philip McGuire's work on the

play, it is a critical commonplace that '*Measure for Measure* provides the most challenging and complex example of Shakespeare's use of open silence'[13] — 'open', because the silences of six of the comedy's characters in its final movement have inspired radically divergent interpretations, with transformative consequences for the play in performance. *The Dutch Courtesan* offers its own variant on this phenomenon. In effect, the way in which Wiggins and Richardson fill in one of Marston's open silences necessitates a mimed agreement about their futures between Freevill and Beatrice, thus assuring their story the kind of affirmative ending these scholars appear to prefer. But what would the arguments for and against such a staging choice be, and what alternative readings might the script accommodate, or invite?

If Freevill is rendered silent in the play's last phase, Tisefew, one of Freevill's circle of gallants, is not. In its final fifty lines Marston allows him four brief interventions. The first two are jokey responses (of the kind which earlier have been Freevill's forte) to Cocledemoy's 'flattering' knavery (5.3.144–5 and 153). The decision to privilege Tisefew here over Freevill is therefore noteworthy. The other two speeches announce Tisefew's forthcoming marriage to Crispinella to her father (5.3.164–5 and 168–9). But he and his betrothed have been on stage for the last 184 lines, witnessing a series of events with momentous implications for Crispinella's sister, Freevill's potential bride. They also contain a significant moment of revelation for Tisefew.

In the preceding scene, the previously disguised Freevill reveals his true identity to Crispinella and Beatrice but not to Tisefew, who shudders with distaste at their being accompanied, to witness the executions of Malheureux and Mulligrub, by (as he thinks) a pander (5.2.135–6). He knows nothing of Freevill's masquerade, or even that he is still alive. He is also unaware that the other three intend to save Malheureux's life, not watch him choke to death on the gallows. Tisefew's indignation at having a pimp as his companion earns him a tongue-lashing from Crispinella for his 'heedless ignorance' (5.2.144); but she is setting him up, because she could easily have ended that 'ignorance' herself with a brief explanation. Instead, she has contrived that he will only catch up with events when he watches Malheureux's reprieve from death by his 'dead' friend's self-unmasking. Marston assigns Tisefew no dialogue at that point; but an actor will perceive the need to register the moment at which the penny drops for him, and to calibrate how that discovery impacts upon Tisefew's relationship with Crispinella, who will in turn be poised to observe this moment of sudden revelation, which she has herself engineered. How will she exploit her triumph? The players have choices to make, as the contest between them is sustained into the comedy's final

movement. This challenge is recognizably the work of a skilled theatrical craftsman who animates his entire stage picture. Marston's insistence that his plays are difficult to comprehend when separated from 'the soul of lively action'[14] deserves serious heeding.

One of the play's earliest moments has also received commentary which circumscribes its potential range of implication. Its prologue concludes with an invitation to 'Sit then with fair expectance and survey / Nothing but passionate man in his slight play' (15–16). Philip J. Finkelpearl typifies many in confidently identifying this 'passionate man' — Malheureux, whose world-view is overturned as desire for the courtesan Franceschina unexpectedly consumes him. Finkelpearl structures his account of the play around an antithesis between '"Young Freevils unhappie friend", as the dramatis personae describes Malheureux' and Freevill himself, who is 'plainly someone who possesses free will'.[15] So, on one side we have a character utterly subdued by passions to which he thought himself immune, who abandons self-control and moral scruple as erotic fixation overwhelms him, and on the other side a figure endowed with self-knowledge and in lucid command of his own choices and actions.

But why assume that the label of 'passionate man' applies to only one character? Without an indefinite article prefacing it, the phrase is, in early modern idiom, as likely (perhaps more likely) to have signified to spectators 'mankind', or indeed 'humankind', rather than cueing a hunt for one character who uniquely matches the description. Besides, when the Prologue speaks these words, the audience has not met any of the characters, or even heard of Malheureux. So, at that point, whether the label might apply to one or more of the characters we will now meet is an open question.

The first scene opens with the self-dramatizing woes of Mulligrub the vintner. *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (*OED*)'s initial gloss for his name is 'A state or fit of depression; low spirits. Also, a bad temper or mood'.[16] His behaviour justifies Marston's choice from the start. Self-pitying grief engulfs him, inspired by Cocledemoy's theft of 'a nest of goblets' from his tavern (1.1.7). He even, bathetically, aligns the imputed extremity of his own suffering with King Priam's incommensurably more grievous woes (47). Resolving not to remain 'jaw-fallen', he exits the scene professing himself devoted to another, more proactive, passion — a revengeful desire to destroy Cocledemoy (52–3). His history thereafter maps frenetic oscillations between depressive fits and an ardent urge to revenge. Spectators might reasonably identify him as the play's first exemplar of the genus of 'passionate man'.

As its action grows ever busier, *The Dutch Courtesan* seems at times set on providing us with a menagerie of people in extreme emotional states. Franceschina definitely qualifies, with her vow that there 'sall be no got [ie, God] in me but passion, no tought but rage' (4.3.43–4). If we trust the woman he aims to marry, Freevill, Finkelpearl's instance of rationality and self-control, is another potential candidate. When he expresses his rapt feelings for Beatrice, his taut intensity disturbs her: 'Dear my loved heart, be not so passionate. / Nothing extreme lives long' (2.1.48–9). Equally, his later diatribes against Franceschina — with their denunciation of her 'prostituted impudence', which he now judges 'Senseless like those by cataracts of Nile' (5.1.79–80) — evidence a passionate revulsion which demands aggravated expression.

Beatrice, a lucid counsellor of moderation in the lines quoted above, has often been monumentalized into that shape by commentators for the remainder of the action, and polarized against Franceschina, in the same way that Freevill and Malheureux have been polarized against each other. For Jill Levenson, for instance, it is a black-and-white case of 'virtuous Beatrice and wicked Franceschina'.[17] Mary Beth Rose develops the same theme more circumstantially:

> [Marston's] view of women is remarkably simple and clear. Not surprisingly, the whore Franceschina is complemented by the saint, Beatrice, the idealized Griselda figure whose chastity, unswerving loyalty, and patient goodness convert the hero from profligacy and command his love.[18]

Douglas Bruster adduces a parallel between Marston's alleged tactics and the emphatic polarities of an earlier dramatic tradition:

> Marston, with *The Dutch Courtesan*, borrows from the psychomachia tradition of the Moralities in keeping his female characters cosmetically distinct, associating with the play's wife — aptly named Beatrice, or 'one who blesses' — chastity, faithfulness, unselfish love, and purity, and with Franceschina, the Dutch Courtesan, libido, betrayal, self-interest, and disease.[19]

Examples could easily be multiplied.

An approach I find helpful when casting a play is to sketch a hypothetical emotional spectrum for each character,[20] identifying the range across which a player needs to move in order to fulfil the role's demands. One end of that spectrum for Beatrice might indeed be the lucid strength of her 'be not so passionate' intervention. But the performer must also negotiate the later moment when circumstances

bring her so low spiritually that she can ask an anxious Crispinella these questions: 'Sister, cannot a woman kill herself? Is it not lawful to die when we should not live?' (5.2.1–2). She persists:

> And does not heaven, when it hath made our breath bitter unto us, say we should not live? O my best sister —
> To suffer wounds when one may 'scape this rod
> Is against nature, that is, against God. (9–12)

Crispinella's response is the alarmed and grieving 'Good sister, do not make me weep' (13).

The accounts of Beatrice I have cited airbrush this moment out. Similarly, Mark Thornton Burnett and Peter Womack examine the scene closely, but fail to mention that Beatrice begins it in such spiritual disarray that she contemplates suicide as a seductive possibility, despite the contemporary Christian church's unyielding anathema against it;[21] while Peter Davison invokes the exchange by observing that the play contains 'discussions on censorship and suicide'[22] — for all the world, as if the sequence had the detached tone of a philosophical debate.

For the player cast as Beatrice, such evasions are unavailable, unless her director begins the scene with a swingeing cut. This moment of despair represents the extremest point at one end of the spectrum across which her character is driven in the course of the action. In her dark night of the soul, Beatrice comes to seem as if she too can logically claim inclusion in the tribe of 'passionate man'. Her disturbed, and disturbing, trajectory gives the lie to any framing of her as constant, stable, unflinching in her reaction to the world around her. Moment by moment, the play is more complex than such formulae acknowledge.

This is not to deny that the sobriquet of 'passionate man' can be applied to Malheureux too. Critics have also assigned him another tag. Robert Ornstein, for instance, calls him 'a puritanical moralist', while Douglas Bruster has him venting 'a puritanical diatribe'.[23] Sometimes that adjective's recurrent use hardens into a bolder characterisation, as when Hugh Craig and Brett Greatley-Hirsch dub him Freevill's 'Puritan friend'.[24] Two historians have plausibly denied, on theological grounds, the latter label's applicability to Malheureux.[25] Meanwhile, it is often difficult to know what some of the looser uses of 'puritanical' might communicate — not much more perhaps than the writer's distaste for what he or she takes to be Malheureux's principles. But what are those principles?

According to Susan Baker, 'Malheureux speaks for celibacy'.[26] But where does he do so? Certainly not in the speech (1.1.94–105) she cites to support her claim. His mission there is to dissuade Freevill from visiting the brothel, and he marshals

all his arguments to that end. He expresses disgust for what he considers to be the debased nature of Freevill's entanglement and itemizes the deleterious consequences it will bring in its wake. Malheureux has received a hostile press for his efforts. One scholar, for example, judges him 'a priggish, inexperienced man who puts his trust in a cloistered virtue'.[27]

The kernel of truth here is that Malheureux enters the play confident he is immune to the brothel's temptations. This ingenuousness means he is riding for a fall, and the play swiftly delivers it. But are his arguments against Freevill's free-wheeling oratory necessarily so antipathetic to a modern audience's sensibilities? He expresses abhorrence for the idea of using a sex worker, and of dealing with 'One that sells human flesh', a type of person he memorably dubs a 'mangonist', ie, a 'dealer in slaves, especially prostitutes' (105n).[28] Is that self-evidently an indefensible position to adopt? It is certainly not, in the early modern period, a distinctively sectarian or extremist one.

And what about Freevill's bravura celebration of prostitution? It is dazzling as a piece of oratorical display, testimony to how he has profited from an educational system which esteemed the ability to defend, impromptu, almost any proposition. But its angle of approach keeps shifting. At one moment he praises the existence of brothels as a necessary defence of the marital bed, in that they provide an outlet for male libido, which might otherwise be employed in making more cuckolds (71–9). At another he proclaims the iron law of economic necessity. It is perfectly logical and defensible, he asserts, that women, in needy circumstances, should sell their only available asset, their bodies, and so provide for themselves and their families (107–18).

But paraphrase makes these arguments seem to be more straightforward in their impact than they sound in practice. His language is laced with ironies. He argues, for instance, that 'Every man must follow his trade and every woman her occupation' (109–10). He has just invoked the biblical precept that mankind, as a consequence of the Fall, is condemned to labour in 'the sweat of their brows' (108). So, the divine imperative dictating the labour of a husband as, say, carpenter or baker is made to legitimate, by jesting analogy, a wife's becoming a sex worker. He enhances the mischievous effect by his pun on 'occupation'. It means 'calling', 'craft', of course. But the verb 'to occupy' had come to mean 'to penetrate sexually'.[29] So the text proposes a secondary resonance here. The woman's divinely ordained 'trade' is to open her legs to men for money. Sexist jeering is a recurrent leitmotif in Freevill's wit.

That wit is also characterized by an ability to make a speech swerve in unpredictable directions. An aria which starts out in apparent praise of sex workers, and

the advantages they afford the men who visit them, segues into a concluding section which proffers two new lines of argument. First, as part of their fair dealing exchange of '*quid* for *quo*', they will revenge themselves on those who buy their services by infecting them with the pox (131–5). So, they have turned from passively obliging to actively malign in an instant. And then follows the extenuating claim that, in a world where everything of value, 'nay, even God himself' (137–8), has been sold, it must be rated only a paltry sin to sell one's body. Freevill manages the switch from one position to another with showy agility.

He rounds off his rhetorical excursion with another piece of profanity: 'For this I hold to be denied of no man: / All things are made for man, and man for woman' (142–3). In a parodic inversion of Genesis 2:18–25, Freevill insinuates that the world was created for woman, and that man is her subservient creature, for, after all, 'But for his mistress, who would care for coin?' (141). The couplet's rhyme, however, reveals a sting in the tail. To chime with 'no man', we need to read in a common early modern pronunciation, 'woe-man', and the wordplay makes the point. Woman brings woe, as in the story of the Fall. And, from an aria which opened with an apparent defence of sex workers' social utility and their right to trade, the target of mockery is now the whole sex, not just those who follow that special 'occupation'.

Where is Freevill in all of this? The surface fireworks are dizzying, the verbal dexterity impressive. But tying down what Freevill himself might really think is almost impossible. Some writers have extrapolated this or that section and made it stand for Freevill's habitual attitudes,[30] or for the play's world-view.[31] That, however, entails disregarding the speech's self-ironizing and its constant shifts of perspective and tone. Freevill bows out with 'Give me my fee' (144), as if he were a lawyer, ready to plead whatever case his client requires for hire.

The contrast with how Marston narrates Malheureux's fortunes is emphatic. Malheureux has been mocked for his alleged lack of self-knowledge; but Marston gives him soliloquies in which he struggles to probe his own feelings and see himself more clearly. They are a complex pitch and toss between attempts to fabricate a justification of desires he has customarily regarded as illicit, on the one hand, and contrary impulses of self-rebuke and self-hatred, on the other. The play also clearly maps how Malheureux initially embraces Franceschina's offer of her favours if he kills Freevill, but then, overwhelmed by horror at his own nefariousness, resolves to renege on that commitment and tell his friend of the plot against him. The soliloquy in which he reaches that decision contains lines in which he corrosively indicts his own facility in devising equivocations to validate a course of action he knows to be despicable: 'Lord, how was I misgone! How

easy 'tis to err / When passion will not give us leave to think!' (2.2.245–6). Such speeches show us, pulse by pulse, the effort Malheureux expends in anatomizing his emotions' true nature and identifying the lack of ethical probity in which they threaten to entrap him.

Marston's writing for Freevill lacks this kind of transparency. Scholars often attribute to him a capacity for strenuous self-interrogation, which has re-routed his life and made him, like a figure in a morality play, turn away from the world of brothel sex to a sincere commitment to marriage and the renunciation of past indulgences this demands. Wine, advocating this reading, affirms that Freevill is therefore 'the only one in the play who can knowingly state its moral'.[32] The lines he chooses to validate this claim are the couplet with which Freevill ends the second scene: 'Of all the fools that would all man out-thrust, / He that 'gainst nature would seem wise is worst' (1.2.184–5). The way Wine cites these words out of context might suggest to a reader unfamiliar with the play that these lines overtly address Freevill's own past follies. But they are not self-rebuke, but *de haut en bas* mockery of Malheureux's fall from grace.

Overt self-scrutiny — sometimes deluded, sometimes sharply perceptive — is central to Malheureux's soliloquies. The first person pronoun provides the axle on which they turn, from 'That I should love a strumpet! I, a man of snow. / Now, shame forsake me. Whither am I fallen?' (83–4) to 'Lord, how was I misgone. How easy 'tis to err / When passion will not give us leave to think' (2.2.245–6). In contrast, Freevill's soliloquies are phrased impersonally and tend to eschew the use of 'I'. The one notable exception is his soliloquy in 4.2, when he vows to subject his friend to 'repentance, the fool's whip' (31). But his use of 'I' there concerns actions he will perform in relation to Malheureux: 'I'll force thee' (34), 'I'll withdraw' (37), and so on. In its second half Freevill appears to change tack and open himself to interrogation: 'But is this virtue in me? No, not pure — / Nothing extremely best with us endures' (39–40). Spectators will be disappointed if they think he is about to confess what the impure admixture in his motives might be. He provides no fuller answer to the question he himself posed. Instead the soliloquy moves on to aphoristic generalities about 'No use in simple purities' (41), and signs off with the quasi-proverbial declaration that 'The end being good, the means are well assigned' (47). A solo promising to bring self-revelation ends by denying us that possibility.

Opacity of this kind characterizes Marston's handling of Freevill throughout. One can imagine how another dramatist might have shaped his history, to match the diagrammatic progress — from libertine present to uxorious future — commentators claim to discern in it. As Malheureux recoils in disgust at moments

from the debased craving which made him willing to contemplate his friend's murder, so Freevill would experience a 'road to Damascus' crisis, during which the scales fall from his eyes, and after which he would embrace a new life founded on transformed principles. But Marston has avoided such unequivocally succinct patterning. Indeed, he muddies the waters wherever possible. In the first scene, for instance, he gives us contradictory signals. Freevill has resolved to marry (1.1.72), but declares he will end his night's entertainment by going 'the way of all flesh' (91) — ie, a visit to his courtesan Franceschina. His conversation with her 'does not suggest the termination of their sexual relationship'.[33] In the next scene he derides Malheureux for his apostasy from his professed beliefs in falling for her in his turn (1.2.163–84), and then exits, only to re-enter immediately before Beatrice's balcony, where he sings her a rapt aubade and hymns her 'chaste eyes', which have 'gaged' his 'soul' to her (2.1.3, 5). Directly thereafter, he switches back to jeering Malheureux with a re-energized remorselessness and demotic viciousness before he companionably revisits Franceschina with him. His motive in this latter action is never made explicit. We might speculate it is to arrange, as they have discussed earlier (2.1.99–105), for his friend to replace him as her lover, though this object is never stated in the dialogue. In the event, his behaviour — deliberately? — provokes her into fury, and he sneeringly tells her not to 'turn witch before thy time' (109), before abandoning her permanently.

As with his dizzying display of wit in his initial prostitution aria, the surface fireworks are scintillating, and his investment in each moment highly energized, but plotting a linear progress for him is not something the play assists us with. We observe a sequence of actions, and are given none of the access to Freevill's inner thinking, if such a thing can be presumed to exist, that Marston could easily have arranged. The two roles are crafted in radically distinct ways, and the two players' address to the audience is, consequently, utterly different. Malheureux opens himself to the spectator, inviting empathy, but also risking challenge and even disdain. Freevill is never comparably frank with us and gives no evidence of possessing comparable powers of self-scrutiny.

His later solos are either rhapsodic celebrations of Beatrice as a 'dove-like virgin, without gall' (4.4.91), or contrasting excoriations of Franceschina as 'unrepriev-able, beyond all / Measure of grace, damned immediately' (5.1.66–7) — exactly the monochromatic polarization that scholarship often assumes the play itself buys into. Freevill draws the lesson that no one 'worthy name of man' would 'leave the modest pleasures of a lawful bed' for 'the unhealthful loins of common loves' (5.1.72–3, 88). The application to himself is apparent, but he never explicitly owns it as such. In one alternative scenario, Freevill might have directly

admitted the scale of his own transfer of loyalties, and testified to the conviction with which he now embraces a new set of convictions. Instead, he adopts the tone of an absolutist preacher, deriding those who are so inanely reprehensible as not to live by the values he now professes. Views he had himself earlier flamboyantly proclaimed he now objectifies as the crass misconceptions of other people — specifically Malheureux. Freevill's new-found certainties align him with the views he had earlier scorned his friend for espousing, a truth nowhere acknowledged in his dialogue.

Peter Davison felt the play was weakened by its handling of Malheureux after he bows to Franceschina's demand that he kill his friend. Once alone, Davison notes,

> he entertains this thought for less than a dozen lines before he begins to doubt and in less than twenty he has realised 'how easy ti's to erre' and decided to tell Freevill all. This does Malheureux's sentiments much credit, and shows, perhaps, the strength of the influence of the concept of friendship, but the play as drama and as an expression of Marston's concerns, is seriously though by no means fatally weakened. The main plot has lost its bite. We never feel, as we do in *Measure for Measure*, that the threats are serious and the implications real.[34]

In this reading, unless murder remains on the agenda, the play will lack gravitas and be dramatically flawed. But Davison never asks what Marston might have sought to achieve by the tactics he chose.

What is at stake here is pinpointed for me by another debatable statement, this time by Jill Levenson: '[Malheureux's] bad judgement sets off the intrigues and counter-intrigues which call for a sensational resolution in the fifth act'.[35] She attributes to Malheureux an independent agency he never properly possesses. From the moment which disappointed Davison, Malheureux emerges determined on what he must do: 'Not he that's passionless, but he 'bove passion's wise. / My friend shall know it all' (2.2.252–3). From that cue a playwright might generate a range of different consequences. Marston's choice is to make the two friends' next encounter decisive for them both. It brings, for Freevill, the revelation that Franceschina wanted to procure his death and, for Malheureux, the humbling self-revelation that, despite this, he still 'must use her' (3.1.258). Freevill soon improvises the plot of his faked death, which will allow Malheureux to achieve that ambition. Freevill's tone in this section is worldly-wise, ethically relativist, pragmatic, and thus closely akin to the free-wheeling games-playing of his first

scene. Witness his cynical exit line: 'What old times held as crimes, are now but fashions' (284).

We might, however, easily imagine alternative scenarios here. Freevill could, for instance, have argued against his friend's subjugation to lust and sought to strengthen him in his struggle against that passion. This choice would have generated the kind of neat inversion of their starting positions Fletcherian theatre so often delights in. Instead, Marston makes Freevill license, even persuade, Malheureux to hope that he can indeed 'use' Franceschina. Only after another duologue with him to the same effect, several scenes later, will Freevill declare, in soliloquy, an intent (not previously hinted at) to reform Malheureux by making him experience 'the worst' (4.2.34). In that same speech Freevill asks us, and himself, whether his behaviour is motivated by pure 'virtue', and then, having raised that doubt, swiftly retreats from clarifying his own motives further. So, the revelation of Freevill's new game-plan is delayed by Marston to a later point than might otherwise have been the case and then is immediately complicated by the hints Freevill himself offers about the ethical complexity, even murkiness, of the impulses driving him.

Levenson's certainty that Malheureux's 'bad judgement sets off' everything that follows ignores the interplay of competing agencies which Marston's action maps. If Freevill did not respond as he does when Malheureux tells him of the murder demand, the 'intrigues and counter-intrigues' Levenson invokes would not occur in their present form. Drama notates and anatomizes how characters act upon one another. Abstracting a single figure from this process and attributing primary agency to that character damagingly simplifies Marston's design.

Davison's objection, founded in presuppositions about what a play should do, misses what Marston has actually done. By making Malheureux unwilling to carry out his promise to Franceschina, he spotlights the significance of Freevill's intervention, which ensures that Malheureux's entanglement with the brothel world is far from over, and that the potential of his 2.2 soliloquy is consequently destined to be left unfulfilled. Marston's theatre is a theatre of surprises — of possibilities trailed but not realized, and of sudden plot swerves which seemingly come out of nowhere, and which challenge us to decode their logic. Davison's strictures, in effect, express a desire that Marston had offered us something more conventional, more easily reconcilable with his pre-set critical preferences.

As our rehearsals progressed, the complexity of the play's handling of Freevill came to be more and more apparent. We spent time exploring, for instance, the bizarreness of his language in the balcony scene with Beatrice. Finkelpearl speaks of the 'ardent avowals'[36] they exchange in this duet and makes their union an

ethical norm against which to appraise others' shortcomings. But Freevill is no Romeo. He blurts out his concern about what might happen if others were to see and admire her. He would prefer her to be generally disesteemed, as long as she could therefore be guaranteed to rest securely his (2.1.30–5). He concludes: 'He that is wise pants on a private breast' (36). He either assumes that all women, including Beatrice, are fickle and easily seduced, or that he is himself incapable of retaining a wife's loyalty. Either way, we might reasonably deduce that his doubts represent deep-rooted issues, if Marston has them break surface on such an occasion.

One strand in Freevill's 1.1 extravaganza was a defence of brothels as key resources in defending marriage, on the grounds that 'married men love the stews as Englishmen love the Low Countries, wish war should be maintained there, lest it should come home to their own doors' (76–9). The balcony scene suggests that his personal view of marriage is comparably embattled. Predators are everywhere, and their persuasiveness is the decisive factor in determining whether a woman will fall. Implicitly, he credits his wife-to-be with little effective agency in determining her own fate. Even as he affirms his devotion to her, his verse is riddled with worries about the future vulnerability of the bond between them, in ways which question his faith in her ultimate reliability. Such thoughts are not what we might expect to be uppermost in his mind at such a moment.[37]

The paradoxes accumulate as the action develops. Freevill had seemed initially to polarize the worlds of brothel and domestic hearth. Who would predict from this binary that, disguised as his ex-courtesan's pimp, he will later participate in the penetration of the brothel world into his betrothed's home? On that occasion, Franceschina announces his 'death' to Beatrice and torments her with the thought that he died unfaithful to her, while Freevill watches and observes. Some accounts align this incident with the Patient Griselda model. But once again Marston chooses not to make the obvious moves.

When Vindice in *The Revenger's Tragedy* is commissioned to woo his own sister into prostitution, he uses this opportunity to test her ability to resist temptation and shares those plans with the audience in advance of the event. Marston gives no equivalent speech to Freevill. Instead, we only learn who Franceschina's new pimp is when he enters Beatrice's house with her. Marston might easily have rationalized Freevill's masquerade for him. A soliloquy could have told us that he wished to observe and judge Franceschina's response to his own apparent death, and her treatment of Malheureux thereafter; and then, as events developed, he could have told us that he intended to use her decision to visit Beatrice as an opportunity to observe his betrothed under fire. The latter move might be problematic for us

now; but the trope of bride-testing is common in early modern drama. Instead, Marston takes Freevill out of camera range, as it were, at the crucial moment and leaves his motives, as so often, opaque.

Having witnessed Beatrice's response to Franceschina's taunts, Freevill lauds her 'suffering sweetness, quiet modesty, / Yet deep affection' (4.4.95–6). For a moment, he thinks of revealing himself, but then, in an extraordinary turn, resolves not to do so: 'No, no! / Grief endears love' (88–9). No modern edition comments on this line, but 'endear' bears a double sense here. One of these is still current: seeing her grieve so pitifully increases his affection for her. But the other meaning is now less familiar: 'To enhance the value of; to render precious or attractive' (*OED*, endear, *v*, 2a). Seeing her in such a state increases his sense of the worth of what he possesses in her, and his relishing of that fact. For this reason, he chooses not to rescue her from her misapprehension, nor to offer relief to the 'tortured mind' (78) with which the news of his apparent death has burdened her.

This decision of his leads to her contemplating suicide, in the striking sequence I discussed earlier. Freevill has treated her grief as if it has effectively reached steady state and can be allowed to continue, so as to increase his delight in her, regardless of the sustained distress this will cause her; but the play, always dynamic in its storytelling, demonstrates that her emotions now possess a dangerous forward momentum of their own. There is a clear chain of consequences here, which even Freevill will briefly recognize later, when he concedes that his 'indiscreet trials' (5.2.49) are to blame for Beatrice's suicidal condition. The voice which authoritatively calls him out on his conduct's effects is Crispinella's. Not content with being 'expressly a secondary character', she instructs him: 'Brother, I must be plain with you: you have wronged us' (64). This moment resonated in our rehearsals and the resulting performances.

Thinking Beyond Marston

My goal has not been to generate a unitary explanation which seeks to establish a single, 'correct' reading of the textual complexities I am identifying. As I said at the outset, differing performance solutions are possible. But the richness of Marston's achievement is to be discovered in the unruly vivacity of the script's line-by-line intricacies — intricacies too often overwritten by critical formulae which substitute neatly antithetical diagrams for the play's real challenges.

This most mercurial of playwrights delights in the swift oscillations and surprising mutations which the 'soul of lively action' can present to a theatre audience. Every time a commentator, therefore, brackets Freevill as 'a virtuous gentleman'

and represents Beatrice as a 'passive object to whom men sing Petrarchan love complaints',[38] we should be aware that the familiar reification of the play's dynamic theatrical potency is once again underway. Such reductive accounts are, as I suggested at the outset, too easily bred by the abbreviated form most modern treatments of it perforce take. The comments cited in the preceding paragraph, for instance, come from a seven-page account of the play in an ambitious, and influential, monograph of 276 pages long. The play's complexities are, in effect, subdued here to the larger rhythms of the controlling narrative which unifies this study.

To begin to convey this brilliant play's full power to readers and, potentially, to spectators, we need to liberate *The Dutch Courtesan* from such simplifications and notate, as accurately and clearly as we can, the detailed challenges it poses to us, both in our study of the play and in performance. Beyond that, the difficulties anatomized here potentially pose questions about the need to fireproof our explorations of the major works of this repertoire against the temptation to impose static and abstract patternings upon them. Marston, with his addiction to quick-change transformations of tone and bravura generic experimentation, may be an extreme case. But numerous of his peers — Webster, for instance, and Middleton — face us with matching challenges, in their own distinctive, idiosyncratic ways.[39] The closer our analysis can come to mapping the inventive dynamism of their moment-by-moment craftsmanship, the nearer we will move to releasing once again the energies which make the work of this deeply creative Jacobean generation of playwrights striking and remarkable, and, therefore, also urgently worth restoring to the stage today.

Notes

I thank Oliver Jones, Perry Mills, Felicity Riddy, and Richard Rowland for reading this article in draft and commenting helpfully. Any remaining problems in it remain my responsibility.

1 The production was at the department of Theatre, Film, Television and Inter-Active Media at the University of York in June 2013. We created a website — http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/ — to accompany it. In addition to hosting a film of the production, the website includes filmed interviews with key collaborators on the production as well as fifteen new scholarly articles on the play.

2 Mary Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queans on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford, 2000), 69.

3 John Russell Brown points to the recurring impact a one-line role has had in modern performances of Webster's *The White Devil*. See *Shakespeare's Plays in Performance* (London, 1966), 226.

4 For a convenient tabulation of the play's principal borrowings from Montaigne's *Essays*, see John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. M.L. Wine (London, 1965), 112–20.

5 Donna B. Hamilton, 'Language as Theme in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Renaissance Drama* 5 (1972), 84, https://doi.org/10.1086/rd.5.41917092.

6 My line calculations follow the numberings in John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). Unless otherwise indicated, all further references to the play are to this edition.

7 David Crane, 'Patterns of Audience Involvement at the Blackfriars Theatre in the Early Seventeenth Century: Some Moments in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy*, ed. Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock, and Anne-Julia Zwierlein (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2004), 103.

8 For an exploration of the intricate historical situation concealed by this convenient stereotype, see Michael Cordner, 'Franceschina's Voice', http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/franceschinas-voice/.

9 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan* (London: T.P. for John Hodgets, 1605; STC: 17475), C4r.

10 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Wine, xvi.

11 Refer, for example, to Eric Bentley's classic exploration in *The Life of the Drama* (London, 1966), 219–56, 295–353.

12 Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642, A Catalogue*, 9 vols (Oxford, 2012–19), 5.121.

13 Philip C. McGuire, *Speechless Dialect: Shakespeare's Open Silences* (Berkeley, 1985), 63.
14 John Marston, *The Malcontent*, ed. G.K. Hunter (London, 1975), 6.
15 Philip J. Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple: An Elizabethan Dramatist in His Social Setting* (Cambridge MA, 1969), 202, https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674183971
16 *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), s.v. 'mulligrub', n. 1a.
17 Jill Levenson, 'Comedy', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. A.R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge, 1990), 290.
18 Mary Beth Rose, *The Expense of Spirit: Love and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama* (1988; Ithaca NY, 1991), 49, https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501723247.
19 Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1992), 87, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511553080.
20 I call it 'hypothetical' because rehearsal almost invariably reveals that the spectrum is, in practice, wider than one had predicted.
21 [21] Mark Thornton Burnett, '"Calling 'things by their right names": Troping Prostitution, Politics and *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580–1690*, ed. Gordon McMullan (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 1998), 177, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230378667_8; Peter Womack, *English Renaissance Drama* (2006; Oxford, 2008), 169, https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470690093.
22 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Peter Davison (Edinburgh, 1968), 9.
23 Robert Ornstein, *The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy* (Madison, 1960), 160; Bruster, *Drama and the Market*, 88.
24 Hugh Craig and Brett Greatley-Hirsch, *Style, Computers, and Early Modern Drama: Beyond Authorship* (Cambridge, 2017), 53, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108120456.
25 Peter Lake, with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven NJ, 2002), 672.
26 Susan Baker, 'Sex and Marriage in *The Dutch Courtesan*', in *In Another Country: Feminist Perspectives on Renaissance Drama*, ed. Dorothea Kehler and Susan Baker (Metuchen, NJ, 1991), 222.
27 R.W. Ingram, *John Marston* (Boston, 1978), 115.
28 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 111.
29 David Crystal and Ben Crystal, *Shakespeare's Words: A Glossary and Language Companion* (London, 2002), 302.
30 Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia, 2007), 151, https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812202304.

31 Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1980), 98, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511561160.
32 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Wine, xvii.
33 Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr, '"All Things Come into Commerce": Women, Household Labor, and Spaces of Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Renaissance Drama* 27 (1996), 27.
34 *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Davison, 9.
35 Levenson, 'Comedy', 290.
36 Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple*, 206.
37 For a more extended investigation of the idiosyncratic nature of Marston's writing for Freevill in the balcony scene, see Michael Cordner, 'Mapping *The Dutch Courtesan*', http://www.dutchcourtesan.co.uk/mapping-the-dutch-courtesan/.
38 Howard, *Theater of a City*, 151, 153.
39 In the autumn of 2019 we launched a new practice-as-research project at the University of York — *Shakespeare's Rivals* — which is devoted to exploring the contrasting and divergent demands that different Jacobean playwrights characteristically place upon their performers. Its first public event juxtaposed radically contrasting sequences from Massinger's *The Roman Actor*, Webster's *The Devil's Law-Case*, and the Dekker/Ford/Rowley *Witch of Edmonton*, in a practical exploration of that question. Those performances, as well as some of the rehearsals leading to them, have been filmed and, linked with contextual material, will be made freely accessible on a new website, www.shakespearesrivals.co.uk, in the second half of 2020. A second public event, focused on city comedy, with a primary emphasis on Jonson and Middleton, had been planned for June 2020, before the coronavirus pandemic descended on us. We hope to resume work on that in due course.

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Erin Julian

'Our hurtless mirth': What's Funny about *The Dutch Courtesan*?

This paper reflects on the performance work of the Toronto Dutch Courtesan *to explore what is potentially funny in the play and how this comic potential might reveal inequities filtering through misogyny, religious intolerance, and xenophobia. Marston's play operates in a series of comic registers eliciting a range of emotional responses from audiences — from cruel laughter to cathartic pathos to light-hearted pleasure to anxiety. While the play's critical and moral 'point' is impossible to pin down, the Toronto* Courtesan *demonstrated the capacity of the play's comic ambiguity to critique social inequity and to invite audiences to ask reflectively: what are we laughing at and why?*

In February 2019, the cast of the Toronto *Dutch Courtesan* project sat down for their second table read. The participants formed a mixed group of amateur and seasoned actors; many of them had worked with Shakespearean plays before, while a few had performed in medieval mystery and Elizabethan touring plays produced by Toronto's Poculi Ludique Societas company. None of the cast had previously worked with Marston's drama and its uneasy blend of satire and clowning. This rehearsal offered the first opportunity for the cast to work with one of the play's editors and production dramaturges, and the actors had many questions. Many members of the cast were in the early stages of working out who their characters were in the play's story; some — including Andrew Eldridge, the production's Freevill — seemed simultaneously puzzled by and uncomfortable with the play's main sources of humour: the testing of women's fidelity; jokes at the expense of foreigners, sex workers, and religious 'others'; and the literal gallows humour of the play's final act where two men (Mulligrub and Malheureux) are framed — and nearly hanged — for theft and murder. Amidst sarcastic laughter at moments where the xenophobia and misogyny of *The Dutch Courtesan*

Erin Julian (Erin.Julian@roehampton.ac.uk) is a postdoctoral fellow for the Engendering the Stage project at the University of Roehampton, London. She was a dramaturge for the Toronto *Courtesan*.

appeared a shade too recognizable, ever more questions arose about what the tone of this play *was*. What was its satirical point? The reading unfolded into a discussion of what, precisely, is funny about *The Dutch Courtesan*.

These production questions were pertinent to the 'Strangers and Aliens in London and Toronto: Sex, Religion, and Xenophobia in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*' project, whose goals included exploring the themes of intolerance related to sex work, gender, religion, and the 'foreign' as means to better understanding these problems in Marston's play and early modern English culture as a whole. The project also explored how these themes resonated across the early modern to the contemporary stage. What can staging *The Dutch Courtesan* teach us about how Marston's play works on its feet, and how audiences might have interpreted it in its own day? What does a modern-day production of Marston's play, performed at a theatre in the centre of one of Canada's most diverse cities, reveal about intolerance in our present day? Addressing the question 'what's funny about Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*' challenges audiences and actors but is essential to addressing how the play takes up cultural attitudes towards foreigners, women, and sex workers in early modern London.

Interpreting Laughter

Humour and laughter are notoriously difficult subjects to theorize because they are so unstable. In his substantial introduction to *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times,* Albrecht Classen circles repeatedly around the problem of laughter's ambiguity. Classen's substantial introduction, which includes both an original survey of classical, medieval, and early modern philosophies of laughter and a thematic review of the collection's individually authored chapters, reflects laughter's resistance to interpretation. Classen observes, for example, that laughter is both an affront to Christian sobriety and an appropriate reaction to the mystery of God; a means of illuminating oppression and violence and a means of causing it; a sign of health and a sign of illness; a means of bringing communities together and of rending them apart.[1] Thinkers like Aristotle, Sir Philip Sidney, and Laurent Joubert endorse a prescriptive view of laughter that suggests individuals can control how they respond to the comic by refusing to laugh at 'boorish' subjects;[2] in contrast, Henri Bergsen and Sigmund Freud, the two figures who have arguably most influenced modern theories of comedy and laughter, posit that laughter is mechanical, spontaneous, and involuntary, and thus resists prescriptive ethical approaches.[3] Most critical work on the subject agrees that laughter is not only an inherently social phenomenon, but is also harshly divisive. True jokes, to Freud,

are 'tendentious' and either 'hostile' or 'obscene', with 'the one who makes the joke' making another into 'the object of the hostile or sexual aggressiveness' for the pleasure of an observing third party.[4] Freud roots jokes and laughter in violence in a model that unnervingly fits how Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* operates with tricksters like Freevill and Cocledemoy aggressively humiliating Malheureux and Mulligrub (among others) for the arguable pleasure of the audience members who are perhaps united via their laughter at the suffering dupes.[5]

The violent potential of humour will be familiar to many of us who have ever laughed in a theatre, and goes a long way to explaining why critical works on the subject frequently couple laughter and humour with anxiety. In Classen's *Laughter,* multiple chapters flag laughter as potentially infelicitous in their very titles: laughter is 'uneasy', connected with the 'inappropriate', the 'ambigu[ous]', the 'problem[atic]', and the 'transgressi[ve]'.[6] We commonly accept laughter as a nervous, almost 'hysterical' response to uncomfortable situations.[7] In theatres it may be shared by actors and audiences as both pain and relief from embarrassment or other discomfort.[8] I know that my own laughter at the Toronto *Courtesan* could certainly be characterized as frequently anxious and painful: I laughed angrily at Freevill's unabashed pride in his plottings against his best friend, future bride, and former mistress; I worried about the potential inappropriateness of the play's xenophobia and misogynist jokes in a modern context; I laughed nervously at the possibility that others laughing around me may have been experiencing those same jokes as in earnest; I laughed guiltily at the vintner Mulligrub's repeated misfortunes. My laughter was never unmixed or easy.

In *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage,* Bridget Escolme balances our critical preoccupation with anxious laughter with the comic pleasures of early modern comedy. She attends to early modern religious texts, conduct books, essays, and anti-theatrical pamphlets (including Thomas Wright's *Passions of the Mind in General,* Philip Sidney's *Apology for Poetry,* and Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*) that articulate laughter as a source of anxiety and danger for early modern people, who were enjoined to control their emotions by subjecting them to 'reason and restraint', balancing their humours, and avoiding provocative theatre. But she also (rightly I think) assumes that 'the large number of people who attended the theatre in early modern London got pleasure from watching and hearing excesses of even distressing passions such as anger and grief'.[9] Escolme's work, importantly, reminds us to take seriously what might be truly pleasurable in Marston's play — what is joyfully witty or full of beautiful pathos. Ultimately, these moments of wit and pathos set off and heighten what is troubling elsewhere in the play.

This paper reflects back on the rehearsal and performance work of the Toronto *Dutch Courtesan* production to explore what is potentially funny in the play, *how* it is funny, and how this comic potential might be used to explore misogyny, religious intolerance, xenophobia, and violent attitudes toward sex work. The paper also considers some of the risks of undertaking such explorations. Marston's play operates in a series of comic registers, found in clown plays, morality drama, and satirical city comedy, that elicit a layered range of emotional responses from audiences — from cruel laughter to cathartic pathos to light-hearted pleasure to anxiety. While the play's critical and moral 'point' is impossible to pin down, the Toronto *Dutch Courtesan* demonstrated the rich capacity of the play to critique social inequity. But the most productive effect of the play's multidirectional and ambiguous modes of operation is precisely that it invites us to ask reflectively: what are we laughing at, and why? What exactly is funny about Marston's *Dutch Courtesan?*

'Our hurtless mirth'? Mulligrub, Cocledemoy, and Comic Violence

In a speech that functions as the epilogue to the play, Cocledemoy has the final word in its framing. 'If with content our hurtless mirth hath been / Let your pleased minds, as our much care, be seen' (5.3.175–6),[10] he instructs the audience, offering the conventional invitation to applaud if the play has provided pleasure. The invitation perhaps jostles the play's final scene uncomfortably: we have just seen two men — the play's dupe Mulligrub and Freevill's friend Malheureux — brought near the point of execution, both for crimes that they arguably did not commit. (Cockledemoy frames Mulligrub for stealing his cloak; Freevill fakes his death leaving Malheureux suspected of and condemned for murder.) This same scene shows the Dutch courtesan, Franceschina, herself sent off stage to 'severest prison'; one act earlier, we also witnessed Beatrice's distressed grief at the false reports of Freevill's death. The question of whether the play's mirth has been 'hurtless' is very much in the eye of the beholder.

In a rudimentary sense, audiences readily understand Cocledemoy's meaning. Franceschina has been taken off to jail, yet she possibly deserves her punishment, given that she has spent the second half of the play trying to urge Malheureux to actually commit the murder for which he is framed. Beatrice suffers in act 4, but one act later learns that Freevill is alive after all; one could interpret her distress as temporary, then, and tempered by the happiness she presumably feels at being reunited with him. Although she has perhaps become wiser to the manipulation of which he is capable, and to his habit of frequenting brothels, she nevertheless

accepts him back as her betrothed husband.[11] Mulligrub and Malheureux ultimately escape their threatened deaths, and so, in a literal physical sense, no real harm comes to them.

Even then, as with Franceschina, Mulligrub could be said to deserve the public humiliation and moment of terror with which he is punished in act 5. Though he is technically not guilty of the crime for which he is directly condemned — stealing Cocledemoy's cloak — he is also not innocent. When Cocledemoy reports him to the officers in 4.5, the trickster tells them: 'He's a strong thief. His house has been suspected for a bawdy tavern a great while, and a receipt for cutpurses, 'tis most certain. He has long been in the black book, and is he ta'en now?' (120–4). We should remain slightly dubious of Cocledemoy's characterization: he is, after all, out to humiliate and punish Mulligrub. We have no evidence beyond his statement here that Mulligrub has been written up as a criminal in Newgate prison's 'black book', nor that the Mulligrubs' tavern is widely known to double as a fence or a brothel (although Mistress Mulligrub's willing promise that in her widowhood she will 'have a piece of mutton [a commonplace innuendo for women's flesh] and a featherbed for [Cocledemoy] at all times' [5.3.100–3] certainly hints at some degree of truth behind this latter claim). We learn from the couple themselves that the Mulligrubs engage in criminal practices. When Mulligrub discovers that Cocledemoy has robbed him in act 2, his wife soothes him, telling him the financial loss is easily recoverable: ''tis but a week's cutting in the term' (2.3.119). Although 'cutting' here might refer to cheating customers in a general sense through overcharging them, picking pockets, or other such cons, Mistress Mulligrub probably refers to the specific crime of adulterating wines by 'cutting' them with water. Cocledemoy suggests he suspects the Mulligrubs of an even more dangerous form of cutting — where the Mulligrubs import and serve inferior foreign and heterodox wines, thereby diluting the good English Protestantism of their customers' characters. Cocledemoy accuses the vintner of having made the Londoners

> drink of the juice of the Whore of Babylon, for whereas good ale, perries, braggerts, ciders, and metheglins was the true British and Trojan drinks, you ha' brought in popish wines, Spanish wines, French wines … both muscadine and malmsey, to the subversion, staggering, and sometimes overthrow of a good Christian. (5.3.113–21)

Adulterating wine was a criminal offense in early modern England.[12] But Cocledemoy's charge at the gallows frames Mulligrub's moral failings as even more criminal and worthy of punishment than everyday fraud — they are a danger to the

very moral fabric of London, and we can perhaps feel at ease about deriving comic pleasure from his pain.

The accusations Cocledemoy launches at Mulligrub are, of course, disturbing because tinged with xenophobia and religious intolerance. Mistress Mulligrub hints in act 3 that the couple may be associated with the 'Family of Love' (3.4.6), a radical Dutch sect that settled in England following persecution at home, and that Londoners anxiously imagined as practicing free love. Cocledemoy specifically levels his charge in terms that connect the Mulligrubs to foreign faith (Catholicism) practiced by two of England's greatest political rivals (the Spanish and French). Not only are the Mulligrubs connected with a heterodox Protestant sect, but they are also bad at their own religious practice. When Mulligrub returns home in act 3 to find his wife dressed up for dinner, he asks, 'Whither are you a-gadding?' (3.4.121). 'Gadding' within Puritan faith referred to the practice of moving 'transgressively across Parish borders, in order to consume the heated speech of noted preachers, and have their hard hearts softened'.[13] But Mulligrub uses the term in its more secular sense of 'go[ing] … aimlessly or idly … in the pursuit of pleasure'.[14] The Mulligrubs live up to orthodox suspicions that the Puritan practice of gadding mimics 'the social disorder provoked by the public theatre'.[15] Beyond her single reference to tobacco not being in use in the Family of Love (3–6), Mistress Mulligrub shows almost no interest in the practices of her faith; instead she gives all of her attention to secular social climbing: her elite social connections (3.3.21–6), her 'gentle' background (3.4.9–10), her delight in wielding sophisticated language (3.3.33–5; 3.4.10–12), and ensuring that everyone knows her status is better than that of her neighbour (3.3.8–11). This representation suggests that those of different faiths are not only more prone to immorality but also generally unfaithful even in their heterodoxy. The association thus plays into the problematic trope of the ethnic or religious 'foreigner' who is also morally inferior and criminal. This trope reads troublingly on a modern stage, where laughing at the punishment of the criminal Mulligrub also possibly implicates audiences in laughing at the play's marginalized 'others'.

Although this essay focuses primarily on Mulligrub, Beatrice, and Malheureux — figures who have drawn less critical attention as operating in potentially complex comic registers — these questions probing the ethics of laughter are also especially urgent when thinking through responses to Franceschina. The eponymous Dutch courtesan unites problematic beliefs about women (that they are inherently unchaste), about religious 'others', and about foreigners (that they are prone to deceit, irrationality, murder, etc). The Toronto production staged Franceschina's anger in a way that, to my eyes, ironically highlighted the fiction of

the angry foreign woman: particularly in 2.2.221–6, where she outlines her plan to murder Freevill and Malheureux, a speech which concludes 'Women corrupted is the worst of devils'. Flora Quintus's Franceschina, dressed in black corsetted bodice, short hot-pink silk skirt, and black fishnets, stood downstage; leaning and pointing aggressively into the audience, she spoke her lines with a delighted vengeance, under a comically red spotlight. She was immediately recognizable as the fantasy of the dangerous woman scorned. In some ways, Quintus's Franceschina was as much a cartoonish trope as Belerique's Mulligrub, but with additional layers of irony interrogating the truth of that trope. The Toronto *Courtesan* was constantly sliding between modes of representation — at times appearing to reiterate and reinforce the image of the devilish (foreign) woman, at other times, calling the truth of that representation into question. It became difficult to know, amidst these slippery representational modes, whether we were laughing at Franceschina because she confirmed what foreign women 'are like', while caustically looking forward to the moment of her downfall and punishment, or whether we were laughing at the outdated misogyny and xenophobia underlying the fantasy of the vengeful woman itself.

Returning to the Mulligrubs, act 5 scene 3 presents an additional problem for modern productions in that it demands staging Mulligrub's and Malheureux's responses to learning they have been deceived. Both men remain on stage immediately following their reprieve, requiring the actors playing them to perform a visible but silent emotional reaction to the punishment they have just (almost) experienced. Contemporary actors used to working in the Stanislavskian or American styles might be tempted to think about how they would feel in real life if they had just spent a night in prison believing they were about to die only to face a sudden reprieve. The 'realistic' psychological response might be imagined as an uncomfortable mixture of terror, relief, joy, anger, and shock from which they would not immediately recover. One can imagine playing out the scene in this mode, so as to render its concluding 'mirth' deeply anxious and painful.

The obvious response to this thought experiment, of course, is that early modern plays — and particularly the Mulligrub-Cocledemoy plot of *The Dutch Courtesan* — simply do not operate in this realistic comic register. In a public rehearsal workshop on 23 February 2019, we discussed the comic mode to which Mulligrub belongs: he is essentially a clown/cartoon figure, who endures repeated physical humiliation: lathered in soap and left sitting alone, unseeing, with a coxcomb on his head in the act 2 shaving scene,[16] manhandled and put in the stocks in act 4, and finally brought to the gallows where he publicly confesses his faults in front of his community. In response to Cocledemoy's repeated tricks,

the Toronto production's Mulligrub became increasingly, hilariously angry — even as he occasionally tried to reclaim his dignity and composure through, for example, comically exaggerated deep breathing and a smile so painfully put-on that it only revealed how eaten up he remained inside. Alan Belerique playing the foolish vintner invited us to view (and laugh at) Mulligrub as an outrageously excessive and impotent comic fool. His performance relied on the audience maintaining its distance from Mulligrub so that through our laughter we aligned ourselves with the socially decorous norms that Mulligrub breaches with his excessive anger, and distanced ourselves from his foolishness.[17] Mulligrub's anger leads him to obsessively concoct revenge fantasies against Cocledemoy, which of course renders him distracted and more vulnerable to Cocledemoy in future encounters. Mulligrub's cartoonishness fosters this distance between Mulligrub and the audience. Although we see Mulligrub in repeated painful/embarrassing physical situations, he never seems truly harmed by his experiences, but comes back in subsequent scenes, physically whole and ready for more humiliation. The production's casting bolstered this comic effect: Belerique, a white-presenting man, was one of the tallest and most imposing members of the cast.[18] His size added to the exaggerated humour with which he stomped around the stage, ultimately throwing into relief just how impotent his masculine rage was. In the arrest scene in 4.5, the fact that two of the play's three constables were played by women of colour — Elvira Tang and Cheryl Cheung — both of whom also appeared smaller and less imposing next to Belerique, mitigated further the problematic aspects of seeing one of the play's 'foreign'-connected characters taken in on dubious charges. The two had already established themselves as charming figures, endearingly playing rock-paper-scissors against each other rather than keeping careful watch and enthusiastically throwing themselves into their role as 'Upstanding Constable' in their eager arrest of Mulligrub. In rehearsals, Noam Lior discussed this scene as potentially fraught, given that it showcases the arrest of a religious minority in a production staged in a modern city in North America where wrongful incarceration, overly punitive sentences, and police violence disproportionately affect minority populations — particularly men of colour. The Toronto casting effectively reversed the usual power dynamics of arrest. Belerique's Mulligrub, flanked by the two tiny constables, appeared to be in no real danger, leaving us free to laugh at his angst. The scene, then, perfectly aligns with Escolme's discussion of Laurent Joubert's prescriptive and ethical position on comic laughter in his *Treatise on Laughter* (1579); Joubert presumes that audiences will only laugh at 'light and inconsequential mishaps and improprieties' and not at circumstances where 'its subject is likely to be seriously pained'.[19]

Because Mulligrub is 'properly punished for his foolishness and unpleasant foul deed', his near-hanging might read, in Joubert's context, as an example of a 'light and small' hurt that 'reinforces laughter'.[20] Indeed, Joubert's theory lines up with how Daniel Coo, who played the Toronto *Courtesan*'s Cocledemoy, read the Mulligrub-Cocledemoy plot. When asked at the rehearsal workshop whether he viewed Cocledemoy's treatment of Mulligrub as cruel, Coo answered no, because Cocledemoy is teaching Mulligrub a necessary lesson about not cheating members of the community. Coo understood Cocledemoy as a reformative character, akin to the virtuous allegorical figures in a morality plot. Coo's view was supported, he felt, by the fact that Cocledemoy — though he definitely enjoys the game of outwitting and stealing from other characters — ultimately returns all of the items he steals. When Tisefew labels him a 'knave' along the same vein as Mulligrub, Cocledemoy responds, 'No knave, worshipful friend, no knave! For observe, honest Cocledemoy restores whatsoever he has got, to make you know that whatsoe'er he has done has been only *euphoniae gratia* — for wit's sake' (5.3.146–9). Recent editions have Cocledemoy return the goblets at this point; the Toronto production had him throw a large sack filled with all his stolen goods on the ground. Whether we believe that he intended to return the stolen goods all along — or only does so when publicly confronted about his stealing — is up to our own interpretation, but we can certainly make the argument that the Mulligrub-Cocledemoy plot is a comic morality plot where the actors are clownish tropes rather than realistic figures capable of lasting psychological harm.

The preceding, however, does not leave me feeling entirely easy about the Mulligrub-Cocledemoy plot. While watching the production I found myself earnestly laughing at the clown plot elements — both because the actors carried them off skilfully and because, I'm sure, I was primed to laugh at the recognizably comic structures of the Mulligrub-Cocledemoy scenes.[21] When I pass through the moment of immediate laughter and think about who I am laughing *at,* however, I am again troubled, both by the ease with which the onstage clowning can hide the (xenophobic?) implications of what is being laughed at and by concerns that the audience around me might be misreading the production's aims to satirize the play-text's misogynistic and xenophobic articulations. I worry over the potential harm audience laughter might cause those in the audience who occupy the same social position of the Mulligrubs, Franceschina, or Mary Faugh.

Noam Lior's essay in this issue outlines an alternate mode of producing the Mulligrub plot that highlights the psychological torment the vintner experiences at the gallows. I think the particular casting and emphasis on clowning throughout the Toronto production limited the emotional pathos available to Mulligrub

when he confronted his mortality — I myself experienced a mostly pleasurable schadenfreude at Mulligrub's comical distress. But the play also effectively rounds back on the Mulligrub plot in a way that invites us to reconsider the justice of its events by paralleling Cocledemoy and Freevill (the play's two tricksters) and offering, in the Freevill plot, a trickster narrative funny in almost exclusively anxious modes. In the main plot, a trickster (Freevill) teaches a fallen man (Malheureux) to repent of his sinful appetites by the threat of imminent execution. Reading this plot alongside the seemingly lighter Cocledemoy-Mulligrub plot challenges the easiness of our earlier laughter and invites us to consider whether, even if Cocledemoy's tricks cause no lasting physical harm, they are not as 'hurtless' as he tries to persuade us.

'Dear woes cannot speak': Laughing at Beatrice

The play's main plot featuring Freevill, Malheureux, Franceschina, and Beatrice is far from 'hurtless'. Freevill cruelly employs the same disguising and trickery that Cocledemoy uses on the Mulligrubs to torment Franceschina, Malheureux, and Beatrice. The latter is especially heinous given that Beatrice is arguably the play's true moral centre. Freevill's treatment of Beatrice is further symptomatic of his inability to function harmoniously within a community. Rather than using his wits and the power of laughter to unite, he deploys these things solely to humiliate and punish foes (like Franceschina) and friends (Beatrice and Malheureux) alike.

The presence of Beatrice, however, particularly complicates *Courtesan*'s main plot, which operates in the register of Jacobean city comedy. City comedy, set predominantly in London (or, as in Jonson's *Volpone,* in an obvious analogue for London), focuses on themes of economic competitiveness and exploitation; cuckoldry and sex work; immigration and global trade; and the general conditions of life in crowded urban centres, including poverty, disease, and pollution. Middleton's city comedies generally adopt a warmer attitude towards urban communities and their problems, with plays like *A Trick to Catch the Old One* and *A Mad World, My Masters* dramatizing the forgiveness of sexual promiscuity and families taking part in practical and felicitous cuckoldry that enables wealth to be shared amongst the community. Jonson and Marston adopt a more cynical view of city problems, whereas Middleton sticks to having would-be exploiters and egotistical social climbers as the butt of city comedy competitiveness and exploitation. In Jonson's *Volpone,* for example, the Avocatori of Venice separate Celia from her wealthy abusive husband; rather than granting her autonomy, however, they send

her home to her father (her dowry trebled), perhaps to be married off for social and economic gains once again.

Surrounded by scheming and competitive men and women, Beatrice fits awkwardly into the community of *The Dutch Courtesan.* Her fiancé enthusiastically defends the virtues of brothels and resists her encouragement 'not to be extreme' (2.1.49) in his expression of love and desire. Even her own respectable sister freely lambastes undesirable but persistent suitors with vulgar references to their 'gooseturd-green teeth' (3.1.21) and asserts that 'I had as lief they would break wind in my lips' (24–5). Beatrice's commitment to her rational love and to 'severe modesty' (36) seems inexplicable. Indeed, the 'feisty-but-chaste' maid Crispinella who speaks her mind, rejects suitors at will, and refuses to be bound by conventions of complete and sober chastity is a recognizable and often celebrated figure of city comedy.[22] Beatrice's severe modesty already risks feeling out of date to progressive younger modern audiences that hold more positive views around women and sex; but her attitudes seem out of date even by the norms of early modern drama.[23]

Modern actors might be tempted to render Beatrice's conservatism risible, inviting the audience to laugh at her too-sweet and naively forgiving nature and pointing out her incongruity in the play's vulgar environment. The Toronto *Courtesan* production did garner some humour from her too-good persona in the 4.4 confrontation between Franceschina and Beatrice. Carmen Kruk played Beatrice at this moment as earnestly, tearfully distraught, and yet the scene was funny. Part of the comicalness came from Lior's direction that Kruk deliver Beatrice's response to Franceschina's revelations, 'I think you say not true' (4.4.75), as though 'this were the meanest thing Beatrice has ever said in her life' (my paraphrase). The humour lies in Beatrice's underwhelming ability to fight back in the play's cruel urban environment, an inability that renders her at once pathetic and sympathetic. Franceschina's response to Beatrice's too-gentle nature, however, garnered the rest of the humour in the scene. Franceschina delivers the news in person with the cruel aim of causing Beatrice pain (2.2.224; 5.1.96–9). While she does succeed in upsetting Freevill's fiancée, she fails to provoke in Beatrice the same gross anger that makes Franchechina herself now revolting to Freevill and Malheureux. Instead, Kruk's Beatrice tearfully offered to 'love [Franceschina] the better' since she 'cannot hate what [Freevill] affected' (4.4.59–60). Quintus performed Franceschina's reaction to Beatrice's generosity with hopping frustration: Beatrice's goodness proves unexpectedly, hilariously powerful, and we laugh in her service, even as we feel pleasurable pity for her sorrow.[24]

'[L]est [war] should come home to their own doors': Men's Violent Communities

The unexpectedly strong pathos of Kruk's Beatrice threw into relief Freevill's cruelty. The Toronto production attempted to avoid, if possible, reducing Beatrice to a comic trope à la Mulligrub and Cocledemoy in order to explore the play's possible critique of men's hypocritical treatment of women. Elsewhere in this issue, Meghan Andrews observes that Marston's play takes up the Patient Grissil/Griselda romance narrative, where a husband tests his wife by subjecting her to increasingly painful experiences (including taking away her children, 'divorcing' her, and forcing her to serve at the wedding of his supposed new bride). The patient Griselda narrative tests a wife's willingness to uphold those three virtues most commonly associated with ideal women: chastity, silence, and obedience. Women's lack of chasteness in city comedy *might* have justified Freevill's test[25] — except that in the famous Boccaccio version of Griselda, the narrator concludes by characterizing such tests as already outmoded in the fourteenth century: 'Who but Griselda could have suffered dry-eyed and with a serene countenance the harsh and unprecedented proofs that Gualtieri put her to? It would have served him right if he had come upon a wife who, when he turned her out of doors in her shift, had found another man to shake her skin and even provide her with a new dress in the bargain'.[26] Freevill's testing of Beatrice is old-fashioned, hypocritical (given his own lack of chaste behaviour that risks bringing 'unsound'ness into the newlyweds' marriage bed), and seems particularly cruel given that he does not appear at all anxious that she might cuckold him. In his defence of the brothels in 1.1, he seems more worried that men (like him) will bring the threat of cuckoldry into his home than that Beatrice will go out whoring. The brothels are necessary because they keep other men busy and away from the house where Beatrice is chastely ensconced. His reasons for 'testing' her by telling her that Freevill is dead seem designed merely to arrange a pleasurable spectacle for his own eyes:

> I will go and reveal myself — Stay! No, no!
> Grief endears love. Heaven, to have such a wife
> Is happiness to breed pale envy in the saints!
> Thou worthy dove-like virgin without gall,
> ….
> with what a suffering sweetness, quiet modesty,
> Yet deep affection, she received my death!
> And then with what a patient, yet oppressed kindness

> She took my lewdly intimated wrongs.
> Oh, the dearest of heaven! (4.4.88–99)

In this moment, her pain becomes his pleasure; he delights at seeing the extent of her grief and love for him, and even decides to extend the period of her suffering to manipulate her into being even happier when she finally learns that he is still alive (with perhaps the added benefit that her relief and joy will prompt her to forgive his 'lewdly intimated wrongs').

This moment highlights Freevill's role as a Machiavellian director who uses his wits to arrange painful encounters between his friends and acquaintances and who takes pleasure in watching the drama of other people's sufferings. His delight in Beatrice's sorrow echoes his earlier eavesdropping on Malheureux in 1.2. Having introduced the celibate Malheureux to the stunning Francheschina, Freevill secretly watches his supposed friend's struggles to understand and cope with his newfound and painful desire, gleefully noting 'he's caught. Laughter eternal!' (1.2.155–6) before emerging to mockingly parrot Malheureux's praise of Franceschina back at him.

In his director's talk presented at the 'Sex, Religion, and Xenophobia' conference in March 2019, Lior articulated that one aspect of the play he had been thinking about through the production was the way that adolescent boys are given very little guidance for navigating confusing and powerful feelings — including incipient lust — and instead learn to cope with their confusion via teasing and cruelty. Men having failed to learn to engage with each other openly and honestly, and thus connecting with others only in ways that are cruel and humiliating, has shaped adult masculinity. Lior located this discussion in the context of the Children of the Queen's Revels, the boy company who performed *The Dutch Courtesan,* but his comments are equally helpful in making sense of the comic motions of the play within the genre of city comedy, where characters — particularly men — compete for social and economic superiority. His comments drew my attention to how the community of men in the play is fractured, competitive, and rooted in violence and humiliation.

When Kruk's Beatrice heard the news of Freevill's death and betrayal, and asked Crispinella in a shatteringly devastated tone, 'Sister, shall we know each other in the other world?' (4.4.74), Brianna Maloney as Crispinella held Kruk/Beatrice's hands in deep concern. 'What means my sister?' she replied, all traces of her earlier sharp tongue utterly abandoned. In the February rehearsal workshop, when Maloney's unavailability led us to cut all of Crispinella's lines from this scene, Kruk revealed that the new text, with Crispinella's lines removed, had

the unintended effect of heightening the emotional difficulty of performing this scene, as it suddenly felt like Beatrice was alone in her grief. Indeed, with the exception of 2.1, where Freevill serenades Beatrice, the two sisters always appear together on stage — usually in their private rooms with their nurse Putifer. They offer us a sense of closeness, support, and friendship between the two sisters lacking in the play's male-dominated scenes.

Act 1 scene 1 introduces nearly all of the play's men (excepting Cocledemoy, Sir Hubert, and Sir Lionel) together in one go. This scene affords a production the opportunity to clearly mark out the men's characters, motives, and their closeness to one another through symbolic blocking. In the Toronto production, Mulligrub entered with Freevill and Malheureux flanking him, clapping his back and laughing uproariously while the vintner scowled. Tisefew and Caqueteur followed behind, and the four young gentlemen pantomimed around Mulligrub the story of Cocledemoy, Mary Faugh, and the blind harper in the tale of the Mulligrubs' stolen goblets. Mulligrub stood in the centre as the lads took turns playing their roles in the story and laughing mockingly when not performing. Clearly Mulligrub, though well-known to the young men, was not a part of their community. Humour and laughter in this instance marked off lines of inclusion and exclusion in the male community.[27] Once Mulligrub had departed, the group of men broke down even further, with Tisefew and Caqueteur, standing downstage, their backs to Malheureux and Freevill, holding a private conversation about Tisefew's ring (a prop tied to the competition over Crispinella). They departed shortly after, leaving Freevill and Malheureux alone on stage to discuss the merits of brothels. The scene laid out the tiers of relational closeness amongst the men of the play while also laying bare the fault lines dividing them. Following this scene, the men do not appear all together on stage until the masque in act 4, and then again in the resolution at the gallows. When they do meet, in pairs and triplets, they often do so as competitors: Tisefew and Freevill visit the sisters together in 3.1; when Caqueteur joins them later in the scene, Tisefew warns Crispinella that he is approaching as his love rival. The two men (albeit at Crispinella's behest) hide themselves to watch her set him up in a braggadocio lie — at which point they jump out of hiding to laugh at the embarrassed Caqueteur, once again using laughter as a means of marking lines of social dominance. Within this interaction Tisefew and Freevill appear tied in their social standing — and in some ways they are foils to one another as the play's two successful young suitors. They seem, nevertheless, to have very little in the way of friendship — they are mostly apart from each other throughout the play and though they end the play as brothers-in-law, they never address each other in fraternal terms.

The young men's relationship with Cocledemoy is similarly cold. Although Freevill and Cocledemoy too are parallels of each other, occupying a similar position as the witty trickster of the main and sub plots, the two are not in any way close. Cocledemoy almost never interacts with the younger men — meeting them only in 1.2 and 5.3. Moreover, Cocledemoy, with his bawdy songs ('Maids on their backs / Dream of sweet smacks' [4.5.75–6]), vulgar expressions ('I'll make him fart crackers!' [143]), and nights spent drinking at pubs with courtesans, belongs to a cruder social class than Freevill and Malheureux. In the Toronto production the groups were further marked apart along age line, with Coo being visibly older than Eldridge, George Worrall (Malheureux), Ross Slaughter (Caqueteur), and Victoria Urquhart (Tisefew). The Toronto *Courtesan* played out the meeting among Freevill, Malheureux, and Cocledemoy in 1.2 in a way that highlighted the power differentials between them. When Freevill and Malheureux entered, Cocledemoy was crawling on the floor. Moments earlier, he had bent (arthritically) to kiss Mary Faugh's foot, and then, startled by Malheureux and Freevill's presence, had toppled over. When Eldridge as Freevill delivered the warning that Mulligrub was seeking revenge against Cocledemoy, he first stood over him smugly and then knelt condescendingly to wag his finger at the clown's exploits. The scene conveyed Freevill's superiority over Cocledemoy as well as his detached enjoyment at watching Cocledemoy and Mulligrub compete to outwit each other without caring who won.

Male community in *Courtesan* is based on competition. Just as Freud predicts, laughter is a symptom of this competition and is always levelled *against* someone. Someone is always winning and always losing in the men's jokes. Nowhere is this phenomenon more apparent than in the relationship between Freevill and Malheureux. Some critics have argued Freevill is the play's hero and moral centre,[28] but while he occupies a similar position in the main plot as Cocledemoy in the subplot, I am not as convinced that his tests and tricks are reformative in the same way that Cocledemoy's might be charitably read. One might argue that in his rigid rejection of courtesans and sexual desire, Malheureux falls victim to irrational excess that needs tempering. But Freevill does not try to break Malheureux from his celibacy by means of lawful married love or desire; rather, he overwhelms him with a different form of excess — the unlawful and potent sexuality of the courtesan. He then watches Malheureux painfully struggle with the desire that overwhelms his very sense of self. Seeing the play on stage drew my attention quite sharply to the number of times Malheureux articulates his sense that he has lost himself—'I am / No whit myself' (2.2.75–6); 'I am not now myself, no man' (4.2.28) — or worries he may be out of his mind — 'I must not rave' (2.2.97). He

describes himself as 'taken uncollected suddenly' (194), and dwells on the failure of his reason: 'my lust, not I, before my reason would' (3.1.195); 'There is … no reason in desire' (4.2.11–12). Only once he has escaped hanging can he finally say, 'I am myself' (5.3.65), in some relief. Malheureux's plight on stage was funny, largely owing to Worrall's earnest and boyish performance. But this portrayal was mixed with pathos, as, articulating his confused inner state with pained expression and anxious tone, he seemed deeply wounded by the lust that threatened to undo his sense of self.

His pain took on an increasingly distressed urgency following Franceschina's temptation of him to commit murder. Malheureux battles with self-loathing: 'man's but man's excrement, man breeding man / As he does works' (2.2.228–9). While he appears to find relief in his decision to tell Freevill 'all' (253), this decision tips Freevill and Malheureux's relationship from what might be described as adolescent bullying into the genuine threat of violence as Freevill suddenly realizes that city comedy's competition and deception could be turned against him. (That is, if Malheureux had been persuaded by Franceschina, he might have schemed against and murdered his best friend for sexual gain.) Following Malheureux's revelation, Freevill adopts a less light-hearted view of courtesans, now describing sex with Franceschina as repulsive, like sleeping with a 'statue, a body without a soul, a carcass three months dead' (2.1.137–8) where previously he had praised her as 'pretty, nimble-eyed Dutch Tannakin; … a soft, plump round-cheeked *froe* that has beauty enough for her virtue, virtue enough for a woman, and woman enough for any reasonable man' (1.2.158–62). When Malheureux rejects Freevill's invitation to abandon his desire for Franceschina, Freevill decides to punish his friend, with a swiftness and lack of hesitation that suggests he is latching onto any excuse to humiliate his friend. When we next see Malheureux he is being set up to be arrested and murdered.

The scenes in which Malheureux is arrested and nearly hanged were still funny in the Toronto *Courtesan*. When Malheureux attempted to persuade Franceschina of how he had murdered and disposed of Freevill's body, he adopted a weak imitation of a heroic manly pose that was clearly and humorously unconvincing even to himself. Worrall's bewilderment foregrounded the comic potential of the others on stage, as the crowd of eager Constables, Tisefew (documenting his confession on his mobile phone),[29] the delighted Franceschina, and angry Sir Lionel Freevill erupted from their shared hiding space and collared him. Worrall continued to play the scene with an earnest boyishness that made him seem comically small and impotent. Poor Malheureux's lust had landed him in an extremely inconvenient situation!

But this same boyishness deprived Worrall's Malheureux of the invulnerability of Belerique's cartoonish Mulligrub and lent a fragile pathos to the character that made my laughter at him anxious. I grew increasingly uneasy as Malheureux faced the noose with that very layer of psychological realism that was absent in the play's clown subplot. This Malheureux felt a real and lasting fear of his impending death. When Freevill, at the last possible moment, revealed that he was alive after all (with a wide grin and an extremely jaunty 'farewell!'), the audience laughed — but the easy comedy was undercut by Worrall's reaction to the news: a mixture of stunned disbelief, relief, and then, as he joined the play's upper-middle-class characters on the balcony, sadness. Freevill and Tisefew took the hands of their soon-to-be-brides in a moment of joyful reunion, but Malheureux stood apart, clearly still processing his recent traumatic experience. He reluctantly understands, in these moments, that his closest friend has played a violent joke on him, viciously turning Malheureux's entire community against him, bringing him to the brink of death, and forcing him to humiliatingly lay bare his lust and terror in a public forum.

Haunting this scene, moreover, is the real and deadly possibility that Freevill might not have revealed himself in time if he had so desired. Freevill's merry laughter in the face of his revelation as 'best trickster' is a violent act towards Malheureux. These are not the actions of a man simply concerned with leading his friend away from moral danger. This is Freevill's revenge for Malheureux's daring — for even a moment — to think that he could betray Freevill and murder him for personal gain. Freevill demonstrates that, in the city comedy competition, he has the best wit and the most control. Freevill is the one who draws the outlines of the community, the boundaries of friendship, and the limits of the joke.

I can, of course, only make claims about the direction of my laughter throughout this production — and I acknowledge that my familiarity with the play throughout its rehearsal process has deeply shaped my laughter, pleasure, and anxiety. I have no way of telling if other audience members laughed with similar anxiety at Malheureux and Beatrice's pain. Others in the audience may have chosen to align themselves with the direction of Freevill's laughter, and derived pleasure from his cruelty. Seeing the play in a production that sought to balance and explore both early modern and contemporary modes of humour, however, demonstrated to me the play's potential — driven by its multiply layered and jostling comic modes — to reflect on the work of laughter in creating and dividing communities, committing and repairing violence, and defining ethics and values.[30] As audiences shift between the comic modes and emotional registers of the play in production, they are likely to discover parallels between scenes

that seem more innocuous (the Mulligrubs) and ones that are more overtly cruel (Freevill, Malheureux, Franceschina, and Beatrice) and, through these parallels, become aware of what they are laughing at and the costs of that laughter. While we will never know how early modern audiences responded to the play, arguably these same jostling comic juxtapositions were also available to audiences then, and audiences in 1604 may have been similarly moved to reflection.

Notes

I would like to thank the cast of the Toronto *Courtesan* for their thoughtful and hard work throughout rehearsals and production. Their insight into the play's characters and tone have allowed me to think more complexly about the text and its interpretative possibilities.

1 Albrecht Classen, ed., *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Oxford, 2010), https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110245486.

2 Bridget Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (London, 2014), 59–62, 67–8, https://doi.org/10.5040/9781408179703; John Morreall, *Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humor* (Chichester, 2009), 4–8, 11.

3 Henri Bergson, 'Laughter', in *Comedy,* ed. Wylie Sypher (New York, 1956), 66ff; Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious* [1905], https://www.SigmundFreud.net, 108–9, 122.

4 Freud, *Jokes,* 73.

5 Although even here laughter is unstable: what if, for example, an immigrant woman is also sitting in the audience of a play where one of the final 'jokes' appears to be that of an immigrant being arrested and led off stage to be whipped? Such an audience might be divided rather than unified in their responses, with some participants aligning with the marginalized characters who are the objects of the play's jokes.

6 Classen, ed., *Laughter,* 265, 165, 201, 215, 429.

7 Nicholas Ridout, *Stage Fright, Animals, and Other Theatrical Problems* (Cambridge, 2006), 136, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511617669.

8 Ibid, 142.

9 Escolme, *Emotional Excess,* xxv–xxxiii. Escolme's work has also been invaluable in helping me unpack the complicated and contradictory modes of humour in Marston's play. Her chapter on comedy astutely sums up the difficulties we face in attempting to theorize how early modern laughter operated, rightly noting that comedy and laughter are culturally situated and laden with competing and differently affective responses (56). I would emphasize the extent to which laughter is *personally* situated. My experience researching sexual violence in contemporary performances has led to several instances where aspects of plays that made me distinctly anxious (jokes rooted in rape humour, for example) left me feeling alienated from what appeared to be collective audience laughter. Even when the dominant aesthetic and cultural trends direct a largely shared affective response, there are unpredictable responses of resistance and difference. We cannot — even if we conduct audience surveys — ever fully know what people are laughing at, or why. If we cannot know

what a large audience with diverse cultural and experiential backgrounds is laughing at now, then how can we begin to understand what an audience might have been laughing at more than 400 years ago?

10 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan,* ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018). All further references to the play are to this edition.

11 Alternate possibilities are available in production, however; as with Isabella in the concluding moments of 5.1 of *Measure for Measure,* Beatrice here has no written lines that provide cues as to how she is feeling after witnessing Freevill's cruelly didactic revelations; nor does the scene give any indication as to the nature of Freevill and Beatrice's interactions in its final lines. Does she find herself disturbed or even repulsed by his humiliation of Malheureux here and accept Freevill with less eagerness than she did in 5.2? The default assumption, based on her 'wonder' (5.2.58), is that she fully recovers from her pain, but as this essay and the Toronto *Courtesan* demonstrate, more emotionally complex responses from Beatrice are possible that interrogate the presumed happy ending.

12 Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton, 2009), 204, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400824939.

13 Simon W. du Toit, '"A Greedie Desire": Performing Puritan Passion', *Ecumenica: A Journal of Theatre and Performance* 2.2 (2009), 68.

14 *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), s.v. 'gad', v. 1.

15 du Toit, '"A Greedie Desire"', 68.

16 In Q, Cocledemoy instructs Mulligrub to shut his eyes to keep out the suds, and then places a coxcomb on his head; the Toronto production replaced the 'coxcomb' with a shower cap that Cocledemoy comically pulled down over Mulligrub's eyes like a blindfold.

17 Classen, *Laughter,* 5. Of course, as Classen points out, some audience members may laugh sympathetically or self-deprecatingly as they recognize themselves in the object of laughter.

18 I use the terms 'white-presenting' and 'male-presenting' to acknowledge that my reading of this scene rests on my own interpretations of the actors' bodies, while acknowledging that the actors themselves may identify, in terms of both gender and race, differently and more complexly than I have read them. To me it seemed that the Toronto *Courtesan*'s casting — with the officers as petite women of colour and Mulligrub as a large, white-presenting man — inverted and tempered some of the potential tragic violence of the scene.

19 Qtd in Escolme, *Emotional Excess,* 60.

20 Qtd in Escolme, *Emotional Excess,* 61.

21 Freud, *Jokes,* 137, argues that a person being placed in a recognizably comic situation can be enough to elicit our laughter and render that person a comical object.

22 The fact that these criticisms resonate tonally with both Beatrice's earlier warning to Freevill in 2.1 that he not 'deceive' her (1.2.53) and with Franceschina's condemnation of men's hypocrisy regarding women and sex ('De very enjoying us loseth us; and, when you ha' made us hateful, you only hate us' [2.2.132–4]) validates, in my eyes, a production or critical reading of the play that satirically punctures any earnest presentation of Freevill as the play's moral centre. For a concise review of critics who have read Freevill as the play's moral hero, see William M. Hamlin, 'Common Customers in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* and Florio's Montaigne', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 52.2 (2012), 112, https://doi.org/10.1353/sel.2012.0015.

23 Beatrice's commitment to chastity is nevertheless understandable, however, when we consider comedies like *Much Ado* and *Volpone* where the punishments for women suspected of infidelity are severe, ranging from defamation and physical assault to (in the case of *Volpone*'s Celia) sexual violence. Claudio casts Hero off, in many productions throwing her bodily to the ground, and she ends up having to stage a funeral before she can metaphorically rise with a clean reputation. Corvino threatens Celia with physical imprisonment and what the play heavily implies to be anal rape, for the 'crime' of waving her handkerchief at an apparent apothecary, in her attempt to secure a cure for her husband's jealousy. Even Freevill articulates his expectations that, unlike him, Beatrice should remain chaste, when he anxiously defends brothels as a means to shore up the privacy of his own sexual property.

24 This moment provides a rebuttal to Bergson, 'Laughter', 63, who argues that pity and laughter are mutually exclusive.

25 On this topic see particularly Richard Horwich, 'Wives, Courtesans, and the Economics of Love in London City Comedy', *Comparative Drama* 7.4 (1973–4), 291–309, https://doi.org/10.1353/cdr.1973.0024.

26 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron,* trans. J.G. Nichols (New York, 2008), 647.

27 Classen, *Laughter,* 3.

28 Carol Pollard, 'Immortal Morality: Combinations of Mortality Types in *All's Well That Ends Well* and *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Cahiers Élisabéthains: A Biannual Journal of English Renaissance Studies* 25 (1984), 53–9, https://doi.org/10.1177/018476788402500108.

29 While I am using male pronouns here to maintain consistency for ease of reading, in the Toronto production Victoria Urquhart played Tisefew as a woman.

30 See Michael Cordner's essay, 'The Dutch Courtesan and 'The Soul of Lively Action'', in this issue, on the unresolved chaos of the play.

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Noam Lior

'Unwholesome Reversions': Contagion as Dramaturgy in *The Dutch Courtesan*

Karen Britland argues that The Dutch Courtesan *uses contagion not only in its literal invocation of disease but also as a conceptual framework. The proximity of episodes invites an audience to read across plots so that seemingly separate threads become metaphorically cross-contaminated, providing tacit counter-narratives and refutations. This paper examines some of the conceptual contaminations presented by the play, moving from its consideration of venereal disease and human migration to the ways in which the emotional pain inflicted on its more liminal characters — Beatrice and Mulligrub — can be read as contaminating the positive narratives put forth by Freevill and Cocledemoy.*

The Dutch Courtesan is a play abundantly concerned with movement and circulation: of people, of goods, of ideas, and of diseases. As an early example of city comedy, the play ties its many forms of restless motion to the excitement and anxiety of life in a city as circulation and proximity generate an energy that is simultaneously thrilling and threatening. Karen Britland argues that the play's concern with disease and contagion links to its depiction of urban life in which freedom of movement (primarily for men) opens up opportunities for dalliance while also creating risks of infection.[1] Britland pushes the notion further, expanding the idea of contagion beyond the play's themes to its conceptual framework, by arguing that the proximity of tropes or events invites an audience to analyze them relationally so that ideas or images from one scene cross over and metaphorically infect another scene or plot. Thus, Britland argues, Freevill's musical wooing of Beatrice in 2.1, as a self-contained episode, is a sincere and conventional romantic moment, but its proximity to the combination of music, sexuality, and commodification in the preceding scene with Freevill and Franceschina tacitly critiques, or

Noam Lior (noam.lior@utoronto.ca), director of the 2019 *Dutch Courtesan*, is a co-founder and production dramaturge for Shakespeare at Play (www.shakespeareatplay.ca) and completed his PhD at the University of Toronto's Centre for Drama, Theatre and Performance Studies.

at least complicates, the trope. While the characters do not explicitly acknowledge the linking of these ideas, nevertheless the result is that romance is 'contaminated' by its proximity to 'grubby selfishness and hypocrisy'.[2] Such 'contamination' is a function of spectator or reader attention that treats the play like a pointillist painting, assembling an overall picture by combining its individual particles into larger patterns. Through this process of construction and the possibility that the individual particles will cross-contaminate in the spectator's imagination, Britland can claim that the play's 'portrait of city life … on the one hand, seems to endorse xenophobic violence and yet, on the other, gives its audience the tools to examine and reject such knee-jerk reactions'.[3]

'Contamination' and its analogues are loaded terms, emphasizing the negative aspect of what is surely a two-way exchange. The sincere romance of the Crispinella/Tisefew plot, for example, can inject some positivity or sweetness into Franceschina's storyline. My focus here is on that negative aspect, however, as it provides a useful rebuttal to some of the more toxic aspects of the play. *The Dutch Courtesan* contains numerous instances of zero-sum games, in which not only does one character's or group's prosperity come at the expense of others, but also that expense is elided or ignored in order to present the particular game — or model of circulation — as positive and beneficial. This article examines instances in which *The Dutch Courtesan* introduces seemingly positive models of circulation or exchange then offers proximate examples that refute or complicate these models by presenting their hidden costs or consequences, conceptually 'contaminating' the former with the latter in the audience's imagination. I begin with some more visible examples of this strategy, considering the play's concern with literal contagion followed by the less overt treatment of international relations and migration. I then consider some less obvious versions of conceptual contagion in what might be termed the play's emotional economies, positing emotional suffering — of Beatrice and Mulligrub in particular — as an element that can contaminate and contest the tidy moral arguments offered by the play's presumptive protagonists Freevill and Cocledemoy. My treatment of these emotional economies includes the possibilities of performance, drawing on the Toronto production from March 2019. Performance choices that highlight the emotional suffering of the play's more liminal characters offer the opportunity for a modern critical interpretation that probably contradicts or exceeds the play's original intentions but creates alternative resonances for a modern audience.

In the play's first scene, Freevill, the ostensible leading man, makes an analogy linking the political with the personal, connecting international affairs with extramarital affairs. His argument comes as part of Freevill's verbally dexterous

defence of brothels and prostitution, in a debate with his morally upright companion Malheureux. When Malheureux demands the reason for this position, Freevill elaborates: 'Marry, lest my house should be made one. I would have married men love the stews, as Englishmen love the Low Countries, wish war should be maintained there, lest it should come home to their own doors' (1.1.52–4). This analogy, spanning from England's relationship with the Netherlands to husbands' relationship with brothels via London's relationship with the suburbs, offers stable models of circulation in which movement of funds, of forces, and of individuals is controlled, its meaning fixed and final. This comparison, appropriately, comprises many moving parts, and it deserves some detailed examination as it touches on several of the play's concerns as well as some of its modern resonances. The core analogy compares foreign policy with domestic life, figuring fornication or seduction as equivalent to war. The deleterious effects of war are death and destruction of property, while unregulated sexual appetite (in Freevill's limited perspective) risks cuckoldry. Englishmen 'love'[4] the Low Countries by supporting the Protestant Netherlands' wars against Catholic Spain. The English avoid having the conflict arrive at their own shores by providing financial support and limited military assistance to the Dutch. In Freevill's example, then, English support keeps the conflict both contained and distant, and its single significant consequence is the relative safety of England. That is to say, the war still presumably causes death and destruction, but those costs get deferred and displaced onto others, to England's benefit. Similarly, on the other side of Freevill's analogy, brothels draw strife away from respectable homes, giving a release to libidinous energies that would otherwise threaten domestic harmony. At this point, the terms become ambiguous as the argument does not explain precisely how the availability of brothels would provide married men with peace of mind. The most likely possibility is the threat of cuckoldry: brothels provide an outlet for young men's affections, keeping them from seducing married women and so enabling husbands to relax. Thus, in Freevill's imagined future of marital comfort, his security as a husband — a role that frequently includes anxiety about cuckoldry, as his father Lionel Freevill demonstrates later in the play (4.4.20) — will increase because the brothels will attract libidinous young men and give them a place to release their sexual desires away from honest wives.[5] Curiously — or appropriately, depending on how one reads Freevill — this interpretation largely ignores the possibility of wives having any sexual agency, or at least that such agency might lead them out of the home or toward brothels. The argument also conveniently ignores the fact that Freevill is in that very moment a bachelor on his way to a brothel, implying that the need driving Freevill to the brothel as a bachelor will vanish once he

becomes a husband. Regardless of the specifics, Freevill imagines 'the stews' as equivalent to 'the Low Countries': a distant horizon that draws off and contains conflict, leaving the home front untroubled. The resulting model circumscribes and controls circulation in a structure that is not only stable but also perpetually advantageous to England, to married men, and to Freevill himself.

While no one directly confronts Freevill with a counter-argument to his tidy fantasy, its proximity to other characters' perspectives prompts an indirect resistance. Crispinella, sister to Freevill's fiancée Beatrice, articulates a link between the stews and upstanding citizens' homes, the connection being literal contagion. Expostulating on gender inequality, specifically as it applies to marriage, Crispinella describes a series of hypothetical circumstances, all based on the central claim that, in marriage as in society at large, women 'must' while men 'may' (4.1.29–35). That is, social norms offer men a variety of freedoms while presenting women with binding strictures. Crispinella's list crescendos with the assertion that 'if [the husband is] a loose liver, we [wives] must live upon unwholesome reversions' (32). Curiously, editions of *The Dutch Courtesan* tend not to gloss 'loose liver', meaning one who lives loosely, presumably by sleeping with prostitutes and/or having extra-marital affairs. 'Unwholesome reversions' thus refers to venereal diseases contracted by the husband and transmitted to the wife, who would, in David Crane's phrasing, '"inherit" from [her] husband the pox he has acquired from a whore'.[6] In Crispinella's formulation of gender roles, wives are proscribed from enjoying extra-marital relations in the way that husbands can but are nevertheless subject to the consequences of those affairs. Britland points out that 'Reversion was a legal term, connoting the return of an estate to its original owner, or to that owner's heirs', a gloss that transforms sexually-transmitted infection into a kind of legal-biological-moral inheritance that wives derive from their husbands' philandering. Adding insult to injury, as Crispinella argues, men find sexual excitement in 'things got with fear and hoped with pleasure', in the thrill of affairs outside marriage, whereas 'duty stales and flats their appetite' (34–5). Married sex, lacking in the challenge and uncertainty of affairs, is thus dull and unappetizing, potentially to the point of causing impotence.[7] Contrary to Freevill's implication that marriage would contain his desire to frequent brothels, Crispinella argues that marriage and its attendant obligatory sex is precisely what drives men from the home to seek out sex elsewhere.[8] Whereas Freevill's formulation posits a stable system in which the movement of men from the city to the stews is unidirectional and beneficial, Crispinella reimagines the dynamic as subject to multiple corruptions, its consequences spreading by contagion to affect — and infect — both husband and wife.

As Meghan C. Andrews points out in her essay in this issue, Marston concretizes this uncontrolled movement through a prop. Beatrice's ring, which initially serves to mark her engagement to Freevill, changes hands repeatedly. The ring is given by Freevill to Malheureux as evidence for their concocted murder plot, then by Malheureux to Franceschina (indirectly, by way of the bawd Mary Faugh); Franceschina gives the ring to Freevill (at this point disguised as the French pander Don Dubon) with instructions to use it to taunt Beatrice with Freevill's infidelity. The ring thus begins as a conventional signifier of faith and monogamy but goes through multiple instances of corruption-through-contact, accumulating a variety of significations: romance, sex, friendship, contagion, commerce, betrayal, suffering. Beatrice's ring is one of two in the play, both of which get carefully tracked for some time only to disappear in the later scenes.[9] Compared to her earlier observations, which include descriptions of gallants' 'goose-turd-green teeth' (3.1.21) and the exclamation (or punchline) that, rather than kiss such gallants, Crispinella 'had as lief they would break wind in [her] lips' (24–5), her later talk of 'loose livers' and 'unwholesome reversions' is more genteelly poetic. The phrasing is sonorous, oblique, and further distanced from modern idiom, making it far more challenging for a modern actor to communicate the incisive invective of these key concepts to a modern audience. Brianna Maloney, our production's Crispinella, routinely conjured sympathetic laughter from audiences with much of Crispinella's material, which easily plays as a sharply-observed stand-up comedy routine. On this line, and the language of 'unwholesome reversions' and 'loose livers' however, Marston's idiom proved to be a solid barrier between early modern context and modern playgoers.

Where Crispinella's analysis provides a textual refutation of the domestic portion of Freevill's analogy, the play provides a contextual refutation to the international portion in the form of its title character. While the play's dialogue never overtly addresses Anglo-Dutch collaboration against Spain, the play's eponymous Dutch courtesan, Franceschina, emblematizes the influx of Dutch migrants and refugees entering London precisely because of the conflict Freevill describes.[10] Marjorie Rubright explores at length the ways in which the increased presence and visibility of Dutch immigrants in London links to the rise of Dutch characters on the early modern English stage.[11] The movement of migrants into — and through — London is a preoccupation of the play and is the logical result of the conflict that Freevill endorses, though neither Freevill nor Marston explicitly acknowledges the causal link. Though the argument here is far subtler than the very explicit connection that Crispinella makes, Franceschina — and, to a lesser extent, the Mulligrubs — represents part of the human cost of the arrangement

that Freevill praises, the unpleasant and largely unacknowledged consequence of conflict. Considered in this light, Franceschina is a foreign refugee sex worker rendered as an 'other' in the play due to the intersection of her gender, her social position, and her accent. Similarly, the Mulligrubs, the corrupt tavern-keepers of the play's subplot, are members of the Family of Love, a Protestant sect that traces its origins to the Netherlands.[12] The Mulligrubs' status as religious outsiders makes them suspect within the play's rendition of London society. Over the course of the play, Franceschina's multiply-outsider status marks her as precarious and enables Freevill (and later Malheureux) to displace onto her the blame for a variety of social ills; Mulligrub occupies a similar position of precarity, though on an inverse path. At the play's conclusion, Franceschina is ostracized, led off by officers 'to the extremest whip, and jail' (5.3.53) for soliciting Freevill's murder. Mulligrub, in a parallel trajectory, suffers a variety of private and public humiliations before reintegrating into the play's community, albeit with his outsider status still intact. At the play's conclusion though he escapes the noose Mulligrub seems just as likely to suffer the jests of Freevill and company, or the capricious cruelties of Cocledemoy, and has no greater recourse to civic justice than he did at the play's outset.

In this sense, the presence of Franceschina and the Mulligrubs in London acts as a kind of metaphorical contamination in that it collapses the conceptual distance between England and the Netherlands set up in Freevill's model of circulation. This model in which Freevill exults, then, not only produces urban types such as Franceschina and the Mulligrubs but also marks them as other, maintaining them in a precarious position within the city, a situation that works to Freevill's advantage (mostly), but which the audience can read more critically.

I want to be careful here because the unintended consequence of paralleling these two aspects of Freevill's analogy in this way is that the comparison figures migrants and refugees as analogous to disease in a manner that echoes the rhetoric of anti-immigrant demagogues from the early modern period to the present day. I certainly neither intend nor support such an argument, nor is it my contention that Marston (or, indeed, Freevill) offers such a comparison tacitly or explicitly. The play registers a variety of anxieties about migration and immigration, but they are more nuanced and less insidious than this emergent rhetoric might suggest. While the play does sometimes deploy its characters in ways that suggest metaphorical contagion, it in no way limits this tendency to its foreigners. Britland examines ways in which the play's dramaturgy 'foregrounds London's permeability' by having characters constantly irrupting into spaces that seem private or safe.[13] While Franceschina and the Mulligrubs move in this manner occasionally,

by far the worst offenders are Freevill and Cocledemoy, both of whom infect the play's many locations, virus-like, changing appearance, behaviour, and costume as necessary.

I would argue that Freevill and Cocledemoy can and should be read as agents of contamination in this play, though they both argue for the rightness of their respective causes. In this instance, the conceptual contagion that infects Freevill and Cocledemoy's claims to innocence relies on what we might call the play's emotional economies. Freevill and Cocledemoy both claim a virtuous or at least innocent action, but the suffering of other characters, which performance can elide or emphasize, resists this claim. Freevill's plan, the motivating action of the play's main plot, consists of an attempt to stabilize his own situation while avoiding its unpleasant consequences. Prior to the play's first scene, Freevill has been courting the respectable Beatrice while also regularly seeing (and presumably sleeping with) Franceschina. In the play's early scenes, Freevill schemes to free himself of Franceschina by introducing her to the innocent Malheureux, thus enabling him to pursue Beatrice unencumbered (though possibly already infected with 'unwholesome reversions'). As is typical for city comedies, the plan encounters a series of complications so that the relatively simple intended chicanery rapidly devolves into deceptions, disguises, and faked deaths with potentially lethal results for multiple characters. A number of threads are worth following here: Britland discusses Freevill's effort to place the consequences for his machinations onto Franceschina, an effort that may be unconvincing for the audience, but which is successful within the play as Franceschina is removed to imprisonment and 'extremest' whipping.[14] Freevill's treatment of Malheureux is similarly troubling, as the latter is brought to the gallows and made to believe that he is about to be executed for Freevill's supposed murder. The ostensible motive for this plot thread is a kind of shock treatment: Freevill explains to the audience that this near-death experience is meant to cure Malheureux of his fixation on Franceschina, and Malheureux explicitly forgives and thanks Freevill for this treatment, though his sincerity in that moment is open to question and can certainly be modulated in performance.

I wish to focus, however, on the consequences for Beatrice, whose fiancé abandons her almost immediately after their engagement; she then becomes convinced that he has died while also learning of his affair with Franceschina. Beatrice's suffering is difficult to calibrate, both on the page and on the stage. Apropos of her name, the character is loving, innocent, and patient to the point of absurdity. Beatrice's response when hearing of Freevill's death and betrayal is pity, piety, and prayer. In one of the play's most darkly comic moments, Beatrice commits

to loving Franceschina in Freevill's memory, much to Franceschina's chagrin (4.4.60). Overcome with emotion, Beatrice swoons and is carried in. The next time she appears, in 5.2, Beatrice is alone with Crispinella (onstage without their nurse for the only time in the play) and contemplating suicide, desolate at the thought of living in a world without either a living Freevill or a pure memory of his love. This moment of desolation and support is brief as Nurse Putifer interrupts the sisters' intimacy as does Freevill, still disguised as Don Dubon. Freevill continues his charade, offering to sing to Beatrice 'to make sweet [her] grief',[15] and his music causes Beatrice to swoon a second time, whereupon Freevill removes his disguise, though he resumes it shortly in order to defer full discovery until the final scene (5.2.32, 36–44).

Between these two moments of Beatrice's suffering, at the end of 5.1 Freevill stands alone on stage and soliloquizes on Beatrice's suffering (5.1.110–17). In contrast to the 'tearless woman' Franceschina, Beatrice weeps, showing an outward sign of inward goodness, virtue, and love. Like Tom Sawyer, Freevill lives to hear himself eulogized, which moves him to something like sincere appreciation, a recognition of depth of feeling if not necessarily reciprocation of it. This response is the closest that Freevill approaches to a moment of remorse and self-awareness, though lacking a great deal of depth. The trope of using women characters' suffering in order to support or produce male characters' motivation and interiority is depressingly familiar, though of course its resonance has changed over time.[16] Even if we accept Freevill's conversion as sincere, its examination is limited to reflecting on a choice between two kinds of women, and Freevill's claim to character growth roots itself in his assertion that wise men ought to choose the propriety of marriage represented by Beatrice rather than the hellish embrace of prostitution figured by Franceschina. In terms of an audience's interpretation, much here depends on how the actor — in collaboration with the director, dramaturge, costume designer, et al — presents Beatrice in the two bracketing scenes. Beatrice's commitment to loving Freevill and to cherishing his memory can easily be played up for laughs, reading as melodramatic, default positions of a one-note character rather than expressions of a sincere interiority. If Beatrice's reactions are slower, however, and invite an audience to see them as intentional and genuine, then they can work to undermine Freevill's supposed transformation. If Beatrice's suffering registers for an audience, then we see Freevill cause her intense pain and explicitly recognize that fact before immediately going back to cause more pain. The apology that follows is at best disingenuous, at worst perjured: Freevill praises Beatrice as 'the admired glory of [her] sex', denies that his love was ever 'false to [her]', and excuses his manipulations by claiming he only 'presumed to

try [her] faith too much' (5.2.60–2). In response to Crispinella's accusation of ill behaviour, Freevill equivocates and obfuscates, offering vague promises for later explanations that will turn present frowns into amusement. What has changed here is the object of Freevill's devotion, rather than his behaviour. While Freevill's shift from Franceschina to Beatrice can be read as a sincere conversion, the difference is entirely in whom he loves, rather than how he loves. At the play's conclusion as at its outset, Freevill's notion of 'love' remains bound up in deferred harm, in finding situations that are beneficial to him at others' expense.

Beatrice is innocent but not naïve. When she first appears in 2.1, she immediately expresses her inability to address Freevill in the manner of a courtesan, with 'a mistress' compliment, / Forced discourses, or nice art of wit' (2.1.11–12). Instead, Beatrice says, she can offer a set of negative virtues: 'Unsullen silence, unaffected modesty, / Unignorant shamefastness' (15–16). Unlike Mistress Mulligrub, who manages, at best, an ignorant shamefastness, Beatrice does not lack self-awareness. 'Unignorant shamefastness' suggests that her innocence is an active choice rather than a default state. She understands that there are other kinds of women in the world, that Freevill may associate with them, and that her own charms may pale in comparison. Beatrice articulates her faith in Freevill and her own vulnerability because of that faith, entreating him not to wrong her (19–23). At their next meeting, Beatrice reiterates this request twice in short succession, beseeching Freevill to 'be not tyrannous' and to 'wrong [her] not' (3.1.220–2). She again describes herself in contrast to an absent other: 'faith, my love's not lust' (221). Her innocence still represents a lack of skill, but she reconfigures it as an intentional resistance to a corrupted world. Beatrice repeatedly expresses her faith and trust in Freevill and repeatedly entreats him not to betray that trust, all of which makes Freevill's subsequent and near-immediate betrayal that much more pointed. His disregard for Beatrice's well-being amidst his praise for her virtue shocks not as intentional cruelty but rather as brutal negligence.

Freevill's treatment of Malheureux becomes a potential cross-contaminant to his treatment of Beatrice. Through a sequence of disguises and deceptions, Freevill causes both Malheureux and Beatrice to suffer emotionally and to prepare for and accept death, in Beatrice's case through a contemplation of suicide, in Malheureux's through the threat of hanging. The goal in Malheureux's case is to purge him of a love both excessive and attached to an unsuitable target. In this respect, Malheureux's love for Franceschina is eerily similar to Beatrice's love for Freevill, and an audience might reasonably hope that they both find a cure. Beatrice's last line in the play strongly suggests that that her attachment to Freevill is intact, though the moment is ambiguous. After Freevill discovers himself, he assumes

his disguise again for Tisefew's entrance (5.2.77). Slightly later, as the company prepares to make its way to see the impending double execution, Beatrice invites Freevill — still in his disguise as the pander Don Dubon — to attend them and to 'be [their] guide' (133). Freevill responds, 'I am your servant', prompting Tisefew to sarcastically suggest that Beatrice make Freevill/Don Dubon her 'love', a suggestion to which Beatrice enthusiastically and cheekily agrees (134–7). Tisefew's shocked ''Sdeath o' virtue!' (138) suggests that some action takes place here. The Toronto production had Beatrice spin Freevill into an embrace, and then dip him, an echo of their dance together in the masque of 4.1 but with her taking the role of active partner. This was a crowd-pleasing bit of business and provided both the actor and the character with a moment of agency, but also substantially let Freevill off the hook.

Where Freevill consistently defers the reckoning of his ethical and emotional debts, Cocledemoy insists that he has incurred no debt as he has caused no lasting harm. Here again, a focus on emotional suffering in performance contaminates Cocledemoy's argument. Over the course of the Mulligrub-Cocledemoy plot, Cocledemoy relieves his hapless victim of a succession of valuable objects, beginning with the theft of the goblets related in the play's opening scene, to the bag of cash in 2.3, the gold bowl in 3.3, and the salmon in 3.4. In addition to the material losses, Mulligrub also stands in danger of losing his dignity, his faith, his sanity, and — in the final scene — his wife and his life. The plot resolves with an exchange of forgiveness as Mulligrub — believing he is about to hang — pardons all who have wronged him (5.3.125–6). Cocledemoy, at this point disguised as a sergeant, presses Mulligrub to repeat this pardon before shedding his disguise to reveal his identity (135–40). Claiming that his actions were entirely 'for wit's sake', Cocledemoy proceeds to return all of Mulligrub's property, thus laying claim to his dubious status as 'honest Cocledemoy' (147–52). In the economic model that Cocledemoy suggests, his potentially-criminal actions are blameless because he has returned the goods to their owner, leaving Mulligrub financially unharmed. The counter-case, based on Mulligrub's emotional suffering, is more difficult than the case for Beatrice because Mulligrub is an overtly clownish, comic figure, his outsize bursts of choler far more exaggerated than her strained patience and credulity. Moreover, Mulligrub gets presented as a kind of social vice, a representative of a foreign-tinged religious minority and a self-avowed practitioner of unethical and illegal business practices. Even his confession before the noose is comically constructed, its terms suffering from either malapropism or intentional deception: 'If I owe any man anything, I do heartily forgive him' (103–5). If played with sincerity, however, Mulligrub's near-death

conversion can be genuinely moving, a difficult setting aside of his former choler and an embrace of virtue through forgiveness. Unlike Freevill, Mulligrub recognizes his past behaviour: reminded by Cocledemoy of his previous threats against him, Mulligrub avows, 'That hard heart of mine has procured all this, but I forgive as I would be forgiven' (139–40). As the play ties up its few remaining loose ends, Cocledemoy shifts rapidly from defending his own behaviour to an epilogue defending the play more generally, enjoining the audience to applaud 'if with content our hurtless mirth has been' (175). Not only has he received forgiveness and returned the offending goods (with the exception of Malheureux's purse, pilfered before the gallows), but also his actions have served to entertain and are thus blameless. Cocledemoy's calculation has no place for Mulligrub's emotional suffering: in the play's pattern of zero-sum games, Cocledemoy's amusement — and by extension, the audience's — has come at the expense of Mulligrub's fiscal, mental, and physical well-being, not to mention the health of his marriage.

The state of both Beatrice and Mulligrub at the play's conclusion is difficult to pin down. Beatrice remains on stage through much of 5.3, but speaks no lines in the scene, though she witnesses both averted executions and Crispinella's betrothal to Tisefew. The tidiness of the play's conclusion and the conventions of the comedy genre invite an audience to invest in the Freevill-Beatrice relationship, but Beatrice's silence, as well as Freevill's earlier treatment of her, leaves room for uneasiness, space for contaminating ideas to take hold. A production that calls attention to Beatrice's pain in earlier scenes makes it much more difficult for an audience to view their marriage with optimism, especially a modern audience who might already be more inclined to skepticism regarding Freevill's antics and Beatrice's long-suffering patience. In the plot's emotional development, Freevill is a perpetual bad debtor, forever promising that explanations, apologies, and amends will follow at a later date. Cocledemoy, meanwhile, offers present mirth and present laughter, insisting that there's no harm done as long as the goods have been returned and the audience had a good time. Both these arguments can be compelling as the characters proffering them can be dynamic and charming. While the play does not explicitly counter their arguments — Franceschina, the one character positioned to actively protest has already been carried forcibly off the stage — the pain that Freevill and Cocledemoy inflict upon Beatrice and Mulligrub respectively, in Britland's terms, 'gives [the] audience the tools to examine and reject'[17] their tidy conclusions. The consequences of their actions, though displaced onto others, contaminate and infect the professed innocence of their intentions.

Notes

1 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Karen Britland (London, 2018), 7. All further references to the play are to this edition.
2 Ibid, 3.
3 Ibid, 1.
4 This term is Freevill's first use of the word 'love' in the play, and it seems ironic if not deeply cynical that the play's presumptive romantic lead uses 'love' here to describe approval for a practice from which he stands to benefit rather than any kind of emotional or even sexual devotion.
5 Jean Howard goes further, describing the brothel as a 'buffer zone' that contains 'sexual assaults', a reading that pushes Freevill's attitude toward sex toward the military violence of the other half of the analogy. Jean E. Howard, 'Mastering Difference in *The Dutch Courtesan*', *Shakespeare Studies* 24 (1996), 108.
6 John Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane (London 1997), 4.1.35n, https://doi.org/10.5040/9781408162774.00000018.
7 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 191, 4.1.46n; *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Crane, 4.1.46n.
8 *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), s.v. 'duty', n. 3c notes that by this time 'duty' meant not only a moral or religious obligation but also a financial one: 'a payment to the public revenue levied upon the import, export, manufacture, or sale of certain commodities'. In Crispinella's accusation, married men treat sex with their wives as the price paid for marriage. See *Othello*'s Emilia, especially the social/sexual/financial/national betrayal inherent in 'Say that [men] slack their duties / And pour our treasures into foreign laps' (William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Tucker Brooke [New Haven, 1947], 4.3.88–9).
9 Beatrice's ring is last mentioned in 5.1 and does not reappear in dialogue or stage directions when Beatrice and Freevill reunite and reconcile in the following scene; the other ring, central to the Tisefew-Crispinella-Caqueter triangle, disappears after 3.1, though the Toronto production brought it back in 4.1 for Tisefew's proposal to Crispinella.
10 Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelganger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English literature and Culture* (Philadelphia, 2014), 39–42, https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812290066; Britland, *Dutch Courtesan*, 1.1.77n.
11 Rubright, *Doppelganger Dilemmas*, 42.
12 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 50–4.
13 Ibid, 54–5.

14 Ibid, 3.
15 In the Toronto production, as in Michael Cordner's York production, the song here reprised the wooing song used in 2.1.
16 The trope is now commonly known as 'fridging', thanks to Gail Simone's analysis of this phenomenon in comics. See "Women in Refrigerators", 1999, https://www.lby3.com/wir/.
17 *Dutch Courtesan*, ed. Britland, 1.

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A.D. Cousins and Daniel Derrin, eds. *Shakespeare and the Soliloquy in Early Modern English Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pp. 278. Hardback £75.00. ISBN 9781107172548. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316779118.

JOSHUA CALDICOTT
University of Nottingham/Shakespeare Institute

The soliloquy is an iconic aspect of early modern English drama, both as a device designed to engage with early modern audiences and as the form used in some of Shakespeare's most celebrated moments: from Hamlet's melancholic 'to be or not to be' to Juliet's lovelorn 'what's in a name'. Despite its significance, criticism has paid little attention to the form further than as a mode of rhetorical expression. A.D. Cousins and Daniel Derrin's edited collection addresses this lacuna with chapters covering questions of form and authorship, issues of politics and gender, and theories of performance and selfhood. The collection begins with an introduction analyzing examples from Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus,* Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar,* and Jonson's *Volpone,* teasing out various functions a soliloquy can perform and demonstrating how productive unpacking these speeches can be for understanding the wider ideological and structural concepts of their respective plays.

The first three chapters of the collection deal with the development of the pre-Shakespearean soliloquy, building a clear picture of the form's historical origins. Joseph A. Smith's opening chapter succinctly covers the breadth of Roman drama in relation to an antagonism towards theatre's inauthentic presentation of identity in order to consider how the soliloquy form was established (15–28). Using a spatial conception of performance in relation to genre, Smith compellingly identifies how comedy demonstrates personality and/or psychology beyond stock character, and how tragedies position characters in relation to nature and the cosmos. Raphael Falco then moves on to note the characteristics of an early Tudor soliloquy preceding the Renaissance form, highlighting key aspects of the soliloquy's increased centrality to narrative, its definition in terms of the speaker being alone with God/Reason, and its relationship to the audience (29–42). Having focused on the form's ability to build identity beyond stock characteristics, the collection then considers the soliloquy in relation to authorial style. The final pre-Shakespearean chapter focuses on Christopher Marlowe's soliloquies, identifying a specific 'voice of selfhood against extinction' (43). Working through Marlowe's

canon, L.E. Semler deftly examines how each play's soliloquies articulate a character's conflict, with particular care for their performative functions (43–55).

The collection continues to focus on authorial style, extending its discussion to Shakespeare's canon. As the central focus of the collection, these essays succeed in communicating the variety of ways in which Shakespeare deploys the soliloquy in different genres and through different voices. By defining the soliloquy in terms of the speaker's split self, Catherine Bates convincingly compares the 'castrated' subjectivity of classical female laments to the soliloquies of Marlowe's Dido, before relating this state to Shakespeare's various female soliloquists who respond to an existence outside of a phallic order (56–67). Daniel Derrin's chapter approaches comedic soliloquies, demonstrating the significance of their study by persuasively identifying characters' self-deception through humorously deformed versions of the period's rhetorical arts (68–79). By classifying orations as forensic (attempting to discover) and deliberative (attempting to persuade), Derrin argues that Benedick (of *Much Ado*) uses sententiae (proverbial phrases) to persuade himself out of other sententiae, and how he and Malvolio (of *Twelfth Night*) use *enargeia* (vivid descriptions) to imagine a reality that they can fool themselves into believing. Moving from comedies to histories, the late David Bevington's chapter proceeds through both tetralogies, insightfully demonstrating how the soliloquy constructs each major figure's identity (80–92). After appraising Richard III's self-construction across the first tetralogy, Bevington considers how Richard II's numerous soliloquies reveal his motivations in contrast to Bolingbroke/Henry IV whose lack of soliloquies avoids any admission of ambition. The chapter concludes by focusing on Falstaff's 'comic philosophizing' (88) in his soliloquies in contrast to Hal's construction of personal identity, at first in opposition to his company before it becomes more patriotic in the later plays. A.D. Cousins's chapter approaches *Hamlet* in relation to Francis Bacon's *Of Truth* (93–104). Cousins persuasively shows how Hamlet's remapping of his lost home through deformed classical analogues — centralized around his 'Hyperion' father — is comparable to Bacon's apprehension of the world achieved through his use of biblical authorities. Looking more broadly, Patrick Gray defines tragedy as 'a "collision" between opposing notions of good' (105), considering in his chapter how each major tragic hero battles the choice between shame culture and a desire to control, on the one hand, and guilt culture and Christian compassion, on the other; this approach comprehensively demonstrates how each protagonist takes the space of the soliloquy to pervert Christian moral reasoning for his own purposes (105–18). The final Shakespeare-focused chapter addresses the soliloquies of the late plays, as Kate Aughterson systematically works through this grouping to pinpoint Shakespeare's

use of stylistic and grammatical features that affect style, tone, and even acting technique (119–38). By analyzing the high level of hypermetrical soliloquies that make speakers auricular figures — slowing down the speech to interrupt courtly discourse for moments of dramatic performative verse — Aughterson is able to account for the fantastical and poetic nature that critics often recognize in this grouping of plays.

The collection continues with its authorial focus by considering Shakespeare's contemporaries and successors, thus highlighting both Shakespeare and each respective playwright's perspective and use of the form. The first two chapters on Ben Jonson complement each other well, identifying an authorial style in his soliloquies that focuses on the art of performance to provoke audience reflection, either through insisting on its own being or as a way of constructing identity. Having noted *Volpone*'s emphasis on the artistic genius of deceptive performances, James Loxley recognizes how both *Poetaster* and *Sejanus* frame the importance of the freedom of language in poetry, in recording history, and ultimately in Jonson's own drama (139–52). Brian Woolland then looks at the comedic soliloquy, focusing more on audience agency to see how spectators are drawn into siding or even working with devious tricksters like Volpone and Face (in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist* respectively), and how they are faced in turn with those such as Fitzdottrel and Pug (in *The Devil is an* Ass) who enact an identity they crave (153–66). With Andrew Hiscock's chapter on Thomas Middleton, it becomes all the more evident how the soliloquy functions as much more than a simple vehicle for individual self-actualization. Hiscock explores the form's use in *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Lady's Tragedy* to represent stage-life more broadly, as Middleton's rapid pace, simultaneous action, and expression of minor characters' desire for action give the form different functions (167–79). Moving into the Caroline period, Huw Griffith's work on John Ford's soliloquies cleverly demonstrates a change in the perception of the device within the Renaissance period (180–94). Griffiths identifies within the Caroline form an echo of Jacobean soliloquies reshaped into almost a stock rhetoric or gesture that is disrupted by the claustrophobic, frantic style of Caroline drama, which in turn violates the speech through frequent interruptions and eavesdroppers. The final author-centred chapter, by A.D. Cousins and Dani Napton, looks at William Davenant's *Macbeth* and the ways in which his Restoration adaptation shifts the soliloquy away from the personal (for which it has been widely criticized) to a more period relevant focus on political relationships, reshaping the play into a tragedy of state (195–204). In doing so, Cousins and Napton convincingly demonstrate Macduff's evolved role not simply as Macbeth's psychological foil but as a figure debating national versus individual loss.

In place of a conclusion, the collection ends with a chapter by James Hirsh who empirically addresses the question of what constitutes a Renaissance soliloquy (205–24). Waiting until the end to attempt to conclusively define the soliloquy in many ways fits with the editors' initial motivation for chapters that 'cohere but do not necessarily agree with one another' (2), as each contributor defines their own understanding of the form, productively leading to a number of lively discussions. Hirsh's work is remarkable in its ability to categorically answer questions that have long been centres of debate, such as whether soliloquies and asides are vocalizations or thoughts. Unfortunately, Hirsh's determined, almost flippant tone belittles productive avenues of study. For example, Hirsh's assertion that scholars have 'blinded themselves' (217) to the evidence that soliloquies do not address the audience is contradicted by the wider collection itself: indeed, a consideration of the audience's role (perhaps as overhearers rather than addressees) is a significant and productive source of study within this book. Hirsh's empirical approach nevertheless draws impressive conclusions from his wide range of evidence, generally supporting the work of the preceding chapters.

This collection focuses on a variety of broad subjects — examining historical, performative, and philosophical concepts — yet each essay succeeds in its attempt to use the soliloquy to address wider questions within its respective area. Collectively, the essays effectively communicate with one another to give a broader picture of the culture of early modern English drama, revealing artistic development over time, the various playwrights' unique formal styles, and the wider historical socio-political thoughts that they express. A collection of this nature obviously could never be exhaustive, but it demonstrates the significant impact of focusing on short speeches such as the soliloquy.

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Tamara Atkin and Laura Estill, eds. *Early British Drama in Manuscript*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019. British Manuscripts 1. Pp. xvi, 376. Hardback, €100. ISBN 9782503575469. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.BM-EB.5.113206

BRETT GREATLEY-HIRSCH
University of Leeds

As the eagerly anticipated flagship volume of 'British Manuscripts', a new series published by Brepols under the editorship of A.S.G. Edwards, *Early British Drama in Manuscript* exceeds expectations and sets a high standard for future volumes. The essays in *Early British Drama in Manuscript* showcase the variety and vibrancy of research into early British dramatic texts, paratexts, and contexts using manuscript evidence. Along with twenty-one other contributors, Tamara Atkin and Laura Estill have produced a volume of scholarship that is interdisciplinary without being inaccessible and meticulous without stifling excitement for the material.

Scholarship often treats 'manuscript' as a 'monolithic category'; as Atkin and Estill remind us in their Introduction, however, the term is 'a catch-all' in this context 'for a variety of types of evidence', including 'playtexts, actors' parts, onstage props, records, and other accounts that can be used to adduce performance' (1). Essays attend to all of these types of evidence and, although there is frequent overlap, the collection divides into three sections — 'Production', 'Performance', and 'Reception'. Given the cultural and disciplinary privileging of print, it is easy to forget that 'the bulk of our knowledge of early performance necessarily comes to us from manuscript sources' (2), a fact made all the more sobering in light of the low rate of manuscript survival from the period. Atkin and Estill admit, 'for some plays, the only evidence we have that they once existed derives from manuscripts' (2). This acknowledgement makes the absence of a chapter on lost plays ironically conspicuous from what is otherwise a comprehensive collection. Since manuscript evidence 'is like a piece of a puzzle' that will never be complete, our duty as scholars is to re-evaluate those pieces we have and be alert to the possibility of discovering and examining new ones, which, taken together, might allow us to better see 'the shapes and colours of the original picture of early dramatic composition, performance, and reception' (1).

Essays in the 'Production' section share an interest in exploring the status of playbooks and their relation to performance, whether real or imagined. In a departure from previous studies focusing on the Book of Brome (Yale Beinecke MS 365) in the context of its later additions and readership, Joe Stadolnik's chapter

(19–32) sets out to investigate 'what kind of book Brome was first made to be' by concentrating on 'the manuscript's earlier stage of production' (21). Having demonstrated it to be 'seemingly useless as a performance script', Stadolnik concludes that 'the Brome *Abraham and Isaac* is medieval drama *as* manuscript', as 'a textual genre circulating as an article for private reading' (30). Pamela M. King's chapter (33–54) offers a detailed codicological description of two manuscript witnesses to the Coventry Weavers' pageant towards 'a consideration of how radically different as a manuscript and functional material object a working playbook is from other compilations of plays' (34). In one of my favourite essays in the collection, Alexandra Johnston embarks on a fascinating piece of literary detective-work into the provenance and nature of the Towneley plays (Huntington Library MS HM 1). Acting on a 'hot tip' from the late Malcolm Parkes (56), Johnston makes a persuasive case that the many quirks and faults of the Towneley manuscript can best be explained 'if the document was compiled for legal purposes', namely, the suppression of Catholic plays in the north (67–8). Matthew Sergi's chapter (71–102) offers a reassessment of the evidence for dating the Chester cycle, combining 'a series of interpretive glosses' on seminal studies by Lawrence Clopper and David Mills that have come to represent two sides of a transatlantic scholarly dispute (72) with fresh analysis of the *Antichrist* text. Kirsten Inglis and Mary Polito's chapter, 'Noting *Baiazet,* the Raging Turk' (103–22), makes a convincing argument that the manuscript of *Baiazet* (Arbury Hall MS A415) is a 'legible and playable, and perhaps publishable' collation of notes produced by 'a team of note-takers' who attended a performance of the play at Oxford in 1619, including John Newdigate, and 'took turns taking notes in a kind of relay' (104). Taking *John of Bordeaux* as a case study, James Purkis explores 'how performance details may or may not be gleaned from playhouse manuscripts' and whether the play-text 'offers a fascinating and rare link between performance and textual inscription' (124). The 'Production' section closes with William Proctor Williams's chapter, 'James Compton and Cosmo Manuche and Dramatic Manuscripts in the Interregnum' (137–50), which is an effective entrée to whet readers' appetites for hitherto unknown and little-studied Cavalier dramatists.

Although there is no shortage of serious bibliographical and palaeographical analysis, essays in the 'Performance' section shift in focus from the composition of manuscripts to their theatrical use and users. Louise Rayment's careful consideration of the manuscript evidence for adaptation and performance of *The Play of Wit and Science* neatly bridges the gap between production and performance (153–64). Sarah Carpenter's chapter traces the 'manuscript footprint' of a late-sixteenth Scottish 'disguising' — a mask or mumming — that 'offer[s] little

purchase for written preservation' (165–6), forcing scholars to rely on 'varied and sometimes oblique manuscript witnesses to reconstruct' both 'the nature' of the events and 'the meanings they seem to have carried for their original spectators' (180). In another of my favourite chapters, Jakub Boguszak explores what one 'can do' with the speeches *and* silences of actors' parts. After a lively and insightful discussion of examples from Dekker, Jonson, Middleton, Marston, and Shakespeare, Boguszak concludes that this way of approaching familiar texts, 'perhaps better than most other methods of close reading', demonstrates how 'the combination of certainty and ignorance, deliberation and chance' conditioned early modern actors' performances (194). Kara J. Northway's chapter, 'Early Modern Actors' Offstage Textual Rituals' (197–211), argues that the 'early theatre nurtured a distinctive micro-culture of witnessing documents' by tracing 'the collaborative textual activities within and around' Henslowe's *Diary:* namely, the interactions between borrowers, lenders, and witnesses within the theatre community (198). In 'Comedy, Clowning, the Caroline King's Men' (213–28), Lucy Munro investigates 'what the cast-lists and other aspects of the manuscript texts tell us about individual roles and the requirements that they make on the actors who play them' (215), focusing on comic parts in the Caroline repertory of the King's Men. Daniel Starza Smith and Jana Dambrogio trial a series of prop letters in a production of *The Merchant of Venice* to ask what letters 'look[ed] like on the early modern stage' and explore 'how might they have signified beyond their written contents' (229). Starza Smith and Dambrogio combine rigorous archival research with a spirit of experimentation, testing letters of different construction and recreating the historical practices of letterlocking to gain fresh insights into these once ubiquitous theatrical manuscripts.

Essays in the 'Reception' section move us outside the playhouse to consider how other agents respond to and engage with dramatic manuscripts, then and now. By close examination of the script-to-print 'remediation' of several manuscript witnesses and fragments of the mid-Tudor Inns of Court play *Gismond of Salerne,* Tamara Atkin teases out the paradoxical relationship between text and performance: 'it is the process of remediation that makes drama legible, but its legibility always and inevitably effaces the very idea of performance it is designed to articulate' (262). Jean-Christophe Mayer's chapter briefly surveys the manuscript evidence to adduce a variety of early responses to Shakespeare's works (267–78). Readers mined Shakespeare for 'reusable extracts' as illustrations of aesthetic beauty and rhetorical prowess (268–9), appreciated the 'quality of the plots of Shakespeare's plays' and his characters (270–2), and attempted, idiosyncratically, to 'classify', 'distinguish', and 'rank' the works, to 'express preference and taste'

for personal use or the benefit of others with whom they shared their annotations (273–6). Beatrice Montedoro's chapter offers a detailed analysis of a recently rediscovered manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS Rawlinson D 952). Rather than promoting textual 'continuity and fixity', Montedoro demonstrates that the practice of dramatic extracting also 'encouraged novelty and variation' as compilers selected and adapted the materials to differing — and often non-literary — ends (294). This chapter offers an excellent example of the sorts of scholarship now enabled and supported by digital resources, including *DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts,* which Montedoro co-edits with Laura Estill. Antonia Fraser's chapter, 'Seeing is Believing' (297–310), gives an historical account of the notorious eighteenth-century Shakespeare forgeries by William Henry Ireland through the lens of contemporary newspaper coverage and literary reviews, concluding with some tactful remarks about the ongoing media frenzy 'to this day over the re-attribution of Shakespeare's works to other playwrights' (307). In a similar vein, Gail McMurray Gibson charts the Georgian reception of the Macro Plays manuscript (now Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.354) — and thus also the genre of English medieval morality play — out of obscurity (311–27). While their scholarly calibre and value are beyond reproach, Fraser's and McMurray Gibson's chapters sit somewhat less comfortably with the rest of the collection because neither engages in analysis of the manuscripts at the heart of their discussion, instead focusing on later paratexts and contexts. In Fraser's case, Edmond Malone's *Inquiry* may have crushed the Ireland forgery under its 424-page weight, but, as other chapters in the collection have shown, there is always more to be teased out from the manuscript evidence.

The 'Reception' section continues with Matteo Pangallo's chapter, which considers the challenges and opportunities of producing digital editions of early modern manuscript plays, noting how 'the limitation of print can all too easily frustrate users attempting to access evidence of a manuscript play's textual history' (329–30). In 'Mongrel Forms' (345–61), Rebecca Munson's chapter neatly brings the collection back to where it began with questions about the ontological status of dramatic manuscripts. Whereas earlier chapters tackled this question by detailed, meticulous examination of individual manuscripts, Munson adopts a quantitative approach. The result is *Common Readers,* a database of annotations in early modern printed drama, which — as Munson's chapter demonstrates — will allow researchers to identify latent patterns and trends in the data. As with *DEx* and other digital projects, the work of *Common Readers* is ongoing, with the promise of further fruits from this labour.

Finally, a word about the material object itself. Brepols has produced a book of impressive quality, befitting the scholarship it contains. *Early British Drama in Manuscript* is a weighty volume, literally and intellectually.

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Leslie Thomson. *Discoveries on the Early Modern Stage: Contexts and Conventions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pp. 265. Hardback $99.99. ISBN: 9781108494472. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108590488

JESS HAMLET
University of Alabama

Leslie Thomson's new book on moments of discovery in early modern drama begins by laying out the definitions and limits of discovery, explaining her methodology, and outlining the different kinds and uses of discoveries on early modern stages. In so doing, Thomson sets out to reinvigorate our thinking on what constitutes an onstage discovery and how dramatists used them, and to lay the foundation for her readers to recognize that understanding discoveries 'is fundamental to an appreciation of the degree to which the plays are artefacts of another era' (5). She drives home what she sees as the two major kinds of discovery, 'disguise-discoveries and discovery scenes' as being driven by 'the basic ideas that truth will be revealed in time and justice will prevail' (9) but aims to recast this conversation outside the purview of whether or not the so-called 'discovery space' was a common feature of early modern playhouses. For evidence of moments of discovery, she pulls from an exhaustive list of more than 150 different early modern plays, situating her assertions in an unquestionable position of authority. Thomson's thorough survey feeds productively into the discussion of what constitutes a moment of discovery and what characteristics these moments and scenes share across different years and different playwrights. Here, particularly, she focuses her thinking on the formal and generic uses of discoveries, noting that nearly half of all discoveries 'occur in the final act' of their plays (29). In sum, Thomson's formative contextual work on stage discoveries is the base on which she rests her assertion that discoveries 'are essential to the way a play dramatizes and explores such interrelated matters as deception, privacy, secrecy and truth; knowledge, justice and renewal' (1).

After identifying what constitutes a discovery on the early modern stage, their different kinds and uses, and some fascinating statistics, Thomson turns her attention to discoveries' driving forces of time and truth and then lays out secular and religious imagery that would have shaped how early modern audiences understood and responded to onstage discoveries. Highlighting Christianity's saturation of early modern England, Thomson suggests 'that the imagery and performance of discoveries in the drama of the period often echo the language and rituals associated with the revelations at the heart of Christianity' (81). In

this section, Thomson points to artistic representations of religious figures and moments, as well as the church service itself, noting particularly the similar use of curtains in drama and religion: 'The overt artifice of the curtains makes viewers conscious of the act of revelation, of themselves as observers, and of what is being revealed. In this it functions much like the staging of discoveries in plays' (90). From here, Thomson moves through the dramatic language of seeing and believing that echoes Christian teachings; considers the onstage places of discovery, including beds, chairs, tombs, caves, and shops; explores particularly inventive or complex discoveries; and ends with an appendix that asks, 'Was There a Central Opening in the Tiring House Wall?' (213).

A particular strength of the book is Thomson's incredible number and quality of examples of discoveries. In her discussion of discoveries that rely on chairs, she lists no fewer than thirteen plays, from *Henry IV, Part One* (1597) to Davenant's *The Distresses* (1639), noting, in turn, how chairs in discoveries signal seclusion, privacy, and occasionally location, but that 'these discoveries are of figures who are somehow immobile — most are seated, sometimes asleep, sometimes dead' (166). While this section lists rapid-fire the instances of chairs in discoveries, her treatment of beds in discoveries uses nearly as many examples but provides more analysis of each instance. After laying out some representative bed discoveries in *The First Part of the Contention* (1591) and Folio *Henry VI, Part Two* (1623), Peele's *Edward I* (1591), and *Tamburlaine, Part Two* (1588), Thomson provides a particularly fulsome account of the bed discovery in *Othello* (1620) before concluding with examples from Marston's *Sophonisba* (1605), Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy,* Suckling's *Brennoralt* (1646), and the anonymous *Tom a Lincoln* (1599). Her discussion of *Othello* notes that, typical of Shakespearean discoveries, 'what is revealed and how it is revealed are directly relevant to the concerns of the particular play', and *Othello* is the best example 'in which the idea that truth will be revealed in time and the dramatic action of discovery are given tragic specificity' (170). This attention to detail and abundance of evidence is part and parcel of Thomson's work throughout and leaves the reader with no question about the particular requirements, staging, efficacy, or frequency of each kind of discovery. Thomson's ideas about 'how these original circumstances might have influenced or determined a playwright's use of the device; how the action itself could have been emphasized in performance … and how these elements would thus have affected the playgoers' understanding of what they saw and heard' are particularly effective when supported by her rich body of evidence (8).

If one must take issue with any part of this book, it is that she closes with her discussion of whether or not early modern playhouses commonly had discovery

spaces instead of situating this analysis early on. While Thomson does briefly explain her reasoning for ending with this topic rather than opening with it ('it is largely unrelated to my ideas about the uses of discovery scenes'), a non-specialist reader might benefit from a slightly more thorough account of discovery spaces earlier, perhaps in the opening chapter (8). Without it, questions about staging might consistently arise throughout. Of course, nothing would prevent a curious reader from beginning their exploration of the text in the appendix.

As a fresh perspective on staged discoveries, Thomson's text is valuable, but where it really shines is in its immense body of primary sources — not only plays, but works of art and non-dramatic texts as well, providing the reader with as close to an immersion in the early modern world as possible. This book undeniably sits within the realm of theatre and theatre history, but also contributes to art history and cultural history. As a resource for scholars thinking about staging, stage directions, art, culture, discovery spaces, props, or the business of early modern theatre, this book will surely shine new light on the topic of discoveries and lead its readers to generative new ideas and conclusions.

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Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea, eds. *Travel and Travail: Early Modern Women, English Drama, and the Wider World*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. Early Modern Cultural Studies. Pp. 384. Paperback $35.00 US. ISBN. 9781496202260. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv8xnh57

GAVIN HOLLIS
Hunter College, CUNY

'Let me go with him' (1.3.260).[1] With these five words, Desdemona opens herself up to the vagaries of travel. We might also understand her to be opening herself up to 'travail', i.e. childbirth: these words, after all, are spoken on her wedding night, which matters of state and the wrath of her father have curtailed. Desdemona's decision to refuse to 'reside' (242) with her father and endure 'a heavy interim' (259) at home is a transgression too far, Shakespeare's play seems to argue. Joining her husband in Cyprus, in a garrison populated almost entirely by men, leaves her open to accusations of multiple transgressions: in Venice she can claim to be 'subdued / Even to the very quality of my lord' (251–2), while in Cyprus she is labeled 'the general' (2.3.310); in Venice she is 'a maiden never bold' (1.3.95), but in Cyprus she gets called 'the whore of Venice' (4.2.91). Had she remained at home, she may well have endured a 'heavy interim', an image that surely connotes the weight of pregnancy. Abroad, she endures the weight of her husband as he smothers her. Travel and travail, terms so often interlinked in early modernity (terms sometimes indistinguishable, given the fluidity of spelling), here cancel each other out. Desdemona travels; hence, it seems, she cannot travail, as the form her murder takes violently makes clear.

Desdemona is a key figure in Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea's brilliant essay collection, *Travel and Travail: Early Modern Women, English Drama, and the Wider World*. In five of the collection's sixteen essays she is a central figure, as well as in the introduction. A cautionary tale she may be, but as this collection makes clear, she is not an outlier. We should perhaps remember that nobody in *Othello* thinks it is a bad idea for her to 'go with him', even if Iago sees it as an opportunity for revenge. While Desdemona's story echoes the prohibitions against female travel we find in print, we can (thanks in part to this collection) locate women who pushed against such prescriptiveness, or ignored it altogether, in ultimately far more successful ways than *Othello* allows. To do this work, *Travel and Travail* argues, we need more creative and theoretical entry points to our archival resources. These approaches may evolve out of material cultural theory, compare sources in continental archives, reimagine the body in

the gaps between archival traces, and apply deconstructive reading practices that think through and with issues of class, race, religion, and gender as well as with and against received notions of what constitutes the genre of travel writing.

The first half of the book focuses on women who traveled. Essays on the East India Company (EIC) bring to light case studies of women who both flouted restrictions on travel and found themselves delimited by Company policy, but whose actions and accounts troubled the paths and forms that women's lives were supposed to take in the early modern period. Richmond Barbour contextualizes Desdemona by comparing her plight to that of Anne Broomfield Keeling, whose petition to join her husband Sir William Keeling was denied, in response to which she boarded the East India Company flagship while several months pregnant. Her challenge to EIC dictates may have ultimately been unsuccessful, but, as Barbour argues, Keeling's plight serves to expose *Othello*'s pessimism, since she (unlike Desdemona) 'took to exercise her own sexuality and reproductive agency' (33). Karen Robertson's chapter recovers the life of Mariam Khan, the Mughal Armenian woman who married two EIC captains, in a fascinating historical account. Three essays focus on women in the Sherley entourage. Amrita Sen considers the ways in which their class, ethnicity, and religion complicate our picture of the prohibitions against female travel, even in their absence from the imperial archive. Carmen Nocentelli posits that the term 'consort', used in relation to Lady Teresa Sampsonia Sherley in Latin and Italian sources to connote an equal partner free from accusations of transgression, broadens our vocabulary for describing female travel in this period. Bernadette Andrea establishes the significance of a relic of the corpse of St Teresa of Avila, which Teresa Sherley carried with her in widowhood, and more broadly foregrounds the ways in which material culture was crucial to networks of female relationships in and across Christian and Muslim contexts.

The last three essays in this section move away from the East India Company. Patricia Akhimie focuses on the 1650 manuscript 'The Voyage of the Lady Catherine Whetenall', in particular Catherine's visit to Loreto. Through a deft analysis of the account, she argues that while the text deems male travelers to be spiritually transformed by pilgrimage, it imagines women were transformed into objects by their experience. Elisa Oh turns further westward to consider Pocahontas, innovatively reading her gestural performance during her time in London. The final essay, Laura Williamson Ambrose's on Lady Anne Clifford, stays closer to home but is no less expansive. Arguing that her records constituted a new form of 'travel writing', Ambrose contends moreover that they were a way for Clifford to shape her (highly fraught) legacy and memorialize her life and family.

The second section attends to drama. Following a useful chapter by Laura Aydelotte that explores the geographical expansiveness of a number of female characters across the corpus (measured by their evocations of specific place names), three essays return to Desdemona: Stephanie Chamberlain lays out the ways in which female travel becomes eroticized in *Othello* and beyond; Michael Slater reads the play in terms of courtesy literature and its implication for gendered travel; and Eder Jaramillo compares Desdemona to Miranda in *The Tempest,* contending that the latter represents Shakespeare's return to an idea of female travel as fraught (albeit Miranda avoids Desdemona's fate).

The remaining four chapters move beyond *Othello.* In the richest chapter of the second half of the collection, Ruben Espinosa reads Cleopatra in the context of black Madonnas, returning the collection to Loreto to provide yet more context for Akhimie's earlier essay. Dyani Johns Taff tends rigorously to the travel/travail pun in *Pericles* and its very different iteration in Cavendish's *The Blazing World.* Susan Tartamella's chapter argues for the biblical book of Ruth as 'one of the paradigmatic accounts of female companionate travel' (292) and shows how it subtends Rosalind and Celia's journey in *As You Like It.* Gaywyn Moore closes the section with a reading of *The Fair Maid of the West, Part 1,* whose character Bess fittingly counters the pessimistic interpretation of female travel in *Othello.* While the section on drama is perhaps less innovative than the first section, its usefulness resides both in its analysis of the drama and in the models of approach that might subsequently be applied to other female characters who travel: Portia, Nerissa, and Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice,* Viola in *Twelfth Night,* Innogen in *Cymbeline,* and Perdita in *The Winter's Tale,* to name only Shakespearean examples.

Rather than sum up what has come before, Mary C. Fuller closes the collection in her afterword by putting forward another case study: Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations.* By so doing, Fuller highlights one of the key insights of this collection and one of its connective threads — what she calls the need to interrogate 'the informational architectures in which this evidence' about women travelers is 'embedded' (331). That is, this collection asks us to reconceive our archive, and reconsider the questions we ask of it, not solely to recuperate lost lives (significant as this historical project is) but also to revisit our formulations of the early modern world through our engagement with our sources — even ones as canonical as Hakluyt and, of course, *Othello.*

Fuller's afterword also exemplifies another great strength of this collection: its unity of purpose. The collection had its origins in a Shakespeare Association of America seminar led by the two editors, and, as we all know, not all collections

that extend conference proceedings fully cohere. Yet it is clear, both in the original seminar and in the subsequent process of putting together the collection, how well thought through this project has been — all the more impressive given that this work represents a first step in a new field of study. This is a collection worth dipping into, to be sure. But it is also a collection that rewards reading as whole since essays build and rebound on each other with remarkable efficacy. More than just a collection of essays, *Travel and Travail* is a thrilling statement of a field in its emergence and will become a touchstone in scholarship on early modern women, early modern travel and colonialism, and early modern drama.

Notes

1 All citations taken from *Othello: Revised Edition,* ed. E.A.J. Honigmann and Ayanna Thompson (London, 2016).

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Harry Newman. *Impressive Shakespeare: Identity, Authority and the Imprint in Shakespearean Drama*. Material Readings in Early Modern Culture. New York: Routledge, 2019. Pp. xviii, 199. Hardback £105. ISBN: 1472465326. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315588001

CLAIRE MCEACHERN
University of California Los Angeles

Shakespeare is that most elusive of authors, yet we continue to find his fingerprints everywhere in his work. In this detailed study Harry Newman delves into the deep material bedrock behind the notion of Shakespeare's ability to impress himself upon our imaginations. Providing a series of meticulous examinations both of the early modern technologies of impression — stamping, sealing, coining, and printing — and of their metaphoric registers in a number of the plays, Newman argues that Shakespeare's engagement with these technologies serves to 'interrogate the formation of identity and authority' (5), that of his own authorship foremost of all. As such, Newman views Shakespeare's embedding of the language of impressions as having the power to anticipate and shape his own critical reputation. Unlike many materialist studies, and despite providing a wealth of information about early modern practices of impression, Newman 'is concerned not so much with what Shakespeare's imprinting metaphors can tell us about the world in which he wrote, as … about the texts in which they occur' (7), and hence his method is to proceed by means of intimately worked close readings of *Coriolanus, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Measure for Measure,* and *The Winter's Tale.* Newman also provides sustained reflection upon how the material becomes the figurative — how we make metaphors out of matter — and also the ways in which far from being considered an abstracting form in the rhetorical understanding of the period, metaphor was understood as a strenuously athletic wresting of signification designed to produce what he terms 'psychophysical' (6) transformations in their auditors.

Following an introduction that establishes how contemporaries considered the technologies of impression to be imbricated in each other, the book divides into a series of readings of the plays that examine concepts long used as metrics of Shakespearean exceptionality — character, rhetorical transformation, counterfeiting, and paratextual-paternal authority. Newman does not address whether there are other plays or poems in the canon which engage the language of impression (the book cries out for a discussion of *Lucrece*), or why, with the exception of *Measure* — written in the chronological vicinity of James I's accession and

concomitant impression of himself on the country's coinage — the plays he chooses are so dedicated to this idiom; nevertheless, his evidence for the fact that they are so is overwhelming. There is a great deal to learn from this book when it comes to the material practices of impression, and individual essays make the case that Shakespeare was particularly taken with their lexicon.

The chapter on *Coriolanus* takes what is perhaps the hardest case of Shakespearean character to explore the links between wounding and imprinting as a means to understand the refusals of this character to appeal to our affections: 'Coriolanus' wounds are not so much signs of humanity as stamps with the technological capacity to deliver an impression of humanity' (64). Newman argues that the play's many metatheatrical devices encourage the audience to contemplate their own impressions and that by this means Shakespeare foregrounds his own aesthetic ambitions. His discussion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* similarly finds the metaphors of wax sealing rife in the play, and that the play's 'self-reflexive language of figuration, disfiguration and transfiguration has the potential to shape audience's understanding and experience of poesis in the theatre, causing them to perceive it as impressive and transformative' (71). In the case of this play, Newman's research into the technology allows for a transformative reading of the play's gender politics, in which Hermia (and by extension all the play's women) is not merely impressionable matter to be transformed by the patriarchy, but self-possessed: 'the implied "document" of Hermia's metaphor … like the double-sided Great Seal … communicates not passivity and subjugation, but the legitimate agency of a women who holds 'sovereignty' over her own body and soul' (85). In *Measure for Measure* we find Shakespeare similarly reflecting on his writing's status: it 'uses a numismatic motif to negotiate its value as a counterfeit or debased comedy' (102). This chapter also provocatively traces the ways in which scholarly discussions of Middleton's reworkings of parts of the play follow terms the play itself establishes: 'just as "moral purity" is … an idea most apparent in the spiritual trials of Angelo and Isabella, notions of authorial purity are comparatively central to Shakespeare studies' (111). In the piece on *The Winter's Tale,* Newman daringly argues that the paratexts of the first folio become linked to that play through a linguistic register of printing as paternity, and so we find Shakespeare crafting the presentation of his work in book form in effect from beyond the grave. The study of gender is not merely a gallant gesture in Newman's work but a deeply considered and researched element of his understanding of literary affect and its designs upon our own memorial desires.

Newman's Shakespeare is a deeply ruminative writer, one seized by particular metaphorical conceits and returning to them over the course of a writing

experience in order to explore various angles and implications of figure. While we are used to thinking of Shakespeare as reflecting upon his own writerly reputation in other contexts, such as the eternizing claims of the sonnets, Newman makes a convincing case for his studied contemplation of the value and force of his writing qua writing in dramatic contexts as well. (In fact, if Newman leaves a flank open in this study, it is in his frequent resort to the language of conjecture, which crops up most when it comes to his surmises about the effects on early modern audiences: 'likely', 'probably' [59]; 'might well have felt' [61]; 'may have invoked' [80]; 'may indeed gesture' [84].) Our continuing engagement with this most canonical of authors is, Newman argues, deeply cued, almost in a Pavlovian sense, by his linguistic textures.

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Catherine A. Henze. *Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs*. New York: Routledge, 2017. Pp. xi, 204. Hardback $155.00. ISBN: 9781472458322. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315608785

NICOLE SHERIKO
Rutgers University

Catherine Henze's *Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs* is one of two recent monographs on Renaissance clowning not initially intended to be about clowns.[1] In the criticism as in the plays, clowns have thrust themselves in 'by head & shoulders to play a part',[2] taking their place at the centre of collaborative playhouse practice as authors and — as Henze describes — as musicians. Henze's work thus joins a small but growing body of criticism that argues for clowns as central figures for understanding theatrical production, from musical settings to scripting to the notions of authorship that clowns produce. The central contribution of the book is to highlight professional stage clown Armin's skills as a musician that reshape not only the Shakespearean soundscape but also the nature of clownish improvisation. Two chapters introduce Armin and early modern musical contexts before Henze surveys Armin's best known clowns (chapter 3), possible early clowns (chapter 4), possible apprenticed singers (chapter 5), and possible late clowns. Working back and forth between Armin's known performance history and astute readings of the musical shift his appearance enacts, Henze expands the list of theatrical roles traditionally attributed to Armin, enlarging our sense of his role in producing plays at the Globe and lasting transitions in theatre conventions more broadly. In doing so, Henze elevates both Armin's and Shakespeare's performed songs to their rightful place in theatre history.

The impetus for Henze's study is noting that a dramatic musical shift in Shakespeare's plays coincides with Armin's arrival in the Chamberlain's Men. As her core statistic makes clear, when Armin joined the company, 'singing in Shakespeare's dramas catapulted from 1.25 songs and 9.95 lines of singing per play to 3.44 songs and 29.75 lines of singing' (1). Committed first and foremost to the music, the book features new performance editions of seventeen songs by early music editor, performer, and teacher Lawrence Lipnik. These are one of the book's biggest assets. The songs, placed throughout in modernized musical notation and elaborated in appendices, act as both the culmination of Henze's interpretive project and accessible points of entry for anyone interested in the music of Shakespeare. Henze's musicological analysis of this material fulfills its aim of being eminently readable for non-specialists, attentive to compositional details without

presuming specialist knowledge. By including detailed discussion of the new editions, song appendices, alternate versions for some songs, and lengthy excerpts from related contemporary songs, the book also acts as a reference volume and a primer for theatre practitioners. Of these musical elements, the most compelling are the popular songs hovering in the audience's memory, the original versions unrevised for the stage whose resonances for familiar listeners Henze uncovers. Her reading of 'Come O'er the Bourn, Bessy' in *King Lear* suggests that even a short song sung by Edgar and the Fool suggestively implies much about Lear's depravity through an earlier version's allegorizing of England as 'Bessy' (72–7). The difference between implied original and sung revision offers repeated sites for making meaning. Henze's close examination of the overlap between different song versions suggests that while popular music does clearly influence Armin, his version also belongs in a history of popular music.

Some of the most exciting offerings arise from using the music to understand Armin rather than taking him as the starting point of inquiry. Though emerging from an analysis of his singing, many of Henze's conclusions extend beyond the music into Armin's broader performance style. What defines Armin's style as a musician, she argues in the introduction, are frequent interruptions and alterations from the original song that offer an extemporized flavour while such revisions produce thematic and linguistic resonances with earlier dialogue (in addition to earlier versions of the songs) that underscore these songs as deeply and thoughtfully embedded in the script. This coordination between song and dialogue marks a new kind of musical writing and a break from earlier musical and clownish interludes often seen as improvised additions to the script. In a broader actorly sense, then, Armin helps navigate early modern drama's shift away from itinerant, improvisatory troupes toward script-centred drama (a shift visible in Hamlet's complaint about overstepping clowns) by *seeming* to extemporize. By scripting his own forms of improvisation — like singing — into the plays, he enables a form of clowning fully embedded in the play that also feels like the familiar extemporization of older clowns. Armin develops a new kind of improv comedy. Henze's useful term for these styles, 'scripted improvisation', succinctly captures the relationship between autonomous clownish improvisation and controlled playwright authorship as not an opposition but a collaboration perfected by Armin (4).

After chapters on Armin's biography and early modern music contexts, the book considers Armin's most well-known and typical singing clowns (Feste, Lear's fool, and Autolycus) and two points of comparison with Armin: two plays before Armin's official arrival as Shakespeare's co-sharer that illustrate his influence

(*Much Ado About Nothing* and *As You Like It*) and songs by Shakespeare's lutenist Robert Johnson that Armin may have performed. The differences between pre-Armin and Johnson's music and that of Armin casts his style in relief as coherent and distinctive (and thus a solid basis for the arguments that rely on attributing songs to Armin). The most provocative chapter, 'Armin's Possible Apprentices: Ophelia and Desdemona', offers a new glimpse into company playhouse practice by using links between Armin's musical style and the songs of these two female characters to suggest he played an active mentorship role for singing boy actors. This chapter also does the best job of integrating cultural expectations of music with readings of the individual songs, taking on questions of singing women's (dis)empowerment with close attention to how an early modern audience could have understood the valences of the music's aural and textual qualities. At every turn, Henze extends Armin's influence, assigning him roles before 1599 and at the end of his career (including possibly Caliban), proposing him as a performance mentor, and attributing to him a key role in the changing style of early modern performance. Ultimately, she claims Armin as one of Shakespeare's collaborators, and not just for writing songs. In chapter 1, moreover, Henze tracks similarities between Armin's own printed play and pamphlets, and Shakespeare's plays, a project that could be productively expanded in future work. These similarities combined with the close integration of song and dialogue in the Armin-era plays suggest he was an invaluable contributor to the texts of Shakespeare's plays.

Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs serves as an important reminder of how much is missing from the printed dramatic text. Lost or excluded music and the lacunae left by improvisational and gestural clowning falsely minimize two major draws for audience members that illustrate the richly collaborative mode of playing companies. By uniting the two, Henze fills in a vital gap where performance cannot be assimilated to text. For those new to either topic, the book's first two introductory chapters and organization of songs into subsections studied in the order they appear in each play ensure each song receives sustained attention and its context can be easily located by readers of individual scenes or plays. For those familiar with clowning or performed songs, this format limits each chapter's ability to build a sustained argumentative arc, but the fresh combination of topics offers many new insights and raises questions about how else close musical analysis might be leveraged to understand theatre history. In upending assumptions about dramatic music, playing companies, authorship, and actorly practice, Henze manifests the challenges and rewards of recovering elements of performance that exceed the printed drama so central to critical histories of early modern theatre.

Notes

1 Henze, *Robert Armin,* refers to her own work in this way (ix). See also Richard Preiss, *Clowning and Authorship in Early Modern Theatre* (Cambridge, 2014), 1.
2 Phillip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (London, 1595; STC: 22535), K2r.