Doors, Noises, and Magic Hats:

The Tools of Spatial Representation on the Seventeenth-Century Stage

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation demonstrates that seventeenth-century dramatists and theatrical practitioners invented a dazzling series of specialized technologies for representing space. I argue that ubiquitous stage technologies such as doors, props, musical instruments, and curtains, were used to create a dynamic sense of location—both fictional locations within the represented action and the audience's location within a specific theater structure. Scholarship on the early modern spatial imaginary has tended to focus on broader cultural changes in how English people understood the world around them, in part through the massive growth of London as an urban center, and in part through England's burgeoning empire and increasing contact with the world beyond its shores. At the same time, theater scholars have increasingly emphasized the material conditions of theatrical production, including the composition of theatrical companies, the features of different theater buildings, and the nature of costumes and cosmetics. My research extends this theater historical work to show how the details of theatrical practice shaped perceptions of space, including the space of the theater itself as well as the rapidly expanding sense of both urban and global space outside the theater's walls.

My chapters are organized around the different tools used to represent particular types of place, while also tracing a chronological development marked by both continuity and change. In part, this means looking back towards the theatrical traditions out of which this drama sprang, as when I show how the disposition of stage doors in Roman New Comedy or the use of props in

medieval morality plays were redeployed by playwrights such as Ben Jonson or Thomas Dekker. I also argue for a more complex relationship than we have assumed between the spatial arrangements of the prewar Shakespearean stage and that of the Restoration. While the introduction of painted scenery is typically taken to mark a break in how space was represented onstage, I establish that playwrights in this era continued to experiment with many of the same spatial techniques used by their precursors in the prewar theaters. By carefully tracing how the same spatial tools – the movement of actors in and out of the doors, the management of discovery spaces, and the positioning of musicians and sound machines – continued to be used alongside the painted scenery, I help us see more clearly how those tools were already active in shaping the perception of theatrical space in the pre-1642 theaters.

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Introduction

This dissertation analyzes how early modern playwrights used the stage space. I find a theatrical culture with a rich set of spatial technologies that could be used both to craft complex fictional worlds and to manipulate the audience's perceptions of the physical space within a specific theater structure. These technologies included the props, sounds, and bodies that circulated through the theaters, as well as the doors, galleries, trapdoors, and discovery spaces through which that movement occurred. Different genres demanded the mobilization of different technologies, and playwrights paid close attention to how they might craft a variety of locations, ranging from crowded urban streets to intimate bedchambers, from exotic foreign lands to stately royal courts. The techniques that playwrights used to create these various types of space – the positioning of musicians in the theater, for instance, or the bringing of props onto the stage – may seem fairly simple theatrical choices, but they are capable of deeply shaping how audience members perceive the space of the stage. In speaking of "the space of the stage," I intend a certain ambiguity between the fictional locations of a play and the theatrical space in which that play is performed. The spatial techniques I study here exploit the synchronicity between the fictional and the theatrical, and I argue that it was through this interplay that plays were able to emotionally and cognitively involve audiences in the play.

To reveal how these theatrical modes of spatial representation developed, "Doors, Noises, and Magic Hats" spans a larger chronological field than is typical for studies of early modern English drama. In part, this means looking back towards the theatrical traditions out of which this drama sprang, as when I show how the disposition of stage doors in Roman New Comedy or the use of props in medieval morality plays were redeployed by playwrights such as Ben Jonson

or Thomas Dekker. I also argue for a more complex relationship than we have assumed between the spatial arrangements of the prewar "Shakespearean" stage and that of the Restoration. The field of early modern drama studies – the field that centers on Shakespeare and his contemporaries – continues to be organized around the closing of the theaters in 1642 as a decisive end point.[1] This presumed break especially involves the disposition of stage space, with the Restoration introduction of painted scenery and a proscenium arch taken, at least implicitly, to have transformed how playwrights represented space onstage. I argue, by contrast, that we can draw on these changes in theatrical technology as a point of entry for a more supple understanding of how the stage space was used across the seventeenth century. By carefully tracing how the same spatial tools – the movement of actors in and out of the doors, the management of discovery spaces, and the positioning of musicians and sound machines – continued to be used alongside the painted scenery, I help us see more clearly how those tools were already active in shaping the perception of theatrical space in the pre-1642 theaters.

Playwrights created their most powerful manipulations of stage space, I argue, less through the choice of proper name for a play's setting, and more through the establishment of a certain type or genre of space. I discover similar depictions of urban life in Jonson's presentation of *Volpone*'s Venice and *The Alchemist*'s London, and my project would not have much to say about how setting a play in Elsinore informs Anglo-Danish relations, for instance, or about whether the Forest of Arden is meant to be in Warwickshire or in France.[2] To remain, for a

1 For a powerful exception to this rule, see Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal From Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), which traces certain continuities in theatrical practice from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The idea of a break in theatrical practice is enforced rather than lessened in studies that emphasize how prewar drama, after the Restoration, was primarily approached as printed matter or as literature; see, for instance, Ann Baynes Coiro, "Reading," in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 534-55.

2 For the significance of *Hamlet*'s Danish setting, see András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 89-133; for discussions of

moment, with the example of *Hamlet*, we can instead see how Shakespeare uses a variety of subtle techniques to craft his courtly world onstage, including in the interplay between putting small groups of characters onstage and the entrance of the full court, preceded by trumpets; in the passage of letters both within the court and out to the larger diplomatic world outside[3]; in Polonius's unfortunate habit of hiding behind curtains; in the offstage sounds of the crowds who call for Laertes to be crowned. When a group of nobles appear together outside the walls of the castle, Shakespeare marks this movement by opening up Ophelia's grave in the trapdoor. Collectively, these spatial techniques work to establish the play's world as one filled with distinct rooms, hiding spaces, and passageways through which secret messages can pass. The play teaches its audience certain ways of thinking about politics, and it does so by showing them what it meant to navigate a courtly space.[4] In creating a certain experiential image of court space, *Hamlet* also shapes the audience's perceptions of how the theater itself, whether the Globe or the court theater at Whitehall, could become a space filled with the secrecy of political life.

Audiences attended plays, in part, for an opportunity to reflect on such larger spatial formations – images of the court, the city, the globe – that were central to their culture. Along with the types of courtly world that were common in histories and tragedies, most plays were located either in urban, domestic spaces, or in exotic ones that could involve showing their characters travel across large distances. As has been often remarked, the development of a

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Arden's location, see Jeffrey S. Theis, *Writing the Forest in Early Modern England: A Sylvan Pastoral Nation* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), esp. 48-53; and Anne Barton, *The Shakespearean Forest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 128-35.

3 See Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 231–94.

4 Kiséry, in his study of how *Hamlet* and related tragedies could teach practical political skills, argues that these plays "allowed paying audiences a glimpse behind the public façades of power" – a spatial metaphor that proves especially apt; see *Hamlet's Moment*, 3. For a related account of how the theater allowed audiences to think in new ways about religious life, see Musa Gurnis, *Mixed Faith and Shared Feeling: Theater in Post-Reformation London* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

theater industry depended on the commercial life of London, and the theater, in turn, provided an important site for Londoners to understand the vagaries of life in their own city as it expanded into one of the largest cities in Europe.[5] This commercial expansion was intimately linked with the development of global trade networks and England's emergence as a transoceanic empire, and the theater also provided a key site for Londoners to grasp what it meant to belong to such transnational networks.[6]

A vast body of scholarship has been produced over the last three decades on the ways in which early modern theater represented both London itself and the foreign and exotic places with which the city was coming into contact. While I cite much of this work in the course of the dissertation, my project should not be understood as a direct contribution to this type of cultural history. I do not, for instance, provide new information about Anglo-Persian relations, or about the sexual subcultures of London's Whitefriars neighborhood, even though I spend considerable time discussing plays that treat these subjects, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607) and *Epicene* (1609) respectively. Rather, I reveal the theatrical techniques that invited audiences to experience and encounter a variety of spaces inside the theater. There are important differences between choosing to represent the neighborhood next door and to represent a country halfway around the world, but in both cases the theatrical space is somehow transformed. Through my detailed accounts of how different plays activate the theatrical space, I show how

5 For the argument that the theater provided a form of instruction in urban modes of life, see especially Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

6 The standard work on London's overseas traders remains Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For a useful account of London's rise as a global city and how this rise was represented in drama, see Crystal Bartolovich, "'Baseless Fabric': London as a 'World City,'" in *'The Tempest' and Its Travels*, eds Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), 13-26.

the theater made itself into an essential institution for grasping the massive changes in spatial organization that accompanied London's expansion into a global city.

Before describing the dissertation's four chapters, this introduction proceeds in three sections. I first argue that the manipulation of stage space was a key element of any early modern playwright's craft, and in doing so I position my research in relation to recent scholarship in theater history. There has been an outpouring of excellent work on the material conditions of the early modern stage and on the theatricality of early modern plays. I draw from this work a sense that playwrights were sophisticated craftsmen, working alongside a range of skilled practitioners to create theatrical fictions, and I aim to show how an attention to fictional location and to theatrical space can help us more fully account for what made these plays so successful. In a second section, I argue that these modes of theatrical craftsmanship were in a continual process of development, and I explain how and why I approach the Shakespearean stage in relation to Restoration practices. The central figure for any account of continuities in seventeenth-century theater is William Davenant, the playwright and impresario who produced theater before, during, and after the 18-year gap in sanctioned playing. Through a brief analysis of one of Davenant's Interregnum productions, *The Siege of Rhodes*, I show how he both drew on and transformed prewar conceptions of stage space. I consider, finally, the problem of audience response. One of the central claims of this dissertation is that playwrights aimed to have an effect on how their audience perceived space – both the physical space of the stage and larger cultural formations of space. We can begin to access this response, I suggest, by turning to the conventions and building blocks of spatial practice.

Hieronimo's Curtain: Theatrical Craft and the Performance of Space

The variety of techniques – some successful and some less so – that were available to early modern playwrights in their crafting of theatrical space appear with especial clarity in the concluding play-within-the-play of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587). Hieronimo, the revenger who devises, stage-manages, and acts in the *Tragedy of Soliman and Perseda*, begins by naming a location, as he asks one of his actors to "Hang up the title./Our scene is 'Rhodes'" (4.3.16-17).[7] The name does not convey the significance of this place on its own, but Hieronimo has selected a site marked by conflict between Ottoman Muslims and Spanish Christians. To establish this sense of a space that includes both groups, Hieronimo orders his actors to procure specific costumes: "You must provide a Turkish cap,/A black mustachio and a falchion" he tells one actor, and to another "You with a cross like to a knight of Rhodes" (4.1.138-40). Although this use of costumes to signal location was a standard technique of early modern stage practice, it nevertheless seems to confuse Hieronimo's audience. When the actor who wears the Rhodian cross enters, the King needs clarification from a written summary of the play: "Look upon the plot/And tell me, brother, what part plays he?" (4.4.32-33). This lack of recognition suggests that the codes for specifying named locations may not provide Hieronimo with his most useful spatial techniques.

Along with his signaling of Rhodes, then, Hieronimo aims to divide up his stage, creating an inner space that hides a world closer to home. After his three principal actors have been stabbed to death, he pulls aside a curtain and "*shows his dead son*" (4.4.87.SD). In part, the body of the dead Horatio signals a new fictional location inside Hieronimo's theater, the "garden

7 I cite from the edition of Clara Calvo and Jesús Tronch for Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

plot… Where, hanging on a tree, I found my son" (103, 110). Even more, this opening up of a new stage area redefines the parts of the stage that had already been visible. It is only when looking at the dead son behind the curtain that Hieronimo's audience comes to realize what has taken place before their eyes. They have not been watching, as they thought, a fictional representation of Rhodes, but have rather been inside a court theater where the knives are real. The opening of the curtains affects this transformation of the stage space, and Kyd makes sure to highlight how playwrights are able to control such spatial manipulations. Before the *Tragedy of Soliman and Perseda* begins, Hieronimo "*knocks up the curtain*" himself (4.3.0.SD). When a Duke expresses surprise that "you take all this pain," Hieronimo answers that "it is for the author's credit/To look that all things may go well" (2-4). That playwrights joined carpenters in constructing the physical stage may be a fanciful image, but Kyd does point to the attention they would have directed towards such issues as the position of stage curtains, along with the availability of actors, props, musicians, and costumes that moved through the theater. Playwrights approached the shaping of theatrical space as careful craftsmen. Throughout this dissertation, I find play-makers who prove themselves aware of the physical parameters of the theaters – the doorways, galleries, trapdoors, curtains, and pillars that make up the stage space – and who know how to bring those parameters to life, to open up new worlds and to transport their audiences emotionally and imaginatively.

My goal is to reveal the sense of motion that animates early modern theater in performance. This sense of motion includes movement within the fictional world of a play – movement that can take place across a variety of scales, from the most vast, with characters criss-crossing the Mediterranean, to the most minute, as characters move in and out of the rooms in a single house. It would also include movement within the playhouse, as actors go on and off

the stage, hide behind curtains, and move up to galleries or down into trapdoors. There is also, more abstractly, the fluid motion between the fictional world and the physical space of the playhouse, the interplay of spatial levels that allows Hieronimo's curtain to hide, simultaneously, a representation of the bower where Horatio was murdered, an emblematic space that contains Hieronimo's "show" or "spectacle" (4.4.88), and an area of the Spanish court theater that Hieronimo has kept out of sight until the moment of revelation. At any given moment, the space of the stage can activate a variety of such modalities – representational, emblematic, or physical.

An interest in the multiple modalities of early modern plays in performance has driven much of the scholarship with which I am most closely in conversation. Henry Turner, in the introduction to his collection of essays on *Early Modern Theatricality*, suggests that theatricality may grant the early modern play "a power that extends beyond its fictional bounds… a strange condition that is at once real and imaginary, immaterial and embodied, present before us and yet somehow also always inaccessible."[8] In his contribution to the same collection, Bruce Smith spatializes this complex interplay of physical, imaginary, and experiential modalities, turning to a philological investigation of how early modern playwrights used the concept of the "scene." This term, Smith shows, could refer to the stage structure, as well as to the fictional setting, to a subdivision of the script, and to a big effect ("the death scene," "the trial scene"), and any given use of the term could bring multiple meanings into play at once.[9] My analyses similarly show

8 Henry S. Turner, "Generalization," in his edited collection, *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-23, esp. 21.

9 Bruce R. Smith, "Scene," in Turner, ed., *Early Modern Theatricality*, 93-112, esp. 103. A similar sense of the multiple modalities that animate the theatrical space in any given moment also animates Robert Weimann's influential use of the terms *locus* and *platea*. Although Weimann (especially his earlier work) has been criticized for too rigidly positioning the *locus* upstage and the *platea* downstage, his work emphasizes a complex interplay, with "both continuity and discontinuity between these two types of space." See the chapter on "Space (in)dividable: *locus* and *platea* revisited," in his *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre*, eds. Helen Higbee and William West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 180-215, esp. 180. See also Erika T. Lin, *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), esp. 23-37; and D.J. Hopkins, *City/Stage/Globe: Performance and Space in Shakespeare's*

how the choice of fictional location allowed playwrights simultaneously to explore the nature of the playhouse, the emotional effects of moving through certain types of place, and larger cultural contests over space. To set a scene on a city street, for instance, can direct the audience's attention to their own current position inside a crowded urban institution, while also inviting reflection on what it feels like to walk through a rapidly developing city. The staging of travel that so often occupies early modern playwrights similarly awakens an awareness of the playhouse both as physical structure and as representational medium – "Can this cockpit hold/The vasty fields of France?" (*Henry V*, Prologue, 11-12) – a spatial awareness that can itself contribute to the interrogation of what it means for English people to move beyond the shores of their island nation.

To uncover the process of spatial representation on the early modern stage, I break it down into its component parts, tracing how different tools get used across a range of plays. In doing so, my work joins that of other scholars who have shown how plays were patched together out of a variety of components. Tiffany Stern has influentially argued that plays were not performed out of complete playbooks but from separate documents such as plots, songs, and actor's parts.[10] More generally, Will West has called for approaching plays "intertheatrically," through the repertoire of "lines, gestures, characters, situations, genres, and other smaller elements that cumulatively allow for new performances and new concatenations of actions."[11] In West's analysis, gestures and stray lines that remind playgoers of earlier moments in theatrical

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London (London: Routledge, 2008).

10 See Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and her volume co-written with Simon Palfrey, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

11 William N. West, "Intertheatricality," in Turner, ed., *Early Modern Theatricality*, 151-72, esp. 154-5.

culture prove central – he gives a bravura reading of how the single phrase "Go by, Hieronimo" calls up memories of Edward Alleyn's performance style – allowing him to contrast the metatheatrical "*idea* of the play" with the intertheatrical "act of *playing*."[12] Stern and West provide us with a sharpened sense of actors and the ways their performances were not representations of fully rounded characters, but rather built out of stray lines and gestures. In tracing the repeated building blocks of spatial representation across plays, I similarly pursue the creation of onstage playworlds less as complete fictional places and more as spatial processes that are constructed from moment to moment. My most important form of evidence is thus the repeated patterns of how props, doors, music, curtains, or painted shutters are used across a large number of plays.[13]

It is in their attention to these practical details of staging that I discover the craft skills of playwrights. Inside the theater, playwrights – like Hieronimo, as he hands out parts and asks one of his actors to hang up the sign with "Rhodes" on it – collaborated with other practitioners, including actors, tiring-women, scribes, and musicians, to make plays come alive onstage.[14]

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12 *Ibid*, 160-61.

13 While each of my chapters focuses on a handful of plays to uncover a specific set of spatial techniques in practice, I situate those plays in larger networks of theatrical culture. To establish these patterns of spatial representation, I have drawn on the work of theater historians such as Mariko Ichikawa, Tim Fitzpatrick, and Tim Keenan. These historians are particularly attentive to questions of entrances and exits, of where curtains might have hung in the theater, or of where the musicians might have been positioned. They work with a large number of plays, compiling tables of patterns of exit and entrance (in Fitzpatrick's case), or of how often the painted shutters were changed in early Restoration plays (Keenan). I am thus able to use their work to access larger networks of plays, even as I focus on how these patterns play out in particular cases. See Mariko Ichikawa, *Shakespearean Entrances* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), and *The Shakespearean Stage Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Tim Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); and Tim Keenan, *Restoration Staging, 1660-74* (London: Routledge, 2017).

14 For actors as skilled practitioners, see Evelyn Tribble, *Early Modern Actors & Shakespeare's Theatre: Thinking with the Body* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), and John H. Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); for tiring-women and other female theater practitioners, see Natasha Korda, *Labors Lost: Women's Work and the Early Modern English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); for the costumes and cosmetics that these women helped provide, see Jean MacIntyre, *Costumes and Scripts in the Elizabethan Theatres* (Edmonton: University of

There is an important analogy between these theatrical craftspeople and the artisans, ranging from goldsmiths to alchemists, whose manipulation of natural matter we now understand to have played a central role in the development of experimental science. Pamela Smith, in her influential study *The Body of the Artisan*, argues that it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that "the pursuit of natural knowledge became *active* and began to involve the body."[15] The manipulation of stage space was a similarly active process that drew on a shared experiential body of knowledge among the various practitioners who collaborated on the making of plays.[16] The work of playwrights may be more textual than manual, but the theatrical practice traced in this dissertation reflects a practical knowledge of theatrical conditions that could best be gained experientially.

Even as this knowledge often focused on specific playing companies and theater buildings, I argue, playwrights designed their plays to be playable in a variety of theaters. I draw, at times, on scholarship that situates plays in very particular theatrical conditions. The work of Lucy Munro and Mary Bly on the repertories of the boys' companies, for instance, informs my

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Alberta Press, 1992), and Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); for scribes and prompters, see Stern, *Documents of Performance*; for musicians, see Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017). Research across these subjects, along with further areas of material practice, is collected in Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

15 Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 18. See also Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, eds. *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001); Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Pamela O. Long, *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2011).

16 The most thorough study to date of theater as a practical art is Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Turner is especially concerned with what he calls "spatial arts," including carpentry, masonry, fortification, navigation, surveying, and mapping. If *The English Renaissance Stage* describes how early modern playwrights learned to see themselves as spatial practitioners, my goal here is to show those playwrights at work, to reveal their practices of spatial manipulation coming to life in the theater.

analysis of how Jonson paid attention to the difference between the Globe and the smaller Whitefriars theater when writing for different companies, while I draw on Eva Griffith and Mark Bayer's studies of the repertories performed at the Red Bull and Fortune playhouses when I discuss the travel plays performed there.[17] I supplement this sensitivity to particular theaters, however, with a conviction that theatrical practices were fluid and transportable. The companies that were based at amphitheaters like the Rose, the Theatre, the Globe, and the Fortune also played in the hall theaters at the royal courts, as well as taking their plays on tour, where they would typically perform inside public buildings such as guildhalls. I share this sense of flexibility in playing spaces with Sarah Dustagheer, who has recently studied the spatial practices that arose when the King's Men began playing at both the Globe and the Blackfriars.[18] Like Dustagheer, I engage quite thoroughly with the two plays that have most often been read by scholars as particularly written for Blackfriars performance, Jonson's *The Alchemist* and Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (both c. 1611), and I began my work on this dissertation with a particular interest in the performance conditions of the hall theaters.[19] As my research

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17 Mary Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queans on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Eva Griffith, *A Jacobean Company and its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605-1619)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Mark Bayer, *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011). For other important studies of specific repertories, see Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Roslyn Lander Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company, 1594–1613* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991); Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company, 1594–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

18 See Sarah Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

19 The classic reading of *The Alchemist* as Blackfriars play is R.L. Smallwood, "'Here, in the Friars': Immediacy and Theatricality in *The Alchemist*," *The Review of English Studies* 32.126 (May, 1981): 142-60; for *The Tempest*, see Andrew Gurr, "*The Tempest's* Tempest at Blackfriars," *Shakespeare Survey* 41 (1989): 91-102.

progressed, however, I found that the spatial techniques I study have a flexibility and openness that extends beyond any particular location. More than they were thinking about differences between playhouses – the difference in illumination, for instance, between sunlight in the amphitheaters versus candlelight in the hall theaters –playwrights were working with an expectation that certain basic features would be available to their actors regardless of where exactly the play was performed. The most central of these features, essential to the performance of early modern drama, was the existence of at least two separate doors.

This focus on the playhouse's points of entry and exit was driven by the fact that early modern theaters were enclosed structures. Even in travel plays that were originally written for amphitheater performance – plays that are especially interested in capturing a sense of vast spaces opening up onstage – there are obsessive reminders of how the representational space has been closed in by walls. The prologue to *Henry V*, for instance, invokes "the girdle of these walls," while the chorus to Dekker's contemporaneous travel play *Old Fortunatus* speaks of how "this smal Circumference must stand,/For the imagined Sur-face of much land."[20] These references confirm Richard Preiss's argument that the most unique, innovative, and enduring feature of the Theatre when it opened in 1576 was its "360-degree outer walls," so that "all theatrical space suddenly became interior space."[21] To see how this sense of enclosure could be

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20 I discuss these choruses further in my first chapter.

21 See "Interiority," in Turner, ed., *Early Modern Theatricality*, 47-70, esp. 49-50. A similar sense that the enclosure of theatrical space marks a key difference between medieval and early modern performance drives Marvin Carlson's study of the semiotics of theater architecture. In his view, medieval theater belonged to spaces that were physically or socially open to the entire population of the city, out on the street or in a cathedral, while the early modern period saw the enclosure of theater either inside the palaces of elites or in free-standing commercial structures. See *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). This is not to say that various forms of performance that took place outside the walls of a theater did not persist into early modern English culture; for discussion of such performances, see Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Scott Trudell, "Occasion," in Turner, ed., *Early Modern Theatricality*, 230-49; and Matthew J. Smith, *Performance and Religion in Early Modern England: Stage, Cathedral, Wagon, Street*

established, let us return, for a moment, to Hieronimo's production of *Soliman and Perseda* at the end of *The Spanish Tragedy*. After he has knocked up his curtain, he entreats a Duke that "when the train are passed into the gallery/You would vouchsafe to throw me down the key" (4.3.12-13). This verbal signaling directs the attention of Kyd's audience to think of Hieronimo's fictional onstage audience as enclosed inside the playing space. While the text of *The Spanish Tragedy* does not depict Hieronimo locking the door, a stage door most likely remains shut throughout the performance of *Soliman and Perseda* and of Hieronimo's long speech announcing that his fellow actors have actually been killed. When his onstage auditors come to realize what has happened, the Viceroy's first reaction is to cry out "Break ope the doors!," at which point attendants "*breake in, and hold* Hieronimo" (4.4.155).[22] This forcing open of the door provides a dramatic reminder of how both the players and the onstage audience of Hieronimo's tragedy have been locked up together. In creating this image of an enclosed theater in his fictional world, Kyd also intimates a spatial contraction for his own audience. The emotional intensity that made *The Spanish Tragedy* among the most influential plays of the period is produced, at least in part, by Kyd's careful manipulation of the stage space, drawing together his own audience with that onstage, as they share the horror of murder becoming real inside the claustrophobic space of the theater.

Davenant's Pictures: Spatial Representation and the Development of the Scenic Stage

This focus on theatrical space as enclosed and bounded returns in one of the foundational dramatic productions of the Restoration stage, William Davenant's 1656 *The Siege of Rhodes*.

(Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019).

22 This stage direction was an addition in 1602, although Calvo and Tronch point out that the staging is implied in the 1592 text.

The first performance, in Davenant's private residence, Rutland House, was among the few theatrical productions to be sanctioned by the Cromwellian government, and Davenant worked with the stage designer and architect John Webb to introduce a scenic stage, with a proscenium arch and changeable scenery. After the Restoration, Davenant would open his new Lincoln Inn's Fields playhouse in 1661 – the first purpose-built theater to fully incorporate the new scenic stage – with an expanded version of *The Siege of Rhodes*.[23] The generic nature of this work remains murky. It is often called the first English opera, as it was fully sung-through in "Recitative Music," but scholars have also seen it as a continuation of the masque tradition.[24] Davenant and Webb had worked with Inigo Jones on the final Caroline masques, and both the scenic stage and the musical styles of the piece appear to continue their earlier practices. Along with his work on the masques, Davenant had written plays for the King's Men at Blackfriars, and *The Siege of Rhodes* also incorporates the dramatic tradition of the commercial playing companies. One of its main sources, in fact, is *Soliman and Perseda*, the 1592 play, probably by Kyd, that expands the play-within-the-play of *The Spanish Tragedy*. In combining the scenic stage and musical settings of the masque with a narrative plot, Davenant began the spatial experiment that would flourish in the Restoration theater. By showing both continuities and changes in Davenant's practices, this section begins to lay out the complex historical development in the uses of stage space that the dissertation traces.

23 For treatments of Davenant's career that consider his theatrical practice across the 18-year gap in sanctioned performance, see Richard Kroll, *Restoration Drama and "The Circle of Commerce": Tragicomedy, Politics, and Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 93-204; and Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century Scenic Stage, c1605-1700* (Amherst: Cambria, 2008).

24 For a detailed account of this generic complexity, see Andrew R. Walkling, *Masque and Opera in England, 1656-1688* (London: Routledge, 2017), 143-92. For the linkage of *The Siege of Rhodes* and Davenant's other Interregnum shows to the masque tradition, see Rachel Willie, *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1647-72* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 90-94.

The Siege of Rhodes was accompanied by a printed libretto that allowed its audience to follow the words of the songs, and in which Davenant wrote a preface explaining what the audience were about to see and hear. With an echo of Shakespeare and Dekker's choruses to *Henry V* and *Old Fortunatus*, Davenant repeatedly emphasizes the difficulty of representing a large scene inside an enclosed space. He complains that this room in his house "is so narrow an allowance for the fleet of Solyman the Magnificent, his army, the island of Rhodes and the varieties attending the siege of the city" (17-19).[25] Unlike his prewar predecessors, however, Davenant does not call on the spectators' imaginations, instead asking them to open their purse, "building us a larger room" (7-8). Davenant, that is, envisions a theater that *could* encompass the whole island. This spatial ambition, I argue, does not mark a break with his theatrical predecessors. Davenant uses one of the same spatial techniques as does Hieronimo in *The Spanish Tragedy*: at the top of the proscenium arch, we learn, "was a compartment, wherein was written Rhodes" (0.SD.3). Davenant shares with Hieronimo – and by extension with Kyd in *Soliman and Perseda* – an interest in establishing a certain type of generic space, marked by the military conflict between Christian Europe and the Ottoman empire. Although I have already suggested that naming the location proves a less useful technique, I do argue that there are important continuities in the use of spatial contrasts and of offstage space.

The continuities traced in this dissertation include the shift from medieval to early modern modes of performance. Even as the enclosure of theatrical space inside the walls of a building marks one key transformation in this shift, I also argue that early modern playwrights picked up some of their spatial techniques from their medieval predecessors. These continuities

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25 I cite from Janet Clare's edition, in her anthology *Drama of the English Republic: 1649-1660* for the Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

appear with especial clarity in those plays, including Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1587) and *Doctor Faustus* (c.1589), that take the representation of travel and of rapid shifts of location as their subject. Focusing on the use of costumes and stage properties, I show how the roots of early modern stage travel lay in the earlier dramatic tradition of moralities and saints' plays. Thomas Dekker's 1599 *Old Fortunatus* uses a magic traveling hat to fling its main characters across large distances, from Babylon to Cyprus and on to pre-conquest Britain. Dekker is not content, however, to treat travel as a purely geographic movement, for Fortunatus also ends up in a "wilderness" where he encounters allegorical figures of Virtue and Vice. Through this intertwining of journeying as a geographical and as a spiritual concern, Dekker helps us to see how deeply the spiritual journeys in plays like *Mankind* (c. 1470) shaped the spatial techniques of a variety of travel plays on the prewar public stage.

In arguing for certain continuities in stage practices from the medieval to the early modern stage, I join a robust scholarly tradition.[26] Our understanding of the early modern "Shakespearean" stage space, however, continues to be structured around a presumed break and contrast with the technologies introduced at the Restoration – especially the proscenium archway and the sliding shutters with painted scenery. A pervasive view, most influentially articulated by Alan Dessen, holds that "the pre-1642 actor entered to a neutral, unlocalized space," and that we have misconstrued this space due to later developments: "Starting in the Restoration but especially in the 1700s, movable scenery became an integral part of both staging and theatrical thinking, so that, from the beginning of the editorial tradition until very recently, scholars,

26 See, *inter alia*, David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660* (London: Routledge, 1959-81); Ineke Murakami, *Moral Play and Counterpublic: Transformations in Moral Drama* (London: Routledge, 2011); Kurt Schreyer, *Shakespeare's Medieval Craft: Remnants of the Mysteries on the London Stage* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); and Smith, *Performance and Religion*.

drawing upon their sense of playgoing or imagined performances, have attached specific locales to Shakespeare's scenes, even when such specificity clashed with the original effects."[27] Dessen correctly identifies the rise of scene headings in playtexts with the introduction of painted scenery. To read playtexts from the 1660s and 70s is to watch the convention of scene headings arise fitfully – in most of the plays I have studied from that period, location is noted for some but not all scenes – and the consistent introduction of such headings to the plays of Shakespeare is typically dated to Rowe's 1709 edition.[28]

This textual feature, however, does not mean that the earlier playwrights were not thinking quite precisely and carefully about ways to construct and manipulate fictional location and theatrical space. There was no epochal transformation in these developments of stage technology, *pace* Margreta de Grazia and her attempt to disrupt narratives that place the birth of modernity in Hamlet's consciousness. For de Grazia, 1660 is a "momentous" date: "not for the obvious reason that it coincides with the end of the Commonwealth and the Restoration of the monarchy. It is because when the theaters reopened, a new kind of stage was on view. The proscenium stage had replaced the platform stage; a perspectival space set off from the audience had supplanted an open stage continuous with the audience."[29] This contrast misconstrues both the Restoration theaters, in which playwrights continued to imaginatively involve their audiences in the world of the play, and the pre-1642 theaters, where complex fictional worlds were given a

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27 Alan C. Dessen, "Stage Directions and the Theater Historian," in Richard Dutton, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 513-27, esp. 524-5.

28 For an analysis of Shakespeare's spatial practice that begins with an attempt to overcome a specific scene heading introduced by Rowe, see Henry S. Turner, "*King Lear* Without: The Heath," *Renaissance Drama* 28 (1997), 161-93.

29 Margreta de Grazia, "World Pictures, Modern Periods, and the Early Stage," in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 7-21, esp. 18.

represented reality distinct from the space of the audience.

There is one key difference in the spatial organization of pre-1642 and post-1660 plays: the introduction of changeable scenery leads to a greater fixity of location. In Restoration plays, if a sequence begins indoors, it will end indoors, in the same room. Shakespeare and his contemporaries have more flexibility. Even in Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), the most spatially precise and circumscribed play on the prewar stage, it is impossible to tell, at the opening of both the second and third acts, whether the characters who arrive onstage are meant to be walking down the street towards Lovewit's house, or if we are to imagine them as having already entered. This openness to subtle shifts of location within a scene, however, is not the same as an unlocalized stage. Jonson leaves a certain amount of room for a spatial transition from a public world to a private one, but his play goes on to create highly differentiated spaces inside Lovewit's house.

While acknowledging this type of distinction between pre-1642 and post-1660 drama, this dissertation uncovers a number of important continuities in stage practice.[30] To do so, I am especially interested in the theatrical culture of the first two decades of the Restoration, when playwrights were working to accommodate new stage technologies to earlier dramatic traditions. In the 1660s, Davenant was joined by playwrights including Samuel Tuke, William Cavendish, and John Dryden, who all experimented wildly with various techniques for manipulating stage space, discovering uses for the new painted scenery while simultaneously returning to the work

30 These continuities could involve the visual presentation of space. Mariko Ichikawa has recently provided a highly speculative argument about the stage curtains on the prewar stage, suggesting that they may have been changed between the acts to signal changes in location. Ichikawa does not make the connection to the introduction of painted scenery at the Restoration, but if her speculations were to be accepted, it appears that there could be important continuities in how theater used different forms of visual scenery. See "'What story is that painted vpon the cloth?': Some Descriptions of Hangings and their Use on the Early Modern Stage," *Theatre Notebook* 70, no. 1 (2016), 2-31.

of their predecessors for images of the generic space that could be created onstage. There is a certain consolidation and increased control of spatial practice among playwrights of the 1670s, including William Wycherley, Aphra Behn, and Thomas Shadwell. Even as the painted scenery has become a natural element of their theater – a naturalization reflected in the increasing use of scene headings in their printed playtexts – they continually drew on the spatial models in the plays of their predecessors, especially Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Jonson.[31] Throughout this dissertation, I show Restoration playwrights creating variations on the types of space they encountered in their pre-1642 dramatic heritage. Wycherley, for instance, models the urban domestic interiors of *The Country Wife* and *The Plain Dealer* quite closely on those found in Jonson's comedies, while Behn found important precursors to her theatrical discoveries of bedchambers in Shakespearean tragedy, especially *Othello*. My selection of plays has been driven by this interplay between the prewar and Restoration theaters, leading to an especial focus on Jonson and Shakespeare. I treat their spatial techniques as part of a larger theatrical culture, reading them alongside their contemporaries – including Middleton, Heywood, and Marston – but I also suggest that their particular ways of manipulating space proved especially conducive as models for Restoration playwrights.

Although Jonson and Shakespeare were especially influential in shaping the spatial techniques of the Restoration stage, later playwrights plundered a large range of prewar plays, as is indicated by Davenant's somewhat surprising use of *Soliman and Perseda* as a source for *The Siege of Rhodes*. Kyd's play would have seemed old-fashioned well before the closing of the theaters, with its ranting Turkish emperor and its allegorical frame of Love, Death, and Fortune.

31 Although I have not drawn heavily on the work of Fletcher and his various collaborators in this dissertation, I envision turning to his work in an expanded version of the project.

In imagining the 1522 Ottoman conquest of Rhodes as driven by the tempestuous desires of Soliman, Kyd nevertheless bequeathed to Davenant a model for representing large-scale military conflict on the scale of individual passions. Davenant intensifies this circumscription, including only seven parts for his actor-singers, almost remaining on the scale of Hieronimo's brief play in *The Spanish Tragedy*, with its four actors.

Theatrical intensification also marks Davenant's approach to geographical space. Where *Soliman and Perseda* moves constantly back-and-forth between Rhodes and Soliman's court at Constantinople, with most of the major characters sailing across the sea at least once, Davenant sets all of *The Siege of Rhodes* in the titular location. Even as he envisions a theatrical space that could visually represent the whole island, he works to present a precise set of locations that can, in some sense, fit inside his theater. Webb's painted scenes – some of which I reproduce and discuss in my fourth chapter – tend to show a fleet or a battle, but Davenant does not design his play to make it seem as if the characters onstage are on one of the ships or on the battlefield. Instead, these characters enter from the battlefield or look out from shore at the fleet, establishing that the pictures on the changeable scenery are, in an important sense, offstage. This use of the offstage space to represent battle similarly guides Kyd in *Soliman and Perseda*, where Soliman conquers Rhodes when "*Sound an alarum to the fight*" (TLN 2328.SD).[32] While the Elizabethan play uses the sound of battle and the later one a visual depiction, both Kyd and Davenant use the offstage location of battle to mark how their characters have taken up a space on the outskirts.

Along with these different modes of using the offstage space, one of the most important spatial effects for both Kyd and Davenant comes in their use of contrasts between different locations. For Kyd, working with two separate countries allows for the establishment of two

32 I cite from the Malone Society edition, ed. Lukas Erne (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

distinct theatrical spaces. He associates Rhodes with the city walls that are repeatedly attacked (on two occasions the audience sees fearful Rhodians in the upper gallery and threatening Turks on the main stage), while Constantinople is marked by Soliman's court and throne-room. As had been the case in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd emphasizes how costumes visually demarcate these cultural differences. When the Rhodian knight Erastus first arrives at the Ottoman court, for instance, Soliman exclaims that "His habite argues him a Christian" (TLN 1272), and Soliman later requests that Erastus wear a "gilded gowne" to better fit in with the Turkish court (TLN 1508-9). Davenant may well, half a century later, have had his Turkish characters wear turbans to establish similar cultural differences. His choice to set the whole production on Rhodes and not include any movement back to the Ottoman court might seem to suggest that Christians and Turks are less distinct here, but Davenant is in fact quite precise in establishing separate locations within his playworld. There are three sets of changeable scenery used for the battle sequence that takes up most of *The Siege of Rhodes*: one that shows "the town besieged," in front of which only Christian characters appear, one of a mountain outside the town, for the Ottoman characters, and finally "a general assault given to the town," where warriors from both sides can be seen. Although these three spaces are all imagined to be close to each other, the dramatic movement from one to the other echoes Kyd's movements between Rhodes and the Ottoman court.

This spatial configuration, with certain spaces dominated by the Christian characters and others dominated by the Ottoman ones, provides an instance of continuity from Kyd's Elizabethan theater to Davenant's introduction of the scenic stage to English drama. There are, of course, important differences as well. Where Kyd establishes offstage space through sound, Davenant depicts the onstage location in relation to a visual image. Kyd's stage is more

multidimensional than is Davenant's, using the upper gallery to physically represent the walls of the town. Above all, there is Davenant's intensification of space, putting all the locations of his play in close proximity to each other. I would argue that this difference – either representing distant lands and movement between them, or representing movement between proximate spaces – reflects a major development in the type of effect each playwright hoped to have on his audience. Kyd is especially interested in testing the fortitude and chivalric ideals of his Christian principals, Erastus and Perseda, as they go from besieged Rhodes to the Ottoman court and back again.[33] He invites his audience to become emotionally involved in this journey and to imagine movement across these points of cross-cultural encounter. Writing in the wake of civil war, Davenant pushes his combatants closer together, creating a space in which ideals of personal honor clash with military aims.[34] Whether performed in the narrow confines of Rutland House, or later introducing the new Lincoln's Inn Fields theater, *The Siege of Rhodes* pulls the audience together inside a circumscribed space that can contain a variety of perspectives and conflicting emotions.

Audience Response and the Perception of Theatrical Space

All theater, of course, will have varying effects on individual spectators. In a case like *The Siege of Rhodes* it is easy to imagine that audience members who had fought on both sides of

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33 For useful discussions of chivalry, gender, and Christian-Muslim relations in *Soliman and Perseda*, see Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 161-67; and Laurence Publicover, *Dramatic Geography: Romance, Intertheatricality, and Cultural Encounter in Early Modern Mediterranean Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 95-108.

34 Clare traces out some of the ways in which *The Siege of Rhodes* responds to the civil wars in her introduction, 182-85. See also Susan Wiseman's claim that "Davenant's play directs the audience's sympathy ambiguously by posing an increasing disjunction between Solyman's war against Rhodes versus the representation of the Sultan as highly moral in European terms," *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 160.

the civil wars were in attendance, and a reading of the text could attempt to construct their differing responses. That is not the mode of reading I pursue in this project. Instead of a focus on individual spectators or a sociological analysis of actual audience members – the type of project pursued most fully in Andrew Gurr's *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*[35] – I unpack the types of response that various spatial techniques seem to demand from their audience. Combining attention to historical developments both in the physical disposition of theater and in the uses of that space made by different plays, I trace how the various choices made by playwrights work to manipulate what the audience sees and hears at any given moment. We cannot know to what extent the audience who assembled at Rutland House in 1656 noticed and responded to Davenant and Webb's depictions of different images on their painted backdrops. We can, however, make arguments about what effect playwright and stage designer seem to be aiming for – how they aim, for instance, to make the room of a London house seem transformed to a Mediterranean battlefield.

To account for this type of audience response I rely, in part, on what Amy Rodgers has called the "discursive spectator," the figure of the audience member as constructed within the drama itself, in prologues, epilogues, inset plays, scripted spectators, and other metatheatrical representations of spectatorship.[36] Professional playwrights were, almost of necessity, attentive observers of the processes of audience response, an attention that would include an interest in

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35 Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941); Ann Jennalie Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and Charles Whitney, *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). John J. McGavin and Greg Walker emphasize how the theatrical event might have been experienced differently by different individual spectators, and argue that these differences would have been shaped by the physical location from which each spectator observed the theatrical event; see *Imagining Spectatorship: From the Mysteries to the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

36 Amy J. Rodgers, *A Monster with a Thousand Hands: The Discursive Spectator in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

how audiences perceived the theatrical space. Consider, for instance, the sequence in Francis Beaumont's 1607 *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* – probably the early modern play with the most thorough and well-known representation of an onstage audience – where Rafe, the grocer's apprentice who plays a knight, fights with a barber. The sequence builds its humor around the disjunction between perceiving the stage as a barber's shop or as a giant's cave. Beaumont uses a set of standard theatrical techniques to establish, for his Blackfriars audience, that the "real" location of this sequence is meant to be a London barbershop, hanging up a copper basin "Without his door" and then having various characters enter through that door with the props of a barber's customer: one "*with a basin under his chin*," another "*with a patch o'er his nose*," and a third "*with a glass of lotion in his hand*" (3.240, 368.SD, 389.SD, 430.SD).[37] Even as he uses these various props to signal an urban locale, Beaumont depicts his onstage audience – the Citizen's Wife, in particular, who exclaims "the giant, the giant!" when the Barber enters (325) – instead perceiving the theatrical space as an enchanted cave. Along with the Wife's sense of this fictional locale, Beaumont shows her full involvement in the action, as she cries out "There, boy. Kill, kill, kill, kill, kill, Rafe" (351).[38] In this layering of differing spatial registers, we can see Beaumont thinking about the possibilities for representing space onstage. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* may not have been successful in conveying this spatial complexity to its own audience, but it nevertheless allows us access to how a sophisticated playwright thought about the process of audience response.[39] A spectator in a theater like Blackfriars could, all at once,

37 I cite from the edition of Sheldon P. Zitner for the Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

38 Rodgers's reading of the play focuses on the violence of spectatorial response; see *A Monster with a Thousand Hands*, 52-82.

39 According to a notorious preface by the printer Walter Burre, "the wide world… utterly rejected" the play (5-7). Jeremy Lopez has shown the extent to which this supposed failure has been turned into a virtue by modern critics; see *Constructing the Canon of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014),

perceive two different fictional spaces, as well as a contiguous theatrical space that could be shared, as we see in the Wife's emotional involvement, by audience and characters.

The project of tracing out audience perception of theatrical space has been pursued, among early modern scholars, most fully in the key of what Bruce Smith calls "historical phenomenology." Smith's studies of sound and of color have explored how the physical disposition of space in early modern theaters shaped the aural and visual experience of audiences, surveying a wide range of textual artifacts so as to reconstruct early modern ideas about and models of the senses.[40] As he puts it in a theoretical statement, historical phenomenology relies on the "stories that [Shakespeare] and his contemporaries told themselves about perception, about what was happening in their bodies and brains when they looked, listened, read, and loved."[41] A growing body of scholarship has asked how early modern models of emotion and the senses shaped audience experience inside the playhouse.[42] The tendency of this work has been synchronic, treating early modern culture as a field in which ideas can be located in medical or antitheatrical writings, for instance, and then applied to theater audiences.

This dissertation, by contrast, approaches audience experience diachronically. In tracing the development of theatrical techniques from the rise of purpose-built theaters to the

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74-78.

40 Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), esp. chapter 8, "Within the Wooden O," 206-245; and Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), esp. chapter 6, "The Curtain between the Theatre and the Globe," 208-247.

41 Bruce R. Smith, *Phenomenal Shakespeare* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 34.

42 See Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theater in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Matthew Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Katharine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard, eds., *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Allison P. Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Restoration, I show how certain conventions become naturalized modes of shaping the perceptions of spectators. In this regard, I follow the call of Jeremy Lopez to consider how various conventions can reveal what regular playgoers had come to expect and accept from the plays they attended.[43] By moving across a longer historical span than Lopez, I can show how adaptations of theatrical technology contribute to transformations in these types of audience expectation. The onstage presentation of urban crowds as they are encountered in doorways, for instance, increasingly removes itself from the street, with later plays more often establishing that they are situated in an upper room and that the street is "below." This increasing focus on hidden and intimate spaces suggests that audiences were being induced to perceive the space of the stage as itself more removed from the city outside. Plays about travel, meanwhile, contributed to a naturalization of travel and a sense of adventure, shaping an image of foreign travel as an exciting and attainable activity for Englishmen (indeed, most of the onstage travelers I treat are men, but some of the most memorable of such travelers are women, especially Heywood's Bess Bridges). This sense of the adventure, even danger, of travel, was increasingly replaced onstage by a confident sense of London as the center of a global empire. These theatrical developments reflect the increasing consolidation of English overseas travel and power, but the theater also works the other way, inspiring audiences through its manipulation of stage space. To trace the theatrical techniques studied in this dissertation is to observe how the theater shaped audience perceptions of culturally central forms of space.

43 Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also Jean E. Howard, *Shakespeare's Art of Orchestration: Stage Technique and Audience Response* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Jennifer Low and Nova Myhill, eds., *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama*, *1558-1642* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and Matteo A. Pangallo, *Playwriting Playgoers in Shakespeare's Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

Chapter Summaries

My chapters are organized around the different tools used to represent particular types of place, while also tracing a chronological development marked by both continuity and change. In my first chapter, “Stage Properties and the Allegorical Space of Travel Plays,” I show how exchanges of props and costume could quickly signal changes in location. Richard Brome’s metatheatrical romp *The Antipodes* (1638) centers on a young man who comes to believe that he has arrived at the opposite side of the world after he enters a tiring house (the room where props and costumes are stored). I argue that such properties were central to staging travel to distant locations, drawing on techniques that had been used in the morality play tradition, where the exchange of props had signaled changes in spiritual state—Mankind losing his spade and putting on a fashionable short jacket to mark his fallen state, for instance. The magic traveling hat in Thomas Dekker’s 1599 *Old Fortunatus,* whose wearer can be whisked from place to place in an instant, is a perfect emblem of the early modern stage’s interest in imagining movement between different locations, especially between specific places like Cyprus or the English court and allegorical spaces reminiscent of the morality drama. This movement captures how theatrical techniques used in an earlier theatrical moment could both create jarring shifts of location onstage and help to naturalize the attractions of global travel.

The second chapter, “Doors and the Staging of Urban Domestic Interiors,” turns to a standard element of theaters from across the seventeenth century, the two stage doors. Dramatic practice tended to designate one door as leading to a space imagined as further out, while the other leads inwards. I argue that this spatial model was given a particular urban spin in city comedies. William Wycherley’s *The Country Wife* (1675) clearly establishes that its main settings—the respective drawing rooms of the rakish Horner and the jealous Pinchwife—can be

entered from two directions, either from the street below or from hidden chambers further within. This spatial model was developed by Ben Jonson, I show, in his comedies such as *Volpone* (1606), *Epicene* (1609), and *The Alchemist* (1610). In doing so, Jonson crafted a richly textured fictional world while also playing with the place of the audience inside the playhouse, locating them in an uneasy position between the doors that lead back to the crowded city outside and the hidden spaces behind the stage doors.

This uneasy audience position within the theater could easily generate a desire to see further in behind the doors, a desire that playwrights fulfilled when they staged discoveries of intimate spaces. In my third chapter, "Discoveries, Beds, and Hidden Spaces, from *Othello* to *The Rover*," I argue that there were important continuities in the use of curtains on the prewar stage and of painted scenery after the Restoration. In both cases, playwrights could set up the expectation of seeing into bedchambers and similar spaces throughout a play, and then draw back the curtains or sliding shutters at a climactic moment. This movement often brings with it a sense of violation, and in the most famous of all bedchamber discoveries in early modern drama—that of Othello entering to murder Desdemona—Shakespeare sets the audience up to feel the horror and danger of entering a private space. Aphra Behn responds to Shakespeare's example in her first play, *The Forc'd Marriage* (1670), which includes a scene of a husband seeming to strangle his new wife in their bed, but she also includes, both in this play and in *The Rover* (1677), scenes of men discovered in their bedchambers. The theatrical techniques, combining movements through the door with discoveries, are quite similar, but the difference in the gender of the person discovered marks a key element of the shift from Shakespeare's claustrophobic tragic space to the series of urban bedrooms through which Behn's characters comically ramble.

In my fourth and final chapter, “Music and the Spatial Unity of Island Plays,” I consider an area where the spatial practices of prewar and Restoration theaters begin to diverge. In both *The Tempest* and the 1674 revision of the play into a hugely successful semi-opera, the physical placement of musicians around the theater shapes audience perceptions. Shakespeare, in his earlier version, creates a disorienting experience of the island space, drawn together by the echoing sounds of both thunderclaps and Ariel’s ethereal music. For the operatic version, the theatrical space was treated like a concert hall, with the stage surrounded by the large band of violinists employed by Charles II’s court. Now, the audience was more clearly invited to appreciate exciting displays of musical skill and vicariously to experience the royal presence. The most important musical addition to this version was a concluding Masque of Neptune and his wife Amphitrite, which shows Prospero using his skills as a magical showman—supported by a long series of musical displays—to subdue the seas. Shakespeare’s *Tempest* also includes a masque, but his wedding masque ends with a “*strange hollow and confused noise.*” In comparison to the confident image of court musicians bestriding the seas sixty years later, Shakespeare keeps introducing new sounds of disorientation to his theatrical island, suggesting how deeply the experience of being shipwrecked and lost structures his play.

Chapter One

Props and the Allegorical Space of Travel Plays

In Richard Brome's 1638 comedy *The Antipodes*, the young madman Peregrine Joyless comes to believe, upon stumbling into a tiring-house full of properties, that he has arrived at the other side of the world. Driven to distraction by his obsessive reading of travel narratives by the likes of Mandeville, Peregrine has been brought by his father to London, where the ingenious Doctor Hughball aims to cure him by theatrical means. Inside the home of the "*fantastic lord*" Letoy, whose personal servants double as an acting company, Peregrine and his family are given a command performance of a play about life in "Anti-London," the place at the exact opposite point on the globe. While Peregrine's family, along with Brome's audience at the Salisbury Court theater, can enjoy the satire in this play-within-the-play, Hughball guides his charge as an improvising participant. The genteel city comedy put on by Letoy's actors, however, hardly serves to fire Peregrine's imagination. Rather, it is among the "jigambobs and trinkets" of the tiring-house that he fully enters the action (3.308).[1] In the words of the chief actor Byplay, who describes this encounter, it is hard to know "Whether he thought 'twas some enchanted castle/Or temple hung and piled with monuments" (297-8), but once he grabs the sword and shield used in the staging of knightly romances, he proceeds to attack "the foresaid properties" and crown himself "King of the Antipodes" (305, 316). In his Mandevillian fantasy, to arrive in a mysterious and distant kingdom means being able to handle the types of object that belong in such a world.

1 I quote the play from Anthony Parr's edition for the Revels Plays Companion Library in *Three Renaissance travel plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

For Brome, Peregrine's naive acceptance that swords and puppets signal a foreign country seems to reflect the naivete of theatrical spectators who believe that these types of prop can contribute to the creation of other worlds onstage. Following the practice of his mentor, Jonson, Brome sets almost the entirety of his play inside a single home, with Letoy's house a tightly controlled setting. From the perspective of such a precise locale, the idea that a stage could encompass the peregrinations of a world traveler could seem nothing short of madness. This type of aesthetic distaste, captured in Sidney's complaint about how playgoers are faced with "Asia of the one side, and Afric of the other," did little to staunch the outpouring of plays set in distant and exotic places, and playwrights continued to fling their characters from place to place, with conveyances ranging from Faustus' travels by dragon to Pericles' shipwrecks all around the Mediterranean.[2] In this chapter, then, I turn to the challenging problem of representing space on a scale that could never be contained by a physical stage.

By beginning with Peregrine's encounter with the props in Letoy's tiring-house, I aim to advance an argument for the centrality of stage properties as tools for capturing the vast distances conveyed in plays of travel and exotic places. In making this argument, I rely on the expansive understanding of stage properties implicit in Brome's description of the tiring-house, which includes not only hand props like swords and shields, but also costume items like robes, beards, and visors, as well as larger pieces of stage furniture such as "Our planets and our constellations" (3.291). This list provides a useful reminder of how visually rich the early modern theater could be, and coming as it does in a metatheatrical exploration of onstage travel, it also begins to suggest how all this material stuff contributed to representing changes of place. Our tendency

2 For Sidney's complaints about stage travel in relation to the tradition of stage romance, see Cyrus Mulready, *Romance on the Early Modern Stage: English Expansion Before and After Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 52-77.

when thinking about travel and changes of location on early modern stages has been to emphasize the demands placed on the spectators' imaginations.[3] Shakespeare's Prologue and Choruses in *Henry V* makes an especially influential request that audience members "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts" (Prologue, 23), that they "Work, work your thoughts, and therein see a siege... eke out our performance with your mind" (3.0.25, 35).[4] This image of theatrical travel as depending above all on imagination seems to be encapsulated perfectly in one particular prop, the wishing hat in Thomas Dekker's 1599 *Old Fortunatus*. Whoever puts on the hat can be instantly transported to any other place with a simple wish, just as choruses in a wide range of plays ask audiences to use their minds and imaginatively jump around Europe and Asia.[5] The hat, however, was also a physical property, fully visible to the audience. Playgoers may have been piecing out the imperfections with their thoughts, but they were also accustomed to a system of representation in which props and stage furniture could efficiently signal changes in location.

The basic tools of this system, I argue, were developed in the medieval morality play tradition. Plays like *Mankind* (ca. 1470) focus on spiritual journeys, which are conveyed emblematically by changes of prop and costume, as when Mankind loses his spade and

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3 The emphasis on imagination in early modern travel plays comes out nicely in the title of the most thorough study of the genre, David McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013). Other key surveys include Peter Holland, "'Travelling hopefully': the dramatic form of journeys in English Renaissance drama," *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, eds. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michele Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 160-78; Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589-1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); and Claire Jowitt and David McInnis, eds., *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England: The Journeying Play* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

4 My quotations of Shakespeare are all from *The Norton Shakespeare, Third Ed*, eds Stephen Greenblatt et. al. (New York: Norton, 2016).

5 The choruses of *Old Fortunatus* and *Henry V* have provided key sites for scholars thinking through the spatial practices of early modern theaters, including in one of the most important studies of the topic, Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3-10.

exchanges his side gown for a short jacket, signaling his abandonment of Christian labor.[6] *Old Fortunatus* similarly stages the transformation of the title character from being "*meanly attired*" to appearing "*gallant*" as he and his sons flit between Cyprus, England, and Babylon. The magical wishing hat may provide a symbolic image of traveling on the wings of thought, but Dekker mainly used it – along with the play's other magical prop, a purse from which an unlimited supply of gold coins can be drawn – to capture movements between the allegorical space where Fortunatus encounters the personified figures of Fortune, Virtue, and Vice, and the courts of Babylon and the tenth-century English King Athelstane, which he visits in the play's romance plot. The allegorical moments reveal Dekker's debts to the morality tradition with particular clarity. The shifts between how props worked on medieval and on early modern stages have been traced most fully by Andrew Sofer, who begins his *The Stage Life of Props* with the communion wafer in the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*. In a Catholic culture where the wafer was seen as not simply representing the body of Christ, but actually containing His presence, its use as a prop proves highly ambiguous. For Sofer, this wavering between representation and real presence continues in post-Reformation props like the bloody handkerchiefs of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Othello*, which appropriate the spiritual charge of blood in service of deeply felt passions.[7]

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6 While I focus on *Mankind* as an especially clear instance of the issues at hand, the influence on Dekker and his contemporaries would have been felt more directly from the interludes performed earlier in Elizabeth's reign. T.W. Craik has shown how the association between changes of costume and changes of spiritual state formed a key part of these plays; see *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1967), 73-92. See also Alan Dessen, *Shakespeare and the Late Moral Plays (*Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); and Ruth Lunney, *Marlowe and the Popular Tradition: Innovation in the English Drama before 1595* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). For a more chronologically expansive view of the morality tradition and its influence, see David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), and Ineke Murakami, *Moral Play and Counterpublic: Transformations in Moral Drama* (London: Routledge, 2011).

7 *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). Kurt Schreyer has established the influence of the medieval stage's material culture on early modern drama more generally, in *Shakespeare's Medieval Craft: Remnants of the Mysteries on the London Stage* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014). For an

Here, I want to consider how props could carry with them a related capacity to infuse the theater with the presence of place. Mankind's spade provides an especially striking example, both marking out the stage as the land tilled by one yeoman farmer and transforming it into an image of the Earthly theater in which we all live our lives. In staging the travels of Fortunatus and his sons between the "wilderness" where they encounter Fortune and the more firmly localized English court, Dekker and the Admiral's Men could rely on the differences between allegorical costumes and contemporary dress to capture the movement from one type of space to another. *Old Fortunatus*'s insistent melding of medieval allegory and travel to specifically localized places may be quite unusual, but it also helps to open up the spatial conceptions that allowed for travel to so often be represented on the early modern stage. In Shakespeare and Wilkins's 1608 *Pericles*, where each scene takes place in a specific coastal location (or at sea), and the action of the play could potentially be mapped onto a chart of the eastern Mediterranean, Pericles' and Marina's journeys are often more spiritual than geographical.[8] The play's spectacular props contribute to this sense of different places being charged with moral and emotional significance, with the severed heads at Antioch pointing to the terrors of incest and Thaisa's coffin in Ephesus opening up a world of magic and rebirth. Here, Pericles' spiritual cycles have been integrated with changes in location. Dekker's play, meanwhile, has separated these two different strains of the travel play, showing how the stage could both represent specific places and create an allegorical space in which moral decisions were foregrounded.

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account of props focused on how they convey meaning, see Frances Teague, *Shakespeare's Speaking Properties* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991); for the implication of props in larger cultural and economic networks, see Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, eds., *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

8 For the play's geographic specificity, see Linda McJannet, "Genre and Geography: The Eastern Mediterranean in *Pericles* and *The Comedy of Errors*," *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, eds. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), 86-106.

This shift between geographic and allegorical types of space also appears to have made *Old Fortunatus* attractive for court performance. Our surviving text of the play marks a specific performance occasion for Elizabeth and her court at Richmond Palace, and provides an unusually extensive prologue and epilogue that both address the Queen and incorporate her into the resolution of the plot. Her allegorical encounter with Virtue, Vice, and Fortune turns out to provide an excellent space for royal flattery, while the play's geographically distant courts wink at England's burgeoning imperial ambitions. *Old Fortunatus* thus shows, I argue, how travel plays not only drew on the staging of spiritual journeys, but could put that allegorical process to use in a complex representation of the nation's increasing entanglements, politically and commercially, with the world beyond England's shores.[9]

In Wilkins's 1607 *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, written with John Day and William Rowley but sharing close similarities with *Pericles*, the experience of the eponymous brothers follows the structure of pre-Reformation saints' plays, even as the miracle they aim to achieve is an alliance with the Persian empire. This intertwining of allegorical and emblematic techniques with a geopolitical imaginary also creates links with the masque tradition, especially

9 Scholars have been attentive over the last two decades to how early modern plays represented England's increased participation in global networks of commerce. See, for instance, Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); and Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, eds., *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). This theatrical interest focused above all on contact with the Ottoman empire and Islamic world; see Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama*, *1579-1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); and Laurence Publicover, *Dramatic Geography: Romance, Intertheatricality, and Cultural Encounter in Early Modern Mediterranean Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Indeed, the geographic places represented in *Old Fortunatus* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* tend to cluster in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, including Cyprus, Babylon, Persia, and Turkey. In focusing on the theatrical techniques of these two plays, I hope to expand our sense of how this geographic imaginary was shaped by the exigencies of performance.

those instances, like *The Masque of Blackness*, that show geographical movement onstage. The connection between masques and travel plays appears with special clarity in *The Antipodes*, which concludes its theatrical cure of Peregrine with a masque of Discord and Harmony. As Peregrine moves out of his belief that a tiring-house contains the stuff of a foreign world, Letoy instead makes him encounter the masque's classical gods in a spectacular vision. Peregrine does not simply return to the tightly controlled space of Letoy's Jonsonian house, but heads on to the next point in his allegorical journey. Brome's satire of supposedly naive theatrical audience thus appears more complex than we might expect, and I will argue here that props, travel plays, and allegorical space remain closely linked throughout the period leading up to 1642.

The Morality Play of Fortunatus' Journeys

To create the shifts between different types of space in *Old Fortunatus*, Dekker melds the dramatic structure of the moral interlude with a story found in an earlier sixteenth-century German prose romance, which had recounted the travels of Fortunatus and his two sons Andelocia and Ampedo. In crafting his play, he may have been compressing two earlier plays performed by the Admiral's Men at the Rose. Henslowe records six performances of *The First Part of Fortunatus* in the spring of 1596, leading scholars to conjecture that there was a first part on Fortunatus and a second part dealing with his sons. Over multiple installments in November and December of 1599, Dekker was paid an amount equivalent to producing a new play, as he altered "the whole history of Fortunatus" and prepared it for court performance.[10] The sole

10 This textual history is summarized by Fredson Bowers in his edition, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), from which I cite the play. A fuller account of the textual and theatrical history is given by Cyrus Hoy in *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,"* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 71-91.

surviving text records this performance, at Richmond Palace on December 27, 1599, including a specially written prologue and epilogue addressed to the Queen. Along with these materials, the elements in Dekker's play not in the German source involve the personified figures of Vice and Virtue, who not only plant allegorical trees that are later found by Andelocia, but also appear before the Queen in the epilogue. These figures clearly move Fortunatus's story into the realm of the moral interlude, with echoes both of a recent play like *Doctor Faustus*'s Bad and Good Angels, as well as a traditional conflict like that between Mercy and Now-a-Days, Nought, and New Guise in *Mankind*.[11]

Indeed, Dekker appears to have picked up his interest in combining the morality play structure with geographically dispersed movement from Marlowe's play, which likewise draws on a variety of props in its staging of travel. Faustus' actual travels at first glance seem to take place in a purely imaginative realm, as the chorus describes his visit to Mount Olympus, "sitting in a chariot burning bright/Drawn by the strength of yoked dragons' necks,"[12] so that the audience would see him in Germany and Italy while largely imagining the movement between the countries. We know from Henslowe's 1598 property list, however, that at least some productions had the "dragon in fostes" appear onstage.[13] Along with providing a visually striking theatrical moment, Faustus' spin around the stage on the dragon prop would likely combine a representation of travel as geographic movement – immediately before this chorus he prepares to leave Wittenberg, and immediately afterwards he appears in Rome – with an allegorical image of

11 The specific connections between *Old Fortunatus*, *Doctor Faustus*, and the morality tradition are traced by Sidney Homan, who believes that Dekker relies more heavily on that tradition than does Marlowe, in "*Doctor Faustus*, Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, and the Morality Plays," *MLQ* 26, no. 4 (December 1965): 497-505.

12 B-text, 3.0.5-6. The A-text similarly includes this choral invocation of dragons. I quote from *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, eds. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

13 R.A. Foakes, ed, *Henslowe's Diary: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 320.

the threat to his soul in trusting to such horrid creatures. Once Faustus arrives, meanwhile, the creation of Rome as a specific place also depends on particular props. Henslowe's property list includes "the sittie of Rome," perhaps a painted canvas hanging unrolled for Act 3, as well as a "poopes miter." The latter encapsulates one of the standard techniques for representing travel in early modern drama, with props and costumes associated with a certain place used to signal a switch in locations. Marlowe thus combines his narrative of Faustus' moral development with a lively theatrical journey around Europe.

Even as he emphasizes the terrifying moral journey Faustus passes through, Marlowe tends to give it particular locations, with the Doctor encountering Mephistopheles in his study. Dekker goes further in creating allegorical moments, placing Fortunatus in a non-localized and morally charged space at key points. Like Dante's narrator at the beginning of the *Inferno,* Fortunatus enters the play lost in a wood, and can immediately be seen as poor, "*meanely attired... cracking nuts* (1.1.0.SD).[14] Singing to himself, he realizes that there's an offstage Echo, of which he asks, "tel me how thou cal'st this wood," to which Echo responds, appropriately enough, "This wood" (1.1.5-7). Although we will realize in the next scene that Fortunatus lives in Cyprus, there is nothing here to signify whether this unnamed wood lies on that island, somewhere else, or even if it has a location at all. Rather, it seems to exist in a separate realm, where Fortunatus's whole life is defined by his poverty. Growing exhausted with Echo, he lies down to sleep, and exclaims "this wildernesse is world without end" (1.1.49-50), suggesting that he has nowhere else to go. In this wilderness, the stage encapsulates the whole represented world. One cannot go out through the stage door to find another place, as if there were an inside

14 Hillary Nunn has emphasized the theme of hunger in this play; see "Playing with Appetite in Early Modern Comedy," *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England*, eds. Katharine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 101-17.

or outside to this forest. As Peter Womack has shown, this lack of fictional adjacency also defines the stage space of *Mankind*. On his reading, the struggle for Mankind's soul can be seen as a struggle between Mercy and the Vices for who will remain onstage alongside him. When characters leave they never claim to be going somewhere else, but rather state that they are going "hence," suggesting that there is no significant space outside of the ground Mankind tills onstage. Indeed, Mankind's final words imply that he is leaving this earthly world behind: "Sith I shall depart, bless me, father! hence then I go–/God send us all plenty of his great mercy" (905-6).[15] The wood in which Fortunatus begins his play similarly has no fictional border. To find his way out of the forest would be to find a way out of his state of poverty.

Dekker also continues the morality tradition by accompanying Fortunatus' movement out of the wilderness with an emblematic transformation of his appearance, visible in changes of costume and props. In *Mankind*, the fortunes of Mankind's spade provide a clear index of his moral development. Aligning him with the prelapsarian Adam, the spade shows Mankind choosing "To eschew idleness" (328), both as a yeoman laborer and as a Christian resisting the devil, and his fall begins when Titivillus tricks him into laying it down.[16] The fall reaches its peak when Mankind gives up his "side-gown" to have it cut down to "a fresh jacket after the new guise" (673; 678), with his fashionable look signaling his abandonment of Christian labor.[17] Fortunatus has a similar change of appearance upon choosing the magic purse and its unlimited supply of golden coins over wisdom, even as that choice allows him to escape the spiritual

15 I quote *Mankind* from Glynne Wickham's edition in *English Moral Interludes* (London: Dent, 1976). For Womack, see "Off-Stage," *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013),71-92, esp. 73-75.

16 For discussion of this prop, see Steven May, "A Medieval Stage Property: The Spade," *Medieval English Theatre* 4, no. 2 (1982): 77-92.

17 See Murakami, *Moral Play*, 22-25.

wilderness.[18] At the same moment she gives him the purse, Fortune gives him directions home: "This path leades thee to *Cyprus*, get thee hence" (1.1.307). The implication of this somewhat ambiguous spatial direction – what kind of earthly path could lead to an island? – would seem to be that he moves from the wood as allegorical space to the physical home where he can interact with his sons. This spiritual journey is accompanied by an emblematic transformation of appearance. In the next scene Fortunatus enters to his sons "*gallant*" (1.2.132.SD), having had more than a hundred lines to change from his mean attire to this presumably costly and impressive costume. The magic purse thus becomes a tool to show how his foolish choice leads to visibly pleasing changes for the audience.

Once the play turns to Andelocia and Ampedo, meanwhile, Dekker uses the purse to enact a shift from the allegorical sense of theatrical space as encompassing the whole world to the idea of travel to specific places. After Fortunatus dies and bequeaths the purse, along with the wishing hat, to his sons, it becomes the source of funds that makes travel possible for the spendthrift Andelocia. The second half of the play focuses on his visits from Cyprus to the English court, where he competes for the hand of Princess Agripyne with suitors from France, Spain, his own Cyprus, and native Englishmen. In presenting these rival suitors, Dekker engages in some of the same types of ethnic humor that had been so central to the Admiral's Men's play of the previous year (1598), William Haughton's early city comedy *Englishmen For My Money*, which had used fake Spanish, Dutch, and French accents to signal romantic rivalries. Andelocia's arrival at the English court in Act 3 is accompanied with the disbursement of props that at least look highly valuable. His entry is immediately preceded by three courtiers who come in "*with*

18 On the symbolism of gold in the play, see William Sherman, "'Gold is the strength, the sinnewes of the world': Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and England's Golden Age," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 6 (1993): 85-102.

Iewels" (3.1.217.SD), gabbing about the prodigal Cypriot with the "bounteous hand" (3.1.219). Instead of the allegorical props, discussed below, of the scenes with Fortune, Vice, and Virtue, the fictional English court, with its competing courtiers, is filled with glistening props that signify the economic exchange that itself led to an increase in travel across Europe. The King welcomes Andelocia with the promise that his generosity with gold coins will be returned: "if our English Ile/Hold any object welcome to your eyes,/Doe but make choice, and claime it as your prize" (3.1.238-40). With its signification of wealth, the purse opens up the possibility for Andelocia to move from his impoverished state in Cyprus to take his place within the court.

Just as the magic purse allows Fortunatus and Andelocia to move from states of poverty into the courts of Babylon and England, the magic hat allows a shift of registers the opposite way, as Andelocia travels from the court back into the allegorical wilderness. After Princess Agripyne has stolen the purse from him, the Chorus describes how Andelocia returns to Cyprus, steals the hat from his brother, and then sneaks into the Princess' chambers disguised as a jeweler. Seeing that she wears the purse, he grabs her in his hands, and, the Chorus concludes, "So flies he with her (wishing) in the ayre,/To be transported to some wildernesse:/Imagine this the place: see here they come" (4.0.30-32), followed by an entrance of "Andelocia *with the wishing Hat on:* Agripyna *in his hand*" (4.1.0.SD). The vagueness of Andelocia's wish signals that the hat is used in this play less to show movement between specific named places and more to move back into the allegorical space in which Fortunatus found himself at the beginning. The hat on Andelocia's head provides a simple but powerful signal to the audience of what type of space will appear in this scene.

The wilderness to which the hat sends Andelocia and Agripyne, it turns out, is the space where the personified figures of Vice and Virtue had planted magical trees in an early masque-

like scene of the play. In an emblematic comparison of outer beauty and inner virtue, Vice enters "*with a gilded face*" and attendants who plant "*a faire tree of Gold with apples on it*," while Virtue comes out with "*a coxecombe on her head, all in white*," bringing *"a tree with greene and withered leaues mingled together, and litle fruit on it*" (1.3.0.SD). When Andelocia abducts Agripyne, they end up in front of these two trees, and when she complains of thirst he responds that she should "Be comforted, see here are Apple trees" (4.1.67). Faced with the withered tree and the golden one, she commands Andelocia to gather some of the beautiful-looking fruits. Dekker clearly expected that the Admiral's Men would have access to a substantial tree property,[19] sturdy enough to support the actor playing Andelocia, who climbs the tree, eats one of the "rare red-cheekt Apples" (4.1.76), and proceeds to stand "*fishing with his girdle*" for the apple that grows highest up (4.1.85.SD). As he reaches towards the top of the tree, Agripyne complains of the heat, so he throws down his hat to her, and immediately after she puts it on, she sighs "O *England*, would I were againe in thee" (4.1.90), promptly disappears, and leaves Andelocia alone in the wilderness. In a repetition of the play's opening scene, Andelocia is left sleeping like his father under the trees, in the emblematic vision of poverty and loss that is part of trusting to Fortune. The hat may have given him an opportunity to travel the world, but now it has only led him out of the localized space of the English court and into the allegorical space at the foot of the symbolically rich tree props.

While the key uses of the hat and purse are to move between the allegorical space of morality drama and the more localized places of cross-cultural and economic exchange, Dekker

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19 Indeed, Henslowe's property list includes "j tree of gowlden apelles" (320). David McInnis has questioned whether this prop was designed for *Fortunatus*, on the grounds that the scenes in which it appears in Dekker's version were likely not in the 1596 play. See "Fortunatus and the 'Tree of Gowlden Apelles' in Henslowe's Inventory," *Notes and Queries* 58, no. 2 (June 2011): 270-72. Even if not originally made for a Fortunatus play, the prop's availability for Dekker's theatrical needs is nevertheless clear.

also treats his audience to moments where the theater's fantasy of travel is given free rein, especially at the moment where Fortunatus acquires the hat.[20] Thanks to the wealth generated by his purse, he has been invited into the private chamber of the Souldan of Babylon, who draws a curtain to reveal a casket, "Fettered in golden chaines, the Lock pure gold" (2.1.68), in which is kept the "course felt Hat" (71). As with the two trees in the preceding scene, Dekker works with the contrast between a seemingly valuable golden object and the true value that cannot be seen by the naked eye. The hat's combination of coarse simplicity and hidden power reflects the potential effects of the theater's own seemingly simple performance techniques. When Fortunatus tricks the Souldan into letting him test the hat's weight, puts it on his head, and wishes "Would I were now in *Cyprus* with my sons" (2.1.108), the minds of the audience will all follow him into the next scene, which of course has him appear to his sons on the outskirts of Famagosta. The audience members are agreeing to accept the trick, allowing that the stage has imaginatively measured out the space from Babylon to Cyprus. All that was needed, according to the stage directions, was for Fortunatus to "*Exit*" on the same line in which he wished to be with his sons, perhaps heightening the effect with an exploding firework or by descent through a trapdoor, to make Fortunatus's departure seem more sudden, creating an appropriate level of pleasurable surprise.

Staging Travel at Court

In positioning the hat as a symbol of the power of theatrical representation, seemingly

20 Daniel Vitkus has emphasized the element of pure fantasy in Dekker's play and how it covers over the extreme difficulty of travel in the period; see "Labor and Travel on the Early Modern Stage: Representing the Travail of Travel in Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and Shakespeare's *Pericles*," in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, eds. Michelle Dowd and Natasha Korda (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 225-42.

coarse and simple but able to stage travels around the globe, Dekker also encapsulates something of why this play was especially appropriate for performance at Queen Elizabeth's court.[21] In part, this meant adding moments of spectacular allegory like the golden tree, allowing the Admiral's Men to enter into the splendor around them in the hall at Richmond Palace. The acting company, however, would never be able truly to compete with the Queen and her courtiers in projecting the appearance of glistening wealth. What the theater could do, by contrast, was to imaginatively move its spectators into the hidden realms of power lying behind the outward courtly splendor. In the scene where Fortunatus first steals the hat, the Souldan emphasizes its political utility: "By this I steal to euery Princes court,/And heare their priuate councels and preuent/All daungers which to *Babylon* are meant" (2.1.90-92). With echoes of Faustus's visit to the Pope in Rome, the magic of the hat is valued for its capacity to bring one into the inner sanctum of powerful figures, and later Andelocia uses it in his movement in and out of Athelstane's court.[22] For an audience that includes Queen Elizabeth, this travel into rival courts encompasses a fantasy of imperial power, in which one can see not only what rivals put on display, but what they say in private. Dekker crafts a spatial model, I argue in this section, that uses the allegorical space of the morality tradition as a backdrop in which masque-like elements can be combined with representations of travel. In court performance, this combination could powerfully convey a sense of how the whole world could be seen by England's Gloriana.

Dekker incorporates Elizabeth herself into the play's theme of travel, beginning with the

21 For my discussion of court performance, I rely on John Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Richard Dutton, *Shakespeare, Court Dramatist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

22 This fantasy of access to power provides a blunt version of the subtle modes of political knowledge that András Kiséry finds being conveyed in a number of tragedies contemporaneous with this play; see *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Prologue specially written for the court performance, which centers on two old men who are "trauelling to the temple of *Eliza*" (1). One of them is presented as a foreign visitor who has returned after having visited the preceding year – presumably a reference to the Admiral's Men having performed the previous Christmas season. This old traveler has been wandering like Fortunatus in the intervening year, and introduces himself as a pilgrim who has always aimed to arrive at this temple, the glorious residence of the Court. Directly addressing Elizabeth in the audience, the old traveler requests her grace for the whole visiting company of actors, and implies that they have spent the year seeking to return to her court: "O pardon me your Pilgrim, I have measurd/Many a mile to find you" (50-51). Just as the play that follows centers on the wanderings of Fortunatus and his sons – both as a physical journey that stretches from Babylon to England, and as a spiritual journey that includes Andelocia's flight to the wilderness with the trees of vice and virtue – there is an element of a physical journey from London out to Richmond Court and of a symbolic journey for the acting company arriving at the symbolic center of the realm.[23] The prologue emphasizes the connection between Fortunatus' travels in the play and the travels of the Admiral's Men as performers at court, as the old traveler continues that he has "brought,/Old *Fortunatus* and his family,/With other *Cipriots* (my poore countrie men)/To pay a whole yeeres tribute" (51-54). Here, the old traveler is made to be, like Andelocia in the play, a visitor from Cyprus to the English court. The travels represented in the play thus get inscribed into the performance situation at Richmond Palace, metaphorically viewing theatrical performance as itself a form of travel, carrying figures from far away into the present space.

Within this space, the body of the Queen, with her throne and surrounding attendants,

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23 Paul Frazer has discussed the negotiation of social space that takes place in this play, "Performing Places in Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*," *Philological Quarterly* 89 (2010): 457-80.

becomes a type of prop as well, as the two old men redirect the audience's attention toward her. Their dialogue begins with a discussion that suggests they are still traveling towards the court, and as they hurry to arrive, the foreign traveler gestures to the lights that have been lit in preparation of the evening performance: "see, the Tapers of the night are already lighted... See howe gloriously the Moone shines vpon vs" (23-26). With the reference to the moon, it is clear that the actor points towards the Queen, as his companion exclaims in response: "Peace foole: tremble, and kneele: The Moone saist thou?/Our eyes are dazled by *Elizaes* beames,/See (if at least thou dare see) where shee sits" (27-29). Throughout the play, even as the spectators follow the story of Fortunatus and his sons, they will still be able to see Elizabeth. Her physical presence provides an anchor in the physical space of the court, with all the action taking place before her eyes.

This explicit focus on the monarch's presence brings Dekker's play into line with the masque tradition, in which members of the court would be incorporated into the performance. The focus on the performers arriving in Elizabeth's presence suggests that this play is an important precursor to Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones' earliest masques for Elizabeth's successor. Put on at Whitehall almost exactly five years after *Old Fortunatus* had been performed at Richmond, the January 1605 *Masque of Blackness* has its characters arrive in front of James after traveling from the river Niger, just as Dekker's wandering Cypriot had arrived before Elizabeth. The masque, of course, stages these travels on a much more extravagant scale. While the travelers to Elizabeth's court are simply the brief prologue to Dekker's play, Jonson and Jones construct their whole masque around the spectacular movement of Queen Anne and her court ladies into the great hall at Whitehall. Once there, James' observing eyes supposedly structure the performance even more thoroughly than did Elizabeth's. In describing Jones' painted scene

of a "*vast sea*," Jonson emphasizes the "*lines of perspective*" that were on the same "*horizon*" as "*the level of the state, which was placed in the upper end of the hall*" (65-8).[24] James' throne, that is, was placed directly opposite the playing area, making the whole spectacle seem directed at him. According to the traditional reading, associated above all with the early work of Stephen Orgel, the masques were expressions of the King's absolute power, but scholars have come to see the form as negotiating between different perspectives, especially in the cases where Queen Anne appeared in and shaped the productions.[25] *Old Fortunatus* can help us to further see how the spaces of court performances both catered to and pushed beyond the monarch's perspective. On the one hand, the prologue and epilogue firmly place the theatrical event in Elizabeth's presence, making her court the allegorical center of fortune, wealth, and virtue. By making Fortunatus' travels the central concern of the selected play, however, Dekker and the Admiral's Men chose to showcase their capacity for imaginatively moving into other places.

Jonson, Jones, and Anne constructed *The Masque of Blackness* more firmly around a single action – the voyage of the Daughters of Niger to the isle of Britannia – thereby developing a sustained allegorical transformation of the court space. Like the moment with Faustus on his dragon, the court performers here use large stage properties to show the movement of travel onstage, as opposed to simply having characters arrive from or leave to points of travel. These properties are much more spectacular than could be the case on the public stage, and the earliest masques of James' reign were especially lavish. The two main speaking figures of *The Masque of Blackness*, Oceanus and Niger, rode out on "*sea-horses, as big as the life*" (31), while Queen

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24 I cite from *The Complete Masques,* ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

25 For Orgel's influential early statement, see *The Jonsonian Masque (*New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), while the key revisionist account comes in David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, eds., *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Anne and her eleven masquing companions "*were placed in a great concave shell like mother of pearl, curiously made to move on those waters and rise with the billow*" (46-7), around which torch-bearers were seated on "*huge sea-monsters*" (51). Inigo Jones' painted sea and moving machines, that is, create an image of naval travel on a scale never attempted by the professional playing companies, but this moving image is less about realistic representation than about the allegorical extension of the new British court in space.

The text that Jonson created to Anne's specifications emphasizes the new imperial unity embodied in the person of the Scots-English King. Oceanus begins by welcoming Niger to "mine empire's heart" out at sea (93), and after hearing about how Niger and his twelve daughters have sailed past "Black Mauretania," "Swarth Lusitania," and "Rich Aquitania" (173-5), he welcomes them to "This land that lifts into the temperate air," an empire ruled by "Neptune's son" (179-81). In this regard, the masque transforms the hall at Whitehall into the allegorical heart of a budding empire that can begin to spread from the newly unified isle of Britannia outwards across the vast ocean.[26] The spectacular stage properties and the perspective view created for the King seem to bring this empire into the hall. At the same time, the appearance of Queen Anne and the other court ladies in blackface, as they descend from their moving sea-shell to take dance partners from the crowd, firmly places the performance in the specific location of the court.[27] The particular spatial model of court performance appears here with spectacular force, as the costly stage properties both show off the locally available wealth and create an allegorical image of the world dominated by the monarch's power.

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26 See Richmond Barbour, "Britain and the Great Beyond: *The Masque of Blackness* at Whitehall," in Gillies and Vaughan, *Playing the Globe*, 129-53.

27 For an influential account of the masque's concerns over racial and gender difference, see Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 128-41.

In its most spectacular moments, *Old Fortunatus* similarly uses props to give visual form to the idea of theater being able to encompass the whole world. Fortune's masque-like entry to the sleeping Fortunatus has one of her nymphs enter with her wheel, while the other comes in "*with a Globe*" (1.1.63.SD), which Fortune points to when she wants to explain her power: "Behold you not this Globe, this golden bowle,/This toy cal'd worlde at our Imperiall feete?/This world is *Fortunes* ball wherewith she sports" (1.1.99-101). Even though most audience members are unlikely to have actually been able to see Fortune's globe in much detail, it was nevertheless given a physical presence within the theater, and the prop may well have reflected cartographic advances over the preceding century. Fortune's power over Fortunatus already appears symbolically in his name, and the presence of the Globe prop would extend that symbolic power over the world. If the prop recognizably represented the Earth's geography, it would also contribute to the entanglement of symbolic and political power onstage.

At the end of his court production, Dekker aims to give this representation of the terrestrial Globe allegorical life, layering the physical space of the actual English royal hall with the fictional spaces of Athelstane's court and the realm of Vice and Virtue. The narrative ends with both Andelocia and Ampedo having been murdered, and Fortune, Vice, and Virtue appearing to debate with Athelstane what should be done with the murderers. The three allegorical figures then move on to a new topic of debate, which of them is most beautiful. Virtue has changed out of the poor and tattered dress that had symbolized her worldly abjection, and now she is crowned and attended by nymphs and kings. When Virtue claims that Fortune's "beautie's base to mine" (5.2.301), Fortune responds by gesturing towards the fictional King Athelstane, exclaiming "see here's a court/Of mortall Iudges, lets by them be tride,/Which of vs three shall most be deifide" (5.2.302-4). Considering the extent to which characters have turned

away from virtue over the course of the play, the outcome of his judgment remains in question. Virtue thus rejects Fortune's request that they be judged by the fictional court, instead breaking the frame and addressing herself directly to Queen Elizabeth, "My Iudge shall be your sacred deitie" (5.2.306), which immediately leads to Vice being banished and Fortune kneeling down to her. This is fairly straightforward flattery, with Dekker treating the Queen as the true source and judge of virtue in her realm. Fortune exclaims "Kneele not to me, to her transfer your eyes,/There sits the Queene of Chance" (5.2.312-3), suggesting that the real point of the Christmas season Court performance is not so much the play itself as the opportunity to see displayed the glory of Elizabeth, seated at the center of the room, with the rest of the spectators arrayed beside her. Fortune's invitation here seems directed to everyone, both the fictional court onstage and the spectators sitting in the hall at Richmond, all directed to look at Elizabeth.

Without needing to speak, Elizabeth makes her judgment between Fortune and Virtue simply by looking at the play. As everyone looks at her and she looks at the stage, Virtue delivers an epilogue on behalf of all the actors, "that thus doe kneele before your eyes," who are "shaddowes like my selfe," asking the Queen, "dred Nymph it lyes/In you to make vs substances" (5.2.337-9), suggesting that she is the one who gives body, reality, and value to the play. In this sequence, Elizabeth's eyes become the point that brings together the various layers of imagined and physical space. Simply by looking, Elizabeth establishes that the play has conveyed an idea of virtue, as Virtue herself concludes, "I read a verdict in your Sun-like eyes,/And this it is: *Vertue* the victorie" (5.2.341-2). Beyond the typical layering of the physical stage space upon the fictional scene – in this case the temporary stage put up in the hall at Richmond and the country road outside Athelstane's court where Fortunatus' sons had been murdered – there is also the allegorical space in which Fortune and Virtue debate which of them

should be valued, as well as the symbolic realm of Elizabeth's royal presence. As she looks at the actors, she sees a vision that encompasses theater practitioners, a fictional court, and the allegorical victory of Virtue. As everyone else looks at her, the symbolic power of her presence reveals her mastery over this intertwining of spatial levels.

Turbans, Magic Glasses, and Decapitated Heads

Even without Dekker's ostentatious division between allegorical and geographical types of space, playwrights continued to embed elements of spiritual journeying into their stagings of travel. By incorporating these two types of space in a more unified focus on movement between localized places, they were able to show travelers moving through a larger variety of foreign kingdoms and empires than had been the case in *Old Fortunatus*, and the plays thereby seem to privilege themes of geographic exploration and encounter. The eastern Mediterranean proved a key region for this theatrical movement, as can be seen in a pair of plays co-written by George Wilkins, with two different sets of collaborators for two different theater companies: *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* with John Day and William Rowley in 1607 for Queen Anne's Men at the Curtain, and *Pericles* (c. 1608) at the Globe, on which Wilkins collaborated with Shakespeare.[28] These plays share a structure built less through tightly plotted action than through movement from place to place, a movement accompanied by various changes in the stage properties visible onstage.

Both plays open with scenes that highlight the display of severed heads. In the case of

28 The most extensive case for Wilkins as Shakespeare's coauthor on *Pericles* has been made by MacDonald P Jackson in *Defining Shakespeare: Pericles as Test Case* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), a view accepted by both Lois Potter, textual editor of the play for the *Norton 3* (from which I quote), and Suzanne Gossett, editor of the most recent Arden (London: Thomson, 2004).

Pericles, the decapitated heads in Antiochus' court show the decay of royal bloodlines that accompanies incest, providing a negative image that Pericles must overcome on his travels. *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, on which I will focus here, instead seems to introduce this type of display as a sign of cultural difference, emphasizing the Persian practice of decapitating their defeated enemies. Throughout, the play proves highly attuned to what it means to stage foreign places in an enclosed theater, not simply depicting these cultural practices but also presenting them in metatheatrical shows. In a sequence set in Venice, for example, the playwrights draw on the theatrical memory of Shakespeare's Shylock with the moneylender Zephyr vowing to "play the Jew; why, 'tis my part" (9.51), as well as including an acting competition between a *commedia dell'arte* Harlequin and the deceased Will Kemp.[29] By suffusing the play with this type of winking theatrical awareness, I argue, the playwrights emphasize the pleasure to be had in watching exotic places and distant journeys appear onstage.

In depicting a wide range of geographically far-flung places, ranging from Russia and Persia to Spain, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* would seem to put less emphasis on the allegorical elements of its travels than is the case with *Pericles.* Whereas Wilkins' play with Shakespeare is based on the ancient story of Apollonius of Tyre, via Gower's retelling in the *Confessio Amantis*, *The Travels* is unusually interested in current events, recounting the stories of the notorious Sherley brothers, who, over the preceding decade, had traveled around the Mediterranean as far as Persia.[30] The eldest brother, Thomas, had returned to England in

29 The metatheatricality of these moments has been emphasized by H. Neville Davies, "*Pericles* and the Sherley brothers," *Shakespeare and his contemporaries: Essays in Comparison*, ed. E.A.J. Honigmann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 94-113; and Mark Hutchings, "Staging the Sherleys' Travails," *Cahiers Elisabethains* 87 (2015): 43-62.

30 A brief account of the Sherleys' activities is provided in Parr's introduction to *Three Renaissance travel plays*, from which I quote the play. More recently, a number of studies have considered the brothers' attempt to create an alliance between Europeans and Persians against the Ottoman empire, an attempt which forms an important theme in the play; see Javad Ghatta, "'By Mortus Ali and our Persian Gods': Multiple Persian Identities in

December of 1606, and may have sponsored both the play and a prose narrative by Anthony Nixon (probably seen in manuscript by the playwrights) in an attempt to make the family's adventures appear in a heroic light. Thomas himself was under investigation by the Jacobean government for having illegally interfered with the English Levant company's trade, while his middle brother Anthony had abandoned his appointment as ambassador for the Persian Shah Abbas I under murky circumstances and decamped to Spain. The youngest Sherley, Robert, had been left as a hostage at Abbas' court during Anthony's embassy, where he had begun to make his name as a military adviser to the Shah – referred to in early modern English as the Sophy.

To mark differences between various places in which the brothers arrive, the playing company presumably had recourse to a variety of props, and in highlighting those props the playwrights tend to emphasize the visual pleasure that such exotica can give the audience. This probably meant that at least some of the Persian and Turkish characters appeared in turbans. Although they are not explicitly invoked in the play, Robert Lublin has shown how closely associated Muslims were with turbans at this point, including in onstage portrayals.[31] When the Sophy invites Anthony to be his ambassador, he announces that "I'll send thee forth as rich as ever went/The proudest Trojan to a Grecian's tent" (2.271-2), suggesting that Sherley too

Tamburlaine and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*," *Early Theatre* 12, no. 2 (2009): 235-49; Jonathan Burton, "The Shah's Two Ambassadors: *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* and the Global Early Modern," *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, and Traffic, 1550-1700*, eds. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 23-40; Ralf Hertel, "Ousting the Ottomans: The Double Vision of the East in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*," *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures, eds.* Sabine Schülting, Sabine Lucia Müller, and Ralf Hertel (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 135-51; Sheiba Kian Kaufman, "'Her father loved me, oft invited me': Staging Shakespeare's Hidden Hospitality in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*," *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*, eds. Julia Reinhard Lupton and David Goldstein (London: Routledge, 2016), 197-221; and Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014), 150-79.

31 *Costuming the English Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 142-57. See also Matthew Dimmock, "Materialising Islam on the Early Modern English Stage," in Schülting et. al., *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East*, 115-32.

appears in some such form of Persian dress. Indeed, both Anthony and Robert were becoming notorious throughout Europe for their adoption of Persian dress, and one stage direction has "Robert *and other* Persians" enter together (7.0.SD), implying the visual similarity. The playing company explicitly invokes the "pleasure" to be had in seeing these exotic places and objects, as when the Chorus proclaims, about a dumbshow of Anthony's departure from Russia, that "How he left the court/To please your eyes we in this show report" (5.17-18). When the Pope enters soon thereafter – probably to the same onstage throne now imaginatively transformed from the Russian one to "our presence in Peter's chair" (33) – he welcomes them "With greatest pomp, magnificence and state,/To the adoration of all dazzled eyes" (5.26-27). Considering the famous references to the pope's miter in Henslowe's diary, there would presumably be clearly recognizable props and costumes available to make this pomp visually present onstage. There's an instructive comparison to be made here with *Faustus*, where Marlowe's nasty jokes at the Pope's expense is met, in the case of *The Travels*, with the dazzling pleasure offered to audiences by the papal finery. The Pope is portrayed in a positive light throughout this scene, as Anthony works to associate himself with Christian power against his shifty Persian associate Halibeck.[32] In part, this politically surprising theatrical decision, only two years after the Gunpowder plot, has to do with the play's advocacy of an alliance between Persia and Christian Europe at large against the Ottoman empire, but it also fits in with the playwrights' larger goal of using the platform stage as a site for the visual presentation of the cultural centers visited by the Sherleys on their travels.

The props that most insistently mark the exoticism and supposed cruelty of Persia and

32 Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion*, has argued that the London stage was more open to representing Catholic figures positively when positioned against the threat of Islam.

Islam, however, are severed heads. In this regard, the playwrights seem to be harking back to the gory plays that had been so successful for Edward Alleyn, such as *Tamburlaine* and *The Battle of Alcazar*. Henslowe's property list registers this theatrical association between Muslim culture and decapitation, with entries for "iiij Turckes hedes" and "owld Mahemetes head."[33] Considering that the severed heads of traitors were displayed on London Bridge, these props could not have been entirely foreign, but in *The Travels* such heads are used to reflect on the process of representing culturally distant places onstage. In the opening scene, Anthony and Robert have arrived in the Persian capital of Qasvin right before the Sophy returns from a successful war, actually against the Uzbecks to Persia's east, but presented in the play as against the Turks. All the published accounts of the Sherleys' journeys had mentioned that Shah Abbas' army had returned with thousands of impaled heads of their defeated Uzbeck enemies, so this gruesome detail would have been well known to the playwrights and to those audience members who had heard about the Sherleys' travels.

Instead of simply presenting this first encounter onstage, the playwrights turn it into a show with strong metatheatrical elements. The brothers are asked to "be seated here in the market-place/To view the manner of his victories" (1.19-20), pointing to an on-stage audience seating area. Another contemporary traveler to Persia, John Cartwright, described the "high scaffolds" in the market, "where the multitude do sit to behold the warlike exercises performed by the King and his courtiers."[34] At first, the Sophy, his chief advisers, and soldiers march in "*with drums and colours,*" (1.32.1), not yet displaying their gruesome trophies, as the Sophy

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33 Foakes, 318, 319. Lucy Munro has surveyed and analyzed the use of such props, "'*They eat each other's arms*': Stage Blood and Body Parts," in *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, eds. Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 73-93.

34 Parr, *Three Renaissance travel plays*, 61.

graciously allows Anthony to kiss his hand instead of his feet, before announcing that "We'll show the manner of our Persian wars,/Our music and our conquests" (1.43-44). Just as the play's Chorus repeatedly tells the audience that the company will "show" the audience the various activities of the Sherleys, the Sophy here has his men present a dumbshow for the visiting brothers: "*A battle presented. Excursion; the one half drive out the other, then enter with heads on their swords*" (1.47.1). It is unclear if the audience should take the heads as real within the fiction of the play, but even if the Sophy only presents this as a show, he is clearly meant, within the fiction, to have access to real severed heads. The London acting company presenting the play, of course, would have been using counterfeit theatrical heads, but by making their display take place in a show they begin to blur the distinction between the theatrical and the real in the Sophy's onstage court.

Reversing perspective, the playwrights then have the English brothers attempting to theatrically convey the Sophy to England, which appears as exotic from the Persian perspective. In the rival show that Anthony and Robert put on with their followers, the military practices are inverted, seeming to reveal the honorable nature of European warfare. Its assumed moral superiority is asserted when the Sophy exclaims "We never heard of honour until now" after being told of the practice of granting mercy to military captives (1.111). In presenting this show of the competing Christian mode of warfare, Anthony also ends up sounding like the Chorus, speaking to the Sophy in the same manner that it speaks to the audience. While the Sophy confidently announced that he would show the Persian mode of warfare, Anthony apologizes for the limits of the stage, repaying the show of Persian wars "With sight of such wars as Christians use–/So far as my small retinue will serve" (1.61-2). Resorting to the same strategy employed by the chorus, who had asked the audience to imagine travels across vast distances, Anthony

commands the Sophy to “Think it a picture which may seem as great/As the substantial self” (65-7). Just as the stage of the Curtain or Red Bull has been imagined as large enough to encompass the whole Mediterranean, a show put on by Anthony, Robert, and a small group of their followers is imagined as representing a whole battle. This “show” of a supposedly different cultural practice becomes, for the Sherleys themselves, a mode of showing something of their homeland, just as the Persians’ “show” of their supposedly exotic practice becomes, for the acting company, a way of transporting their audience to this distant land.

Even as the display of foreign place onstage proved central to their play, however, Day, Rowley, and Wilkins also found themselves drawing on the techniques of romance, and I argue that they thereby return to Dekker’s connection between spiritual allegory and travel. The playwrights give the brothers’ errant and episodic travels unity through repeated invocations of their search for honor, and conclude with a sequence in which Robert heroically risks martyrdom on his way to establishing a Christian church in Persia.[35] By partly turning Robert into a modern-day saint, the playwrights reveal their reliance on a romance tradition with deep historical connections to hagiography. Stories of saints could treat their spiritual journeys through geographical travel, and this category appears to have been popular for dramatic presentation, especially in medieval theatrical situations that relied on movement through open playing areas.

Scholars have already noted the echoes between *Pericles* and an East Anglian saints’ play from about a century earlier, the Digby *Mary Magdalene*.[36] This influence was most likely not

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35 See Laurence Publicover, “Strangers at home: the Sherley brothers and dramatic romance,” *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 5 (November 2010): 694-709. On stage romance, see Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne, eds., *Staging Early Modern Romance: Prose Fiction, Dramatic Romance, and Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2009); Mulready, *Romance on the Early Modern Stage*; as well as the more general discussion in Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (London: Routledge, 2004).

36 The connection between *Pericles* and the Digby *Mary Magdalene* were first noticed by F.D. Hoeniger in his Arden 2 (London: Methuen, 1963). My discussion of this connection, as well as the general connection between

direct, with close echoes instead arising from the mutually influential development of Greek romance and saints' lives in late Antiquity. One episode of the Digby play provides a particularly strong analogy with *Pericles*, where the wife of the King of Marcylle (Marseilles) dies in childbirth at sea and is left for dead on a rock, only to be discovered alive again two years later. Here, of course, the Christian elements of the miracle predominate, with the King visiting Saint Peter in Jerusalem while believing his wife to be dead, and the Queen praying to Saint Mary Magdalene upon being resuscitated. Shakespeare and Wilkins give Thaisa's resurrection a distinctly pagan cast as she enters the temple of Diana, but the playwrights find ways to make the stage space appear as a meeting point between the earthly and divine realms, most spectacularly when Pericles hears the music of the spheres.

If plays like *Pericles* and *The Travels* at times follow the narrative structure of saints' plays, however, the basic setting of a purpose-built enclosed theater nevertheless demands a different set of staging techniques from those of the saints' play. Although no records survive of specific performances of the Digby *Mary Magdalene*, the play's text clearly assumes that there will be multiple stages, perhaps arranged in a circle or semi-circle. Some of these stages mark particular places, such as Magdalene Castle in Bethany or the home of Simon the Leper in Jerusalem, while others are allegorical, including the Devil's stage with hell underneath. The anonymous playwright, in turn, has structured the play's action around movement between different stages. In one sequence, for example, the Seven Deadly Sins go from the personified World to besiege Magdalene Castle, whence Lechery takes Mary to a tavern in Jerusalem. This

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saints' play and romance, is shaped by Peter Womack, "Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories," *JMEMS* 29, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 169-87; Lori Humphrey Newcomb, "The Sources of Romance, the Generation of Story, and the Patterns of the Pericles Tales," in Lamb and Wayne, *Staging Early Modern Romance*, 21-46; and Joanne Rochester, "Space and Staging in the Digby 'Mary Magdalene' and 'Pericles, Prince of Tyre,'" *Early Theatre* 13, no. 2 (2010): 43-62.

capacity to represent actual movement across the playing area gives *Mary Magdalene* a more expansive spatial conception than had been the case in *Mankind*. Whereas that play's single stage had stood in allegorically for earthly existence and Mankind's spiritual journey had been represented through changes of props and costumes, Mary's path to sanctification involves movement back and forth between different scaffolds or pageant wagons representing different places in France and in the Holy Land.

Most spectacularly, these travels are three times shown taking place on a ship that moves across the playing area. This large moving prop, with some analogy to the floating sea-shell of *The Masque of Blackness*, allows the actual process of travel as geographical displacement to appear onstage, as the Shipman and his Boy haggle with Mary and the King of Marcylle over the costs. These comic and theatrical moments, including the shipmen's songs, nevertheless tend to deemphasize the geographic specificity of the travels. Thus, for example, when an Angel first commands Mary to go from the Holy Land to Marcylle, she is told "To passe the see in shortt space" (1378), even though the geographical distance is, of course, quite large.[37] Watching, and perhaps physically moving alongside, as Mary passes through the various stations of her journey to sanctification – temptation, mission to Marcylle, prayer in the wilderness, and ascending up into the clouds – the audience gets to experience the playing area as an expansive representation of a world in which the earthly and the spiritual interpenetrate.

On the early modern platform stage, this type of expansive playing area was severely restricted. Even as only one place could typically be represented at any given time, however, the

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37 I quote from the edition of John Coldewey in *Early English Drama: An Anthology* (New York: Garland, 1993), 186-252. For discussion of the play's attempts to map the world, see D.K. Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 17-39.

authors of travel plays attempted to continue the medieval tradition of presenting the stage as an image of the whole world. One of the key markers of theatrical change from the earlier tradition of plays like *Mary Magdalene* – the walls enclosing the playing area – were reinscribed in plays like *The Travels* to sharpen this image. As William West has argued, 16th-century humanist theorists of the theater viewed it as a "circle of learning," able to "represent the manifold of the world in literally or metaphorically circular form."[38] For West, this theory quickly ran into difficulties when actually trying to stage a series of events onstage, but I would like to emphasize how often references to the theater as a circle recur in travel plays – most famously, the "Wooden O" of *Henry V.* The idea of theater implicit in the naming of the Globe comes out in the connection being woven between the round Earth and the enclosed theaters.[39] In *The Travels*, the circumference of the theater includes the audience as well. The play concludes with an epilogue describing the current whereabouts of the Sherley brothers – Thomas at home, Anthony in Spain, and Robert in Persia – thus emphasizing current events, as opposed to a fantastical past. The chorus announces that "This is the utmost of intelligence" (23), and acknowledges that there may be "Some that fill up this round circumference" (25) – audience members inside the theater – who have even more up to date inside information on the Sherleys' whereabouts. The very act of publicly staging a play about newsworthy events means that the circle of learning may be expanding to take in fresh knowledge.

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38 *Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

39 Both the Globe and the Rose, where *Old Fortunatus* may have been performed in a version related to our surviving text, were polygonal, capturing this circular quality of theater. This idea seems to have been able to work metaphorically as well. We have just learned through the archaeological work in April and May 2016 at the site of the Curtain that this theater, long believed to have been round, was in fact square. In the Guardian article describing this discovery, Julian Bowsher, lead archaeologist on the project, claimed that *Henry V*'s Wooden O prologue could thus not have been written for the Curtain. Considering that *The Travels* title page claims first performance there and still speaks of "this round circumference," however, this assumption seems overblown to me. See Maev Kennedy, "Excavation finds early Shakespeare theatre was rectangular," *The Guardian*, 17 May 2016, online.

Day, Rowley, and Wilkins sharpen this sense of the theater as encompassing the whole world by the use of the play's most notorious and magically charged props, the "perspective glasses" through which distant places can be seen. Throughout the course of the play, the brothers are never seen together onstage, except for an opening dumb show that depicts the parting when Anthony and Robert first left England for Persia in 1598, saying farewell to Thomas and their father. Over the intervening decade, as the concluding Chorus laments, their destinies have "never suffered their regreeting eyes/To kiss each other at an interview" (6-7), but now the stage will offer to become a new optical technology allowing those eyes to meet. To capture the distances separating the three brothers, the Chorus asks the audience to "help poor art,/Into three parts dividing this our stage/Think this England, this Spain, this Persia" (8-10), followed by a dumb show that opens by proclaiming *"Enter three several ways the three brothers"* (13.SD.1). In this highly unusual three-way entry,[40] the stage is divided not only imaginatively but also literally, as each of the three entry-points from the tiring-house leads onto a different part of the stage.

The playwrights heighten this emblematic vision of the three being in separate places by having them come out in larger groups. Robert returns "*with the state of Persia,*" which had been present in full regalia for the christening of his child in the immediately preceding scene, Anthony comes out "*with the King of Spain and others, where he receives the Order of Saint Iago, and other officers,*" and finally Thomas "*in England, with his father and others*" (13.SD.1-5). With this divide in place, the brothers are then invited to look across the stage and see each

40 Dessen and Thomson record only three other instances of more than two separate entries being used in the whole corpus of early modern drama: an entry "*at three several doors*" in the anonymous 1600 Paul's Boy's play *The Maid's Metamorphosis;* an entry of of two figures "*at several doors*" and a third *"in the midst*" in Dekker, Haughton, and Chettle's *Patient Grissil* (also 1600); while Heywood's 1610 *Golden Age* includes "*Enter at four several corners the four winds.*" See entry for "several, severally" in Alan Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

other, as the Chorus gives a "*perspective glass*" to each of them, and through these glasses "*they seem to see one another and offer to embrace, at which* Fame *parts them, and so exeunt all except Fame*" (13.SD.6-8). The glasses aim to collapse the massive distances at play here, as their magical properties seem to show things that would not otherwise be visible in the present place. Since the brothers are unable to reach across the distance of the stage, even as they are actually quite close to each other within the theater, the perspective glasses capture the effect that the play as a whole aims for, making activities in Persia and Spain visible in London. Anthony and Robert may be far away, but they can still be seen through the optical illusions of theater, with the theater itself becoming a glass that shows these distant places.

Figure 1.1: Anon., *Newes... in the Antipodes*, 1642. Accessed via EEBO.

The Travels uses the three glasses reflecting each other to suggest that the theatrical space encompasses the whole world, while the two earlier surviving instances of prospective glasses on the English stage are used to show a magical form of spying. In both Robert Greene's ca 1589 *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and Barnabe Barnes' *The Devil's Charter*, also performed in 1607, magicians use their glasses to spy on other characters, not unlike the Souldan of Babylon

using the hat in *Old Fortunatus* to sneak into other courts. This use of glasses at most makes two places visible onstage. An example of how glasses could be used, as in *The Travels*, to show the whole world can be seen in a woodcut image for the title page of a short 1642 satirical pamphlet, *Newes... in the Antipodes* (see Figure 1.1), which plagiarizes the sections of Brome's 1638 play that describe the social customs of an inverted society. Three figures stand to the left with the glass, which looks something like what we would think of as a magnifying glass, with a handle attached to a round holder for the lens. To their right is a large floating circle that encapsulates what they see in the glass, a vision of the whole globe inside a cloudy heavenly sphere. Here, the association between visual illusion and magic seems to return, as we see in the costume of the figure who holds the glass in his hand. While the three foreground figures who point at the image of the globe are dressed in brimmed hats and lighter-colored jackets, the figure with the glass and the man behind him are dressed in scholars' caps and long dark robes. The man with the glass, in particular, bears a remarkable similarity to the image of Faustus on the cover of the 1616 quarto of Marlowe's play, with his robe, cap, and beard. Furthermore, both images emphasize how their visions are created and contained by circles. Faustus famously stands inside a circle he has drawn up on the ground, while the magical effect of *The Travels'* prospective glass in turn collapses the world into the small circle of the glass and then expands it out into its cosmological circle.

The playwrights combine this cosmological scale and the saintly resonances of the Sherley's travels, in the play's final sequence, with the severed head as prop and its encapsulation of the Sophy's exotic cruelty. Robert had married a Circassian Christian woman while living in Persia, whom the playwrights imagine to be the Sophy's niece. Presenting the Sophy as enraged by this potential relationship, the playwrights devise a love-test. In full view of the court and his niece, the Sophy has Robert brought off the stage by a guard, and immediately

thereafter "*Enter an officer with a counterfeit head like Sherley's*" (9.190). As Parr points out in his footnote here, while the stage direction reveals to readers that the head is counterfeit, audience members in the theater would have no way of knowing this to be the case. Just as is the case with the Sophy's earlier display of his enemies' heads in the opening show, it is unclear if the head is meant to be real within the fiction. Has the Sophy had someone killed who looks like Sherley, or has he had propmasters make a head that looks like Robert? It is at least well-made enough to make the niece think it real, as she exlaims "Thus I'll embrace, thus kiss his lovely head" (9.198), suggesting that she holds and kisses the prop head. When Robert soon thereafter strolls out with his own head firmly in place on his shoulders, the echoes of Christian resurrection are hard to miss.[41]

In using the counterfeit theatrical head to imagine Robert risking martyrdom, Day, Rowley, and Wilkins strengthen the play's connection to the spiritual journeys of saints' plays. As it turns out, this connection appears to have been noticed by contemporaries. A now lost play of Saint Christopher was performed around Christmas 1609-10 at the estate of a Yorkshire recusant, Sir John Yorke, apparently in a repertory that included both *Pericles* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*.[42] The association of this Saint and these two plays would be especially appropriate, for Christopher was and remains the patron saint of travelers. Furthermore, he met his martyrdom through beheading. Although we cannot know for sure if the Yorkshire play included the martyrdom, it is certainly possible that the same false head used for

41 These echoes have been noted by Grogan, *The Persian Empire*, 170. Degenhardt has discussed the play's depiction of the Sherleys upholding their Christian faith, *Islamic Conversion*, 200-7.

42 Information about this repertory, which also included *King Lear*, survives in Star Chamber court records. For what the case suggests about *Pericles*, see Womack, "Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories," 180-4. The most extensive discussion of the troupe that performed these plays is Siobhan Keenan, "The Simpson Players of Jacobean Yorkshire and the Professional Stage," *Theatre Notebook* 67, no. 1 (2013): 16-35.

Robert's fake death was also used to depict Christopher's successful execution. *The Travels*' action concludes, meanwhile, with another image of Robert bringing Christian behavior to the exotic East, as the Sophy stands godfather to Robert's newborn child in "*A show of the Christening*" (13.202.SD). Now, the props associated with Islam, like turbans, probably appear onstage alongside a cross and other props marking the religious occasion. *The Travels*, that is, concludes with a final "show," this time displaying the meeting of foreign and domestic practices made possible by Robert's journey.

Travel and masque in Brome's theatrical antipodes

The idea of showing how travel works onstage returns with full metatheatrical force in Brome's *Antipodes*. Props and costumes prove central to the staging of the play-within-the-play, not only when Peregrine enters the tiring house, but also providing a point of discussion throughout. By making Peregrine, whose madness leaves him with no sense of reality, the main audience of the inset travel play, Brome appears to be satirizing the naiveté of those who would accept that simple changes of props are enough to encapsulate voyages across a massive distance. As I will demonstrate in this section, *The Antipodes* reveals the theatrical process wherein props are the key element of staging travel. Brome ostentatiously invites his audience to feel more sophisticated than Peregrine, as they watch how the artful manipulation of props fools the young madman into believing himself whisked to the other side of the globe. But even as *The Antipodes* seems to be satirizing the theatrical effects of plays like *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, Brome cannot help but activate those effects and set Peregrine on a moral and therapeutic journey.[43] It is no accident, I will argue, that the play ends with a masque.

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43 For the therapeutic elements of *The Antipodes*, see Jackson Cope, *The Theater and the Dream: From Metaphor to Form in Renaissance Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 143-59; and McInnis, *Mind-*

Reconfiguring the theatrical space as allegorical, Brome has moved Peregrine from his fallen state, dressed in the theatrical garb of an Antipodean king, back to a restored sanity and connection with his community.

In satirizing the fantastical voyages of plays like *The Travels*, Brome was not alone. His most important precursor was Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, which had explicitly invoked Day, Rowley, and Wilkins' play as an example of stage absurdity. When the Citizen who has commandeered the stage requests that his apprentice Rafe be fetched, "and let the Sophy of Persia come and christen him a child," the acting company's Boy responds: "Believe me, sir, that will not do so well. 'Tis stale. It has been had before at the Red Bull" (4.29-32).[44] The specificity of this dig at a rival playhouse seems to suggest two conflicting repertories, with sophisticated satires in the indoor halls like the Blackfriars, and rowdy romances in the amphitheaters of the northern suburbs (*The Travels* may have been staged at both the Curtain and the Red Bull).[45] As I hope to have shown, however, *The Travels* has a remarkably sophisticated sense of its own theatrical techniques, and I would suggest that there are important continuities of these techniques leading into *The Antipodes*.[46] *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* was still being staged,

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Travelling, 123-44.

44 Cited from the Revels edition of Sheldon P. Zitner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

45 The title page mentions only the Curtain, while this remark from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* has been taken as evidence that the play was also performed at the Red Bull. Eva Griffith has recently made a larger argument that Queen Anne's Men may have been using both theaters at this time in *A Jacobean Company and its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605-1619)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

46 In arguing for continuities between the repertories of the Caroline hall theaters and the Jacobean amphitheaters, I am inspired by Martin Butler, who reads *The Antipodes* as part of the "survival of the popular tradition." See *Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 214-20, which remains the most thorough study of the period's theatrical culture. The sophistication of the repertory in the northern amphitheaters (especially the Red Bull and the Fortune) has been emphasized in two recent studies, Griffith, *Jacobean Company*, and Mark Bayer, *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011).

now at the Phoenix/Cockpit, when Brome began work on *The Antipodes* three decades on, and it may be that Brome imagined his play appearing in repertory with Beaumont's,[47] even though *The Antipodes* ended up being performed at the smallest of the indoor theaters, Salisbury Court.[48] While we might think that this theatrical location would limit Brome's options to the props found in satirical city comedies, Peregrine's trip to the tiring house suggests – as do many of the objects Rafe handles in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* – that theaters like the Blackfriars and Salisbury Court had access to all the props necessary for staging romance.

Brome crafts an analogy between the restricted space of Salisbury Court and the home of the wealthy and eccentric nobleman Lord Letoy, with props circulating through both houses. In an extreme version of the standard idea that acting companies were the servants of an aristocratic or royal patron, Letoy hires his domestic servants on the basis of their skills not at domestic tasks but for their skills as performers. These actor-servants not only provide him with entertainment, but they also become mannequins of sorts, providing backs on which Letoy's investments in clothing and theatrical objects can be displayed. Even before the play begins, there is a detailed discussion of these props and costumes. Learning from Doctor Hughball that Peregrine and his family are on their way, Letoy calls to his actors that they "See all be ready,/Your music, properties, and–" (2.1.118-9). When he first calls to them within the house, the voices of four actors are heard offstage sorting through these props:

1. This is my beard and hair.

47 For the idea of the two plays appearing in repertory, see Karen Kettnich, "'Now mark that fellow; he speaks Extempore': Scripted Improvisation in *The Antipodes*," *Early Theatre* 10, no. 2 (2007): 129-39.

48 Brome had a contract with Salisbury Court to provide three plays a year, but when the company fell behind on payments he offered to write for Christopher and William Beeston at the Phoenix/Cockpit, leading to a period of legal wrangling and *The Antipodes* back at Salisbury Court, where it was claimed to have made the company £1000. For discussion, see Matthew Steggle, *Richard Brome: Place and Politics on the Caroline Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 105-23.

2. My lord appointed it for my part.

3. No,

This is for you; and this is yours, this grey one.

4. Where be the foils and targets for the women?

1. Here, can't you see /.../ You must not wear

That cloak and hat.

2. Who told you so? I must

In my first scene, and you must wear that robe. (2.1.46-53)

In a typical theatrical performance, this rummaging of props and figuring out who wears which beard and which cloak remains unseen by the audience, but here we get a winking recreation of backstage bustle, which turns out to be completely focused on props and costumes. In the ensuing discussion with Letoy, five actors come out, including Byplay, whose skills at improvisation lead him to be compared to the long-dead Tarlton and Kemp as a remnant of long-lost theatrical tradition, and the bumbling Quailpipe, who so often worries about his costumes that he nearly misses his cues. In this bustle, Brome presents an image of how theatrical worlds are created through the quick exchange of onstage materials.

This process would appear to be most effective when encountered by those with little theatrical experience. Peregrine's overactive imagination has been charged by his obsessive reading of Mandeville, leading him to a deeply unrealistic image of travel, centered on fantasies about the mythical land of Prester John.[49] With this character, Brome seems to be parodying those theatrical spectators who would believe that a magic hat could lead one to see the actual

49 For Brome's use of Mandeville, see Claire Jowitt, "The Politics of Mandevillian Monsters in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*," in *A Knight's Legacy: Mandeville and Mandevillian Lore in Early Modern England*, ed. Ladan Niayesh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 195-212.

Court of Bablyon instead of a theatrical representation of it created by a handful of cast-off props and fake beards. One could only accept this theatrical effect, Brome implies, if one had no understanding of theatrical illusion. In preparation for the antipodes play, Letoy informs Byplay that his skills at improvisation will be necessary alongside Peregrine, to which Byplay responds that he has heard "Of the mad patient, and that he never saw/A play in's life" (2.1.112-3). Like the choruses of plays like *Old Fortunatus* and *The Three English Brothers*, which told the audience that they were seeing far off places, Peregrine will be told by the doctor that he has traveled far. Because he has never seen theatrical practice before, he will accept what he sees, as Byplay explains, "It will be possible/For him to think he is in the Antipodes/Indeed when he is on the stage among us" (2.1.113-5). Of course, Peregrine goes farther than audience members of the earlier amphitheater plays, who had only watched from their position sitting and standing around the stage, while he interacts with the actors, collapsing the line that divides him from the theatrical event.

Peregrine, who never realizes he is at a play, believes himself transported to the most distant place imaginable. To stage this arrival in the Antipodes, Doctor Hughball relies on theatrical tricks, including speech, costumes, and props. Announcing that they have come ashore in this distant land, he claims that Peregrine has slept for most of their eight-month journey, as the "air was so somniferous" (2.2.14). Along with having put Peregrine into a deep sleep through a sleeping potion that we see him drink onstage, the Doctor has had both himself and Peregrine dressed "*in sea gowns and caps,*" with "*Cloaks and hats*" lying next to them when his young charge awakes (2.1.0.SD). To make the awakening Peregrine believe that he has traveled, then, involves in part telling him about the travel that they have missed, like the chorus in a play like *The Travels*, and in part it involves using costumes that create specific associations with sea

travel for the onstage audience. The Doctor reveals his theatrical sophistication as he stages this voyage in the course of a single night.

What really makes Peregrine enter the fictional world of the Antipodes, however, is his accidental trip into the tiring-house. Byplay's description of what he has seen there provides a rich account of the types of property that could be available to a professional theater company, although with a clear bias towards a romantic and fantastical drama more like *Fortunatus* or *Pericles* than like the satirical play actually performed in Letoy's house, or in Brome's larger play at Salisbury Court for that matter. Like *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, with its audience request for a romantic drama about a questing knight, Byplay's survey includes a series of props that would seem quite out of place in a Caroline city comedy, including "Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears,/Our helmets, shields, and vizors," as well as fantastical objects like "Our statues and our images of gods,/Our planets and our constellations" (3.290-93). Some of these items, like monsters and bugbears, are hardly recognizable from any repertory of the period, although they may be costumes, something like the devil suits used in *Doctor Faustus*.

For Peregrine, who has no sense of what theater is, this jumble of fantastical objects can only mean that he has truly arrived in a foreign place. Byplay describes how he snaps into action, taking up objects and starting to act as if he has entered a heroic story of battle, grabbing "The sword and shield that I played Bevis with" (3.304) – pointing to the focus on heroic drama in Letoy's private theater. Believing himself a romance hero, Peregrine "Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,/Kills monster after monster, takes the puppets/Prisoners, knocks down the Cyclops" (3.305-7). In this quixotic state, Peregrine proceeds to end up believing himself a King:

> Spying at last the crown and royal robes
>
> I'th'upper wardrobe, next to which by chance

> The devils' vizors hung, and their flame-painted
>
> Skin coats, those he removed with greater fury;
>
> And having cut the infernal ugly faces
>
> All into mammocks, with a reverend hand
>
> He takes the imperial diadem and crowns
>
> Himself King of the Antipodes, and believes
>
> He has justly gained the kingdom by his conquest. (3.309-16)

Unlike Rafe's adventures in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Peregrine's conquest of the tiring-house is not actually seen onstage by the audience. Brome proves less interested than had Beaumont three decades earlier in recreating a knightly romance tale for his audience. Instead, his focus is all on how Peregrine has been made to believe that he has not only arrived in this new world, but also become its new ruler. Peregrine, it turns out, has a rich theatrical understanding, even if he doesn't know it himself. To be a king within a theatrical world is signaled above all by wearing a crown and rich royal robes.

With Peregrine dressed in a regal costume surely worn by other kings in the company's repertory, theatrical props around him continually get pulled into his improvisation. Secretly observing his supposed subjects in the harsh satirical world of the Antipodes play, Peregrine watches Byplay perform the role of a judge, and then jumps out to knight him, exclaiming "Give me a sword, somebody" (3.497). Letoy, who has been sitting in the onstage audience, offers the sword he wears, but Peregrine spots the official-looking sword of state that has been held by a swordbearer in Byplay's court. The worried Byplay whispers to Letoy that "It is a property, you know, my lord,/No blade, but a rich scabbard with a lath in't" (517-8). Even though this sword bears only an outside resemblance to one that Peregrine might have used outside the theatrical

world, he immediately reimagines its place within his conception of the Antipodes. After noting that "It is enchanted," he happily knights Byplay, "scabbard and all" (520-1). As Peregrine completely accepts the theatrical fiction, an imagined enchantment becomes a way to translate the stage property into a tool. Props and costume in hand, Peregrine appears to have fully arrived in the Antipodes.

If this depiction of Peregrine, misunderstanding the props he handles, would seem to ironize naïve spectators of travel drama, Brome nevertheless concludes *The Antipodes* with a celebration of the theater as an allegorical space. His placement of a masque at the end of a therapeutic journey, I argue, points to the continued vitality of allegorical modes of drama. While working on *The Antipodes* during the plague closure of 1637, he also contributed commendatory verses to the publication of Thomas Nabbes' *Microcosmus*. This "Morall Maske" had been "*presented with generall liking, at the private house in Salisbury Court*," so we might think of *The Antipodes* as being in repertory not only with *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, but also with a play that clearly harks back to the morality tradition.[50] Centered on a Mankind-type figure, Physander, who is tempted by a Malus Genius to abandon his wife, Bellamina, *Microcosmus* employs the techniques for presenting moral journeys familiar from *Mankind* and *Old Fortunatus*. Once Physander has fallen and seeks to seduce Sensuality, he enters "*richly habited*," only to appear bloodied and with his clothes torn after his four humors (Blood, Choler, Phlegm, and Melancholy) enter *"drunck, each having a bottle of Wine in his hand*."[51] In his dedication, Brome notes how in this play "men may see/Presented what they ought, what not to be" (2:162), putting the emphasis squarely on how Physander's moral lessons will be conveyed

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50 Butler mentions *Microcosmus* as an example of Caroline nostalgia for Elizabethan forms (*Theatre and Crisis*, 190).

51 *The Works of Thomas Nabbes*, 2 vols., ed. A.H. Bullen (New York: Blom, 1968 (orig 1882-89)), 2:183, 194.

visually.

The text of *Microcosmus* opens with descriptions of the “Persons figur’d” that highlight their allegorical costumes (2:164-6), and the masque in *The Antipodes* similarly depends – even more thoroughly than does the travel-play-within-the-play – on props and elaborate costumes. The herald painter Blaze, who had himself been healed of his jealousy before the play begins, dances the figure of Jealousy, and his costume is given especial attention. As soon as Discord’s antimasque enters, his wife Barbara exclaims, “My husband presents Jealousy in the black and yellow jaundied suit there, half like man and t’other half like woman, with one horn and ass ear upon his head” (331-3). This is more than just a regular costume, for beyond the symbolically resonant colors there are objects attached to his head that signify the admixture of imagined cuckoldry and folly that goes into the vice of Jealousy. With Barbara’s commentary, both the Salisbury Court audience and the fictional audience in Letoy’s house receive a chorus-like description of what appears, even as that chorus is ironized by being spoken by the lusty and frankly sexual Barbara. What her description focuses on, of course, is the material objects of Blaze’s suit, providing a clear reminder of how theatrical meaning is conveyed in masque-like settings.

That Barbara would focus on this suit is only natural, and in the preceding scene a private conversation with her husband had focused in part on his theatrical costuming. He enters “*with a habit in his hand*” (5.1.86.SD) to find Barbara alone on stage, and she concludes that she “will see thee in this thing,/And ‘tis a pretty thing” (5.1.121-2), pointing to her desire to see the “shape” in its theatrical context. Indeed, she will get to see it not only in the masque itself, but she also gets invited to see all of the costumes for the masque backstage, as Blaze commands:

> Come in and help me on with’t in our tiring-house,

> And help the gentlemen, my fellow dancers
>
> And thou shalt then see all our things, and all
>
> Our properties, and practice to the music. (5.1.123-6)

For Barbara to perceive, understand, and enjoy the meaning of the masque, she must rely on the properties and costumes, with their allegorical appendages like Blaze's one horn and one ass' ear. The masque rehearsal that she will get to see is subordinated to, or at least only a part of, her opportunity to see the "things" and "properties" used both in the creation of the antipodes play and for the masque. A theatrical event, in Blaze's account, is built out of the objects that the performers bring onstage and make visible to the audience.

Even before this masque is performed, the properties and conventions of courtly performance are also used in the climax of Peregrine's therapeutic journey. Letoy and the playing company, with help from Barbara, prepare the sexually innocent Martha for a theatrical entrance "*like a queen.*" Their staging of this entrance includes a masque-like song to Hymen, "*two boys in robes,*" and a presumably elaborate Queen-costume, which includes "*her train borne up by* Barbara" (4.421.SD). Told that this is the daughter of the recently deceased King of the Antipodes, come to make a dynastic marriage with him, Peregrine is able to kiss her "sweetly," as Martha says, "more than e'er my husband did" (451-2), and when the spouses enter in the next act, their offstage consummation is said to have restored their sanity. With a crown and royal robe on his own head and shoulders, and Martha dressed in similar props, Peregrine accepts that she is part of his world, and finds himself able to see and touch the woman in front of him. The deranged Mandevillian fantasies that had turned him away from the immediately present world, finally, allow him to end his theatrical travels with a return to his senses.

Brome allegorically expresses the cure of not only Peregrine, but also of his jealous

father Joyless Sr., in the concluding masque of Discord and Harmony. Throughout the play-within-the-play, the father had formed an onstage audience together with his young wife Diana and Letoy. In these scenes, Peregrine's stepmother Diana proves an especially enthusiastic playgoer, often interrupting to express her admiration for the actors and their physical qualities.[52] It turns out that she, like Peregrine, "never saw a play" (2.1.160), and this lack of theatrical experience similarly contributes to her excitement and incapacity to distinguish between the representation of the Antipodes and the presence of the actors. Eventually, we learn that Diana's erotic desires have been egged on by Letoy, who hopes to cure the pathological jealousy of her husband, who can be seen worrying that "should the play but touch the vices of [London],/She'd learn and practise 'em" (2.1.163-4). Joyless Sr, that is, rejects the idea that a play could move its characters toward moral or therapeutic health. With a last-minute twist, however, Letoy reveals that he has been testing Diana's chastity all along, and when she decisively lives up to her name, Joyless appears as an utter fool for his jealousy and attendant contempt for the theatrical journey.

To capture the dual cure of father and son, Letoy plans the masque to include allegorical figures of their respective distempers, Jealousy and Madness. Attending the court of Discord, these anti-masque figures are driven out by their contraries – a Cupid representing Love, and Apollo providing Health. Jealousy's costume, thanks to Barbara, is the only one explicitly described in the text, but in performance each of the ten figures (Discord, Harmony, and their respective groups of four attendants) would presumably wear equally striking allegorical suits. Further description of the type of prop and costume used appears in the list for Nabbes'

52 Valerie Traub shows how the play "saturates the performance space with eroticism" in "The Joys of Martha Joyless: Queer Pedagogy and the (Early Modern) Production of Sexual Knowledge," *The Forms of Renaissance Thought: New Essays in Literature and Culture*, eds. Leonard Barkan, Bradin Cormack, and Sean Keilen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 170-98, esp 175.

Microcosmus, where Cupid is described "in a flame colour'd habite; Bow and quiver, a crowne of flaming hearts" (2:165). Considering that both plays were performed at Salisbury Court, the same costume was most likely being reused, and it is possible that Brome shaped his masque around pre-existing material found in the tiring house. In putting these theatrical exigencies to work, Brome uses the Jonsonian antimasque/masque polarity to efficiently encapsulate the journeys of Joyless father and son. Even as there are more complex steps to Peregrine's imagined travels and the moral purging of Joyless Sr.'s jealousy in the course of the play, the clear replacement of Madness by Health and Jealousy by Love allegorically captures their respective movements from one state to another.

In this use of onstage travel tropes for allegorical ends, *The Antipodes* provides an echo, nearly four decades on, of Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*. The poetry of the masque, too, returns it to Dekker's interest in establishing the theatrical space as the center of a global empire. Discord's "*untuneable*" antimasque song seems to follow Peregrine's idea of how one colonizes a new land, as she addresses her followers: "Lend me your aids, so Discord shall you crown,/And makes this place a kingdom of our own" (5.2.344-5). Here, it is the presence of a crown that would take possession of Letoy's theatrical house. Harmony, on the other hand, positions herself as already a rightful ruler. Addressing the "Maintainers of my commonwealth," Mercury, Cupid, Bacchus, and Apollo, she imagines her power on a global scale:

> 'Tis you make Harmony complete,
>
> And from the spheres, her proper seat,
>
> You give her power to reign on earth
>
> Where Discord claims a right by birth.
>
> Then let us revel it while we are here,

And keep possession of this hemisphere. (355-61)

Just as Elizabeth, at the end of *Old Fortunatus*, both establishes the presence of the play in the hall at Richmond and provides the allegorical center where Virtue can be displayed, Harmony is both “here” in Letoy’s house and an all-encompassing presence. By invoking the large-scale geographic imaginary of the terms “spheres,” “earth,” and “hemisphere,” her song figures the possibility that English travelers might begin to exceed Peregrine. Instead of simply crowning themselves with objects from a tiring house, they might take their proper seat as possessors. England’s global empire may have been far from fully established – travelers like Peregrine or Robert Sherley, that is, still had little real chance of establishing possession of a whole hemisphere – but with a sophisticated system of props at their command, playwrights increasingly conceptualized the world as a stage that could be covered by English travelers.

Chapter Two

Doors and the Staging of Urban Domestic Interiors

In the notorious "china scene" of *The Country Wife* (1675), William Wycherley uses two stage doors to establish an inner and separate space, a "chamber" that can be kept hidden both from jealous husbands and from the eyes of the audience. Lady Fidget, who pretends to be a chaste and honorable wife, exits through the first of these doors and locks it behind her. The supposed eunuch Horner, in whose lodgings the scene takes place, proceeds to tell her husband that "I'll ferret her out to you presently" as he exits, a stage direction tells us, "*at t'other door*" (4.3.142-43).[1] What the audience sees onstage at this moment would be Horner's front room, while the doors would lead further in to separate chambers of his apartment. Wycherley establishes that the offstage areas include hidden passageways that connect the chambers behind each door, as Horner and Fidget stroll back out together through the door that Fidget had locked. The scandalous nature of this scene comes in part from bawdy punning about the pieces of china that Horner and Fidget have touched, but their separate exits and joint entrance play a central role in generating the energy that Wycherley directs towards the offstage chambers. In this chapter, I argue that Wycherley learned the power of the offstage space from the example set by the prewar playwright who most exploited the possibilities of the stage doors, Ben Jonson.

The crowded streets of London increasingly appear, in Jonson's plays, positioned offstage and out of sight, and he shows how control of doors allows for a larger mastery of urban

1 I cite the play from *The Plays of William Wycherley*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

space. For Jonson as playwright, this mastery extends into the theater itself. Inside the walls of a theater, characters and audience share an enclosed space, and Jonson uses this potentially claustrophobic situation to heighten both the comic energy and the antagonistic tensions that pass through the doors. Jonson sets plays like *Volpone*, *Epicene*, and above all *The Alchemist* largely inside the spacious homes of wealthy men,[2] and in doing so he creates a fictional world in which the bustling city presses in from one side of the stage and the hidden spaces of the house beckon on the other. This effect depends on the basic design of early modern theaters, which included two doors on the tiring house facade, as well as some type of curtained space between them. Theater historians have shown how consistently period plays give separate functions to each of the two doors, with one leading "within" and the other leading "without."[3] Jonson extends this model, in a play like *The Alchemist*, by establishing consistent locations for each door throughout the play, with one leading out towards the city and the other leading towards the inner rooms of the house.[4] While working with a standard model, the fixed designations given to each door –

2 Ian Donaldson has astutely observed that "to think of a play by Jonson is to think at once of the house in which its action occurs," in *Jonson's Magic Houses: Essays in Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 71. See also Ann C. Christensen, "'The doors are made against you': Domestic Thresholds in Ben Jonson's Plays," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 18 (1997): 153-78; and Mimi Yiu, *Architectural Involutions: Writing, Staging, and Building Space, c. 1435-1650* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2015), 177-206.

3 This schema has been described most fully by Tim Fitzpatrick in a long series of publications, culminating in *Playwright, Space and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). Fitzpatrick's view replaces Bernard Beckerman's idea that one door was used for entrances and the other for exits, in *Shakespeare at the Globe* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 73. Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa argue that Beckerman's model is most likely to have been the standard, but they also admit many exceptions, in *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 96-104. Evelyn Tribble has extended this debate by considering the demands each of the two models would place on the actors' cognitive faculties. In an earlier publication, she suggested that Beckerman's model of one door for entrances and one for exits would be most efficient, "Distributing Cognition in the Globe," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 135-55, but after further research she now argues that a relational division between one door leading "within" and the other "without" would in fact be of greater cognitive assistance, *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 29-44. Jonson was working, I argue, within the model described by Fitzpatrick and in Tribble's later work.

4 He thereby gives a particularly urban spin to what Peter Womack has called the "threshold dramaturgy" demanded by this theatrical design, in which the platform stage becomes "spatially meaningful... in charged relation to off-stage space." See "Off-Stage," *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Early*

this door leads not just inwards in a general sense, but in to the inner rooms of Lovewit's house – allow Jonson to explore the analogy between physical stage door and fictional door over the course of the play.

Other playwrights who share Jonson's interest in urban life, including Middleton and Heywood, tend to circulate their characters through a variety of locations, opening up their playworlds and trying to take in a larger slice of the city. Accordingly, criticism on urban plays has emphasized representations of London's civic structures and public spaces onstage, but this focus cannot properly account for Jonson's ideas about urban space.[5] With *Bartholomew Fair* as the major exception, his comedies represent the insides of homes. Jonson's shift towards interior settings marks, in part, changes in social and architectural history. As wealthy owners of large houses, Volpone, Morose, and Lovewit can be seen as reflecting the so-called "Great Rebuilding" that was well underway during Jonson's lifetime. This process involved above all the subdivision of space into smaller, more specialized rooms, with the great halls of larger medieval homes no longer open to the ceiling but split into two stories.[6] Even more than this

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Modern Theatricality, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013),71-92, 81. See also William Gruber, *Offstage Space, Narrative, and the Theatre of the Imagination* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Jonathan Walker, *Site Unscene: The Offstage in English Renaissance Drama* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017).

5 See David Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington, eds., *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Janette Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City 1595-1610: Drama and Social Space in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Henry Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 133-52, 186-215; Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); D.J. Hopkins, *City/Stage/Globe: Performance and Space in Shakespeare's London* (London: Routledge, 2008); and Nina Levine, *Practicing the City: Early Modern London on Stage* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

6 The concept was first introduced by W.G. Hoskins, "The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640," *Past & Present* 4 (Nov, 1953): 44-59. Although Hoskins' temporal and geographical parameters have been questioned, the general process of increased subdivision and specialization of rooms has been accepted and extended by Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in architectural taste* (London: University College London Press, 1994); Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Maurice Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford

architectural development, however, an important driver of Jonson's turn to indoor settings became his awareness of the theater structure itself as an enclosed space. As playgoers become increasingly attuned to the tricks and celebrations that take place at the doors, they are drawn together inside a room where Jonson has established strict spatial parameters.

This chapter proceeds in three parts, first tracing the role of doors in the creation of indoor settings in Jonson's plays, then arguing that he used these same doors to think about the place of the audience inside the playhouse, and finally showing how Wycherley transformed this model to fit the spatial arrangement of the Restoration theaters. In the first section, which focuses on the fictional spaces of *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*, I show how Jonson crafts his contested thresholds through a careful management of exits and entrances. In the second section, I argue that Jonson extends this sense of contested space to the spectators in the theater. To the extent that *Epicene* and *The Alchemist* were shaped specifically for performance in the hall theaters of Whitefriars and Blackfriars, I suggest, the element that most fired Jonson's imagination was the presence of stool-sitting spectators onstage.[7] We tend to think of Jonson as the early modern

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University Press, 2007).

7 There is a well-established scholarly tradition linking Lovewit's Blackfriars house to the Blackfriars theater. See R.L. Smallwood, "'Here, in the Friars': Immediacy and Theatricality in *The Alchemist,*" *The Review of English Studies* 32, no. 126 (May, 1981): 142-60; Donaldson, *Jonson's Magic Houses*, 66-88, esp 82; Anthony J. Ouellette, "*The Alchemist* and the Emerging Adult Playhouse," *SEL* 45, no. 2 (2005): 375-399; and Melissa Aaron, "'Beware at what hands thou receiv'st thy commodity': *The Alchemist* and the King's Men Fleece the Customers, 1610," *Inside Shakespeare: Essays on the Blackfriars Stage,* ed. Paul Menzer (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), 72-79. We should be careful about positing the connection too firmly, however. Records suggest that *The Alchemist* may have premiered in Oxford due to London plague closures, as well as being performed at Court, so its theatrical versatility is clear. Further, scholars have cautioned against imagining that the King's Men developed separate repertories for the Blackfriars and the Globe; see Roslyn Knutson, "What If There Wasn't a 'Blackfriars Repertory'?" in Menzer, ed, *Inside Shakespeare,* 54-60; and John Astington, "Why the theatres changed," *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse,* eds. Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 15-31. Sarah Dustagheer has recently studied how King's Men plays after 1609 were designed to exploit performance possibilities in both playhouses, although she also emphasizes how well *The Alchemist* fits at Blackfriars; see *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars, 1599-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), esp. 90-100.

writer most invested in his own authority, attempting to impress the gentle and judicious among his readers and audiences.[8] With the mass of characters, however, who pile on to the stage in *Epicene* and *The Alchemist* – the raucous Otters and gossiping Collegiates, obstreperous Puritans and quarreling Kastril – Jonson invites a wide assortment of visitors into his theatrical houses, and I would suggest that this welcome, by analogy, extends to audiences as well.[9] By building these plays around the frantic rushing in and out of doors, and the attendant collisions among all those trying to get ahead in the new urban economy, Jonson captured the contested, risky, and thrilling experience of entering a London playhouse – a thrill that would continue into the world of Wycherley's Restoration theaters.

"I know him by his knock"

By setting most of *Volpone* and *The Alchemist* indoors, Jonson breaks with a longstanding tradition of staging cities in comedy. In the Roman New Comedy that Jonson would have read, and perhaps acted in, as a schoolboy at Westminster, urban life was depicted as taking place on a street.[10] The temporary stages built for the performance of New Comedy in 3rd

8 See George Rowe, *Distinguishing Jonson: Imitation, Rivalry, and the Direction of a Dramatic Career* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); Joseph Lowenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and James D. Mardock, *Our Scene is London: Ben Jonson's City and the Space of the Author* (London: Routledge, 2008).

9 Both Richard Rowland and Ellen MacKay have recently demonstrated how the gentle spectators associated with the hall theaters were often just as, if not more, boorish, inattentive, and unjudicious as the "groundlings" of the amphitheaters. See Rowland, "(Gentle)men Behaving Badly: Aggression, Anxiety, and Repertory in the Playhouses of Early Modern London," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 25 (2012): 17-41; and MacKay, "Indecorum," in Turner, ed, *Early Modern Theatricality*, 306-26.

10 For Jonson's time at Westminster, see Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 69-82. Bruce Smith, in *Ancient Scripts & Modern Experience on the English Stage 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), surveys performances of Greek and Roman plays on early modern stages. Katherine Eisaman Maus reads *Every Man In* and other early comedies in the context of Jonson's attitude towards his classical inheritance in *Ben Jonson and the Roman Frame of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 22-46.

and 2nd Century BCE Rome had two houses at the back, out of which actors could enter and exit the stage, and each physical house would typically represent a single fictional house for the duration of the play.[11] These stages thus seem to have shared with their early modern counterparts the presence of two doors, but actors also entered and exited off the sides of the stage, with one side typically taken as leading towards the Forum and the other side leading out of the city. The action would all be localized on the same street, in front of the two houses, suggesting the public nature of the play's interactions.[12] In the decades preceding Jonson's debut as a playwright, this classical model continued to shape plays, including Lyly's *Mother Bombie* and Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*,[13] but it coexisted with new experiments in moving between indoor and outdoor settings, most successfully in domestic tragedies like *Arden of Faversham*.[14]

Even as he expanded on these experiments with indoor settings, Jonson retained an intimate awareness of Roman Comedy's street scenes. By the time of *The Alchemist*, he includes

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11 See C.W. Marshall, *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 49-56, itself heavily indebted to G.E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A study in popular entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952).

12 Peter Womack discusses the public and rhetorical nature of Roman Comedy's spatial arrangements in "The Comical Scene: Perspective and Civility on the Renaissance Stage," *Representations* 101, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 32-56. In a related argument, Lorna Hutson has argued that New Comedic staging demands that the audience infer offstage activity, thus creating a rich imaginative world; see *Circumstantial Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 5-13, 127.

13 For the spatial arrangements of Shakespeare's play, see Jennifer Low, "Door Number Three: Time, Space, and Audience Experience in *The Menaechmi* and *The Comedy of Errors,*" in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama*, *1558-1642,* eds. Jennifer Low and Nova Myhill (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 36-66.

14 See Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 15-104; Richard Helgerson, *Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 13-31; Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 104-27; and Emma Katherine Atwood, "Spatial Dramaturgy and Domestic Control in Early Modern Drama," PhD dissertation, (Boston College, 2015), 60-70.

one sequence that follows the classical spatial model, but he only does so, I argue, to show how successfully he has redirected theatrical energy into the house. Editors have long been aware that the return of Lovewit at the opening of Act 5 reworks a specific play of Plautus, *Mostellaria*, typically translated as *The Haunted House*, in which the clever slave Tranio attempts to keep his master, just returned after a three-year business trip, from seeing the damage done to his house by a hard-partying son. The scene in which Tranio stands in front of the locked door and explains to the master that his house has been haunted clearly influenced Jonson's scene, where Face stands in front of the locked door and explains to Lovewit that the house has been visited by plague.[15] In this instance, Jonson was drawing on a Roman play unusual in the attention it lavishes on the imagined structures behind the doors of the two houses.[16] His first play for the King's Men – the "Then Lord Chamberlain his Servants," as he meticulously noted on the Folio title page – *Every Man in his Humour* (1598), had included a larger number of street scenes and a more traditional use of New Comedy. Although some scenes already take place indoors, Jonson tends to force his characters out into a public space. Throughout the play's climactic scene, structured around a series of frantic knocks on the door of the water-carrier Cob and his wife Tib, multiple characters imagine bawdy activities inside the house. The audience, however, knows that no one is inside. Jonson's growing concern with domestic interiors appears clearly when we compare the scene of Lovewit's return with the one before Cob's house. Even as both scenes resound with knocks on a locked door, it is only in *The Alchemist* that the audience can imagine all the bodies crammed into the space behind that door.

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15 Robert Watson suggests that Jonson is winking at those audience members who know their Plautus here, so they can be in on the joke with Face. See *Ben Jonson's Parodic Strategy: Literary Imperialism in the Comedies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 127-33.

16 See Kristina Milnor, "Playing House: Stage, Space, and Domesticity in Plautus's *Mostellaria*," *Helios* 29, no. 1 (2002): 3-25.

Only a few years after the New-Comedy-inspired staging techniques of *Every Man In*, Jonson increasingly came to dramatize domestic interiors. This focus on interior spaces reflects developments in architecture and the increasing subdivision of space in large homes. The semi-public gallery, for instance, is named early on in *Volpone*, establishing by contrast the privacy and intimacy of the bedchamber where the opening act takes place. Open spaces for walking, such as gardens and the galleries in which homeowners could stroll and converse with their guests, were popular inside the homes of those who could afford them.[17] The existence of such a space between the street and Volpone's chamber is emphasized as soon as the first knock, from Voltore, is heard. With Volpone not yet ready to perform his role, he needs his first victim to wait for a moment, and commands Mosca to "let him entertain himself awhile/Within i'th'gallery" (1.2.86-87).[18] Jonson appears to have shifted his sense of how best to imagine this off-stage space in proofing the play a decade later for the 1616 Folio edition, which instead has the gallery "Without" – a change that marks Jonson's increasing emphasis on how Volpone's conversation with Mosca takes place deep inside the house.

If Jonson's interest in interior spaces was driven, in part, by contemporary changes in architecture, it also inspired him to reconceptualize the theatrical space, crafting an experience of interior depth onstage. To do so, Jonson uses sound and movement from behind the stage door. *Volpone* gives a special emphasis to knocking, clearly meant to be done in a distinctive manner by each visitor. Mosca responds to the first knock with "'Tis Signor Voltore, the advocate;/I know him by his knock" (1.2.83-84), and soon recognizes Corbaccio by his repeated knocks.

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17 See Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 301-5; Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, 226-61.

18 All citations of Jonson in this chapter are from *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson,* gen. eds. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7 vols.

Considering the space that is meant to exist between Volpone's bedchamber and the street, the sound could come from further inside the tiring house, rather than right behind the stage door, even if it were made on the side of the theater closer to the door leading without. A relatively simple stage effect – presumably created by a backstage technician using a "*knocker*" like that mentioned in a stage direction of Middleton's *Puritan Widow*[19] – this type of distinctive knock heightens the sense of the crowded streets of Venice being positioned offstage. The space of the stage, by contrast, appears to be an intimate interior space, fully controlled by Volpone and Mosca.

This control of interior space becomes an obsession for the characters in Jonson's comedies, and the three rogues of *The Alchemist* similarly use the stage door that leads without to control the movement of various gulls into Lovewit's house. In advance of Mammon's first arrival at the house, Doll enters to Face and Subtle and announces that Mammon is "Coming along at far end of the lane" (1.4.7). She would have entered from the door taken as leading without, which could suggest that the stage door at this moment does not lead directly onto the street, but rather to some type of entryway from which the street can be observed. This offstage space also allows Doll to communicate with those outside the house even as the front door remains closed, as she mentions that she has sent off two women who are not to return "afore night, I have told 'em, in a voice/Thorough the trunk, like one of your familiars" (1.4.4-5). The trunk used for unseen communication between the inside and outside of the house does not appear onstage, but its imagined presence contributes to the sense of a city street just behind the

19 The full stage direction reads "Exeunt with him; passing in they knock at the doore with a Knocker withinside"; quoted and discussed by Paul Yachnin in "Playing With Space: Making a Public in Middleton's Theatre," in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, eds. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 32-46. Middleton's scene has the scholar-poet Pieboard exit the stage as if on the street, knock within, and then walk back on to the stage, now standing in for an interior; Yachnin points out that "such Möbius strip-like transformations" are unusual even for Middleton, and goes on to provide an analysis of "the making public of private spaces" in Middleton's work (34).

door. Looking out of the house and knowing who will arrive, and being prepared for the arrival of whoever is due to walk in through the door next, is the key for succeeding at the type of con attempted both by *The Alchemist's* rogues and by Mosca and Volpone in the first entrances of their three vicious gulls.

These characters' awareness of what transpires outside their houses also points to the porousness between on- and off-stage space, suggesting that there may have been further openings, including some kind of grated window, in the back wall of early modern stages. In *The Alchemist*, the audience sees the members of the venture tripartite go look who is coming multiple times; for example, when the opening argument of the play first pauses for the offstage arrival of Dapper, Subtle calls out to Doll "Who's that? One rings. To the window, Doll" (1.1.180). The invocation of the bell is unusual – the arrivals at Lovewit's house are more often marked by knocking – demanding a special sound effect to be used at this moment right behind the door that leads "without." There must also have been some way to establish that Doll looks out the window. She could exit through the "without" doorway, peek behind the curtain of a discovery space, or look through a grate in the door. Regardless of the specific place through which she looked, the direction should surely be into the side of the tiring house closer to the door that leads without. Since that would be the door through which Dapper will soon be coming onstage, the audience would be prepared to see him arrive, giving them the sense, at this point in the play, that the three rogues can control the flow of characters onto the stage.

This control of movement in and out of Volpone and Lovewit's houses marks the originality of Jonson's dramaturgy. In the city comedies of the other great practitioner of the form, Middleton, the most important tools for representing urban space are not the doors, but rather the props that change hands again and again, opening up to a variety of new locations.

Whereas the central settings for Jonson's image of the city are the spacious houses of elite men, Middleton returns repeatedly to the shops of middling-class citizens, both in his boys' company plays and in those he wrote for the amphitheaters. His 1604 *Michaelmas Term*, for the Children of Paul's, focuses on the shop of wool-draper Quomodo, while the 1613 *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, first performed at the Swan, opens with the discovery of the goldsmith Yellowhammer's shop. In both plays, the audience watches the shopkeeper's wares get carried on and off the stage. Quomodo has 200 pounds worth of cloth carried in and out as part of his plot to defraud the gentleman Easy of his lands, and Yellowhammer is tricked into making a ring that nearly gets used at the secret wedding of his daughter. These objects are typical in Middleton's staging of London life, circulating through a city that opens up through multiple sites.[20] Jonson instead gives his rogues complete theatrical mastery of their houses, as glittering trophies get carried in from without, and then remain inside. After Voltore exits, for example, leaving behind an antique gold plate he has brought as a gift for Volpone, Mosca puts the plate in a clearly visible place and commands it to "Stand there and multiply" (1.4.2). If this moment is emblematic of Jonson's tight focus on the value of restricted spaces inside homes, Middleton's staging of objects moving through the city comes to the fore with especial force in the 1607 Blackfriars play *Your Five Gallants*, which opens in the pawnshop of the "broker-gallant" Frip and proceeds to a plot structured around a pearl necklace that is variously given, stolen, and lost in its travels through London and its environs.[21]

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20 Gail Kern Paster contrasts the restricted spaces of Jonson's city with Middleton's "sense of the entire city" as a "seemingly openended community that stretches out beyond the confines of the stage and defines the city as a treasure house of financial and social opportunity." *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 168.

21 The circulation of objects in this play is discussed by Eleanor Lowe, "'My cloak's a stranger; he was made but yesterday': Clothing, Language, and the Construction of Theatre in Middleton," in Taylor and Henley, *Oxford Handbook*, 196-209; Mary Bly, "'The Lure of a Taffeta Cloak': Middleton's Sartorial Seduction in *Your Five Gallants*," in Taylor and Henley, *Oxford Handbook*, 588-603; and Jeremy Lopez, "Fitzgrave's Jewel: Audience

By giving a more claustrophobic image of the city, Jonson opens up the fictional spaces of his domestic interiors, titillating audiences with the secret places hidden behind the door that leads within. In staging indoor rooms, whether the gallery of Lovewit's house or Volpone's bedchamber, he directs the audience's attention not only through the door that leads out to the city, but also in the other direction, deeper into the house. Jonson proves especially skilled at using this space within, behind the other door or the curtain, to create a rich impression of the house extending into the space behind the stage wall. In the opening sequence of *Volpone*, this door leads to a tiring house of sorts. Even while still in his bed, Volpone uses imperatives to take charge of this off-stage space, commanding Mosca to "Call forth my dwarf, my eunuch, and my fool,/And let 'em make me sport" (1.1.69-70). The possessive pronouns here mark the place of these servants within the space controlled by Volpone, and Mosca clearly goes to seek them through the door that leads within. When he returns soon thereafter with the three entertainers, Nano comes in like a medieval Vice, exclaiming "Now room for fresh gamesters" (1.2.1), briefly turning the stage into a site for pure theatrical festivity. As the performance draws to a close and Voltore's knock is heard behind the other door, Volpone and Mosca bark at the entertainers, "Away!" and "begone!" (1.2.82), without specifying where they should go. With these performers, clearly treated as Volpone's servants in the world of the play, there is no need to give any sense that they have a space on the other side of the door. They simply appear from within the house, where it is almost as if they are kept as toys in storage, present to be called forth for entertainment, but not otherwise busying themselves. With this door as well, then, Mosca and Volpone are in control, deciding when to bring in and enjoy the performers.

Jonson also fills this space further in with promises of sexual secrets, barely glimpsed in

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and Anticlimax in Middleton and Shakespeare," in Low and Myhill, *Imagining the Audience*, 189-204.

the threshold between onstage and offstage. When Mosca first tells his master about Corvino's beautiful wife Celia, he emphasizes how she is kept locked up "as warily as is your gold:/Never does come abroad, never takes air,/But at a window" (1.5.118-20). The analogy between Celia and Volpone's treasures further emphasizes how much this play is about controlling movement into enclosed spaces, while the window functions as a vent to the outer world. Unlike *The Alchemist's* window, through which Doll surveys the street outside in preparation for new visitors, the window here becomes the one place where the closely guarded woman can be seen by the outside world. Accordingly, the action moves to the space in front of Corvino's house, with the stage standing in for the street and the upper playing area above the stage doors standing in for the window.[22] Due to the open window, the space in front of Corvino's house is not in fact felt to be completely public, with Volpone, in his disguised performance as a showy mountebank, noting that he has been "wont to fix my bank in face of the public Piazza," but has now decided to "humbly retire myself into an obscure nook of the Piazza" (2.2.34-7). Corvino is enraged when he eventually appears, yelling "No windows on the whole Piazza here/To make your properties but mine?" (2.3.5-6), clearly viewing the area in front of his house as an extension of his private space. He seems to agree with Volpone, however, about the theatrical function of his house. If a performance takes place outside his walls, the apertures in that front wall will become part of the theatrical event.

Putting Celia on view draws the audience's attention, along with Volpone's, towards the space behind the wall. Her brief and wordless appearance at the window has the expected effect on Volpone, who staggers home exclaiming that he has been wounded, "Not without," but "all

22 On encounters at upper windows, and the introduction to English drama of the term "balcony" in the 1630s, see Adam Zucker, *The Places of Wit in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 118-23.

within me" (2.4.1, 7).[23] The audience, meanwhile, does get to see Celia inside the house, where Corvino jealously pulls her further in, trying to capture her even more tightly inside the space he controls. He barks that he will have the "bawdy light" of the window "dammed up" (2.5.50), draws a line of chalk two or three yards away from it, and threatens to kill her if she ever crosses back. Caught up in lurid fantasies of the dark places in which he can lock her up, he wishes to draw her into the parts of the house invisible to any but himself: "I will keep thee backwards;/Thy lodging shall be backwards; thy walks backwards,/Thy prospect -- all be backwards; and no pleasure/That thou shalt know, but backwards" (58-61). This moment reveals the darkly misogynist potential of Jonson's obsession with unseen spaces.[24] Corvino's rage will soon become a sick joke, as Mosca successfully tricks him into bringing Celia to the supposedly decrepit Volpone, showing yet again how much this world turns on the passage of treasures, including silent women, into private spaces.

The sexual promises of Lovewit's house in *The Alchemist* similarly depend on the titillating presence of Doll on the threshold. As Mammon excitedly defends Subtle in a heated debate about alchemy with Surly, a stage direction reads "*Doll is seen,*" and Mammon interrupts himself to inquire "Who is this?" (2.3.210). Subtle immediately swings into action, commanding her to "Go in, good lady" (211), calling Face to come out from offstage, and then ordering him back to "Go in and see" (214). Presumably, Doll appears here in the doorway, just long enough to arouse Mammon, and then turns back in, followed by Subtle and Face. The latter comes back

23 See Richard Preiss, "Interiority," in Turner, ed. *Early Modern Theatricality*, 47-70, for a discussion of how psychological concepts of inwardness developed inside the enclosed space of theaters.

24 Celia Daileader situates this passage in a larger reading of how back doors, anal sex, and Italy were linked in the imaginary of early modern England, "Back Door Sex: Renaissance Gynosodomy, Aretino, and the Exotic," *ELH* 69, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 303-34, esp 310-12; see also Mario DiGangi, "Asses and Wits: The Homoerotics of Mastery in Satiric Comedy," *ELR* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 179-208, esp 198-200.

out to Mammon three times, in and out through the doorway in which Doll was seen, as if passing secret messages to her within. Building up the fiction of Subtle's fury if Mammon and Doll should be found together, Face whispers for Mammon to return in a couple of hours, when Subtle will be busy with alchemical work, "And I will steal you in unto the party" (294). The doorway promises pleasures further in, and the audience later gets to see Mammon head offstage with Doll. When Face enters and complains that he can hear them "Into the laboratory," he suggests that they find "Some fitter place:/The garden or great chamber above" (4.1.171-72). Lovewit's house, then, contains all kinds of spaces for indulging in secret pleasures, and they are all hidden behind the door.

Jonson's obsession with hiding these spaces of Lovewit's house offstage appears with especial clarity when compared with the exuberant conclusion to Thomas Heywood's ca. 1604 *The Wise Woman of Hoxton*. It is easy to imagine that Heywood and Jonson influenced each others' staging, with *The Wise Woman* drawing on the climactic knocking scene in *Every Man In* and this paradigm then pushed further, in turn, by Jonson's presentation of indoor spaces in plays like *The Alchemist*. Both playwrights are concerned with the multiplicity of rooms that can open inside a large house, but the key difference lies in their respective approaches to the offstage space. Jonson aims for a certain type of stage realism, consistently keeping his play positioned at the front area of the house, representing just one room, and the rest of the house kept hidden behind the door.[25] In the final scene of his play, Heywood instead seems to put all the rooms of the Wise Woman's house onstage. Before the roguish Chartley arrives, a series of characters

25 This does not mean that *The Alchemist* always takes place in a clearly defined room, as would be the case in a modern living-room play. For two scenes, the arrivals of Mammon and Surly at the beginning of Act 2 and of Ananias and Tribulation at the beginning of Act 3, attentive editors find it impossible to explain if we are still meant to be on the street in front of the house or if the characters have blithely walked into Lovewit's house without knocking.

whom he has attempted to defraud, including his father and a pair of women to whom he has promised marriage, are placed in four different "retiring chambers" that all look out secretly at a central space. The Wise Woman asks that they "Withdraw, I'll place you all in several rooms/ Where sit, see, but say nothing" (5.2.11-12),[26] from which they will observe Chartley's perfidy. With requests made for a "low stool" or a "chair/And cushion" to be brought out for these characters to wait on (17, 32-3), Heywood seems to imply that the actors will be sitting on different areas of the stage, as opposed to hiding behind curtains. The audience then watches these observers as they watch and comment on Chartley, with their different perspectives on his behavior cohering into a communal rejection and chastening. The space of the Wise Woman's house, coterminous with the stage and divided by imaginary walls, allows for the community to be brought together and proper family relations restored.[27] In plays like *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*, Jonson's urban houses do not have invisible walls, nor are inner chambers exposed to the audience's direct view. Jonson may have learned something about large and theatrically rich houses from Heywood, but the points of access to the house and its inner rooms are more firmly controlled, and the visible action confined to a single room.

By making a supposed alchemical laboratory the most important offstage site, *The Alchemist* raises the possibility of glittering transformations that might take place behind the door, but it also frustrates the impulse to see them, leaving the alchemical machinery just out of the audience's vision.[28] As movement through the door leading within speeds up, Jonson

26 I cite from Sonia Massai's edition for the Globe Quartos (New York: Routledge, 2003).

27 Daniel Gibbons has argued that this scene brings together the multiple perspectives both of characters and of audience members; see "Thomas Heywood in the House of the Wise-woman," *SEL* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 391-416, esp 406ff. Jean Howard's influential reading of the play emphasizes both the theatricality of the Wise Woman's house and the importance of women for restoring the social order; see *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994), 84-92.

28 For a focused exploration of the analogy between theater and laboratory in this play, see John Shanahan, "Ben

consistently directs the audience's attention towards this offstage place, creating a desire and expectation to see further in to the laboratory. Subtle and Face's whole con depends in large part on timing their own exits and entrances into the space hidden behind the wall. Some of these entrances and exits might have occurred through the central curtained space between the doors, about which there has been a heated scholarly dispute.[29] There is no specific evidence in the text to tell us when characters use the curtain and when they use the door, but each point of entry and exit is charged with a sense of anticipation and allure. It seems unlikely to me that Jonson meant for the furnaces and full apparatus of the alchemical laboratory ever to be shown to the audience, even if it is a possibility occasionally exploited in production. The most extravagant of the gulls, Mammon, with his spectacular fantasies of wealth and sexual conquest, shows little interest in actually seeing or understanding the apparatus that he believes himself to have paid for. He enters the play inviting the skeptical Surly to "set your foot on shore/In *novo orbe.* Here's the rich Peru,/And there within, sir, are the golden mines" (2.1.1-3), transforming the Blackfriars house into the Americas as conquered by the Spaniards. Instead of careful and hard labor, he imagines the space further in as a mine into which he will walk and fetch his teeming gold.

Jonson's *Alchemist* and Early Modern Laboratory Space," *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2008): 35-66. Related arguments about how Jonson treats theater as a practical and material art can be found in Mary Thomas Crane, "What Was Performance?" *Criticism* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 169-87; and Turner, *English Renaissance Stage*, 262-74.

29 Tim Fitzpatrick has argued that, at least in some theaters, the central curtain did not front a third opening in the tiring-house wall, but could only be used for scenes of hiding once characters had come out onstage through one of the two side doors. In this schema, the discovery scenes typically assumed to have taken space in a central opening could instead have been made inside one of the side doors. Fitzpatrick first made this argument in an article co-written with Wendy Millyard, "Hangings, Doors and Discoveries: Conflicting Evidence or Problematic Assumptions?" *Theatre Notebook* 54, no. 1 (2000): 2-23, and developed in in *Playwright, Space and Place*, 247-88. The argument has been challenged by Andrew Gurr in "Doors at the Globe: The Gulf Between Stage and Page," *Theatre Notebook* 55, no. 2 (2001): 59-77. For him, the capacity to vary typical side-door entries with more impressive central entries seems to have been central to early modern dramaturgy. While I do not aim to resolve this debate, I do believe that the laboratory sequence in *The Alchemist* could fruitfully be staged either with the curtain functioning as a hiding place (Face-as-Lungs entering from the within-door and then passing in and out through the central curtain without actually exiting to the tiring-house), or with just the within-door. The scene's design, that is, allows for a certain amount of flexibility across theaters.

From Mammon's first mention of mines within, Jonson heightens the metatheatrical sense that there's something worth seeing behind the stage door. Once Subtle has come out and heard Surly's skepticism expressed, he fleshes out the theatrical creation of the secret space within by calling offstage to Face/Lungs. He commands him to "Look well to the register,/And let you heat still lessen by degrees/To the aludels," and asks if he has looked at the "complexion" on the "bolt's-head" marked "D" (2.3.33-36). In part, the sense of a full apparatus behind the door is created by the technical language, but even more important is the emphasis both Subtle and Face put on looking at the specific parts of their big engine. Face soon comes to the door, briefly showing himself to ask about the filter and the complexion of "Glass B," and while he returns inside to find the color (Glass B, we soon learn, is "ground black" (2.3.67)), Subtle explains the contents of Glasses C and F to Mammon. The technical discussion of the process of the final steps of making the philosopher's stone, that is, takes place through a door. Sometimes Face is speaking from behind it, and sometimes he stands on its threshold, but making matter seem transformed depends on the passage of information through the doorway.

With the increasing speed of this movement through the door, Jonson aims to make the audience just as absorbed in following this motion as is Mammon, before finally surprising them with a spectacular theatrical effect behind the stage wall. As Face and Subtle tell Mammon that he has endangered the whole project by flirting with Doll, a stage direction reads "*A great crack and noise within*," and Face comes out to describe what supposedly caused the noise:

> Oh, sir, we are defeated! All the works
>
> Are flown *in fumo.* Every glass is burst,
>
> Furnace and all rent down, as if a bolt
>
> Of thunder had been driven through the house!

Retorts, receivers, pelicans, bolt-heads,

All struck in shivers! (4.5.65-70)

From the perspective of the theater audience who sees the play performed by the King's Men, whether at the Blackfriars, Globe, or in Oxford, there would seem to be little difference between Face the character creating an explosion to surprise Mammon or the theater technicians of the King's Men creating it to surprise them. In a successful performance, the audience will be absorbed in following Face and Subtle's speedy motions, and should thus be equally surprised as Mammon, even if they will quickly realize the trick that has been played on him. The "great crack and noise," coming as it does from "within," continues the process of making Mammon believe in the existence of an offstage chimera, and his distress at this offstage event can release the audience's laughter, as they see how he has misjudged what lies within. They too have been positioned on the other side of the door, where the laboratory cannot be seen, so Jonson has made them share Mammon's limited perspective, but he invites them to appreciate his own clever manipulation of the stage space. Jonson reveals how Face, Subtle, and Doll are theatrical masters, controlling the movements and perceptions of their gulls through the doors of Lovewit's house.

"The house is mine here, and the doors are open"

Jonson similarly aimed to control how his audiences moved through and perceived the theatrical space. This concern would be especially pressing for a playwright who was writing, as did Jonson in *Epicene*, for performance in the hall theaters. The notorious stage-sitting gallants in these theaters not only shared the stage with the actors, but also appear to have entered through the stage doors. As the action of *Epicene* centers on an unsuccessful attempt to keep the front

door of a house firmly closed, I argue in this section, the play becomes a key site for Jonson's exploration of what it means to open up the doors of a theater and to fill the space with the bodies, voices, and presence of a large and varied audience. While Jonson carefully patterns the knocks in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*, Morose enters the play with a belief that making knocking impossible will give him greater control of the door: "You have taken the ring off from the street door as I bade you... And you have fastened on a thick quilt or flockbed on the outside of the door, that if they knock with their daggers or with brickbats they can make no noise?" (2.1.5-10). Consequently, knocking is never heard in advance of entrances to his house. Unlike Volpone and Mosca or *The Alchemist's* rogues, who are able to investigate and prepare for the arrival from without of their various gulls, Morose has a misguided hope that not being able to knock means that no one will enter his house. This focus on the difficulty of sealing the front door redirects our attention to the challenges of managing the doors of a theater – both the door that separates an audience from the actors, and the one that separates the audience from the city outside.

For a play to be considered successful in the theatrical marketplace, one must let the raucous crowds of London press into the playhouse. The common practice of referring to the indoor theaters in the liberties as "private houses" – including both Blackfriars and the Whitefriars, where *Epicene* was first performed in 1609 – may suggest that their proprietors tried to control the influx of these urban masses.[30] In this regard, these theaters have an important similarity with Morose's house. Jonson establishes early on that this place is marked by an attempted removal from urban life. As Clerimont and Truewit banter about Morose they begin with his choice of "a street to lie in so narrow at both ends that it will receive no coaches nor

30 For the complex valences of this term, see Eoin Price, *'Public' and 'Private' Playhouses in Renaissance England: The Politics of Publication* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); and Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*, 30-49.

carts" and end with his creation of "a room with double walls and treble ceilings, the windows close shut and caulked; and there he lives by candlelight" (1.1.133-4, 146-8). The dark candlelit room has an obvious analogy with the private theater in which the play is performed, wherein the players try to be the only ones heard. Traffic jams caused by playgoers clogging up the narrow streets with their coaches, meanwhile, was a consistent source of neighborhood complaint at Blackfriars.[31] While records are much spottier for Whitefriars, the problem likely recurred there.[32] In having Morose try to ward off coaches from his house, Jonson gives his audience a winking acknowledgment of how their very presence in the theater contributes to the congestion and chaos of movement through London streets.

Much of the thrill, the simple fun, of watching *Epicene* in performance comes from the mass of bodies that keep pressing in through the door. Once Morose marries Epicene, he loses all control of the door that leads in from the street. Immediately after they have said their vows, Truewit enters to announce that "Here will be three or four fashionable ladies from the College to visit you presently, and their train of minions and followers" (3.5.22-3). At this point in the play, the audience has yet to see the talkative and independent ladies of the College appear onstage. Instead, they have watched Truewit, Clerimont, and Dauphine's plan to divert the women to Morose's house, along with a whole party they were to attend with the chattering Jack

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31 The legal complaints are collected in *Theatre in Europe: a documentary history: English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, eds. Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). The neighbors succeeded in keeping the playhouse closed when James Burbage first purchased the property in 1596, complaining that the "precinct is already grown very populous" and that the playhouse would cause a "great resort and gathering together of all manner of vagrant and lewd persons" (507). Once the theater opened, there were at least five official complaints, often focusing on traffic jams, with a 1633 privy council debate emphasizing "the great inconvenience and annoyance occasioned by the resort and confluence of coaches to the playhouse in Blackfriars [at play times], whereby the streets, being narrow thereabout, are at those times become impassable" (522-525).

32 See the chapter on "The Traffic Problems in London During the Seventeenth Century" in Norman Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935), 420-43.

Daw and Amorous La Foole at the home of the raucous Mr and Mrs Otter. The audience has been told to expect these ladies and their foolish followers for a long time, so Truewit's prophecy of their imminent arrival only adds to their titillation and excitement. Morose may yell for his servants to "Bar my doors! Bar my doors!" (3.5.24), but in this theatrical world, the stage must be peopled, so he does not stand a chance. In the wake of the College ladies, Clerimont arrives with musicians, announcing that he has "brought you variety of noises" before we get the stage direction "*Music of all sorts*" (3.7.1-2), followed by La Foole, Dauphine, and Mrs. Otter appearing with servants carrying in "a wedding dinner" (3.7.14). At this point there are twelve named characters onstage, plus the musicians and servants carrying the food, and all of them except for Morose and Epicene have come in from the street, through the door that heads without. On the relatively smaller stage of the Whitefriars, the effect would surely have been raucous and chaotic.

If the wedding feast of *Epicene* shows both the thrill and the chaos that can attend a door that stands open to the street, Jonson reveals in *The Alchemist* how a more carefully controlled use of the front door, by contrast, can allow for greater theatrical success. Once Lovewit has entered the house, Face keeps the front door shut just long enough for his master to marry Dame Pliant offstage without disturbance, even as insistent knocking starts being heard from behind the locked door. After the increasingly frantic Surly and Kastril repeatedly yell "Down with the door!" and "'Slight, ding it open!" (5.5.9), Lovewit finally opens it, allowing Mammon, Surly, Kastril, Ananias, Tribulation, and unnamed Officers to all tumble in together. Although not quite as crowded as when the wedding feast arrives at Morose's house – compared to *Epicene's* twelve named characters, musicians, and servants bearing meat, we here get seven named characters, a parson, and officers – this moment is the most crowded the stage gets in this play. This slightly

less raucous moment emphasizes how Face and Lovewit, unlike Morose, time their opening of the door to control access to the house. They have retained control of their front door, and Lovewit confidently retakes his rightful position as master of the house. As the five gulls yell all at once about the cozeners they seek, the noise level, especially on a smaller indoor stage, would be nearly equivalent to the ruckus of *Epicene's* wedding feast, but Lovewit quickly tamps it down. Establishing his authority, he invites his angry visitors to seek the rogues: "The house is mine here, and the doors are open" (5.5.26). This would literally be true of the stage doors at this moment, as the door leading within would be open for the disappointed gulls to go in and search for the vanished rogues, and the one leading without would be open for them to exit the house once they realize that there is nothing there for them. Lovewit remains onstage throughout these final moments, happily displaying his silent wife to the audience, having achieved what Morose hoped for when he sealed up his doors. With his doors open, Lovewit establishes himself as a benevolent theatrical master, inviting the audience, whether at the Globe or Blackfriars, to feast on Face's spectacular victory.

In the contrast between Morose's failure and Face and Lovewit's success at controlling access to their respective houses, we see Jonson experimenting with what it means to welcome audiences into the hall theaters, where the stage space appears to have been regularly shared by audience and actors. *Epicene* was Jonson's fourth play for a boys' company playing in such a theater, after the 1600 *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601 *Poetaster*, and the collaborative *Eastward Ho!* in 1605. Those earlier plays had all been originally staged at the Blackfriars by the company known variously as the Children of the Chapel, Children of the Queen's Revels, and Children of the Revels, but as the King's Men took over that space in 1608, the boys had recently moved to the

smaller Whitefriars theater nearby.[33] Apart from the reliance on candlelight and more cramped conditions, the key difference between the amphitheaters and these indoor theaters appears to have been the presence of audience members sitting onstage.[34] The practice was especially associated with the Blackfriars,[35] as was already well known in 1604 when Marston's *Malcontent* transferred to the Globe and Webster added an induction about a boorish spectator who expects to behave the way he had at earlier boys company performances of the play.[36] Followed by a Tire-Man carrying a stool, who worries that the audience "will be angry if you sit here," the actor Will Sly comes out as a conceited audience member, exclaiming that "We may sit upon the stage at the private house" (1-2). References to the Children's indoor theaters as 'private' was a recent phenomenon at this point, and Sly's use of the term implies that the smaller house provided intimacy between the actors and gallants like the one he parodies here.

This spatial intimacy would have been further heightened if these audience members entered through the stage door. In Webster's induction, Sly clearly enters from the tiring-house, through the same doors the characters will use throughout the play, a mode of entry that appears

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33 Richard Dutton has argued that this was in essence a new company, and that the Blackfriars boys' company had been dissolved; see "The Revels Office and the Boy's Companies, 1610-13: New Perspectives," *ELR* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 324-51. Lucy Munro, while sensitive to changes in company personnel, has responded by showing continuities in artistic policy, in *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 23-25.

34 Tiffany Stern provides a richly detailed description of what the effect of these expensively dressed gallants might have been on the theatrical event in "Taking Part: Actors and Audience on the Stage at Blackfriars," in Menzer, *Inside Shakespeare*, 35-53. See also Michael Shapiro, *Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and their Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), and Nova Myhill, "Taking the Stage: Spectators as Spectacle in the Caroline Private Theaters," in Low and Myhill, *Imagining the Audience*, 37-54.

35 There is evidence that stage-sitters were present at the amphitheaters as well, especially later in the period. On March 10, 1623, for example, a felt-maker's apprentice was injured while onstage at the Red Bull; see Berry et al, *English Professional Theatre*, 581.

36 I cite the play from the New Mermaids edition of W. David Kay (New York: Norton, 1998). The dates, additions, and performances at the Blackfriars and Globe are discussed at xiii-xvi and xxviii-xxx.

to have been standard for stage-sitters, as opposed to mounting the stage from the auditorium.[37] In *The Gull's Hornbook*, published in the same year as *Epicene's* first performance, Dekker counsels gallants to hide behind the arras and pop out with their stool just as the play begins (30). Henry Fitzgeffrey's 1617 *Notes from Blackfriars*, a collection of satirical character sketches on visitors to the theater, includes a prodigal spender who has come to show off his flashy clothing onstage: "A Stoole and Cushion! Enter *Tissue slop!*/Vengeance! I know him well, did he not drop/Out of the *Tyring-house*?"[38] The arrival of these gallants through the stage doors would have contributed to the sense that the audience and the actors shared the theatrical space. Just as Morose proves unable to keep his house enclosed only for himself, these actors were unable to maintain complete control of a private space behind the tiring-house wall.

While the play was proceeding, however, this openness to the backstage area would need to be clamped down, keeping entrances and exits unimpeded for the actors. Winks at the sexual availability of boy actors could titillate audience members,[39] but Jonson establishes the power of the closed door early on in *Epicene*. As Clerimont's Boy describes getting thrown on the bed and carried in to Haughty by her female servants, he incites jealousy in his master, who exclaims "No marvel if the door be kept shut against your master, when the entrance is so easy to you" (1.1.15-16). Clerimont wants nothing more than to be brought into the lady's chamber, through the door

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37 Leslie Thomson argues that George the citizen in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* would have entered through the stage door with the other stool-sitters, while his Wife and Rafe would have been highly unusual in climbing up to the stage from the pit, and from this observation she develops a rich analysis of Beaumont's use of the distinction between on- and off-stage space. See "Who's In, Who's Out?: *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* on the Blackfriars Stage," in Menzer, *Inside Shakespeare*, 61-71.

38 The *Notes* constitute the third book of Fitzgeffrey's *Satyres: and satyricall epigrames with certaine observations at Black-Fryers* (London, 1617), F2v. Accessed via EEBO.

39 See Richmond Barbour, "'When I Acted Young Antinous': Boy Actors and the Erotics of Jonsonian Theater," *PMLA* 110, no. 5 (October 1995): 1006-22; and Mary Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queans on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

that is only open to the sexually innocent boy, while his own explicit desire is inflamed by the door's closing. One of the play's driving desires, then, lies in the gallant gentleman's imagination of what lies behind a lady's door, and this desire turns out to be frustrated both for Clerimont and for the play's audience. After the opening act, completely set in Clerimont's chambers, there are brief scenes at the homes of the scheming barber Cutbeard, the chattering Jack Daw, and the foolish Mr and Mrs Otter, but above all the play takes place in Morose's house. With the exception of Mrs Otter, it is only in his highly theatrical house that the play's female characters are seen.

Jonson's hiding of female characters parallels the secrecy of the boy actors who are only seen as women when they are onstage. While Clerimont "*comes out making himself ready*" in full view of the audience (1.1.0.SD), establishing the standard *levee* opening for West End comedy well beyond the Restoration, he and Truewit debate the value of entering a lady's private chamber and seeing her natural face without its cosmetic enhancement.[40] Opposing Clerimont's wish to see Haughty before she has put on her face, Truewit defends the pleasure to be had from looking at painted women, and when the surprised Clerimont asks if Truewit means that women should profess their cosmetic practices "Publicly," Truewit responds that they should be open about the fact that they do put time and work into improving their appearance: "The doing of it, not the manner: that must be private" (1.1.89-90). Just as actors need a tiring house in which to transform into their characters out of sight of the audience – especially boy actors being turned into female characters, a famous obsession of this play – women need private spaces. Truewit continues by explicitly rejecting Clerimont's desire to have the door to Haughty's chambers opened to him: "nor, when the doors are shut, should men be inquiring; all is sacred within, then"

40 See Emrys Jones, "The First West End Comedy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1982): 215-258.

(1.1.92-93). This debate, about the value of passing through a woman's doors before she has prepared herself to be seen in public, sets up a key element of the play's dramaturgy. Truewit argues that the space "within" a house must be controlled and that uninvited entry is a form of violation, an argument that primes the audience to pay attention to the doors that provide entry to the play's various rooms.

Once the play lands in Morose's home, the stage door leading within becomes an important site for imagining women's privacy. Epicene, having become the mistress of the house, now has access to chambers further in, where she can converse with her fellow women out of the audience's view. Morose, having lost the control of inner space evident in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*, acknowledges this state of affairs soon after the Collegiate women first come onstage. Trying to get these chatterboxes out of his presence, he implores Lady Haughty, presumably gesturing towards the door: "Will it please Your Ladyship command a chamber and be private with your friend? You shall have your choice of rooms to retire to after; my whole house is yours" (3.6.78-80). The rooms appear to be satisfactory, for when Haughty later wishes to withdraw she turns to Epicene with "Good Morose, let's go in again. I like your couches exceeding well; we'll go lie and talk there" (4.4.136-7). These exits provide an opportunity for relaxation not only to the characters, but to the actors who play them as well. Out of the audience's sight, the boys might be able to adjust their costumes, touch up their cosmetics, and quietly gossip about the stool-sitting gallants who share the stage with them.

Jonson himself was notoriously ambivalent about the stage-sitting spectators. He often seems to view them with contempt, as when the foolish Fitzdottrel in the 1616 *Devil Is an Ass* describes his own behavior as an audience member:

> Today, I go to the Blackfriars playhouse,

> Sit i'the view, salute all my acquaintance,
>
> Rise up between the acts, let fall my cloak,
>
> Publish a handsome man, and a rich suit –
>
> As that's a special end why we go thither,
>
> All that pretend to stand for't o'the stage.
>
> The ladies ask, who's that? For they do come
>
> To see us, love, as we do to see them. (1.6.21-8)

Ribbing those stage-sitters who care more about displaying themselves than about the play, Jonson seems to assert his own desire for absolute control over what happens onstage. Even as he presents the stage-sitter's self-absorption, however, Jonson also draws energy from Fitzdottrel's excitement about what happens on the Blackfriars stage. In a delightfully metatheatrical moment, the play Fitzdottrel wishes to see is *The Devil Is an Ass* itself, for "He dares not miss a new play" (1.4.23), and later on he nearly passes off his jealously guarded wife to unknown dinner companions, for "that'll be just play-time./It cannot be, I must not lose the play!" (3.5.35-6). The playgoers who most seem to interfere with Jonson's play, that is, are also those playgoers who most enjoy his wit and theatrical playfulness.

The Devil is an Ass also finds Jonson reflecting on the place of women in the theatrical space, both as characters and as audience members. The play revisits the scene of Celia at the window from *Volpone*, but now allows the female character a greater freedom to look into adjacent places. Whereas the earlier play had emphasized the separation between the window of Corvino's house and Volpone on the street below, Jonson now crafts a scene "*acted at two windows as out of two contiguous buildings*" (2.6.36.SD). Just as *Volpone's* Celia had looked out at a window, Fitzdottrel's wife Frances appears above. With her suitor Wittipol imagined as

having access to the room that abuts hers, however, the upper playing area now represents two directly adjacent windows – so adjacent, in fact, that Wittipol "*plays with her paps, kisseth her hands, etc*" (70.SD). As the play proceeds, Frances turns out to be a more assertive and independent figure than Celia, suggesting that Jonson was increasingly intrigued by the presence of women in the theater. In the 1626 *Staple of News*, Jonson scripts four female spectators who join the stage-sitters and comment on the play. These "Gossips" – Tattle, Censure, Expectation, and Mirth – seem at first to continue Jonson's distaste for garrulous and disruptive audience members, as they interrupt the prologue and proceed to criticize the play between the acts. The Gossips increasingly come to reveal, however, the way in which the theatrical event depends on an interplay with actively engaged spectators. Ellen MacKay has located, in the Gossips' attention to the play, "a performance that is neither ignored, nor misconstrued, nor silently acceded to... but instead is sustained by the active and conscious work of its audience's imaginative attempts to sustain it."[41] While we might see Jonson as hectoring his loudest spectators when he introduced the Gossips, I would agree with MacKay that this female audience also models a passionate and energetic response to his dramaturgy, a response that shows just how much the audience and the actors share the space of the theater.

This generosity and openness towards the audience was already there in *Epicene*, where the prologue proposes an open-door policy, inviting the audience to partake of the theatrical event as if it were a feast. Jonson proclaims that "Our wishes, like to those make public feasts,/Are not to please the cook's tastes, but the guests" (8-9).[42] The poetic treats about to be

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41 MacKay, "Indecorum," 322.

42 John Sweeney relates the generosity of the prologue to the spirit of the play in *Jonson and the Psychology of Public Theater: To Coin the Spirit, Spend the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 105-24. On Jonson's use of alimentary metaphors more generally, see Jonas Barish, "Feasting and Judging in Jonsonian Comedy," *Renaissance Drama* 5 (1972): 3-35; and Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets: Ben*

brought out will be available not only to "lords" and "knights," but also to the "waiting-wench and city-wires," and even "for your men and daughters of Whitefriars" (22-24). Winking at the neighborhood's reputation for what Mary Bly has called "nonnormative sexual practices," Jonson establishes a close rapport with the visitors to the company's new home.[43] Not only was this theater in a different liberty – only a short walk away, the Blackfriars was associated with Puritan purveyors of fashionable goods like feathers[44] – it was also in a more physically cramped space. Measuring 66 by 46 feet, the upper frater of the Blackfriars allowed for the placement of galleries at the side of the stage and around the pit, while the narrow hall of the Carmelite priory at Whitefriars, 90 by 17 feet, would presumably push the onstage stool-sitters into even closer proximity with the actors.[45] The seated spectators, with no standing groundlings present, are invoked in Jonson's instructions on proper behavior at this public feast, as he worries that potential critics might be heard claiming that they could have written a better play "when they leave their seats" (13). In response to these caviling audience members, "The poet prays you, then, with better thought/To sit" (19-20), and the prologue goes on to promise that "Nor is it only while you keep your seat/Here that his feast will last" (25-26). If the spectators remain attentively in their seats, accepting their proper place in the theater, they will get to enjoy Jonson's poetic treats. Just as Truewit times the arrival of a festive wedding feast into Morose's house, Jonson has a theatrical feast in store for the audience, as his comic fools and witty gallants

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Jonson and the Digestive Canal (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

43 "Playing the Tourist in Early Modern London: Selling the Liberties Onstage," *PMLA* 122, no. 1 (Jan 2007): 61-71, 67.

44 See Bly, *Ibid* 65. See also the induction to *The Malcontent*: "Blackfriars [the theater] hath almost spoiled Blackfriars [the liberty] for feathers" (41-2).

45 I rely on the figures produced by Herbert Berry in Berry et al, *English Professional Theatre,* 501 and 549-50. Jean MacIntyre emphasizes the theater's relatively small size in "Production Resources at the Whitefriars Playhouse, 1609-1612," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2, no. 3 (1996): 2.1-35.

come in through the stage doors.

It would be nearly impossible, while watching a performance of *Volpone*, *Epicene*, or *The Alchemist*, not to be highly aware of the knocks, collisions, and occlusions that surround the stage doors, which thereby become a key site for Jonson's thinking about his own artistic practices, about how the audience might experience the theatrical event, and about the theater as an urban institution. James Mardock has argued that the obsession with stage doors in *Epicene* and *The Alchemist* reflects Jonson's "assertion of authorial identity" and a "direct competition" between his own spatial practice and that of his characters.[46] There is, indeed, a careful control of movement through the stage doors, but that control serves to create the conditions for a multiplicity of voices and perspectives to collide inside the theater, and Mardock underestimates just how often the doors stand open. Jonson may share some of Morose's desire to keep the door to the city outside shut, to not allow chatterboxes like the Collegiate Women or Fitzdottrel into the playhouse, but he also realizes that a successful theatrical event depends in part on enthusiasts. As he lists different types of spectator in the prologue to *Epicene*, inviting them all to his feast, Jonson knows that the door between the theater and the street must stand open. When *The Alchemist* closes with Lovewit proclaiming his doors open, we could easily see him as a stand-in for Jonson, gesturing towards the welcoming door through which audience members will be able to return again and again to the theater.

"You have lock'd the door, and she's within"

Jonson's consistent indoor settings, with the attendant analogy to the enclosed theatrical space, would prove influential for Restoration playwrights. *The Country Wife*, which explicitly

46 Mardock, "*Our Scene is London*," 70, 90.

invokes *The Alchemist* in its prologue, picks up its thematic interest in the control of doors from Jonson. Where *Epicene* focuses on Truewit's plan to divert the Collegiate ladies through Morose's door, for instance, Wycherley's play climaxes with Horner's trick to make Pinchwife unwittingly convey the closely guarded Margery to his lodgings. In this focus on private lodgings, Wycherley follows Jonson in representing the city as it is perceived from inside, behind the door. Scholarship on the place of London in Restoration comedies has tended to focus on scenes set in specific public sites, especially to the west of the City walls, including Hyde and St. James's Parks, the Mulberry Garden, Covent Garden, and the New Exchange.[47] Considering that the theaters built in the 1660s and 70s were themselves located in the West End, it only makes sense that they would want to showcase the leisure of the Town and oppose it to the supposedly more hardworking and puritan City. I argue here that the influence of Jonson led playwrights like Wycherley to present these fashionable places, along with the theaters themselves, as enclosed places, increasingly removed from the public world of the street.

Wycherley and his contemporaries go even further than Jonson, that is, in positioning the location of their plays as separated from the bustling city outside. The sense that the stage door leads right out to the street – so central to *The Alchemist* – has been replaced by a consistent movement up to an upper level. In this regard, *Epicene* proved the most influential of Jonson's plays, and Restoration comedies tend to share that play's total lack of knocking. The opening act of *The Country Wife* is typical, with Horner's boy servant announcing that "There are two Ladies and a Gentleman coming up" or that "Mr. Sparkish is below" (67-8, 293). Just as in *Epicene*, where no knocks interrupt Clerimont's morning dressing, Horner has an orderly series of visitors

47 See the chapter "New Narratives of Public Spaces: Parks and Shops" in Cynthia Wall's *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 148-81, and David Roberts, "Caesar's Gift: Playing the Park in the Late Seventeenth Century," *ELH* 71, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 115-139.

who must be brought up, away from the immediacy and crowds of the city. In 1609, Jonson was presenting a mode of life that seemed new and unusual, but after a half-century of residential development, the modes of living associated with the West End had expanded to encompass a large number of new buildings. During Jonson's lifetime, the West End consisted mainly of the aristocratic palaces lying between the Strand and the Thames, but with the establishment of Covent Garden in the 1630s providing an important impetus, planned developments for London's growing gentry population spread across the area.[48] Following trends in country house architecture, these new homes increasingly lavished attention on their staircases.[49] Whereas houses of artisans and merchants in the City and eastern suburbs put the stairs at the back of the shop, West End builders preferred a grand principal staircase right off the entry hall for guests and residents, with servants relegated to a smaller back staircase.[50] Wycherley and his fellow writers of city comedies captured this emphasis on social life as properly taking place above, allowing figures like Horner to seem to float above the fray of urban life.

The Country Wife, however, also turns Horner's lodgings into the increasingly crowded site of his cuckolding plot, as he uses his supposed impotence to draw women up to his

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48 For the development of Covent Garden, see Zucker, *The Places of Wit*, 102-43. The geographical spread and social impact of western growth, across the century, is traced by Lawrence Stone in "The Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century," in *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor J.H. Hexter*, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 167-212.

49 On the growing size and decoration of country house staircases, see Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 310-16.

50 In the two-room plan, City houses tended to have the staircase at the center of the house, between the two rooms, which meant that visitors had to pass through the shop or front room to reach it. After about 1680, the staircase was increasingly placed at the back of the second room, so one had to pass through the whole ground floor to reach it. See A.F. Kelsall, "The London House Plan in the Later 17th Century." *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 8 (1974): 80-91; Roger H. Leech, "The Prospect From Rugman's Row: The Row House in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London." *Archaeological Journal* 153 (1996): 201-242. The increasing use of a grand front staircase with servants hidden on a back staircase is discussed as a phenomenon of the mid-17th-century in Platt, *Great Rebuildings*, 41-43. For the use of this plan in large London town houses, see Neil Burton and Peter Guillery, *Behind the Facade: London House Plans, 1660-1840*, (Reading: Spire Books, 2006), 12, with examples from St James Square in the 1670s and Kensington in the 1680s (40-41).

chambers. Wycherley drew inspiration for Horner's plotting from Volpone and Face, with *The Country Wife's* opening act sharing not only *Epicene's* sense of a space above, but also the pattern of gulls arriving in his home from *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*.[51] Horner is shown in supreme control of the space as first the Fidgets, then Sparkish, and finally Pinchwife come to gloat over his masculine failings, each arriving in turn and being primed for their defeat in the unfolding of his plot. Even if this plot aims more at sex than at the money sought by Jonson's rogues, its use of domestic space is remarkably similar, allowing Wycherley to return to the Jonsonian model of inviting the playhouse audience into an enclosed space.

Just as the *Epicene* prologue both welcomed the audience to a feast and demanded that they remain firmly in their seats, Wycherley imagines a struggle between actors and audience over who will be heard and seen inside the theater. His prologue frames this struggle as mirroring that for *The Alchemist's* Blackfriars house – especially appropriate, considering that the same actors who premiered his play in January 1675 had performed Jonson's play in the same theater exactly two months earlier.[52] Combatively giving the audience what they expect, that he will "In a fierce Prologue, the still Pit defie,/And e're you speak, like Castril, give the lye" (9-10), Wycherley assumes a close intimacy between stage space and audience space, and the play itself stages this struggle for control of the theater in its invocations of playhouse visits

51 The connection between Horner and Volpone is discussed by Louis Kronenberger in *The Thread of Laughter: Chapters on English Stage Comedy from Jonson to Maugham* (New York: Knopf, 1952), 65-66, and by Anne Righter [Barton] in "William Wycherley," *Restoration Theatre*, eds. John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (London: Edward Arnold, 1965). Virginia Ogden Birdsall argues that Horner is closer in spirit to Face than to Volpone in *Wild Civility: The English Comic Spirit on the Restoration Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), 134-36. This is not to deny the influence of *Epicene,* for which see Brian Corman, *Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy 1660-1710* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 30-33; Dale Underwood in chapter 8, "The Comedy of Manners," of *Etherege and the Seventeenth-Century Comedy of Manners* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957); and Jones, "West End Comedy."

52 William Van Lennep, ed, with an introduction by Emmett Avery and Arthur Scouten, *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 1: 1660-1700*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 224.

and the “wits Row” (1.1.432) of loud and disruptive spectators.[53] Even if the knocking so central to *The Alchemist* is not heard in Horner’s upper rooms, Wycherley follows Jonson in drawing the city in to the theater’s domestic interior.

By the time the King’s Company, led by Thomas Killigrew, came to stage *The Country Wife* in 1675, they had already been forced to translate the spatial arrangements of Jonson’s comedies to fit the period’s new theater designs. Jonsonian city comedy formed a key part of their repertory even before the companies were granted their official patents, with Pepys noting a performance of “Madam Epicene” in early June 1660, only a few weeks after Charles II’s return to London. This was probably at the Red Bull amphitheater, which would soon be given over to fencing matches, and the play was also the first to be performed at the refurbished Whitehall Cockpit-at-Court on November 19.[54] In that month, Killigrew’s company began acting in their own newly refurbished tennis court on Vere Street, where they played *Epicene* and *The Alchemist*, as well as *Bartholomew Fair,* about half a dozen times each over the following year and a half.[55] These performances became less frequent as the company began to build a stock of new plays, but for anyone who wished to see a Jonson comedy, the only choice would be to head to one of the Drury Lane theaters built in 1663 and 1674.[56] Although their first theater in Vere

53 Harold Love has demonstrated how the play reveals a finely textured awareness of social differentiation throughout the auditorium, in “The Theatrical Geography of *The Country Wife*,” *Southern Review* 16, no. 3 (1983): 404-415. Jocelyn Powell’s chapter on *The Country Wife* provides a sensitive and detailed account of the interplay between between actor and audience, in *Restoration Theatre Production*, (London: Routledge, 1984), 127-44.

54 Robert Noyes, *Ben Jonson on the English Stage, 1660-1776* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 173-76; Van Lennep, *London Stage*, 11.

55 Recorded in Van Lennep, *London Stage*, 20-52.

56 The arrangement was made official in January 1669, when the Lord Chamberlain allowed the King’s Company the right to perform the majority of Jonson’s plays, along with a number of other pre-war plays. See Van Lennep, *London Stage*, 151. *The Alchemist* may have dropped out of the repertory for about four years after August 1664, when the actor Walter Clun, who had been highly popular as Subtle, was murdered. See Noyes, *Ben Jonson on the English Stage*, 107-8.

Street had likely not been equipped with movable scenes, both of these new houses followed the basic model of William Davenant's 1661 Lincoln's Inn Fields, with a proscenium arch, movable scenery, and a raked stage to emphasize the perspective in the painting. All of the Restoration playhouses, meanwhile, showed a basic continuity with the prewar theaters in the size given to the thrust forestages, extending about 20 feet beyond the proscenium arches both at the 1671 Dorset Garden and the Drury Lane theaters.[57]

While the forestages would have been largely equivalent to the prewar platform stages in providing an open space for actors, the presence of scenery demanded new points of entrance and exit. With scenes at the back of the stage, the actors now entered from the sides, either between the scenes or from doors flanking the forestage. We lack enough hard evidence to know how many doors would be available in any given theater, but in comparison to the prewar theaters (and the earliest Restoration performance spaces) there would always be the added versatility of being able to enter among the flats, behind the proscenium arch.[58] Jonson's basic division, between one door leading further in towards the house and another leading out to the city, would be further heightened in these theaters. His original audience, watching the actors move in and out through doors set in the same wall, would see them coming and going from the

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57 See Edward Langhans, "The Post-1660 Theatres as Performance Spaces," in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. Susan J Owen, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 3-18.

58 The famous Christopher Wren section drawing of a theater from 1672-74 shows two doors on each side of the forestage, and a stage direction in Etherege's 1668 *She Would if She Could* seems to demand four doors as well. On the basis of these two points of evidence, theater historians have assumed that four doors were standard (following Langhans in his dissertation *Staging Practices in the Restoration Theatre 1660-1682* (Yale 1955)). Tim Keenan has recently challenged this view, pointing out that there is no hard documentary connection between the Wren drawing and any specific theater, and arguing that the Etherege stage direction could be performed with entrances through just two forestage doors and among the scenes behind the proscenium arch ("'Scaenes With Four Doors': Real and Virtual Doors on Restoration Stages," *Theatre Notebook* 65, no. 2 (2011): 62-81). Frans Muller has responded that Keenan overemphasizes the capacity to enter in the scenes, and that continuity with the staging practices of the prewar hall theaters would have inspired an early Restoration dramaturgy focused on the forestage doors ("The Proscenium Doors in the Duke's Theatre Lincoln Inn's Fields." *Theatre Notebook* 66, no. 2 (2012): 106-115).

same location, even if they could imaginatively establish that the two doors represented different directions. When a play like *The Alchemist* was performed at the Drury Lane theaters, this divide would be even easier to establish, with a whole side of the stage standing in for each direction, and less of a sense that the tiring house was a single place. This might also mean, in the case of *The Alchemist*, that the scene would more clearly stand in for a specifically localized room at the front of Lovewit's house, with the doors leading into the house being across the stage, and further away from, the imagined street behind the doors on the other side. The impression of a consistently localized room would be further heightened by the use of the painted flats. Presumably, the company could use a generic scene of an inner room, and roll it back to show a generic street scene in the necessary moments, keeping the same interior background throughout most of the play. As we have seen, the most important spatial feature of *The Alchemist* is the doors, but the fluidity of imagined stage space between them would have been somewhat stabilized by the presence of the painted background.

For a playwright like Wycherley, who wrote for the same theater that was performing Jonson's city comedies, the insides of homes were created onstage not only through the carefully patterned use of doors – with the various visitors who arrive from below, for instance – but also the ability to vary painted scenes of different homes. Changes of scenery could effectively mark the differences between houses, and by extension of their respective owners. This effect appears with especial clarity in *The Country Wife*, which toggles back and forth between the homes of the licentious wit Horner and the jealous cuckold Pinchwife. Although we have little visual evidence of what the scenes depicted, we do know that they were often reused from play to play, making it possible to create associations for regular audiences of certain scenes and certain types

of character.[59] We can easily imagine, that is, that the same scenery that provided a background for Clerimont's lodgings in *Epicene* would be reused for Horner's, while the scenery for Morose's house would reappear for Pinchwife's, giving the audience an immediate signal that they were looking at the home of a gallant wit or of a jealous fool. Wycherley is particularly attentive to patterning the movement between these two homes, beginning with an act in each home to establish the intersecting plots, first at Horner's and then at Pinchwife's. In the original text, the settings for these first two acts are not explicitly written out, but once the action picks up and the play starts switching back and forth between the houses, we get notes at the beginning of each scene, for example "*The Scene changes to* Horner's *Lodging*" at the head of 4.3, 5.2, and 5.4, adding "*again*" in the final instance. Pinchwife's house, meanwhile, appears to have two different settings, with 4.1 opening "*In* Pinchwife's *house in the morning,*" and 4.2 marked "*The Scene changes to a Bed-chamber, where appear* Pinchwife, *Mrs.* Pinchwife." As the play's action centers around Pinchwife's attempt to keep his wife in his own chambers and out of Horner's chambers, the dramatic movement between these two spaces is as important as the movement into Morose's house for *Epicene*, and the shifting between the houses gains further clarity for the audience in the shifting between the painted scenes.

While the painted scenes would mark a strongly felt presence onstage, Wycherley also provides a rich exploration of the offstage areas behind the doors, clearly learning from Jonson how to build a rich and variegated interior space. Even at those moments when the play seems to move out into more public spaces, Wycherley establishes secret and hidden spaces within. One of the play's centerpieces is a long sequence set at the New Exchange, and it would likely have

59 Powell makes suggestions for how the stock scenes could have contributed to the characters of Horner and Pinchwife in *Restoration Theatre Production,* 133. Peter Holland, in *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), discusses how scenes could be used to create meaning throughout the chapter "Performance: theatres and scenery" (19-54).

been represented by a richly appointed image of this well-known site.[60] Along with this painted background that shows the first meeting between Horner and Mrs. Margery Pinchwife as taking place in a public area, Wycherley uses the stage doors in a manner clearly inflected by Jonson's comedies, transforming the Exchange into a space filled with private nooks and crannies. Margery has convinced her husband to bring her there as a tourist, on the condition that she wear male clothing and pretend to be a young man, and there is much for her to see. As the Company represents the specific place through an image of the Exchange behind the proscenium arch and a bookstall onstage, the play also suggests that its alleys extend through multiple points of entrance and exit. One door marks the point of entry into the Exchange from without, while there are at least two exits that lead further in among the shops, perhaps the two doors across the stage from the main point of entrance. When Margery, for example, complains to her husband that she "han't half my belly full of sights yet," he barks "Then walk this way" (3.2.229-32), and immediately after they exit through one door a stage direction reads "*Re-enter* Sparkish, Harcourt, Alithea, Lucy, *at t'other door*" (241.SD). The potential presence of four doors allows for a particular effect here, where one door can remain marked as leading back out to the city while there are up to three exits into the Exchange's other areas hidden beyond the stage.

These hidden parts of the Exchange, unsurprisingly, take on a sexual charge, especially once Horner realizes Margery's identity. He plays along with her disguise, wishing to further inflame Pinchwife's jealousy. As soon as Horner finally exits, the exasperated Pinchwife calls out "So they are gone at last; stay, let me see first if the Coach be at the door" (3.2.589-90), but

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60 The scene may have been commissioned by the King's Company specifically for this play. Although many comedies of the period mention the Exchange, an important meeting place for Town residents, only one other play from the 1660s and 70s, Etherege's 1668 *She Would if She Could*, explicitly sets a scene there. Etherege's play was performed by the rival Duke's Company, suggesting that a new scene would have been created for each of these two plays. Tim Keenan discusses these two scenes and what they might have looked like in his "Shopping and Flirting: Staging the New Exchange in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Comedies," *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 30, no. 1-2 (2015): 31-53.

Horner immediately returns and cries “What not gone yet?” to Margery (591), inviting her to “come away into the next walk” (594). Presumably he leads her to the opposite side of the stage from where Pinchwife has gone out to the street, so when the husband returns, only 13 lines later, to find her missing, he must run across the stage. After his breathless inquiries about his wife’s whereabouts lead to the response “In the next walk only” (611), a stage direction reads “*Exit* Pinchwife, *and returns presently, then goes out again*.” His disorientation here could be given a humorous twist by having him unsure about which door leads to “the next walk,” first heading through one and then coming back to take the door next to it. The dizzying multiplication of doors only serves to extend the maze of the Exchange further beyond the walls at the side of the stage. Soon enough, Margery returns, “*running with her hat under her arm, full of Oranges and dried fruit,* Horner *following*” (3.2.652.SD), providing a direct connection with the play’s famous china scene, which climaxes when Lady Fidget enters “*with a piece of China in her hand, and* Horner *following*” (4.3.229.SD). Giving emblematic force to Horner’s sexual virility, these entrances would presumably be from the same stage door, marking a specific part of the off-stage space as the site for his assignations.[61]

The space behind this inner door, however, comes not only to hide sexual pleasures, but is also used as a space for confinement. Similar to *Volpone’s* Corvino, Pinchwife wants to keep his wife locked up and out of view, and when they first receive visitors his immediate response is to cry “get you in, get you in” (2.1.154). Even when they are visited by other women, who hope to see this new country specimen, Pinchwife tries to deflect them, claiming that “she has lock’d the door, and is gone abroad,” to which the experienced Lady Fidget responds “No, you have

61 Jeremy Webster argues that the audience “knows what is happening on the other side of the door” during the China scene, “based on accurately interpreting the metaphor.” See “In and Out of the Bed-chamber: Staging Libertine Desire in Restoration Comedy.” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 77-96, 85.

lock'd the door, and she's within" (401-2). Indeed, Margery is locked up behind the door that leads in to a private chamber, and Pinchwife twice more locks her up there when he leaves the house. He is not, however, the only man who locks her up behind that stage door. In the final act, Margery successfully makes it to Horner's lodgings disguised as her sister. Told that a crowded feast is about to arrive at his house, similar to Truewit's banquet at Morose's house, Horner pushes Margery in through the door and announces "But now I'm going to a private feast" (5.2.131). Presumably behind the same stage door where her husband had earlier locked her up, she finally gets to experience the pleasures and hidden liberties of a city woman. Soon enough, however, the audience learns that a London mistress may be locked up just as much as a country wife. As Horner soon reenters from his private feast to find the raucous feast of Lady Fidget and her companions arriving into his house, he turns back to the inner door with his key, for he must now "lock her in, that they may not see her" (5.1.3-4). Just as Pinchwife had earlier used the door and key to keep Margery hidden from Lady Fidget and her companions, Horner tries to keep her visit secret. Wycherley's thematic point, then, about the interplay of sexual freedom and confinement for women, takes on a particular spatial meaning.[62] Learning the lessons of Jonson's spatial techniques, Wycherley knows how much theater depends on the promise of what lies just offstage, hidden behind the doors.

62 Derek Hughes, in *English Drama 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), uses this fact, that Horner "must obviously use the same proscenium door behind which her oppressive husband has already repeatedly locked her," as his key example in arguing for the continuity of staging techniques form the prewar theaters: "the subtlest visual signifiers were not specific scenic representations, but – as in the past – neutral objects with multiple functions" (5). See also Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, 138.

Chapter Three

Discoveries and the Revelation of Intimate Space

At the midpoint of her successful 1677 comedy *The Rover*, Aphra Behn uses the stage technology of sliding shutters to reveal a woman in bed. Moments earlier, those shutters picture a room in the house of the clever Neapolitan courtesan and con-artist Lucetta. The foolish English traveler Blunt stands alone in that front room, expecting "this one Nights enjoyment with her" (3.2.21), before her servant Sancho appears to whisk him away: "Sir, my Lady has sent me to conduct you to her Chamber" (27).[1] As soon as the two men exit, the "SCENE *Changes to a Chamber with an Alcove Bed in't, a table, &c.* LUCETTA *in Bed. Enter* SANCHO *and* BLUNT" (30.SD). The shutters depicting the front room, that is, are pulled aside, discovering Lucetta and the bed behind them. Behn staged this type of bedchamber discovery scene more often than any other playwright in the seventeenth century.[2] In revealing these beds from behind the sliding shutters, she aimed to produce an intimate space inside the theater, a portion of the stage that could encompass both the desire for and the threat of sexualized violence that so often faces her female characters.

Behn's repeated staging of this type of hidden and intimate space, I argue in this chapter,

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1 All citations of Behn follow *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1996), 7 vols.

2 Peter Holland claims that Behn's "use of discoveries is positively obsessive," and he counts thirty-one discoveries in ten of her comedies, noting that "the vast majority – eighteen in all – are discoveries of scenes of undressing, dressing or bedrooms." See *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 41. For a detailed account of Behn's sophisticated use of the particular theatrical conditions of the Restoration stage, see Derek Hughes, *The Theatre of Aphra Behn* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

allows her to explore and respond to the gendered dynamics at play in the century's most famous onstage bed, that which appears at the end of Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604). Her first play to be performed, a tragicomedy entitled *The Forc'd Marriage* (1670), builds towards a climactic scene of a jealous general seeming to strangle his new wife in their bed. This wife survives, however, and returns to haunt her husband as a pretended ghost, discovering him stretched out on the same bed where he recently tried to kill her.[3] By both staging a version of *Othello*'s ending and then returning to the same bed in a more comic key, *The Forc'd Marriage* transforms the onstage bed from a site of horror to one where the depredations of violent masculinity can be revealed. *The Rover* takes this unmasking a step further. Blunt may expect "enjoyment" when he discovers Lucetta in her bed, but Behn drops him through a trap door, and he is soon discovered in his own bedchamber. Through her choice to stage discoveries upon discoveries – discovering a woman in bed first, followed by a similar discovery of a man – Behn both displays and contains the violent energies that threaten women inside this recessed and sometimes hidden part of the stage.

Both Shakespeare and Behn used a standard set of techniques to embed their discoveries of beds in the structure of their plays. Most often, discoveries of intimate spaces are not surprises. Playwrights craft the movement in towards these spaces, showing their characters exit into increasingly private areas, before a curtain or set of painted shutters is pulled aside to reveal the bed. In this crafting of theatrical movement, the plays invite their spectators imaginatively to follow the action of the play further and further inwards. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the imaginative direction of the audience's attention towards offstage spaces, whether

3 The relation of *The Forc'd Marriage* to *Othello* goes beyond mere citation or influence. In having the strangled wife return to haunt her husband, Behn's play contains *Othello* as a ghostly memory, along the lines laid out by Marvin Carlson in *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001).

Jonson's alchemical laboratory or Wycherley's china shop, could be achieved by the use of stage doors. For playwrights like Shakespeare and Behn, who more often show the audience such hidden spaces than do Jonson and Wycherley, the doors prove equally important tools. To give their discovery scenes a sense of titillation, of looking into a violated space, they prepare their audience for the revelation of hidden space, as characters move through the doors and towards the bedchamber.

In tracing discoveries across the seventeenth century, this chapter locates itself at the point where theater history has most tended to see a break in staging practices. The introduction of painted scenery on sliding shutters, first at William Davenant's Lincoln's Inn Fields theater in 1661, and then at Thomas Killigrew's Theatre Royal at Bridges Street in 1663, marks an important innovation in the spatial arrangement of English theater. This innovation would be especially noticeable when staging discoveries, now taking place from behind such shutters. In dividing the stage space between the forestage and the upstage scenic area, the painted shutters seem to inaugurate the inexorable erection of a fourth wall between the fictional playworld onstage and the distanced world of the audience in the auditorium. As Bruce Smith has argued, standard theater history depends on a curtain that "*hangs down* between early modern theater on one side of the chronological divide and modern theater on the other." The arras curtains that hung over the various openings in the tiring-house wall on the prewar stage, Smith goes on to suggest, in fact provided a more visually complex environment onstage than we have come to believe.[4] I extend Smith's analysis of stage curtains here, showing how the painted shutters, after

4 Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 209. For detailed surveys of early modern stage curtains, see Frederick Kiefer, "Curtains on the Shakespearean Stage," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 20 (2007): 151-186; and Mariko Ichikawa, "'What Story is that Painted vpon the Cloth?': Some Descriptions of Hangings and their Use on the Early Modern Stage," *Theatre Notebook* 70.1 (2016): 2-31. For decorated curtains in early modern England and their use both onstage and in non-dramatic literature, see Rebecca Olson, *Arras Hanging: The Textile that Determined Early Modern Literature and Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013). For analyses of

the Restoration, took the place earlier held by arras curtains in the staging of discoveries.

Even as there are important continuities in how Shakespeare and Behn structure their plays to set up the moment of discovery, however, the position and meaning of the onstage bed shift along with this historical change in theatrical equipment. The curtains that hang down over the doorways and discovery spaces of Shakespeare's theaters are duplicated in the heavy curtains that surround Desdemona's bed, hiding and enclosing the space of the bed. With their discoveries of beds from behind the painted shutters, Restoration plays instead put their characters on display, even as they position beds at a distance from the audience. The painted shutters would part to open up a separate part of the stage, framed by the wing shutters. This scenic area would then serve as the location for sequences taking place around the bed, meaning that the opening and closing of curtains that structures *Othello* happens less frequently, even if four-poster beds with curtains would presumably still be available in the Restoration theaters when staging plays like *Othello*.[5] This change is reflected in the fact that beds in Restoration plays are most often referred to, in stage directions and in dialogue, as couches, not beds, even when characters are in

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specific forms of discovery from behind curtains, see Ashley Denham Busse, "'Quod me nutruit me destruit': Discovering the Abject on the Early Modern Stage," *JMEMS* 43, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 71-98; and Sarah Dustagheer, with Philip Bird, "'*Strikes open a curtain where appears a body*': Discovering Death in Stage Directions," *Stage Directions and Shakespearean Theatre*, eds. Sarah Dustagheer and Gillian Woods (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 213-37.

5 This point is supported by our visual record of the play's performance history. Beginning with the title page to the play in Rowe's 1709 edition, images of the play in the 18th and 19th centuries were most often focused on the play's final scene, with the bedcurtains tending to dominate the pictorial space; for a representative sample of reproductions, see Michael Neill, "Unproper Beds: Race, Adultery, and the Hideous in *Othello*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 383-412. If the bedcurtains provide a point of continuity, however, the placement of the bed onstage does appear to have changed, moving back up into a discovery space positioned upstage of the painted shutters. In his study of the final scene's performance history from 1760-1900, James Siemon notes that "the period keeps the bed approximately centered and as far as upstage as possible," and that it was only in the mid-19th century that the bed was again moved downstage and closer to the audience; "'Nay, that's not next': *Othello* V.ii in Performance, 1760-1900," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 38-51, esp. 40. This move upstage, I would argue, was likely a direct result of the new theatrical layout introduced in 1661, while the later move towards a downstage position of the bed would mark a return to the practice of the Jacobean King's Men.

their bedchambers. Most likely this change in terminology suggests that, instead of the four-poster beds that create a distinct space inside their curtains, Restoration stages employ smaller daybeds or couches. Inside this new type of discovery space, the actor's body becomes a framed object.

Shakespeare hides the space inside the bedcurtains throughout *Othello*, a choice that depends on the capacity of those curtains to conceal the bed and its contents. Lodovico closes the play by commanding Iago, and the audience along with him, to "Look on the tragic loading of this bed," and he continues that "The object poisons sight–/Let it be hid" (5.2.362-4).[6] This sense that the bed and its contents should most properly be hidden, that it should not appear on the public and visible space of the stage, generates the horrified audience response that is such a central part of the play's performance history. The capacity of curtains to veil and unveil drives what Lynda Boose has called the "pornographic aesthetic" of *Othello*, where it is in the bedroom that "this play consummates its union with its audience."[7] Titillating spectators with the expectation that they will visually penetrate the bedchamber, the play seems to invite its audience to take a prurient interest in the "monumental alabaster" of Desdemona's white skin, involving them in the spatial violation of the bedchamber.

Behn was highly attuned to the male violence that threatened women inside such spaces, and her corpus features a number of attempted rapes.[8] Her focus on *Othello* stems, in part, from

6 My citations of *Othello* follow the Oxford edition of Michael Neill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). In his commentary on these lines, Neill notes that productions have on occasion taken Iago as the object to be hid, but he also argues convincingly that early 17th century usage would better fit a reference to the bed.

7 "'Let it Be Hid': The Pornographic Aesthetic of Shakespeare's *Othello*," in *Women, Violence, and English Renaissance Literature: Essays Honoring Paul Jorgensen*, eds. Linda Woodbridge and Sharon Beehler (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), 243-68, esp. 247.

8 For a survey of Behn's representations of rape, see Ann Marie Stewart, *The Ravishing Restoration: Aphra Behn, Violence, and Comedy* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010).

its presentation of women as facing their greatest dangers inside bedchambers and other hidden spaces.[9] Even in a highly comic play like *The Rover*, which highlights the spatial control of its heroines Angellica Bianca and Hellena, spectators are titillated with the possibility that they might be invited to look into the women's bedchambers. As she explores this titillation, Behn thematizes the presence of both male and female spectators inside the theater. Although Shakespeare's audiences too included both men and women,[10] I argue that Behn more explicitly addresses the potential that theatrical spectatorship differs between the sexes. She first introduces herself to playgoers, in the prologue to *The Forc'd Marriage*, by worrying that only the women in the audience will appreciate the work of a female playwright. She also depicts the differences in what it means for a man and for a woman to enter a bedchamber and to discover someone in bed. Blunt's entrance into Lucetta's chamber would seem to model the desire of male spectators to discover a female actor's body inside a hidden space, but Behn quickly reveals this desire as foolish and comic, and she then proceeds to show a woman discovering Blunt displayed on his couch. With this reversal of perspective, Behn seems to give her female spectators a greater sense of spatial control, but this moment of laughter is quickly returned to one of danger, as Blunt threatens rape. Behn uses the spatial division of the stage, provided by the painted shutters, to mark both the comic potential and the dangers of discovering the space that encloses the bed.

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9 Behn would turn elsewhere to Shakespeare's play as a source for her explorations of interracial strife, even as she never staged a black man entering a bedchamber. Her one play that centers on a black person, the 1676 tragedy *Abdelazer*, does not include a bed, while she did not envision her one text that treats the sexuality of black people, the 1688 novella *Oroonoko*, for the stage. For discussion of how these texts use *Othello* as a model for their representations of race, see Susie Thomas, "This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine: Aphra Behn's *Abedelazer, or, The Moor's Revenge*," *Restoration* 22.1 (Spring 1998): 18-39; Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 87-107 and 144-63; and Elizabeth D. Gruber, "Dead Girls Do It Better: Gazing Rights and the Production of Knowledge in *Othello* and *Oroonoko*," *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory* 14.2 (2003): 99-117.

10 For an influential account of the presence of female audience members in the pre-1642 theaters, see Jean Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994), 73-92.

Bedcurtains and the Tragic Violation of Intimate Space in Othello

Throughout *Othello*, I argue, Shakespeare prepares the audience to speculate about the intimate space of Desdemona's bed and to construct it as a site of danger and potential violation. Before the bed appears in the play's final moments, Shakespeare uses movements through doorways to craft a sense of dangerous and improper activities hidden just behind the arras curtains. Once those curtains finally part for the bed to be thrust out, the second set of curtains that hang around the bed, in turn, creates an enclosed space out on the stage. It is inside this space, so easily hidden and enclosed, that *Othello* reveals the destruction of its two principal characters to the audience's view. As Ian Smith has recently pointed out, the "frequent references to sight in *Othello*" are hardly surprising in a play that centers on a black man, who creates a disturbance in the white-dominated visual field of early modern culture.[11] I suggest here that the play's focus on the dangers of looking into the hidden space inside the bedcurtains itself helps to produce the racist fear of Othello's black body and its threat to Desdemona's whiteness – the fear traced so sensitively by Arthur Little.[12] That the bedcurtains help to create this sense of dangerous looking is shown if we turn to one of the earliest theatrical responses to *Othello*, John Marston's 1606 *The Wonder of Women, or the Tragedy of Sophonisba*. Marston's play has more often been read in relation to Jonson's *Sejanus*, which he invokes in his address "To the Gentle Reader" for its attempt to "translate Latin prose orations into English blank verse."[13] In crafting

11 Ian Smith, "Seeing Blackness: Reading Race in *Othello*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy*, Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 405-420.

12 See the chapter on "Witnessing Whiteness" in Arthur L. Little Jr., *Shakespeare Jungle Fever: National-Imperial Re-Visions of Race, Rape, and Sacrifice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 86-101. See also Neill, "Unproper Beds."

13 I cite Marston's play from the edition in *The Selected Plays of John Marston*, eds. MacDonald P. Jackson and Michael Neill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

an alternative to Jonson's heavily classicizing form of tragedy, Marston found in *Othello* an inspiration for tragedy focused on the marital bed. He expands on Shakespeare's model by bringing the bed onstage three times, creating a play that is more frantic, satirical, even lurid – the villain at one point threatens necrophilia – than *Othello*. Despite the obvious differences in tone of the two plays, Marston's staging of the bed proves especially attuned to the importance of curtains, and I include *Sophonisba* in this section to illuminate how bedcurtains generate the sense of the bed as a hidden and dangerous space in Jacobean tragedy.

We can never know precisely how the King's Men staged the final scene of *Othello*, but I see no reason to doubt that Desdemona appears to the audience after at least one, and perhaps two, sets of curtains have been pulled aside. The Folio stage direction that opens the final scene of *Othello* reads "*Enter Othello, and Desdemona in her bed*" (5.2.0.SD), which suggests that Othello enters through one door and that Desdemona is thrust out from a different opening in the tiring-house wall. There is some disagreement about whether the bed would be positioned for this entrance through one of the doorways, or from behind a specific "discovery space," but there is good evidence that either type of space would have been covered by a curtain. Those who argue that most theaters had a large "discovery space" between the two doors – Andrew Gurr chief among them – assume that a curtain would be pulled aside for discoveries.[14] If the curtains covered the doorways, similarly, they would shield the tiring house from view when the doors stood open. Tiffany Stern cites a 1587 Latin-English dictionary that defines "cortina" as "the covered place in a stage, whence the players come out," and she further supports the idea that curtains covered the doorways by pointing to "the famous references to clowns peeping between

14 See, for instance, Gurr, "Doors at the Globe: The Gulf between the Stage and the Page," *Theatre Notebook* 55:2 (2001): 59-71.

the curtains."[15] Stern's evidence comes from fairly early in the period, but later visual sources – especially the title page engravings for two Caroline tragedies, *Roxana* (1632, fig 3.1) and *Messallina* (1640, fig 3.2) – show the whole forestage wall covered with a curtain. To bring Desdemona's bed into the world of the play, such curtains would need to be parted, creating an opening in the tiring-house wall large enough to allow passage for this large prop.

Fig 3.1. John Payne (engraver), title page of William Alabaster, *Roxana Tragaedia* (London: William Jones, 1632).

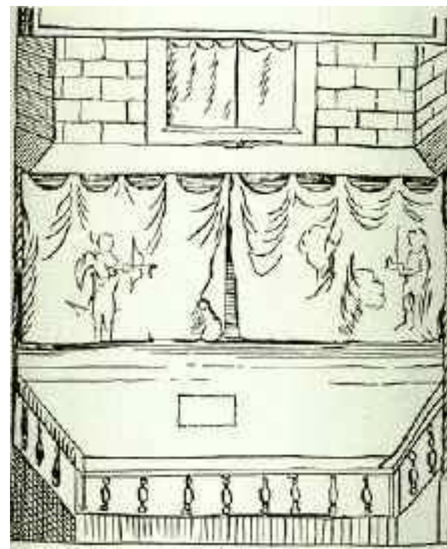

Fig 3.2. Thomas Rawlins (engraver), title page of Nathaniel Richard, *The Tragedy of Messallina* (London: Daniel Frere, 1640), detail.

Both images accessed from http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca

Along with the curtains that part to reveal the bed as it enters from the occluded space within, the curtains on the bed itself create a hidden area out on the stage. Othello turns his attention to these curtains before Emilia enters – "let me the curtains draw" (5.2.107) – meaning that Emilia does not notice the dying Desdemona until the cry "O falsely, falsely murdered" rises from behind the curtain (118). The sound of Desdemona's voice from within the bed-curtains

15 "Behind the Arras: The Prompter's Place in the Shakespearean Theatre," *Theatre Notebook* 55 (2001): 110-18.

follows shortly on the sound of Emilia's voice calling out to Othello from behind the door. Offstage voices coming in through the door are among the most basic spatial techniques on the early modern stage, while the voice inside the bed establishes a more unusual type of hidden space. With the bed itself fully visible, the closed curtains generate an awareness of the unseen area within. This effect would function most effectively if the bed were thrust out on to the stage, as opposed to remaining inside a discovery space. Richard Hosley, even though he coined the concept of the "discovery space," found the former alternative most likely, as it allowed the play's climax to be more clearly seen by everyone in the audience.[16] Leslie Thomson, in a survey of every surviving pre-1642 stage direction that references a bed, agrees. She points out that the direction "*a bed thrust out*" only appears after 1610, but that it is often combined with the earlier phrasing "*enter X in bed*," and she thus takes earlier stage directions like that in the Folio – "*Enter... Desdemona in her bed*" – to mean that the bed is thrust out onto the forestage.[17] Although the prop would have been cumbersome, the curtains around the bed would fit early modern expectations of what type of bed was appropriate for couples of Othello and Desdemona's status.[18] Placing this bed in a central position onstage would make the action of opening and closing its curtains, repeated throughout the scene, a powerful reminder to audiences of how they are looking into a hidden space.

In *Sophonisba*, Marston even more often positions the bed as a hidden space to be

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16 "The Staging of Desdemona's Bed," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1963): 57-65. For Hosley's larger argument about the discovery space, see "The Discovery-space in Shakespeare's Globe," *Shakespeare Survey* 12 (1959), 35-46.

17 "Beds on the Early Modern Stage," *Early Theatre* 19, no. 2 (2016): 31-57, esp 36-7. I take from Thomson's article the claim that Hosley invented the term "discovery space," 34-35.

18 See Sasha Roberts, "'Let me the curtains draw': The Dramatic and Symbolic Properties of the Bed in Shakespearean Tragedy," *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama,* Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 153-74.

revealed. Its curtains are absolutely essential, repeatedly opening and closing, sometimes to reveal Sophonisba herself, and sometimes her perverse doubles. To fully convey the excitement of this revelation, the boys' company that performed the play at Blackfriars may have chosen to keep the whole bed inside a doorway or discovery space, with these larger curtains pulled aside to reveal the whole bed.[19] The bedcurtains, however, may have been easier to use when re-hiding the bed, and *Sophonisba*'s curtains are constantly being opened and closed. The play introduces its eponymous heroine in a bedchamber, undressing for her wedding night, and the entrance of her bridegroom is simultaneous with her movement into this hidden space onstage: "*The* LADIES *lay the* PRINCESS *in a fair bed and close the curtains whilst* MASSINISSA *enters*" (1.2.32.SD).[20] This closing of the curtains mainly serves to prepare a revelation of the bride. Moments after the husband enters, "*The boys draw the curtains*, *discovering* SOPHONISBA, *to whom* MASSINISSA *speaks*" (35.SD). With the play barely having started, Marston establishes that this inner space onstage can be both hidden and revealed. He also frustrates the bridegroom's desire to enter that hidden space, as a messenger shows up to announce a military attack. As the scene closes, "*The Ladies draw the curtains about* SOPHONISBA; *the rest accompany* MASSINISSA *forth*" (236.SD). With Sophonisba hidden on the bed and her bridegroom heading off to war, Marston introduces a spatial divide in the world of his play, between the public world of war and the intimate, hidden space of the bed.

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19 This mode of discovering a whole bed from behind a curtain in the tiring-house wall appears to have been more common, in the 1580s and 90s, than the thrusting out of a curtained bed. In *2 Tamburlaine*, for instance, "*The Arras is drawn, and Zenocrate lies in her bed of state, Tamburlaine sitting by her*," while *2 Henry VI* has "*Then the Curtains being drawn, Duke Humphrey is discovered in his bed, and two men lying on his breast and smothering him in his bed*." For these and many other examples, see the entry on "bed" in Alan Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

20 My reading of Marston's play has been influenced by Genevieve Love's analysis of the relation between Marston's unusually extensive stage directions and the hidden space of the bed. See "'As from the Waste of Sophonisba'; or, What's Sexy about Stage Directions," *Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003): 3-31.

Marston uses this hidden space to create surprises, putting unexpected bodies – especially black or deformed ones – in the bed, and the horror that characters express at these surprises helps to produce racist fears of such bodies. As a historical figure of the second century BCE, the Carthaginian princess Sophonisba was North African, but as Joyce Green MacDonald has shown, European culture in the Renaissance consistently depicted her as white.[21] Marston twice has this white woman replaced in her bed, first by the black male servant Vangue and then by the horrid witch Erichto.[22] The target of these bed-tricks is Sophonisba's villainous suitor Syphax, who drags her into his bedchamber with "*his dagger twon* [twisted] *about her hair*" (3.1.0.SD). Sophonisba escapes his first attempt to rape her by drugging Vangue, whom she then lays in Syphax's bed and closes the curtains (163.SD). Syphax, expecting bliss with Sophonisba, makes an unpleasant discovery when he opens these curtains – "*Offering to leap into bed, he discovers* VANGUE" (182.SD) – a discovery that Marston plays for racially-tinged violent comedy, as the enraged Syphax murders his confused black servant.

In a second bed-trick, Marston and the Blackfriars actors may have chosen to surprise their audience as well. After Sophonisba escapes him a second time, Syphax finds the sorceress Erichto, who agrees to bring Sophonisba to his bed. As Syphax attends the woman he desires, "*Enter* ERICHTO *in the shape of* SOPHONISBA, *her face veiled, and hasteth in the bed of* SYPHAX" (4.1.213.SD). The bed then remains visible, with its curtains closed, for the act break between the fourth and fifth acts, while a bass lute and treble viol play, before "SYPHAX *draws the curtains and discovers* ERICHTO *lying with him*" (5.1.0.SD). This moment was most likely

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21 See *Women and Race,* 76-83.

22 Virginia Mason Vaughan shows that these two bed-tricks were part of a stage tradition, with a number of plays from the period including scenes of white people entering beds and unexpectedly finding black bodies; see *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 74-92.

produced by having the actor playing Erichto in Sophonisba's clothes, but it could also be that the actor playing Sophonisba enters, gets into the bed, and then sneaks out of the bed while the actor playing Erichto sneaks in. When Syphax then opens the curtain from inside the bed, the audience would share his surprise at discovering that the wrong woman has spent the act break hidden away with him inside the curtains.[23] Attempts to surprise the audience appear to have become more common in this decade, and *Sophonisba* was performed only a few years before the most famous instances of such surprises: Jonson's revelation in his 1609 *Epicene* that the titular "silent woman" was actually a boy in disguise, and the reverse instance of Beaumont and Fletcher's 1610 *Philaster*, where the page Bellario turns out to have been a woman. In these two plays, the surprise turns on questions of the actor's presumed gender, while Marston's trick relies on the hidden space of the bed, where the expected whiteness of Sophonisba's body has been replaced by the horrid shape of the witch.

If Marston plays with lurid possibilities in his repeated discoveries of the hidden space of beds, Shakespeare instead builds slowly towards the final and single discovery of Desdemona. *Othello* begins in the public space of a Venetian street, but it immediately directs the audience's attention towards Desdemona's bed. Iago's and Roderigo's opening discussion of Cassio's promotion at first seems relatively unlocalized, but as Roderigo proclaims that "Here is her father's house" (1.1.74), we realize that they are standing on the street outside. At this point the audience, along with Iago and Roderigo, cannot see inside the house. Inspired by the staging model of Roman New Comedy, Shakespeare opens his play with the action taking place on the street outside and the audience imagining what is inside. According to the folio cast list for

23 Celia R. Daileader has argued that this sequence is "designed to leave spectators breathless," in *Eroticism on the Renaissance Stage: Transcendence, Desire, and the Limits of the Visible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 136.

Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour*, Shakespeare had appeared as an actor in this play soon before he began work on *Othello*, an experience that likely shaped the spatial arrangements of his own theatrical exploration of jealousy.[24] As I showed in my previous chapter, Jonson had worked to fire the jealous imaginations of his characters, who believed that their unfaithful spouses could be found behind a locked door. Even as Shakespeare expands the size of the house, with Brabantio appearing not in the doorway but on the upper playing level, the relation between the forestage as street and the offstage as domestic interior remains the same. Roderigo and Iago make Brabantio, and the audience along with him, think about what is inside his doors, calling up to him, "Signor, is all your family within?" and "Are your doors locked?" (84-5). As Brabantio heads within to see if his daughter sleeps where he expects, Desdemona's chambers are already becoming the key site towards which the play directs the audience's imagination.

Along with this attention to Desdemona's empty bed in her father's house, Shakespeare also points to her new place in Othello's bed throughout the opening act. After the first scene in front of Brabantio's house, the second scene puts itself outside the inn where Desdemona now shares a bed with Othello. His marriage has caused him to give up his "unhoused free condition" as a military commander (1.2.26), and before going to the senate for his orders to Cyprus, he exits back inside with "I will but spend a word here in the house" (48). Similarly, when he leaves the senate soon thereafter, he tells Desdemona to "Come... I have but an hour/Of love, of worldly matter and direction/To spend with thee. We must obey the time" (1.3.296-8). These repeated exits can easily fire the imagination of audience members.[25]

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24 Scholars have also detected the influence of *Every Man In His Humour*, which includes a jealous husband named Thorello, in Shakespeare's naming of his titular character. See, for instance, Robert S. Miola's Revels edition of Jonson's play (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 65. For a discussion of the inter-influence between Shakespeare and Jonson more generally, see Russ McDonald, *Shakespeare & Jonson, Jonson & Shakespeare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

25 The offstage activities of the spouses have also ended up being quite titillating for scholars. The scholarly debate

Throughout the play, Shakespeare filters the offstage bed through Iago's racist imagination, where sheets, jealousy, and sex are brought together in a festering stew.[26] In his first soliloquy, he proclaims that "I hate the Moor,/And it is thought abroad that 'twixt my sheets/He's done my office" (1.3.375-7). Along with imagining that Othello has entered his own bed, Iago also pictures Othello and Desdemona's sheets as a site of sexual congress. When Cassio describes Desdemona as "perfection," Iago replies "Well, happiness to their sheets!" (2.3.25-6). Iago's diseased images of beds infect the mind of Othello. Having led him to believe Desdemona unfaithful, Iago asks Othello to picture her with Cassio: "Will you think so? … What,/To kiss in private? … Or to be naked with her friend in bed/An hour or more, not meaning any harm?" (4.1.1-4). Iago's images of the bed are also a key site of his racially driven hatred. In one of his most notorious lines, he asks Brabantio to picture his daughter in sexual congress: "Even now, now, very now, an old black ram/Is tupping your white ewe" (1.1.88-9). This line has proved central to analyses of how the play figures Othello's blackness.[27] What I want to focus on here is its sense of immediacy. With its repetitions of the word "now," Shakespeare heightens the impression that his central couple is somewhere offstage, engaged in bestial activity, at this very moment. Before she has appeared onstage, Desdemona has been invoked by Iago as having a specific location "very now." The audience does not see her in that location, but they are being induced, along with Brabantio, to picture her as having escaped her proper place.

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about whether the marriage is ever consummated reflects the ambiguity with which Shakespeare presents these movements offstage, as Michael Neill points out; see "Unproper beds," 395-96.

26 For a detailed account of Iago's racially infected imagination, see Janet Adelman, "Iago's Alter Ego: Race as Projection in *Othello*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48.2 (Summer 1997): 125-44.

27 For the standard account of Othello's blackness, see Kim F. Hall, "*Othello* and the Problem of Blackness," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works, Vol 1: The Tragedies,* Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard, eds. (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 357-74. For a theoretically sophisticated recent challenge to views of Othello as black, see Matthieu Chapman, *Anti-Black Racism in Early Modern English Drama: The Other "Other"* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 67-105.

Even more than through Iago's language, however, Shakespeare focuses the audience's attention on Desdemona's bed by positioning it ever closer to the stage. Throughout the Willow scene, Emilia undresses Desdemona in preparation for bed. Scholarship on boy actors and women's clothing has treated this scene extensively, locating in Emilia's "unpinning" of Desdemona's knots and laces an emphasis both on women's work and on the erotic fluidity of a boy's body standing in for a woman's.[28] The sequence also shows us Shakespeare's precise control of stage space, as he prepares the audience for the final revelation of Desdemona's bed. While Shakespeare clearly imagines Desdemona undressing somewhere in the apartment she shares with Othello, he does not indicate that this is a private or hidden space. Before Desdemona and Emilia are left alone, they are joined not only by Othello, but also by Lodovico, whose presence functions as an audience stand-in, a representative from outside the tight-knight unit of husband, wife, and maid. In watching the stage represent a room that Lodovico can enter, the audience experiences this scene as not taking place in a fully private space. What they observe instead is a space where preparations are made for entering the bedroom. Desdemona requests to be undressed, asking Emilia to "Give me my nightly wearing" (4.3.14) and to "Prithee unpin me" (19). When Emilia offers "Shall I go fetch your nightgown," however, Desdemona responds with "No, unpin me here" (32). Emilia's action of unpinning Desdemona's clothing while the mistress sings would have the effect of quietly, slowly, and deliberately changing the nature of the stage space. Emilia's question about retrieving the nightgown from offstage, meanwhile, suggests that there are hidden places further in among Desdemona's

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28 See Peter Stallybrass, "Transvestism and the 'body beneath': Speculating on the boy actor," in *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage,* Susan Zimmerman, ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), 64-83; Denise Walen, "Unpinning Desdemona," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 487-508; and Carol Chillington Rutter, "Unpinning Desdemona (Again) or 'Who would be toll'd with Wenches in a shew?'" *Shakespeare Bulletin* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 111-32.

chambers.

Shakespeare also emphasizes the bed itself, verbally signaling that it will appear onstage momentarily, in all its material presence.[29] Before he storms out, Othello orders Desdemona to "Get you to bed/On th'instant; I will be returned forthwith" (4.3.5-6). Desdemona then turns to Emilia and tells her that Othello "hath commanded me to go to bed," an order she intends to follow, as she proceeds to request Emilia to help her undress. Even before this scene, Desdemona has been thinking about her bed. After Othello first calls her "that cunning whore of Venice," she requests that Emilia "tonight/Lay on my bed my wedding sheets" (4.2.104-5). When Emilia then begins to undress her, the maid again draws the audience's attention to these textiles: "I have laid those sheets you bade me on the bed" (4.3.20). Thinking about the sheets then leads Desdemona to meditate on her fate, exclaiming "If I do die before thee, prithee shroud me/In one of these same sheets" (4.3.22-3). Soon before the audience will finally discover Desdemona sleeping in her bed, Shakespeare places that bed firmly in their imaginations. Right behind the door through which Emilia could head to fetch the nightgown, they can imagine the bed being put in position for its theatrical discovery. As the play then shifts to its final outdoor scene, where Iago murders Roderigo, the actor playing Desdemona will be right behind the curtain covering the doorway or discovery space. Even as the first murder of Iago's scheme takes place on the public place in front of that curtain, the actors and stagehands prepare the play's more heartbreaking tragedy for discovery right behind it.

The close relationship between the bed and the space behind the doorway – both so often

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29 This materiality especially involves textiles, as Dympna Callaghan has shown; see "Looking well to linens: Women and Cultural Production in *Othello* and Shakespeare's England," in *Marxist Shakespeares*, eds. Jean Howard and Scott Cutler Shershow (London: Routledge, 2001), 53-81. See also Susan Frye, "Staging Women's Relations to Textiles in Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Cymbeline*," chapter 4 of *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 160-90.

hidden out of sight behind curtains – continues in the play's final scene. Even as the bedcurtains are opened and closed around Desdemona's sleeping or dead body, the door that encloses the bedchamber is locked and opened repeatedly. At the precise moment when Othello strangles Desdemona, Shakespeare adds a spatial reminder that they are enclosed inside a locked room. While Desdemona struggles and cries out, "O Lord, Lord, Lord!," Emilia "*calls within*," or more precisely, "*at the door*" – the former stage direction is from the Quarto text, the latter from the Folio – "My lord, my lord! What ho! My lord, my lord!" (5.2.86-87). Emilia's echo of Desdemona's cry links the space of the bed with the hidden space just offstage. Emilia cries out from behind the door three more times before Othello unlocks the door for her, establishing how the space that he shares with his dying wife is enclosed and hidden. This same door will be locked again shortly, enclosing Othello with a dying woman for a second time. After Iago stabs Emilia and runs offstage, Montano orders Gratiano to keep Othello locked inside his bedchamber: "Come guard the door without, let him not pass,/But kill him rather" (240-41). Emilia's dying speech, with its accusations against Othello – "Moor, she was chaste, she loved thee, Cruel Moor" (248) – takes place inside a hidden space that she shares only with the corpse of her mistress and the man who murdered her. Even as Emilia's speech charges the enclosed stage space with reminders of the spatial intimacy she had shared with Desdemona, singing snatches of the Willow song, Othello probes the boundaries of this onstage prison. Finding the sword that he will soon use to stab Iago, Othello calls to Gratiano right beyond the doorway: "uncle, I must come forth" (251). The space inside the bedchamber that he shares with the two dead women appears to have become unbearably claustrophobic, and he wishes to burst out into the world, to find Iago and to take revenge. Shakespeare, of course, will keep the remainder of the play, with the punishment of Iago and Othello's death, locked away inside the bedchamber.

Within the enclosed stage space of the bedchamber, the curtained bed itself provides a second space, even more hidden and private, that becomes a site of horrific violence. To give playgoers the sense that it is a violation to look in upon this hidden and intimate space, Shakespeare twice encloses it with the bedcurtains. This closing of the curtains does not simply mark the general impropriety of looking in on a bed, but more specifically continues to treat the hidden space of the bed as belonging to women. Othello first closes the curtains to hide the dying Desdemona from Emilia, who is the one person who has shared that space with Desdemona, unpinning her mistress and laying the sheets on the bed. By the time Lodovico orders the curtains closed a second time, Emilia's dead body has joined those of Desdemona and Othello inside this hidden space.[30] Holding the bodies towards which the play has directed so much attention – the begrimed blackness of Othello, the feminine whiteness that Desdemona seems to share with Emilia – the bed can no longer bear the penetrating regard of the audience, and the curtains must close on this tragic loading.

This sense that looking through the bedcurtains is a spatial violation, I argue, explains why the play's closing moments have exerted such a powerful pull on audiences. More than any other play in the Shakespeare canon, *Othello* has inspired audience members to intervene in its action. The play's stage history is filled with instances of audience members who call out to interrupt Othello and save Desdemona in the final scene. Most notoriously, the French writer Stendahl records a Baltimore performance in 1822 where a soldier standing guard in the theater pulled out his gun and shot the actor playing Othello. Although this physical interruption was extreme, verbal interruptions of the murder have been noted in many places, including Paris in

30 As Siemon points out, later performance tradition tended to remove Emilia to a separate couch, but there is no textual evidence to suggest that her request to be laid by her mistress is not honored; see "*Othello* V.ii in Performance," 49.

1792, New York in 1943, and Hamburg in 1976.[31] The emotional force of this concluding scene already provided a key element of the play's appeal on the Restoration stage. In the first year of restored public theater, Samuel Pepys saw the play on October 11, 1660, and noted that "a very pretty lady that sot by me cried to see Desdimona smothered."[32] A deeply felt reaction to this murder even appears in one of the earliest records of an audience response to a Shakespeare play. The clergyman Henry Jackson describes a pair of performances by the King's Men on tour in Oxford in 1610. Evincing some skepticism about these theatrical events – he complains of the impiety in *The Alchemist's* satire of Anabaptists – Jackson was nevertheless seduced by Shakespeare's tragedy: "Desdemona, murdered by her husband in our presence, although she always pled her case excellently, yet when killed moved us more, while stretched out on her bed she begged the spectators' pity with her very facial expression."[33] It is no accident that our earliest description of spectators being "moved" by a Shakespeare play comes in response to the view of Desdemona in her bed. The long history of audiences finding themselves emotionally involved in these events does not simply depend on the skills of actors or on the fact that audiences know Desdemona's innocence as Othello does not.[34] Shakespeare has designed the play to make the audience feel as if they are no longer divided from the stage space occupied by

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31 For these and further examples see the *Othello* editions of Neill, 9-11; and Ayanna Thompson's new introduction to E.A.J. Honigmann's Arden edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 41-43.

32 See *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A new and complete transcript*, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971-83), 11 vols, 1:264.

33 The Latin letter in which Jackson makes these comments was first transcribed and analyzed by Geoffrey Tillotson, "*Othello* and *The Alchemist* at Oxford in 1610," *Times Literary Supplement* (July 30, 1933): 494. I use the translation of Dana Sutton, available online at www.philological.bham.ac.uk/jackson/text.html

34 For a powerful reflection on the ethical demands placed on any playgoer as they observe Othello strangling Desdemona, see Stanley Cavell, *Disowning Knowledge in Six Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 97-102. See also Ellen MacKay's argument that audiences always know that they are in a theater at this moment, that the play produces an awareness that one is being moved "by the depiction of events that are patently fictitious," in *Persecution, Plague, and Fire: Fugitive Histories of the Stage in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 120.

Othello and Desdemona. Jackson's suggestion that Desdemona was murdered "in our presence" – the Latin, "apud nos," could also be translated as "among us" – points to a felt closeness inside the theater. With his final discovery, Shakespeare aims – quite successfully, as the performance history shows – to pull back the curtain and invite the audience to peer into a violated inner sanctum.

Tragicomic Discoveries in The Forc'd Marriage

Othello went on to become one of the most influential and often performed plays on the Restoration stage.[35] This reception would continue, at least in part, to center on questions of what it means for audiences to see Desdemona in a hidden and intimate space. According to a prologue written for a performance by Thomas Killigrew's King's Company on December 8, 1660, the first female actor to appear on the English public stage played Desdemona. The prologue opens by proclaiming the news: "I saw the Lady drest;/The Woman playes to day, mistake me not,/No Man in Gown, or Page in Petty-Coat;/A Woman to my knowledge" (2-5).[36] Like Emilia when she unpins Desdemona's clothing, the prologue implies, he has seen the lady in a state of undress. Lest this image of the actor in her dressing room should prove too overwhelming for the theater's male spectators, however, the prologue continues by instructing the gentlemen, "that as judges sit" in the pit, to "Have modest thoughts of her; pray do not run/To give her visits when the Play is done" (19-22). With this focus on the offstage space occupied by

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35 For the play's influence on Restoration theatrical culture, see Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Othello: A Contextual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 93-112; and Jacqueline Pearson, "Blacker Than Hell Creates: Pix Rewrites *Othello*," in *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 13-30.

36 I cite the prologue from the edition of Pierre Danchin, *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration, 1660-1700: Part One: 1660-1676* (Nancy: Publications Université Nancy II, 1981), 1:55-6.

the female actor, the prologue not only encapsulates the spatial movement of Shakespeare's play in towards Desdemona's bed, but also assumes that the spectator titillated by this expectation of peering into an intimate space will be male.

Behn begins to explore this gendering of the spectator in *The Forc'd Marriage*, as she includes intimate views of both female and male characters. By allowing the innocent wife, Erminia, not only to survive her husband's strangulation attempt inside their bedchamber, but also to discover that husband, Alcippus, on the same bed, Behn effects a generic shift from tragedy to tragicomedy. The genre had been especially popular throughout the 1660s as a means to explore the vicissitudes of political life, and scholarship on Behn's early tragicomedies has focused on her sophisticated exploration of monarchy and absolutism.[37] In this section, I argue that Behn's use of tragicomedy was also tied to an interest in how the bodies of male and female actors were displayed onstage, especially when they appear on their beds. This type of discovery would now take place from behind the sliding shutters of the pictorial stage. When these painted shutters were first introduced in the Restoration theaters, they were all placed in a single groove, with one hidden discovery space upstage. For Behn, the value of this apparatus was its facilitation of rapid changes of location, creating a sense of motion through different rooms before revealing more intimate and hidden spaces upstage of the shutters.[38] While *Othello* moves towards Desdemona's bed with an impending sense of spatial violation, Behn stages a more frantic movement in and out of the bedchamber. This technique reflects her generic investment in

37 See Judy A. Hayden, *Of Love and War: The Political Voice in the Early Plays of Aphra Behn* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 55-88; and Anita Pacheco, "'Where Lies This Power Divine?': The Representation of Kingship in Aphra Behn's Early Tragicomedies," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 3 (September 2015): 317-34. For the politics of tragicomedy in the early Restoration more generally, see Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English tragicomedy, 1660-1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

38 For a discussion of the insistent focus on motion throughout Behn's dramatic *oeuvre*, see P.A. Skantze, *Stillness in Motion in the Seventeenth-Century Theatre* (London: Routledge, 2003), 106-31.

a plot filled with surprising reversals, and that twisty plot, in turn, allows Behn to define the bedchamber as a space where sexualized violence towards women can be both displayed and comically critiqued.

Behn's interest in the gender of the person discovered goes hand in hand with an interest in the gender of the spectators inside the playhouse. While the prologue to the 1660 performance of *Othello* clearly assumes a predominantly male audience, Behn approaches the presence of female audience members quite playfully in the prologue to *The Forc'd Marriage*. Wittily addressing those male "*Gallants*" in the audience who might worry about the incursion of a woman into the field of playwrighting, the male prologue suggests that the female members of the audience will be more sympathetic to Behn:

> *The Poetess too, they say, has spyes abroad,*
>
> *Which have dispos'd themselves in every road,*
>
> *I'th'upper Box, Pit, Galleries, every face*
>
> *You find disguis'd, in a black Velvet-Case.* (27-30)

For the male spectators addressed in this portion of the prologue, the women who join them all through the auditorium are objects of visual curiosity, to be looked at while wondering what might be seen behind the mask.[39] Behn does not expect her fellow women to be treated only as such objects, however. The first male prologue is soon interrupted by a woman who comes out, "*pointing to the Ladies*," and asking "*Who is't that to their Beauty wou'd submit,/And yet refuse the Fetters of their Wit*" (43.SD, 45-46). In the crowded space of the theater, the women of the

39 The use of masks, especially worn by women, would continue to prove central to Behn's dramaturgy, especially in *The Rover*, as Andrew Sofer has shown in his chapter "Unmasking Women: *The Rover* and Sexual Signification on the Restoration Stage," in *Dark Matter: Invisibility in Drama, Theater, & Performance* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 66-89.

audience will be both objects and subjects of visual pleasure and curiosity.[40] They too can peer into the discovery space, seeing both male and female actors discovered.

The intense focus on what might be seen when the sliding shutters opened was heightened by the other great innovation of the Restoration stage, female actors. While the bedchamber discovery of female characters played by boy actors had been a common occurrence on the prewar stage, the presence of female actors transformed the spectatorial dynamics of these moments. As several scholars have shown, the personal lives and sexual proclivities of the female actors generated a level of interest unmatched by that shown for both their male colleagues and their male predecessors.[41] In prologues and epilogues, as well as in the gossip and engraved images that circulated among regular theatergoers, it was taken as a given that male spectators would imagine and wish to look at the bodies of these women. Playwrights were happy to indulge this visual desire, positioning scantily dressed actresses in beds just upstage of the sliding shutters, and parting the shutters to reveal the women inside the intimate space – a type of discovery for which Elizabeth Howe coined the term "couch scenes."[42] This spatial striptease was often accompanied by exclamations of excitement and visual pleasure from the

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40 Jean I. Marsden has argued that the presence of female spectators generated a significant amount of cultural anxiety; see *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). For a detailed historical account of female audiences in the Restoration theaters, see David Roberts, *The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

41 See, *inter alia*, Katherine Eisaman Maus, "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood': Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress," *ELH* 46, no. 4 (Winter 1979): 595-617; Thomas A. King, "'As if (she) were made on purpose to put the whole world into good Humour': Reconstructing the First English Actresses," *TDR* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 1992): 78-102; Joseph Roach, "Nell Gwyn and Covent Garden Goddesses," in *The First Actresses: Nell Gwynn to Sarah Siddons*, ed. Gill Perry (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), 63-76; Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and playwrights on the Late-Stuart stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); and Martine Van Elk, "'Before she ends up in a brothel': Public Femininity and the First Actresses in England and the Low Countries," *Early Modern Low Countries* 1 (2017): 30-50.

42 Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 39ff.

male characters who see the women discovered in their beds. In Samuel Pordage's lurid tragedy *Herod and Mariamne*, probably first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1673 – soon after *The Forc'd Marriage* had first appeared there – the biblical tyrant's wife is thrice discovered in her bed. Both her husband and her lover repeat the exclamation "See where she is! how her affections move!" on the separate occasions when they enter the discovery space.[43] If these exclamations direct the attention of male spectators towards the female actor's body, however, Pordage also presents this view into the Queen's private space as violent and threatening, concluding the play with the shutters parting to reveal that "*Mariamne appears laid on a Couch as Beheaded*" (61).[44] Turning the onstage bed into a site of violence, with an echo of *Othello*'s ambivalent exploration of the male desire to look into hidden spaces, Pordage uses the female actor's body as a spectacle. This spectacular view of the body would form an important area of exploration for Behn, as she revealed both male and female actors inside this same space.

Behn's revelations of bedchambers and other intimate spaces would have been framed inside a discovery space that was positioned further upstage and farther away from the audience than had been the case in Shakespeare's theaters. If the prewar stage had tended to thrust a curtained bed out onto the forestage, the changeable scenery, which Davenant introduced to English public theater when his Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse opened in 1661, produced a section of the theater that was cut off from the main playing area. Our best evidence for how this scenic technology might have been arranged comes in the architect John Webb's plan for his remodeling of the court theater at Whitehall in 1665 (see fig 3.3).[45] Behind the sliding shutters,

43 *Herod and Mariamne: A Tragedy* (London: William Cademan, 1673), 10, 52. Accessed via EEBO.

44 For a reading of the play focused on the distinction between public and private space, see Martine Van Elk, *Early Modern Women's Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 227-29.

45 Since Webb had collaborated with Davenant for his Interregnum productions, and since Davenant's Duke's

which could switch between three different painted scenes, the view could open up into the discovery space and reveal a fourth scene, a backcloth hanging at the rear of the stage. This would also leave space to set up discovery scenes between the backcloth and the sliding shutters.

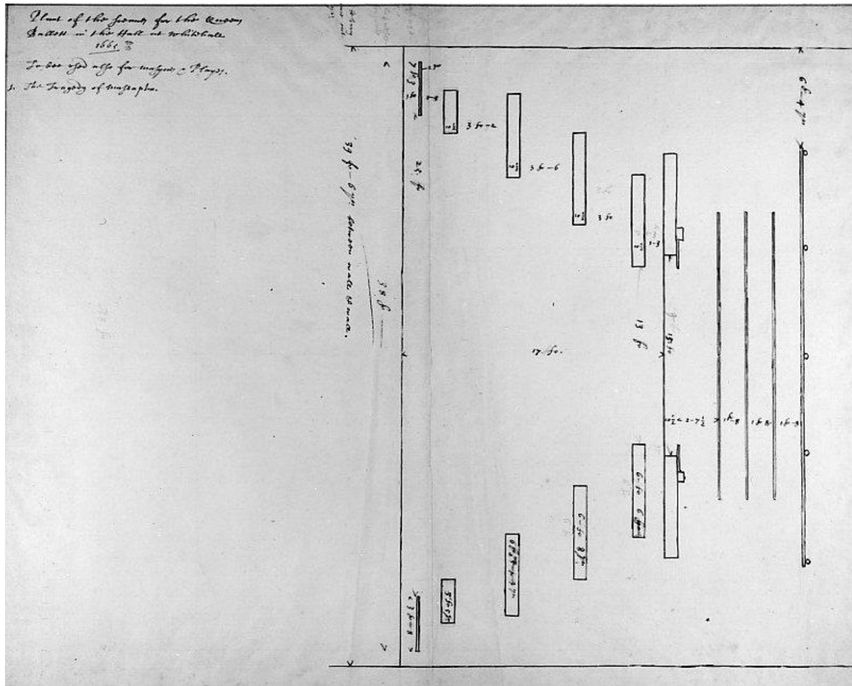

Fig. 3.3. John Webb, Plan for the Tudor Hall Stage, Whitehall, 1665.
Accessed from restorationstaging.com

Webb's drawing places all three of its sliding shutters in the same frame, which means that it would not allow for successive discoveries. If another discovery scene is to take place, one of the sliding shutters would need to close over. Tim Keenan has argued that this is a particularity of the earliest Restoration scenic stages.[46] Although Behn appears to have experimented with successive discoveries, she only did so after the Duke's Company had opened their larger theater at Dorset Garden in late 1671. One of the advances at that theater, then, appears to be the fact

Company would go on to perform plays in the new court theater, theater historians are increasingly comfortable assuming that Webb's plan provides a rough approximation for the scenic arrangements at Lincoln's Inn Fields, as well as at Killigrew's theater at Bridges Street. The connection has been established most fully by Tim Keenan in a series of publications, culminating in *Restoration Staging, 1660-74* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

46 *Ibid*, 60-61.

that it had at least two, if not three, different settings for its sliding shutters, allowing for a greater variety.

Even with the relatively restricted number of shutters available, Behn carefully plans the changes between different sets of painted scenery in *The Forc'd Marriage*, using these changes to create a movement towards the hidden space of the bedchamber. She consistently returns the play to shutters that show a "*Court gallery*," a space which serves both as the site for public confrontations and as a point of transit between different apartments. A similar set of shutters may well have been used at performances of *Othello* by the rival King's Company, especially in the play's third act depiction of Desdemona meeting with and supplicating for the repentant Cassio. If this set of shutters were positioned at the front of the groove, there would be a consistent sense of this most public location of the play opening up to reveal increasingly secret and hidden places each time the shutters part. For both of the occasions where Behn reveals Alcippus and Erminia's bedchamber in the discovery space, she does so following scenes set in the "*Court gallery.*" To prepare for this discovery, Behn uses an antechamber of Alcippus and Erminia's apartment, a space similar to that in which Emilia unpins Desdemona. This antechamber may have been positioned in the discovery area as well, suggesting that stagehands would need to work quickly to bring in the stage bed in preparation for the final discovery. At the moment when Erminia and her lover, Prince Phillander, leave this antechamber towards the bed, a stage direction closes the scene with the unusual note, "*They go into the Scene which draws over*" (4.4.22.SD). This use of the painted scenes is not naturalistic or realistic – even in the intrigue-filled corridors of a French court, the walls do not close in on secretive lovers as they leave a room. A kind of discovery in reverse, the closing of the shutters works theatrically to prepare the audience for the imminent discovery of the bed.

Behn crafts a direct conversation between this discovery of Erminia's bed and the final scene of *Othello*. With her generic turn towards tragicomedy, however, she shifts the tone from one of impending dread and violated space to a combination of farcical humor and horrifying surprise. Behn's scene opens with Phillander finally arrived in the space he has desired to see throughout the play, but by the time the shutters part to discover Erminia's bed, he has already been overwhelmed by excitement and nearly fainted. For a brief moment, they are alone: "*Discovers* Erminia, Phillander *sitting on the Bed*" (4.6.0.SD). The audience already knows that this secret position, hidden away inside the discovery space, will be a dangerous one. In the immediately preceding scene, Alcippus crosses the stage in front of the shutters that show the court gallery – the very shutters that will be pulled aside to affect the discovery of the bed. As he realizes who is within and rushes offstage, Behn heightens the theatrical analogies with *Othello*. A newly married general, honorable but impulsive, Alcippus believes his wife has been unfaithful, and proceeds to strangle her in bed. Unlike Othello, Alcippus has good reason for his mistaken perception of his wife, since he finds Prince Phillander sitting on her bed. By making this belief more immediate, with none of the slow psychological poison that Othello receives from Iago, Behn aims to generate a rapid succession of different emotions.

Behn begins her discovery scene with the potential for comedy. As a waiting-woman announces that Alcippus is coming, Erminia begs Phillander to "submit to be conceal'd" (4.6.5), and he unwillingly "*hides himself behind the bed, and in hast leaves his Sword and hat on the Table*" (10.SD). The bed, site of sexual violation and murder in the tragic tradition that includes *Othello*, at first becomes a prop for farce in Behn's hands. This type of hiding in bedrooms was a key element of comedies performed by the Duke's Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields at the time. John Dryden and William Cavendish's 1667 *Sir Martin Mar-all*, one of the company's greatest

successes,[47] includes a comic sequence, for instance, in which the witty servant Walter must hide from a rival lover in the bedchamber of Martin's beloved Millisent. Association with this comic tradition may well have primed at least some audience members to find Phillander's hiding funny, and Behn includes stage business for Alcippus with Phillander's sword and hat, looking around frantically for the intruder, that appears designed to be played for comedy.

If the bed can function as a comic prop and site for hiding, it can quickly become a site of violence. *The Forc'd Marriage* continues the tragic tradition of the bed as the location of a murder, but Behn Erminia does not seem genuinely fearful here, and she does not comprehend her husband's anger. Immediately after Phillander exits, Alcippus, like Othello, "*locks the door after him*" (67.SD), and before Erminia even seems conscious of what is happening, Alcippus "*strangles her with a Garter, which he snatches from his Leg, or smothers her with a Pillow,*" and then "*Throws her on a bed, he sits down in a Chair*" (81.SD, 83.SD). Without the slow build-up of Othello's belief that Desdemona has been unfaithful, Behn does not attempt the type of tragic agony that might be experienced when attending Shakespeare's play. Instead, she aims to induce surprise and shock at the speed with which Alcippus responds just moments after comic business about Phillander first fainting and then hiding behind the bed.

This vision of Erminia strangled in her bed would seem to be especially titillating for the play's male spectators, accustomed as they were to seeing female actors displayed when beds were discovered, but Behn is even more interested in revealing male actors and in showing her female characters taking control of the play's hidden spaces. In part, we see this interest in male

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47 Performed more than 30 times at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the first four years after its 1667 premiere, the company would inaugurate their new Dorset Garden playhouse with three further performances in 1671. Pepys saw the play three times in its first week, and recorded that he laughed so hard he ended up with a headache. I take details of stage history and authorship from John Loftis's commentary in Volume IX of Dryden's *Works* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

bodies when Phillander appears sitting on the bed alongside Erminia. Behn also includes a second discovery of the bed. Before the audience gets to see Alcippus in the aftermath of the supposed murder, his friend Pisaro describes him "Sleeping upon a Couch" (5.1.57). Just as Erminia leading the faint Phillander "*into the scene*" had served to set up the discovery of her bedchamber, Pisaro's words create the expectation of seeing a man stretched out on his bed. Indeed, mere moments later, the scene "*Draws off, discovers* ALCIPPUS *rising from the Couch*" (5.2.0.SD). The sequence that follows stages a violation of Alcippus's private space, as Erminia comes in and takes over, "*drest like an Angel with wings*" (5.2.42.SD). In this persona, she stages an allegorical performance to make him transfer his affections to Princess Galatea (who had loved him all along). Galatea "*goes over the Stage as a spirit*" (96.SD) attended by allegorical personages including Glory, Honour, Fortune, and Cupid. Erminia takes full control of the chamber, pointing to a chair in which she wants the frightened Alcippus to sit – placed "*within the Scene*" (67.SD) – while she speaks to him and the supposed spirits pass over the stage. Alcippus had seemed in control of the bedchamber earlier, when he suddenly strangled Erminia, but now she is the one who has surprised him in the same intimate space, and she guides his behavior and response. Behn uses her tragicomic twist to transform perceptions of the bed that has been discovered upstage, not only acknowledging the dangers faced by women inside such hidden and private spaces, but also showing the surprising and happy endings that can be brought about if a woman takes control of that space.

Discoveries, Sexual Violence, and the Humiliation of Men in The Rover

While *The Forc'd Marriage* presents the dangers faced by women when bedchambers are discovered onstage, Behn's most successful play, *The Rover*, seems fully to embrace the comic

possibilities of such discoveries. To craft her comic exposure of male violence inside private and hidden spaces, Behn turns to a popular new genre that had been imported, after the Restoration, from the Spanish to the English stage. Variously called intrigue plays, cape and sword plays, or Spanish romances, these plays depict innocent women trying to escape the homes of their jealous brothers, fathers, or uncles so as to end with their chosen lovers.[48] The most influential and popular play of the 1660s, Samuel Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours* (1663), was an adaptation of a Spanish play, Antonio Coello's *Los empeños de seis horas* (1630s), that focused on the adjacent houses of two men who jealously guard their sisters from a roguish but honorable outsider.[49] Behn's source for *The Rover*, Thomas Killigrew's 1664 *Thomaso, or The Wanderer*, had been written when Killigrew was exiled in Madrid and presumably a regular attendee of Spanish plays like Coello's. He closely follows the spatial arrangements of the Spanish plays, with movement among various urban homes and streets (in his case Madrid, in Behn's case Naples).[50] In adapting this genre to her own ends, Behn proves especially interested in how women can encounter the threat of male violence both in the open space of the street and in the

48 The most useful study of these plays remains John Loftis, *The Spanish Plays of Neoclassical England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). Loftis describes some of Behn's use of Spanish sources (see 131-150); see also Floriana Tarantino Hogan, *The Spanish Comedia and the English Comedy of Intrigue with special reference to Aphra Behn*, PhD Dissertation (Boston University, 1955); Ian Borden, *Witty Combat and Spanish Wives: The Intrigue Plays of the Restoration and Early Eighteenth-Century Stage*, PhD Dissertation (Florida State University, 2009); and Anne J. Cruz, "Spanish Plots and Spanish Stereotypes by Restoration Women Playwrights," in *Beyond Spain's Borders: Women Players in Early Modern National Theaters*, eds. Anne J. Cruz and Maria Cristina Quintero (London: Routledge, 2017), 67-90.

49 The presentation of these locations, shaped by the introduction of changeable scenery, marks one of the key differences between Tuke's and Coello's plays. Like the prewar English drama, Spanish drama at this point was not using changeable scenes, meaning that Coello had to rely more extensively on verbal signaling to mark the movements among the play's different houses. In a detailed study of Tuke's adaptation, Jorge Braga Riera notes that Coello's text does not include scene headings and the location of each scene "has to be gleaned from the words of the characters." The printed text of Tuke's play names the location of each scene, a reflection of scene changes onstage. See Riera, *Classical Spanish Drama in Restoration English (1660-1700)* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), 111.

50 For an analysis of this setting and its importance to the play, see Taylor Corse, "Seventeenth-Century Naples and Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 29.2 (Fall 2005): 41-51.

hidden space of the bedchamber. Not only does she adapt, from Killigrew, an attempted gang-rape led by Blunt inside his chambers, but she also adds a new attempted rape, this time by her titular hero Willmore, who stumbles into the innocent Florinda on the street outside her garden gate.[51] Scholars have located a titillating fascination with the actress's body in attempted rapes like these,[52] but Behn forecloses that titillation, for neither of these scenes involve Florinda discovered in her bed. I argue that *The Rover* responds to the inherent violence that so often accompanies the discovery of women's intimate spaces, as Behn uses the tools of discovery both to humiliate men and to show her female characters taking control of the theatrical space.

The Spanish-inflected intrigue plays, with their ubiquitous jealous father-figures, provide Behn a model for the constant threat that tragic violence might erupt. Tuke's *The Adventures* has come down to literary history as an odd companion piece to *Othello*, thanks to a notorious remark in Pepys's diary: "reading *Othello, Moore of Venice*, which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play; but having so lately read *The Adventures of five hours*, it seems a mean thing."[53] While this line has been used to question Pepys's judgment as a literary critic, it also points to the shared grounds on which Shakespeare's and Tuke's plays can be understood. Even though *The Adventures* does not include a bedroom discovery scene, the play raises the

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51 Laura J. Rosenthal has argued that Behn's revisions to the central character when she rewrote *Thomaso* into *The Rover* function to critique elite male privilege generally and Killigrew more specifically; see *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, Literary Property* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 105-131.

52 For arguments that see the repeated stagings of rape or attempted rape on the Restoration stage as designed to be titillating, see Jean I. Marsden, "Rape, Voyeurism, and the Restoration Stage," *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996) 185-200; and Anne Greenfield, "The Titillation of Dramatic Rape, 1660-1720," in Anne Greenfield, ed., *Interpreting Sexual Violence, 1660-1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 57-68. Derek Hughes has critiqued this view, suggesting that stagings of rape were instead used to "portray the anomalies of power," in "Rape on the Restoration Stage," *The Eighteenth Century* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 225-36, esp. 234.

53 Pepys makes this remark on August 20, 1666; see *Diary*, eds. Latham and Matthews, 7:255.

possibility of such a tragic site appearing onstage. When the virtuous maid Porcia, one of Tuke's two desired noblewomen, finds herself brought back to the house of her jealous brother Henrique, from whom she has recently escaped, she worries that she will end up a tragic heroine like Desdemona. In doing so, she cannot help but link theatrical genre and domestic space:

> I have not long t'expect the dismal end
> Of my sad Tragedy; since 'tis evident
> The Person that hath led me to this Place,
> This fatal Place, is the abus'd *Antonio*;
> Who with my Cruel Brother has conspir'd
> To take away my wretched life, and chose
> This Scene as fittest for their Cruelty. (4.2.78-84)[54]

Porcia, it turns out, is mistaken about the genre of play in which she appears. The "abus'd *Antonio*" has not, in fact, conspired against her life. He has only brought her here due to a case of mistaken identity, and once he realizes her true identity she will happily be able to marry her beloved Octavio. Porcia's reading of tragedies like *Othello* has taught her, however, that a hidden room can be a "fatal Place" when controlled by jealous men. By including this speech when Porcia seems most vulnerable, Tuke notes the links between the new form of drama he is introducing to the English stage and the form of domestic tragedy that was being revived in the same moment.

The genre that Tuke brought to the English stage would repeatedly stage discoveries of intimate spaces onstage. In another Duke's Company play with a Spanish source, first staged a

54 I cite the edition of the play in *Restoration Drama: An Anthology*, ed. David Womersley (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000).

year after *The Adventures*, George Digby's 1664 *Elvira: or, The worst not always true*, an analogy develops between the theatrical apparatus for staging discoveries and a female character's fictional attempt to secure a private space. Hoping to evade her jealous brother's suspicions of any male visitors, she rushes out of the front room of their house. Following her movements, the sliding shutters are pulled back at the same instant she exits. The printed text marks this simultaneity by placing the stage direction "Scene *changes to* Donna Blanca's *Bed chamber*" next to one reading "Francisca *takes the Candle, and* Exeunt *she, and* Donna Blanca" (58). Below this pair of directions, the text continues "*Re-enter* Donna Blanca *and* Francisca *as in* Blanca's *chamber, and she newly seated at her Toilet, and beginning to unpin*. *Enters* Don Julio." Theatrically, this set of directions suggests that Blanca and the maid run along the side of the stage, hidden by the wings, as soon as they exit, and then come around upstage of the main shutters into the discovery space. Just as the characters are rushing to seem as if they were already undressing in Blanca's closet when the brother enters, the actors are rushing to be inside the discovery space when the shutters are drawn apart. Davenant's scenic setup, with its combination of sliding shutters and discovery space, creates a sense of rapid movement through the different rooms of a house. In combining Tuke's Spanish plot and its spatial mobility with the possibility that his female characters might be discovered in a vulnerable state, Digby gave his audience a titillating view into the woman's space that was revealed when the painted shutters flew open.

In *The Rover*, Behn takes a form of theatrical revenge on these male characters who keep entering women's bedchambers, often with violent results. When she discovers Blunt entering Lucetta's bedchamber, Behn fulfills the audience desire for seeing a woman undressed and in bed. Unlike his male counterparts in *Othello*-inspired tragedy and tragicomedy, however, Blunt

has no opportunity to violate Lucetta, or even to enter the bed with her. After she demands that he undress himself and put out his candle, the bed descends through a trapdoor, with her in it, and Blunt then stumbles around in the dark until he too falls down through the floor. To cinch the humiliation of her male fool, Behn does not simply reveal him in a woman's bedchamber, she also uses the theatrical capacity to stage successive discovery scenes, now available at Dorset Garden, to place Blunt in an even more compromised position. As the shutters that had shown Lucetta's bedchamber are pulled apart, the concluding and spectacular discovery of this sequence is positioned even farther upstage: "SCENE *Changes, and discovers* BLUNT*, creeping out of a Common-Shoar, his Face, &c. all dirty*" (3.2.86.SD). The painted backcloth of a sewer may well have been a commissioned item for *The Rover*, and to make the newly discovered image that of a sewer would provide a delightful and comic surprise. Quite literally, Behn challenges her audience to take their mind out of the gutter – a challenge underscored by a moment of direct address. Blunt has a long speech, delivered in his grimy underclothes, berating himself for his foolishness in trusting "the young Quean" (3.2.98), which he concludes with the exclamation: "but there are Gallants many such good Natures amongst ye" (106). Most experienced playgoers would have been able to tell from early on that Blunt was a fool and due for humiliation, but his direct comparison of himself to gallants in the audience extends the presentation of Lucetta in control of her private space to Behn's control of the theatrical space.

Behn also uses Blunt to establish how a bedchamber can be a space set aside for comedy, at least when the person discovered on the bed is male. When Blunt is next seen after his appearance in the sewer, Behn presents him in an intimate space: "SCENE *Changes to* BLUNTS C*hamber, discovers him sitting on a Couch in his Shirt and Drawers, reading*" (4.1.568.SD). Behn draws on a standard element of stagecraft when she brings the couch into the discovery

space, but by draping a scantily clad man over that couch she undercuts the tragic associations of such a scene. That Behn means for this discovery to be comic appears not only from the nature of Blunt's foolishness, but also from how she sets up the expectation of what will be seen in Blunt's chamber. Just as Shakespeare primes his audience to expect a vision of Desdemona in bed, Behn pointedly shapes a discussion of how Blunt will be seen in his underclothes. Belvile and Willmore's witty companion Frederick appears and exclaims about how he comes with "News that will make you laugh," describing how Blunt has been "rarely Cheated of all but his Shirt & Drawers" (4.1.530-33). Although the Dorset Garden audience can expect to laugh at this vision, the onstage audience of Belvile and Frederick will need to suppress their laughter as best they can: "By Heaven 'tis such a sight, and yet I durst as well be hang'd as laught at him, or pity him; he beats all that do but ask him a question" (536-8). Belvile, hoping to distract Florinda's jealous brother Pedro, invites him to accompany them, promising "A Friend of ours whom you must see for mirths-sake" (540). To ensure the full mirth and laughter of this comic scene, Belvile urges Frederick to run ahead and "keep him in that posture till we come" (548). With the promise that Blunt will be seen in this comic "posture," Behn expertly whets her audience's appetite for seeing him discovered again.

If the discovery of a man deep inside his home can prove highly comic in Behn's world, however, such spaces remain dangerous for women. Before Frederick and the rest can arrive to laugh at him, Blunt encounters the unfortunate Florinda. Having grown frightened while traversing the streets on her own, she ducks in through the first open door she finds, and ends up in Blunt's chambers. With Blunt enraged at the whole female sex, he takes Florinda as a stand-in for Lucetta. In part, this confusion allows Behn to explore the troublesome division of women

into virgins and whores,[55] but it also allows her to show how dangerous a man's private space can be for a woman. Blunt views himself as absolute master of his chamber, and finds Florinda's intrusion offensive: "Why what the Devil can I not be safe in my House for you, not in my Chamber, nay, even being naked too cannot secure me: this is an Impudence greater than has invaded me yet – Come, no resistance" (606-9). The first part of this speech can still be seen as darkly comic, with Blunt humiliated and impotently raging over his ridiculous situation, having been tricked out of the clothes on his back. The final phrase – "no resistance" – shifts the tone of the play decisively. Blunt's attempted rape of Florinda will not be stopped by the arrivals of the wits Frederick and Willmore, or even of her own brother. With none of the four men aware of her identity as Pedro's sister and Belvile's beloved – she has by this point been locked up in Frederick's chamber – they compete to see in what order they will rape her. Belvile proves impotent to rescue her without revealing her identity to Pedro, and it is only the accidental arrival of her clever kinswoman Valeria that rescues her from a gang rape.

To allow *The Rover* to return to its comic state, Behn must end the play's series of discoveries and use the locked door. Florinda's arrival into the space where Blunt had been discovered almost leads to her being raped, and Behn could have chosen to heighten the titillation of this sequence by discovering a fearful Florinda in Frederick's chamber. Instead, she positions her male characters outside the door, squabbling about the key. Moments after Pedro, who draws the longest lot and the right of first entry, leaves the stage, "*Enter* FLORINDA *running mask't*, PEDRO *after her*" (5.1.101.SD). Out on the stage, Florinda is recognized by Valeria and can soon unmask herself once Pedro has been tricked into leaving. There will be no

55 For discussion, see Elin Diamond, "*Gestus* and Signature in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *ELH* 56, no. 3 (Autumn 1989): 519-44; Nancy Copeland, "'Once a whore and ever?': Whore and Virgin in *The Rover* and its Antecedents," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 20-27.

more discoveries, and the happy conclusion of Florinda and Belvile's story appropriately belongs offstage, where a priest will officiate a hasty wedding for them, as well as for Willmore and Hellena. Behn ends her play by pairing off these couples, with the move into their respective bedchambers a future and unrepresented location. As she knew from *The Forc'd Marriage*, such marital spaces tend to lead towards tragedy when they appear onstage. Scholars have long debated what emotional and political effects Behn might have hoped for in including the attempted rapes of Florinda.[56] I would suggest that these attempts, in part, allow her to contrast what it means to violate a man's private space with what it means to violate a woman's bedchamber. For an audience to discover a man's bedchamber becomes a source of shared hilarity. A woman, on the other hand, must carefully control, like Lucetta, the movement of men into her intimate spaces. If she does not, the parting of the painted shutters is much more likely to reveal a site of violence.

Conclusion

Even as she reveals the dangers of displaying a woman in bed, Behn celebrates a female character who uses theatrical discoveries, instead, to control access to her own private space. A major scholarly debate about *The Rover* concerns the extent to which Behn associates herself, as a woman writer, with the courtesan Angellica Bianca.[57] While I do not aim to resolve our

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56 A number of scholars have seen Behn as using these rapes to criticize a libertine or Cavalier masculine ethos; see *inter alia* Helen M. Burke, "The Cavalier Myth in *The Rover*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn,* Derek Hughes and Janet Todd, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 118-134; Hughes, "Rape on the Restoration Stage," 229; and Sarah Olivier, "'Banished his country, despised at home': Cavalier Politics, Banishment, and Rape in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 27, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 55-74. Anita Pacheco instead focuses on how Behn's depictions of rape contribute to highly ambivalent presentations of female subjectivity; see "Rape and the Female Subject in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *ELH* 65, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 323-345.

57 In an influential chapter, Catherine Gallagher argues that Behn saw herself as a "poetess-punk" and modeled herself on Angellica; see "Who Was That Masked Woman?: The Prostitute and the Playwright in the Works of Aphra Behn," chapter 1 of *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820*

understanding of how Behn viewed the commercial activity of writing, I do want to argue that Behn gives Angellica at least one moment where the courtesan controls the theatrical space as well as any playwright. Crafting a Restoration intrigue play of her own, Angellica stages a scene that aims to instill a desire for discovering her in her bed. Once her pictures – Behn's "*only stoln Object*" from Killigrew[58] – have been hung up by the balcony, Angellica enters in that upper space, but she does not reveal herself to the men below immediately. Instead, she and her servant Moretta "*draw a Silk Curtain*" (2.1.108.SD). It is unclear to what extent the audience are meant to notice them at this point. Angellica and Moretta might make a noisy entrance so that many in the audience will notice them, and then draw the curtain, or they might remain out of sight for both the audience and for the male characters on the stage below. Her voice is then overheard from behind this hanging cloth, singing a song that celebrates the erotics of space, with the shepherdess Celia chancing upon the sleeping shepherd Damon: "*She gaz'd around upon the place,/And saw the Grove (resembling Night)/To all the joys of Love invite*" (2.1.167-69). When the song concludes, Angellica "*throws open the Curtains*" (173.SD). With this dramatic gesture, Angellica takes control of the standard mode of discovery on both prewar and Restoration stages. Instead of stagehands pulling back the curtains or painted shutters to reveal someone already arranged in their bed or other private space, Angellica discovers herself. For Behn, it seems, this moment reflects her own power in taking control of the stage space.

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 1-48; Gallagher's view has been severely criticized by Derek Hughes, "The Masked Woman Revealed; or, the prostitute and the playwright in Aphra Behn criticism," *Women's Writing* 7, no. 2 (2000): 149-164.

58 In a postscript to the play's printed edition, Behn responded to accusations that she had plagiarized Killigrew by remarking that the "*Sign of* Angellica" gave "*Notice where a great part of the Wit dwelt*"; that is, she had not tried to hide her source.

Chapter Four

Music and the Spatial Unity of Island Plays

When *The Tempest* was performed as a "dramatic opera" at Dorset Garden in 1674, a surprising number of Shakespeare's musical moments were not included. Among the sounds not heard are the "*solemn music*" that Ariel uses to put Alonso and his courtiers to sleep, as well as the song that Ariel then sings to wake Gonzalo. The scenes with Caliban and his fellow conspirators are even more devoid of Ariel's music. Where Shakespeare has Ariel give an invisible performance of Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo's catch – a song in the round – "*on a tabor and pipe*" (3.2.122.SD),[1] the operatic version has Ariel replace their bottle of liquor with water. In transforming this moment, the revisers – *The Tempest* was first rewritten by John Dryden and William Davenant in 1667, and Thomas Shadwell then adapted their text for the operatic version in 1674[2] – proceeded to cut Caliban's speech about how "the isle is full of noises,/Sounds, and sweet airs" (133-34). The removal of Caliban's speech signals a larger transformation in the soundscape of the play. [3] Where Shakespeare tends to keep the source of

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1 I quote from the Oxford Shakespeare edition of the play by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

2 I quote Dryden and Davenant's adaptation from *The Works of John Dryden, Vol X*, eds. Maximillian E. Novak and George R. Guffey (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970); and the 1674 operatic version from *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*, ed. Christopher Spencer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). Both editions provide a useful overview of debates surrounding the authorship of the 1674 version.

3 The soundscape of this play has been described by Michael Neill, "'Noises, / Sounds, and Sweet Airs': The Burden of Shakespeare's *Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (Spring, 2008), 36-59. For the many different soundscapes of early modern England, both within and outside the theater, see Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Wes Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2002).

music invisible from the new arrivals on the island, Dryden, Davenant, and Shadwell introduce more and more moments where an onstage audience observes musical performers. This shift towards an increasing awareness of musical performance, I argue in this chapter, reflects a new conception of the theatrical space. Shakespeare works throughout *The Tempest* to establish the fictional island location as a space of conflicting perspectives, of disorientation and danger for his characters, and he does so, in large part, through invisible sounds. The Restoration versions tend to de-emphasize the sense of the fictional island as exotic or foreign, redirecting audience attention towards the theatrical space as a backdrop for new and exciting modes of presenting music.

The fictional space of *The Tempest*, unusually among Shakespeare's plays, follows the Aristotelian model of spatial unity. Within the unity provided by the imagined island, there is a certain amount of segmentation, as Prospero and Miranda largely remain in one place and the two groups of conspirators move around different parts of the island. Shakespeare uses Ariel's songs and music – heard by all three groups – to create the sense that these different places are connected, with sounds echoing from place to place. By building its spatial unity out of these echoes, I argue, *The Tempest* begins to involve the audience in its fictional island world. Shakespeare leaves the nature of the aural connection from place to place purposely unclear, making it difficult for the audience to track what the relationship might be between the different parts of the island. Somewhat counter-intuitively, then, Shakespeare's mode of establishing spatial unity produces a certain amount of spatial disorientation for the audience.

Shakespeare extends this experience of disorientation for the audience, especially in the moments of *The Tempest* when they, like the characters onstage, cannot perceive the source of the sounds heard in the theater. I thus understand the term spatial unity to refer, at times, to an

element of the theater space, with the audience and characters knit together by the sounds that circulate through the whole building.[4] When the sounds of the storm crash just behind the tiring-house wall, Shakespeare joins the fictional space of the ship closely with the physical space of the theater, as the tempestuous offstage sounds locate the actors and audience together in the disorienting space of a sinking ship.[5] If Shakespeare proves interested in crafting this type of unified spatial experience between the fictional and theatrical location, experientially plunging his audience into the exotic space of the island, he also gives playgoers plenty of moments where they are distanced from the activities onstage. The audience can always see Ariel when he performs his songs, even as he remains invisible to the other characters who hear his music.[6] This difference between audience and character perceptions can serve to reorient the audience in the theater space. The experience that Shakespeare aims to create for his audience is thus one that flickers between being unified with or distanced from the fictional world of the play.

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4 In arguing for how sound creates a shared spatial experience between audience and actors, I am influenced by Michael Witmore's argument that while "the audience cannot literally join the actors physically in the performance space of the play – cozying up between Ferdinand and Miranda while they play chess in the final scene – they can and do share the ambient noises, music and songs that slip across the boundary of the stage in ways that no philosopher's spear ever could." See the chapter "Spinoza and *The Tempest*: An Island of One," in *Shakespearean Metaphysics* (London: Continuum, 2008), 90-126, esp. 92. For more on the metaphysical effect of the play's unified island setting, see also Roland Greene, "Island Logic," in *'The Tempest' and Its Travels*, eds. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), 138-45; and A.D. Nuttall, *Two Concepts of Allegory: A Study of Shakespeare's* The Tempest *and the Logic of Allegorical Expression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, orig. pub. 1967).

5 Andrew Gurr has laid out a detailed argument for how the opening storm of this play was designed to shock and unsettle its first audience; see "*The Tempest's* Tempest at Blackfriars," *Shakespeare Survey* 41 (1989): 91-102.

6 I share an interest in how music was actually experienced as part of the theatrical event, as opposed to an idealized image of harmony, with a number of recent studies of music in Shakespearean drama; see David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Arden Shakespeare/Thomson Learning, 2006); Joseph M. Ortiz, *Broken Harmony: Shakespeare and the Politics of Music* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Katherine Steele Brokaw, *Staging Harmony: Music and Religious Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016); and Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Even if Shakespeare does not fully infuse *The Tempest* with an element of disorientation and spatial confusion, that element nevertheless stands out with especial clarity when compared with the versions of the play produced on the Restoration stage. When Dryden and Davenant rewrote the play, for the Duke's Company that Davenant managed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse, their most notorious change was the addition of a sister for Miranda named Dorinda, as well as Hippolito, a man who has never seen a woman.[7] In increasing the opportunities for sexual bawdy, these additions transform the space of Prospero's abode. Ferdinand no longer hears the music of Ariel's songs, "Come Unto These Yellow Sands" and "Full Fathom Five," right before he meets Miranda, instead remaining lost and following Ariel through to the middle of the play. The sounds of Ariel's music, in this version, do not echo from scene to scene as alluringly as had been the case in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Counter-intuitively to our ideas about Restoration neo-classicism as marked by spatial unity, these changes to the play's musical structure lead to a clearer spatial segmentation between the different parts of the island.

This spatial segmentation also contributes to what I argue is a key feature of how the Restoration versions of the play position the audience's experience of the theatrical space. These audiences are rarely induced to share the disorientation of the play's characters. Instead, the 1674 version of Dryden and Davenant's revision as an "opera" invites the audience to feel themselves in a place dedicated to the display of musical skill and the production of political order and harmony. A team of composers connected to Charles II's court was brought in to create the music, which was performed, in part, by the court orchestra of 24 violinists, who were released

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7 Along with the increased opportunities for sexual bawdy that these additions gave them, Dryden and Davenant aimed to make the play's politics even more palatable to the Restoration; see Katharine Eisaman Maus, "Arcadia Lost: Politics and Revision in the Restoration *Tempest*," *Renaissance Drama* 13 (1982), 189-209; and Richard Kroll, *Restoration Drama and "The Circle of Commerce": Tragicomedy, Politics, and Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 199-204.

to accompany this specific production as an ensemble. The impetus for what was called opera – basically spoken plays with a higher incidence of musical numbers – came especially from the opening of the Dorset Garden theater in 1671, with increased opportunities for spectacle, including flying machines used by Ariel and other spirits.[8] After Davenant's death in 1668, management of his company had fallen to Thomas Betterton, who probably oversaw the creation of Shadwell's operatic *Tempest*. As best we can tell, this was the most successful production of the Restoration, remaining the most often performed play or opera on the London stage until *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728, and the prompter John Downes noted in 1708 that "all things perform'd in it so Admirably well, that not any Opera got more Money."[9] The sexual comedy was largely kept intact, and there was still very little music heard near the abode of Prospero, Miranda, Dorinda, and Hippolito, or around Caliban and his new companions. Instead, the new musical additions were above all directed towards Alonzo and his fellow courtiers, further heightening the sense of spatial clarity and segmentation. The play's musical moments now serve less to tie together the different parts of the island and more to define Dorset Garden as a space for celebrating royal power.

Shadwell and Betterton's most important musical addition was a concluding Masque of Neptune and his wife Amphitrite, which shows Prospero using his skills as a magical showman – supported by a long series of musical displays – to subdue the seas. This chapter ends with a comparison between this Masque and Shakespeare's Masque of Ceres. The Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite provides an extended grand finale, leaving its audience with a confident sense of

8 See William Van Lennep, ed., with an introduction by Emmett Avery and Arthur Scouten, *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 1: 1660-1700*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), xxxix-xlii.

9 *Roscius Anglicanus, or an Historical Review of the Stage*, eds. Judith Milhous and Robert Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), 74.

the harmony created by Charles' court, and imaginatively linking that musical harmony to the island nation's capacity to move freely over the ocean. Shakespeare's Masque of Ceres proves significantly more skeptical of the theater's capacity to represent and to control the distant and the exotic. In part, this skepticism reflects the fact that England's colonial ventures and sense of itself as an imperial power were at a much lower pitch in 1611 than in 1674.[10] The Masque also reveals Shakespeare to be constantly reversing and undercutting the play's creation of a singular location. It presents an image of rural English life on Prospero's Mediterranean island, but is immediately interrupted by a "*strange hollow and confused noise*" that is heard from offstage (4.1.138). Even in a play that was performed twice before King James himself, Shakespeare sounds a note of concern about the capacity of Prospero – rightful Duke and seeming theatrical mastermind – to control the island space. Neither the onstage audience of Ferdinand and Miranda, or Shakespeare's audience at the Blackfriars, the Globe, or Whitehall, knows the precise source or location of this confused noise. In comparison to the confident image of court musicians bestriding the seas sixty years later, Shakespeare keeps introducing disorienting sounds to his theatrical island. Where the concluding Masque of 1674 projects itself outwards, attempting musically to establish an imperial future, the Shakespearean Masque folds in on itself, presenting the theatrical space as a container of disorienting sounds.

10 Shakespeare's seeming skepticism about the colonial project in *The Tempest* has often been seen as a response to the shipwreck of the *Sea Venture* off of Bermuda in 1609. For an especially thorough account of how Shakespeare uses the accounts of this event as a source for his representation of colonization, see John Gillies, "Shakespeare's Virginian Masque," *ELH* 53, no. 4 (Winter 1986), 673-707. Gavin Hollis has recently situated *The Tempest* in a larger network of texts that evince skepticism about the Virginia colony in the years following the shipwreck; see *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 119-63.

Storms and Songs in Shakespeare's Theaters

Shakespeare had created a link between music and maritime spaces earlier in his career. Audiences are introduced to the coastline of Illyria with the exclamation "If music be the fruit of love, play on," and Shakespeare uses the circulation of Feste's songs to knit together the spatial unity in *Twelfth Night*, with most of the action taking place in the estates of Orsino and Olivia. Ariel's songs similarly unify the island space of *The Tempest*, even as there is room in both plays for different areas of these exotic lands to be suggested. The contrast between Feste's melancholy songs at Orsino's court and his raucous drinking songs with Sir Toby and Andrew is matched by Ariel's shift from his ethereal songs for Ferdinand to his parodic performance of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban's fight song. By moving the musical figures of Feste and Ariel through the different spaces of these two plays, Shakespeare crafts settings that are simultaneously unified and segmented.

The insular or coastal nature of these settings creates the conditions for this complex spatial unity. Shakespeare uses shipwreck as a signal that both characters and audience have arrived in a new place. In *Twelfth Night*, Viola simply narrates that event, while the fully staged shipwreck of *The Tempest* functions to unify characters and audience inside the theater – a spatial unity in the sense that they experientially share the raucous aural space of the apparently sinking ship. Throughout the storm, a variety of sounds roll in from offstage, creating confusion and disorientation not only for the characters, but for the audience as well. Once Ariel starts singing, the audience can more easily perceive the distinction between the fictional island and the theater in which it is presented. Other characters can only see him when he appears in costume as a Harpy or the god Ceres, while the audience gets to watch him frighten Ferdinand or Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban with invisible music. In this section, I argue that Shakespeare

thereby creates a dynamic aural and spatial experience for the audience. At times, the theater is clearly dominated and controlled by powerful theater practitioners, but at other times the space escapes from that control, filling up with sounds whose sources can only be dimly discerned.

Shakespeare focuses on creating a sense of spatial disorientation, for both characters and audience, from the very beginning of his play, and he mainly does so aurally.[11] As the sounds of the opening storm enter the theater, above all, from offstage, the audience is positioned as if within a ship rolling through the waves. Sharing the perspective of the characters onstage, they cannot see the master whistling or the source of the thunder. Providing an experiential threshold into the world of the play, these noises create shock and confusion. The surviving Folio text opens with the stage direction "*A tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning heard*" (1.1.0.SD).[12] The aural emphasis of this phrasing suggests that at least sometimes the lightning was simply suggested by the sounds of thunder, with changes possible between different performance spaces. In the enclosed spaces of Blackfriars or the Whitehall Banqueting House, the smoke and smell from fireworks may have been avoided, while they may have been welcomed at the Globe. *The Tempest* has been taken as a paradigmatic example of how Shakespeare's dramaturgy changed after the King's Men acquired the Blackfriars playhouse.[13]

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11 The connection between sounds and spatial disorientation has also been emphasized by Jennifer Linhart Wood, who notes how often the homonyms "hear" and "here" are confused in the play; see *Sounding Otherness in Early Modern Theater and Travel Writing* (PhD dissertation, George Washington University, 2013), 282.

12 These more descriptive words were probably added by the company scribe Ralph Crane, but they capture the effect that was being attempted in the theater. While there may be no further stage directions for thunder – unlike the Folio texts of *King Lear*, which includes the direction "*storm still*" throughout the heath scene, and *Macbeth*, with repeated calls for "*Thunder*" in the final scene with the witches – the responses of those on board the ship suggests that the sound was repeated throughout the scene. When the Boatswain, for example, challenges Gonzalo to either "command these elements to silence" or return to his cabin (21), the implication is that the elements are very much not silent at this moment.

13 For an influential instance of this view, see Gurr, "*The Tempest's* Tempest at Blackfriars." Douglas Bruster gives a reading of the play as "quoting" the Blackfriars playhouse in *Quoting Shakespeare: Form and Culture in Early Modern Drama* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 120-30. Sarah Dustagheer argues that *The Tempest* combines the musical effects typical of Blackfriars performance with the louder aural effects more commonly heard at the Globe; see *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe*

While there may have been differences in how the play was staged across theaters, Shakespeare's carefully designed aural effects could easily be produced at all three sites.[14]

Tools for creating relatively realistic sounds of thunder would have been standard equipment for the adult companies in all their playhouses. One key technique involved a cannonball, rolled on a flat surface or down a trough.[15] This trough, later known as a "thunder run," could also include levels, so the ball would drop and cause thunder-claps along with the rumble. A simpler technique would be to use drums, and one contemporary description of *Doctor Faustus* mentions how "Drummers make Thunder in the Tyring-house."[16] In both cases, these sound effects would have been created offstage, invisible both to the audience and to the characters. Some audience members may not have found these effects especially convincing. Jonson notoriously complains in the Folio prologue to *Every Man in His Humour* in 1616 that in his play there will not be a "rolled bullet heard/To say it thunders, nor tempestuous drum/Rumbles, to tell you when the storm doth come" (18-20).[17]

Shakespeare takes up the challenge posed by skeptics like Jonson, going beyond the standard tools for creating a tempestuous soundscape. Along with the sounds of thunder, the

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and the Blackfriars, 1599-1613 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 116-23.

14 David Mann has recently argued that the scholarly tendency to imagine the boy companies as providing a richer musical experience than the adult companies in the amphitheaters has been vastly overstated, and that the change in musical personnel when the King's Men took over Blackfriars would not have been significant. See "Reinstating Shakespeare's Instrumental Music," *Early Theatre* 15, no. 2 (2012), 67-91.

15 For a clear and well-documented account of the theatrical techniques for creating both thunder and lightning, see Gwilym Jones, *Shakespeare's Storms* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 33-37. For pyrotechnics more generally, see Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1998).

16 John Melton, *The Astrologaster, or, the Figure-caster* (London: Barnard Alsop, for Edward Blackmore, 1620), 31. Accessed via EEBO.

17 I cite from the edition of David Bevington in Bevington et. al., eds, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

scene is made even more raucous by the sounds of both the hardworking mariners and the self-important courtiers.[18] This symphony of increasingly frantic voices crying both onstage and off is joined by the sound of the Master's whistle. The Master is only seen briefly, at the very beginning of the scene, commanding the Boatswain to "speak to th' mariners" (1.1.3) – and the Boatswain's voice will, indeed, dominate the scene's soundscape. As the Master exits and the Mariners enter, the Boatswain hollers commands, with a beating rhythm to encourage their work: "Hey, my hearts! Cheerly, cheerly, my hearts! Yare, yare! Take in the topsail!" (5-6). These loud sounds from the Boatswain's voice accompany the sounds of the Master's whistle, invoked by the Boatswain as his speech continues: "Tend to th' master's whistle" (6-7), before he appears to address the storm itself: "Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!" (7-8). The imaginative mixing of the sound of wind and the sound of the whistle would together contribute to the sense of chaos and of disruptive sounds blowing in from offstage. The confusion is heightened when the courtiers enter, and both Alonzo and Antonio demand "Where is the master, bos'n?," to which the exasperated Boatswain responds "Do you not hear him?" (12-13). Even those audience members who had no seagoing experience would already have learned, a few lines earlier, about the importance of whistling to a Master's role during a storm. In not understanding that the sound of the whistle comes from the Master, the Dukes reveal their own ignorance about the seamanship on which they rely. They seem simply to hear a mass of noises, with little ability to distinguish their sources and meanings.

The final sense that the ship sinks is created by what a stage direction refers to as a "*confused noise within*" (59.SD). This may include sounds such as wood cracking, as well as the

18 Keir Elam traces this interplay between voice and thunder in *The Tempest*'s storm back to classical precedents, "A Tempestuous Noise: on the Acoustics and Vocalics of Storms," in *Revisiting* The Tempest: *The Capacity to Signify*, eds Silvia Bigliazzi and Lisanna Calvi (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 137-50.

mass of unspecified voices crying out “We split, we split!” and “Farewell, my wife and children!” (60-61) from offstage. In not even specifying who is calling out the phrases from within, the text points towards the crescendo effect of this moment. Multiple jumbled voices, probably more sound of thunder, more of the whistle, and some new cracking sound, could all be combined in this moment. Audience members are no longer able to perceive the specific sources of these different noises, but simply start hearing it as one single “*confused noise*” that the scene has been building towards. The sense of being disoriented and lost that unifies characters and audience in the shipwreck has been created almost entirely through the management of the soundscape.

Once the play shifts to the island, Shakespeare reveals a contested theatrical space and creates an image of travel to exotic lands as disorienting, surprising, and dangerous. The island appears to be filled with noises whose sources cannot be located or firmly grasped. Perhaps most memorably, Ferdinand asks in his very first line “Where should this music be? – i’th’ air or th’ earth?” and goes on to describe how “This music crept by me upon the waters” (1.2.388, 392). While Ariel’s songs leave Ferdinand gripped with wonder at the un-locatable sounds of the island space, the “*solemn music*” that Ariel uses to put Alonso and Gonzalo to sleep is perceived variously (2.1.182.SD). Sebastian and Antonio proclaim that they “heard a hollow burst of bellowing … a din to fright a monster’s ear,” while Gonzalo “heard a humming,/And that a strange one too,” and Alonso “heard nothing” (309-16). The audience inside the King’s Men’s theater clearly heard some specific piece of music to accompany these descriptions, and their own perceptions of the sounds may have been as varied as those of the courtiers onstage.

Shakespeare experiments, that is, with the extent to which the audience too might experience the theatrical space as filled with unlocalizable noises. At times, Shakespeare allows

his audience to feel themselves securely positioned as spectators, clearly attending to a theatrical event. When playgoers watch Ferdinand's disorientation, for instance, they are able to see Ariel, seeming to give them a fuller perspective. Shakespeare thereby lessens the sense that the audience shares a unified space with the fictional world onstage, allowing them to observe and appreciate a skilled performer who produces music. Along with their observation of Ariel's spatial power over Ferdinand, however, playgoers are also invited into a theatrical space with increasingly unsettled spatial coordinates. Both of Ariel's songs for Ferdinand invoke a chorus, as he requests that "sweet sprites bear/The burden" in "Come Unto These Yellow Sands," or that "Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell" in "Full Fathom Five," and the stage direction "*Burden, dispersedly*" suggests that voices join Ariel from multiple points around the stage (1.2.379-80, 403).[19] I argue that the singers and musicians who produced these sounds – along with the "*Solemn and strange music*," for instance, that accompanies the disappearing banquet (3.3.18.SD) – were most likely kept hidden from the audience, and that this invisibility could have a powerful effect on Shakespeare's earliest audiences. While an established scholarly convention holds that musicians performed in a "music room" on the upper playing area, covered by a curtain, Simon Smith has argued convincingly that these musicians were typically visible in Jacobean theaters.[20] If audiences, then, were accustomed to being able to see the musicians,

19 For discussion of these songs and their musical effects, see Howell Chickering, "Hearing Ariel's songs," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 1 (Winter 1994), 131-72; and Jacquelyn Fox-Good, "Other Voices: The Sweet, Dangerous Air(s) of Shakespeare's *Tempest*," *Shakespeare Studies* 20 (1996), 241-74.

20 For an influential statement of the traditional view, see Richard Hosley, "Was there a Music-room in Shakespeare's Globe?" *Shakespeare Survey* 13 (1960), 113-22. Andrew Gurr has often asserted that this practice was developed in the indoor theaters, and that a music room was added to the Globe in 1609 after the King's Men acquired the Blackfriars playhouse (see, for instance, "*The Tempest's* Tempest," 92-93). Mariko Ichikawa has emphasized the flexibility of where the musicians could appear; see *The Shakespearean Stage Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 52-71. Smith points to some key pieces of evidence from the years closely preceding *The Tempest* to suggest that it was in fact a more regular assumption that the music room was visible. For instance, in Thomas Dekker's 1608 rogue pamphlet *The Bellman of London*, about a city slicker lost in the country, the narrator describes the birds sitting in the trees above him: "vpon euerie branch sat a consort of singers, so that euerie Tree shewed like a Musick room." See Simon Smith, "The Many Performance

moments when they were hidden would have been all the more striking. That Shakespeare and his fellow theater practitioners in the King's Men were attuned to such effects is confirmed by the moment in *Antony and Cleopatra* when "*Music of the hautboys* [oboes] *is under the stage*," frightening a group of Roman soldiers on patrol in Egypt.[21] Although the stage directions in *The Tempest* are not as precise, I would argue that the references to the dispersal of the burthen or to the music as "strange" point to a similar set of theatrical choices. With the singers and musicians hidden at different points around the stage, the spatial unity between the audience and characters could be increased. Audience members would then be plunged into Ferdinand's theatrical world, sharing some of his mystification at the source and location of these sounds.

Along with these moments where characters and audience are made to share the disorienting aural space, Shakespeare also uses sound to draw together the spatial unity of his island setting, as the audience hears Ariel's music echo from place to place. It is, in part, through the play's classical form of spatial unity, apparently giving the island clear boundaries, that Shakespeare recreates the sense of disorientation that can accompany travel in exotic lands. Unable to grasp the precise connections between these sounds and the different places where they might be produced, the audience cannot be certain of the ground on which the play takes place. The first clue that sounds appear able to cross the space of the island accompanies the entrance of Stephano. In an inversion of Ferdinand, who first enters drawn on by Ariel's songs, he enters the play singing himself. His appearance, in the dress of a "drunken butler," would immediately signal his position as a comic character, and we can easily imagine that the actor here sang in a style meant to capture the unsteadiness and off-key sound of a drunkard. Comic as

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Spaces for Music at Jacobean Indoor Playhouses," in Bill Barclay and David Lindley, *Shakespeare, Music and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 29-41, esp 37-9 for further examples.

21 For discussion of this scene, see Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare*, 37-43.

the performance was meant to be, he opens his song with another melancholy reminder of shipwreck: “I shall no more to sea, to sea/Here shall I die ashore–” (2.2.41-2). Stephano does not wish to keep reflecting on his sad state, and after exclaiming “This is a very scurvy tune to sing at a man’s funeral” he turns to a lusty song about a group of sailors who reject a shrewish woman named Kate. While its lyrics might at first glance seem to have little to do with the ethereal sounds of Ariel’s music, Ross Duffin has pointed out that the words of this song, together with the first lines about dying ashore, would fit perfectly with the same tune as “Full Fathom Five.”[22] If the actor playing Stephano was indeed instructed to directly echo Ariel’s sad and mysterious tune when performing his own comic song, this echo would explain why Stephano finds the tune “scurvy” and why it makes him think of a funeral. The audience could then imagine that the sounds of the tune might have reached Stephano as he wandered around, contributing to the sense of the different parts of the island being tied together.[23]

Within this system of sounds echoing through the island, Shakespeare also gives Ariel a seeming control over aural events in the theater. Caliban’s famous “isle is full of noises” speech, in fact, is set up by Ariel responding musically to Stephano and Trinculo’s attempts to create music of their own. As soon as the conspirators’ “catch,” performed in the round, is completed, and perhaps as an interruption, Caliban exclaims “That’s not the tune” (3.2.122). He could be

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22 In his important collection of early modern tunes that fit the songs in the plays, *Shakespeare’s Songbook* (New York: Norton, 2004), Duffin suggests that Robert Johnson’s setting of “Full Fathom Five” might have been used for Stephano’s song, but he also sets Stephano’s song, more appropriately, to a tune called “Lusty Gallant,” possibly related to a lost tune called “The Saylor’s Joy” (260-62). More recently, Duffin has doubted whether Johnson’s setting of “Full Fathom Five,” which was not published until 1660, was used in the earliest performances. Instead, Duffin suggests, those performances may have used “Lusty Gallant” as the tune for “Full Fathom Five.” See “Thomas Morley, Robert Johnson, and Songs for the Shakespearean Stage,” draft chapter forthcoming in *The Oxford Handbook to Shakespeare and Music*, eds. Mervyn Cooke and Christopher R. Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2020). I thank Professor Duffin for sharing this chapter with me.

23 Even if Stephano does not use the same tune, the fact that he enters with a line about dying ashore would nevertheless provide some echo of Ariel’s songs.

saying that Stephano had actually taught him another "catch" earlier, and that this is not the one he wishes to hear, or he could mean that they have the right song but are performing it incorrectly. Caliban's complaint could also be referring to the music that fills the air as they stop singing: "*Ariel plays the tune on a tabor and pipe*" (122.SD). The association between Ariel's music and Stephano's catch is confirmed when Trinculo exclaims "This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of Nobody" (124-5). This response immediately reminds the audience of Ariel's invisibility, providing a comic version of his mysterious effect on Ferdinand. Ariel's "*invisible*" music here simultaneously serves to remind the audience of his earlier performance for Ferdinand, and of the "*solemn music*" that had put Alonzo, Gonzalo, and other courtiers to sleep. In repeating this musical effect for all three of his different groupings, Shakespeare establishes that the singing actor who performs Ariel momentarily takes control of the theatrical space, showing how theater practitioners are able to manipulate the spatial experience of characters, and by extension of playgoers.

Ariel, however, does not create this music alone, and the meanings of this exotic space do not remain fixed. Caliban's speech emphasizes how the "sounds, and sweet airs" of the island involve a large ensemble: "Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments/Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices" (3.2.134-6). As a response to Ariel's invisible performance of Trinculo and Stephano's catch, these words undercut the element of humiliation and comedy. Instead of allowing Ariel to hold onto his individual power of manipulation, Caliban implies a dispersed multiplicity of musical creators not fully in Ariel and Prospero's control. In doing so, he seems, ironically enough, to invoke the musical fashions of the Jacobean court. The "thousand twangling instruments" suggests a large collection of stringed instruments, and the years preceding *The Tempest* had seen a fashion for gathering twelve lutes together to accompany

masques – an arrangement so unusual that it must, according to musicologist Peter Walls, "have seemed wonderfully rich and exotic."[24] While we cannot know precisely what type of ensemble accompanied Shakespeare's play in any given performance venue, it seems clear that the King's Men would want to approximate such an auditory effect. Caliban's description of the pleasure to be had in hearing such twangling instruments is almost immediately followed by Alonzo and his lost courtiers stumbling out to hear the "*Solemn and strange music*" of the disappearing banquet, which Gonzalo describes as "Marvellous sweet music!" (3.3.19). At this point, Ariel is offstage changing into the Harpy costume with which he will frighten the courtiers, and as I have already suggested, this music was likely produced by musicians who were kept hidden from the audience. These sounds fit Caliban's words more closely than the tune of the catch that had prompted his speech. By quite pointedly not linking these sounds to Ariel, Shakespeare establishes an exotic and foreign space, inside his theater, that goes beyond the control of any single performer.

By recreating a courtly musical environment to fulfill the image of an "isle full of noises," Shakespeare both celebrates Caliban's view of the island, making the theatrical space seem transformed into an exotic locale, while simultaneously directing his audience's attention towards his own design and the musical sophistication available to him and the King's Men. The long reception history of *The Tempest* revolves in large part around responses to Caliban – is he a monster who must be tamed by Prospero, or a sympathetic and dispossessed native?[25] His speech on music provides one of the key moments for readings that emphasize his natural place

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24 *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 151. For string ensembles at the Jacobean court more generally, see Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 173-97.

25 This reception history has been fully surveyed by Alden T. and Virginia Mason Vaughan in *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

on the island, but his words also seem easily transported to a musical style that serves the goals of Prospero and King James. The play as a whole, I have argued, both gives the audience a taste of the disorientation experienced by the characters – unifying the space shared by characters and audience – while also dividing the audience from the fictional island world, reminding them of the musical performers who fill the theater with sounds. Caliban's speech involves a similar interplay, bringing the play's fictional world to life while simultaneously pointing to the spirits who create the music heard by Alonzo and his courtiers – the music, by extension, that Shakespeare's audience hears. The music of *The Tempest* seems to belong equally to both worlds, echoing between Caliban's island and the theaters where the King's Men created their aural environments.

Operatic Performance and Spatial Segmentation in the Restoration

When Dryden and Davenant rewrote the play in 1667, they began to segment Shakespeare's musical effects. Whereas the music of Shakespeare's original had been used both to draw together the various parts of the island and to shape the audience's experience of the theatrical space, music now only appeared on certain parts of the island, lessening the experience of spatial unity. Dryden and Davenant did use the imagined unity of an island space as a starting point that kept their scenes together, but they also drew on the new capacity to change the painted scenes, suggesting that there are different parts of the island represented by different scenes. In more clearly establishing changes of location, they also began to separate the effects of the play's musical performances. Instead of Shakespeare's subtle echoes from scene to scene, the revisers include a series of largely distinct musical moments. They thereby laid the groundwork for the 1674 production to found a specifically English form of opera. By using a

play that imagined an enchanted and unified setting as the basis for their dramatic opera, the Duke's Company crafted a productive spatial model for the new genre. When Purcell turned to dramatic opera in his celebrated works, also at Dorset Garden, two decades later, he would similarly use settings that seemed exotic or enchanted, including the Athenian forest of *The Fairy-Queen*, the ancient British countryside of *King Arthur*, or the Peru of *The Indian Queen*. This type of production was always going to be, at least in part, a series of individual pieces of music loosely strung together by a fantastical plot, shifting the sense of unified space from the fictional location to the theatrical space itself. The 1674 operatic version of *The Tempest* was seen as an innovation for how music could be presented in a theater, and I argue in this section that it is no coincidence that this innovation appeared almost simultaneously with the rise of spaces self-consciously understood as concert halls. Instead of the audience being made to share the disorienting sense of music floating around the island, as is the case in Shakespeare's play, the audience of the operatic version can be comfortably and fully aware of Dorset Garden as a setting where skilled singers and musicians perform.[26]

For their revision, Dryden and Davenant not only added new musical numbers, they also incorporated spatial tools that Shakespeare had studiously avoided, including patterns of movement, with distinct indoor spaces hidden behind doors, similar to those I discussed in my chapter on stage doors. The success of the new version, throughout the Restoration period and beyond, depended in part on the increased sexual comedy involving Miranda, Ferdinand, Dorinda, and Hippolito. These figures are by far the most often remarked on feature of Dryden

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26 My emphasis on the musical effects leads me to an account of audience positioning that differs from that of Joseph Roach, who turns instead to the erotic desire for the actresses that the play seems to call up. See "The Enchanted Island: Vicarious Tourism in Restoration Adaptations of *The Tempest*," in Hulme and Sherman, *'The Tempest' and Its Travels*, 60-70.

and Davenant's revision, and to stage their explorations of jealousy and surprise among the four young lovers, the collaborators brought in techniques more typically associated with city comedy. In Shakespeare's *Tempest* there are no mentions of doors, and with the brief exception of Caliban first arriving from within Prospero's cave, the play has no sense that there are clearly delineated divisions to the island space. Since one of the guiding ideas for Dryden and Davenant's design is that Hippolito has been raised separately from Miranda and Dorinda, the stage must show that Prospero controls multiple distinct places. The painted scene used for "*the habitation of* Prospero," described in the 1674 text but probably carried over from the 1667 production, was "*compos'd of three Walks of Cypress-trees*, *each Side-walk leads to a Cave, in one of which* Prospero *keeps his Daughters, in the other* Hippolito" (1.2.0.SD). If this image provides support for the spatial division, Dryden and Davenant also bring the Jonsonian model to bear. When Ferdinand arrives and tries to draw his sword, Prospero sends him off to join Hippolito by pointing: "That door/Shews you your Lodging" (3.6.103-4). No such door appears on Shakespeare's island, and it is similarly difficult to imagine his Prospero warning, as does this Prospero to Miranda and Dorinda, that men "are wild within doors, in Chambers,/And in Closets" (2.2.94-5). All this moving in and out of doors also gives these sequences, vis-a-vis the play as a whole, a greater emphasis on sight than on hearing. Miranda and Dorinda first enter Hippolito's cave, a stage direction tells us, "*peeping*" (2.3.5.SD), and there is much discussion of women seeing men and vice versa.[27] Indeed, the addition of painted scenes naturally meant that what was seen would form an overwhelming part of the theatrical event, and the movements of

27 In her account of the revision, Lisanna Calvi has focused on the "interplay between theatrical spectacle and comedy"; see "'Supposed to be rais'd by Magick', or *The Tempest* 'made fit,'" in Bigliazzi and Calvi, *Revisiting* The Tempest, 151-70, 152.

the lovers in and out of doors provides a counterpoint to the movement of sound on and off the stage.

While these comic scenes provided a greater spatial segmentation for the play's fictional island, the theatrical space was marked above all as designed for musical performance, especially for the operatic version of 1674. King Charles II's royal orchestra of 24 violins now joined the company, along with 30 choristers from the Chapel Royal, with the violins performing Matthew Locke's custom instrumental music, both before and after the play, as well as between the acts.[28] As these court musicians joined the company, the 1674 version appears to have introduced into English theater what we think of as the standard spatial arrangement for opera. Shadwell's long stage direction for the introductory storm begins by proclaiming that "*The Front of the Stage is open'd, and the Band of 24 Violins, with the Harpsicals and Theorbo's which accompany the Voices, are plac'd between the Pit and the Stage*" (1-3). To make room for this unusually large number of musicians, that is, they have been removed from their regular placement in upper galleries above the sides of the stage, and into close proximity with the audience (the choristers, meanwhile, probably took the regular place of the musicians above). From this placement close to the audience, the violinists and other musicians presumably accompanied the music throughout the play, likely including its two masques, and perhaps Ariel's songs as well. With this new spatial arrangement for musicians, it would be impossible for the audience not to sense that they were in a theatrical space dedicated to musical performance.

The biggest change that these musicians wrought on Shakespeare's design came in the opening storm, with music instead of thunder representing the tempestuous sea. Whereas *The Tempest* had emphasized the confusion shared by characters and audience as thunder crashed

28 See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 334-43.

offstage, the storm was now presented as a performance to be enjoyed, with music the dominant aural effect, as well as a much more visually spectacular presentation. The new flying machines at Dorset Garden transported Ariel and other spirits above the stage, and this spectacle was accompanied by Locke's "Curtain Tune." Dryden and Davenant had already, in their version seven years earlier, slowed down the effects and extended the scene. Instead of Shakespeare's chaotic opening of thunder and yelling, they have sailors come in to predict that "we shall have foul weather" (1.1.2), building up towards the great cries and cracks at a softer pace. Locke precedes this scene with a series of graceful dances to be played as an overture. For the revelation of the "*Tempestuous Sea in perpetual Agitation*" (17), his "Curtain Tune" aims musically to paint the dramatic experience of the coming storm, in an early attempt at the Baroque tradition of music that conveys the weather – the tradition today most well-known through Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*.

This carefully designed series of musical pieces introduces the audience to a theatrical space set aside for the display of musical skill. Instead of sharing the disorienting aural experience of the characters, playgoers are now distinctly unified as an audience through their potential appreciation and emotional response to unusual and original musical effects. Locke's musical tempest does not consist of a simple outpouring of jarring sounds. Following the example of Dryden and Davenant's slow build, the Tune begins with soft and solemn movements that suggest a heaviness in the air. As the storm starts to imaginatively roll in, the music gains in speed and intensity – this piece in fact seems to be the earliest surviving English example of a composer using the Continental indications *diminuendo* and *crescendo*, although Locke gives them in English as "soft and slow by degrees" and "lowder by degrees."[29] When the

29 See the score in *Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music, with the music by Humfrey, Banister, Reggio and Hart for 'The Tempest,'* transcribed and edited by Michael Tilmouth for Musica Britannica (London: Stainer and Bell,

music reaches its stormy and loudest peak, Locke has the violins repeat a series of sharp notes, before suddenly growing silent again, and then repeating the sequence.[30] As a transition from the opening overture into the imagined chaos of the storm, the Curtain Tune transforms the space of Dorset Garden, enabling it to encompass comparatively controlled sounds while also opening up to more exciting and stirring forms of musical performance.

Once the storm subsides and the play settles on the island, music no longer serves to draw together and unify the different parts of the fictional island. The sense of the theater as a unified space for musical performance does not appear throughout the theatrical event, but rather marks certain moments as especially worthy of audience attention, and certain places as especially appropriate for music. In both Dryden and Davenant's 1667 version and the 1674 opera, the revisers split the impact of Ariel's songs between the different parts of the island. He no longer performs any music for Caliban and the other comic figures, while his musical scenes with Ferdinand are extended. Dryden and Davenant thereby loosen the unity between the different parts of the island. Where Shakespeare has Ferdinand discover Miranda immediately after hearing Ariel sing, he now follows Ariel around, separating the songs from Miranda and Prospero's abode. The invisible performance of "Come unto these yellow sands" and "Full Fathom Five" remains a key moment, given its own separate scene, and Ferdinand is now given an opportunity to sing himself. For this song, "Go thy way," Ariel echoes Ferdinand's words, extending the idea that the music immerses the Prince in an exotic and disorienting environment. As Ariel's music, again, guides Ferdinand around the island, Ferdinand enters with the question, "How far will this invisible Musician conduct/My steps? he hovers still about me, whether/For

1986), 27-9.

30 My account of the music draws on the work of Jocelyn Powell in *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge, 1984), esp. 64.

good or ill I cannot tell, nor care I much" (3.4.1-3), and when Ariel starts echoing his words, Ferdinand imagines these sounds, Caliban-like, as belonging naturally to the island. Trying to ascertain the magical source of the echo, he urges himself, "I'le try if it will answer when I sing/My sorrows to the murmurs of this Brook" (3.4.25-6). This interplay between Ferdinand and Ariel's voices, along with Ferdinand's description of the echoing voices as phenomena of the island, allows the audience, even more clearly than in Shakespeare's version, to observe from a detached theatrical distance how the music affects Ferdinand.

Ferdinand may imagine himself as accompanied by a murmuring brook, but the process of creating music also allows him to direct his performance outwards towards the audience. In 1667, Dryden and Davenant followed Shakespeare in their stage direction for Ariel and Ferdinand's shared entry, announcing that Ariel enters "*invisible, playing and singing*" (2.2.0.SD). For the 1674 opera, meanwhile, Shadwell and Betterton not only add a female counterpart for Ariel, Milcha, they also quietly drop the phrase "*playing and singing*." (3.1.0.SD). The presence of this phrase in the earlier versions suggests that Ariel was then meant to accompany himself, probably on a lute or similar stringed instrument. He would also have been joined by the voices who join him for the "burthens" or choruses of "Bow-wow" or "Ding dong bell," and the singers who created these sounds may well have been invisible to the audience as well as to Ferdinand, hidden behind curtains. When Ariel no longer accompanies himself in the 1674 version, the presence of further musicians becomes more important, and they may now have been fully visible to the audience. We cannot know for sure if the royal band of violinists were only playing the instrumental pieces between the acts, or if they also accompanied Ariel and other singers. Ariel's lack of a call to enter "*playing*" does suggest that he would need external musicians to support his songs, who may well have included the fully

visible band of violinists. If so, these two separate scenes of him singing with or for Ferdinand would even more clearly involve a direct performance for the members of the audience, who are invited to feel that the theatrical space has been set aside for the enjoyment of song in these moments.

At least one audience member did in fact experience this type of enjoyment. Samuel Pepys, in his diary entry describing the premiere on November 7 1667, attended by the King, singles out Ferdinand and Ariel's echo song – the only individual moment he describes – as "mighty pretty." As Pepys returned again and again to see the play, this song continued to haunt his memory. On May 7 1668 he persuaded the composer John Banister to "prick me down the notes," and when he saw the play again four days later, he asked the actor who performed Ferdinand, Henry Harris, for the words.[31] Pepys' response may not have been universally shared among audience members, but I would suggest that Dryden and Davenant had designed the scene so as to make the audience take especial pleasure in the musical effect,[32] an effect further heightened when the musical accompaniment was provided by separate musicians in 1674. As Ferdinand speaks of not seeing the singer and musicians who accompany him, the audience are invited to feel their own superior position as onlookers, watching the whole group of performers onstage.

Pepys does not appear to have been alone in his desire to have access to the song outside of its theatrical context, suggesting that the theater was seen not simply as a place where one

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31 See the notes on this song in Spencer's edition, p. 411.

32 Allison Kay Deutermann has used Pepys' interest in the echo song as an entry point for a rich analysis of how both Shakespeare's original and the 1667 revision demand certain forms of listening from their respective audiences; see "'Repeat to me the words of the Echo': Listening to *The Tempest*," in *Knowing Shakespeare: Senses, Embodiment and Cognition*, eds. Lowell Gallagher and Shankar Raman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 172-91.

went to experience a fictional world created onstage, but also to hear and enjoy individual musical pieces. Soon after the operatic production of 1674 premiered, Banister brought out a printed edition of *The Ariels Songs in the Play call'd the Tempest*. Banister had composed these songs for the 1667 version, and while they were reused in 1674, he had not been invited to join the group of composers who were invited to create new musical pieces. With the success of the operatic version, it is not surprising that he would want to cash in on his earlier contribution. The fact that he did so goes to show that there was a market arising among audience members who wished to enjoy theatrical songs on their own, apart from their original plays. There is an immediacy to this process not visible earlier in the century. While Robert Johnson's settings of "Full Fathom Five" and "Where the Bee Sucks" may have been created for the original performances of Shakespeare's play, the songs were not printed by John Playford until the 1650s. The Jacobean King's Men appear to have more closely guarded their music as an integral part of their theatrical repertory. The Duke's Company of the 1670s, meanwhile, appear to have been more indulgent towards the idea of songs as exciting musical moments that audience members might wish to experience outside of the theater.

This sense of the theater, especially Dorset Garden, as a space for generating musical experiences appears to be connected with an important spatial innovation, as the 1670s saw the rise of the public concert as an institution, with dedicated spaces set aside for musical performance. Londoners had John Banister to thank for this innovation as well. In December 1672, *The London Gazette* announced that "at Mr *John Banisters* House, (now called the Musick-School) over against the *George Tavern* in *White Fryers*, this present Monday, will be Musick performed by excellent Masters," and continuing daily every afternoon.[33] When the

33 I quote the advertisement from *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the*

essayist and musical amateur Roger North reminisced about Banister's concerts in the early Eighteenth Century, he aimed to show "how and by what stepps Musick shot up in such request, as to croud out from the stage even comedy itself," and went on to describe the seats and tables for audience members and the curtained box for the musicians.[34] Although Banister was probably building on a tradition of musical performance in taverns, North's comments suggest that the concerts were perceived as an innovation, especially in their spatial arrangements. Banister would have been well known to those involved in the Dorset Garden production of 1674, having served as director of the 24 violins in the 1660s as well as composing for the theaters. He continued to experiment with various forms of publicly presenting music, organizing a scripted orchestral concert entitled *A Parley of Instruments* at his "Academy in Lincoln Inn's Fields" in December 1676.[35] Banister's establishment of spaces specifically set aside for musical performance may have directly influenced the use of Dorset Garden, as Betterton and the Duke's Company began to incorporate the idea of a concert hall into their image of the theatrical space. This historical process would explain why North cannot help but use a spatial metaphor when imagining the relationship between these concerts and the theater, as music crowds comedy from the stage, leaving the theater increasingly dedicated to musical performance.

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years c. 1695-1728, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 303.

34 *Ibid*, 302.

35 For discussion of Banister and his concerts, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 291-6 and 349-52; and John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 270-1. On the development of an audience for musical performance more generally, see Harold Love, "How Music Created a Public," *Criticism* 46, no. 2 (Spring 2004), 257-71.

The Imperial Seas of Davenant's Opera

This increasing experience of the theatrical space as unified by music would be given a political effect in the theatrical works that William Davenant produced across his career. In this section, I show how he crafted an analogy between the theatrical space – defined by music as unified, ordered, and harmonious – and the English court as an imperial center. These associations between music, insular space, and political order reach their fullest development in the concluding Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite added to the 1674 *Tempest*. I will consider that Masque in the following section, and while Davenant had passed away when it was added to the play he had written with Dryden, I argue that the Duke's Company were then working in a tradition very much in line with the practice of their founder. He was the only practitioner who had written and produced theatrical events for the Stuart monarchs both before and after the Interregnum, as well as under the Commonwealth government. That someone with such strong prior connections to Charles I's court should be allowed to produce theater under Cromwell has often seemed surprising, and scholars typically argue that Davenant introduced sung-through productions with painted scenery as a way of circumventing the ban on spoken theater.[36] I would suggest that Davenant's success was also tied to his thematic interest in England's naval power, the celebration of which could be appreciated by both sides in the Civil War conflict.[37] An English idea of the island nation as an "empire of the seas," David Armitage has shown,

36 Even in the period, Dryden suggested that Davenant had introduced recitative song as a way to escape censorship; for discussion see Janet Clare's edition of Davenant's Interregnum works (from which I cite) for the Revels Plays Companion Library, *Drama of the English Republic, 1649-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 34.

37 For a detailed account of how Davenant's interregnum productions responded to Cromwell's colonial policy, see Richard Frohock, "Sir William Davenant's American Operas," *The Modern Language Review* 96, no. 2 (April 2001), 323-33.

developed across the seventeenth century.[38] Davenant was an important propagandist of this view. He wrote in support of English colonization of Madagascar in the 1630s, and in 1650 he unsuccessfully attempted to sail to America as the new royalist Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland.[39] His interest in maritime expansion proved decisive for his theatrical production. All three of his musical extravaganzas from the second half of the 1650s – *The Siege of Rhodes*, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, and *Sir Francis Drake* – take place in coastal areas and include moments of English valor. By expressing that valor through musical means, Davenant defines the inside of the theater as a space where the audience shares a harmonious and confident experience of being at the center of an expanding maritime empire.

Already when writing masques for Charles I, Davenant used music to contrast the wild waves at sea and the harmony to be shared among the nobles inside the insular space of the Whitehall banqueting house. The masque that he created with Inigo Jones for the 1637-8 Christmas season, *Britannia Triumphans*, concludes with King Charles, styled as "Britanocles," greeted by the sea-nymph Galatea, who enters "*waving forth riding on the back of a dolphin*" (597-8).[40] Galatea's song begins by addressing Charles' naval power: "So well Britanocles o'er seas doth reign,/Reducing what was wild before,/That fairest sea-nymphs leave the troubled main,/And haste to visit him on shore" (604-7). The isle that encompasses Charles' kingdoms of

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38 See *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100-124. Similarly, N.A.M. Rodger has argued that in 1649, despite the obvious political divides, "the groundwork had been laid for a national consensus to sustain permanent sea power." See *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Great Britain, Vol 1: 660-1649* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 434.

39 See Mary Edmond's biography, *Rare Sir William Davenant* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 69-70, 103-4. For the Madagascar expedition more generally, including Davenant's involvement, see Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 181-217.

40 I cite *Britannia Triumphans* from the edition of Roy Strong and Stephen Orgel in *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 2:661-703.

England, Wales, and Scotland here becomes the symbolic center of the ocean, as Britanocles reigns from on shore and his grateful oceanic subjects move towards him. Davenant's figuration of the relation between island and water appears in the contrast between the watery space, which is marked by motion – troubled, wild, and dangerous – while the island space within the bounds of the shoreline appears as the source of order and harmony. The analogy to the space of the masquing hall is clear. This was the first masque to be performed in the new temporary banqueting house at Whitehall, constructed after the spectacular Rubens ceiling paintings had been installed in Jones' previous Banqueting House.[41] The enclosed building into which Charles would arrive as Britanocles, in full view of his Queen and courtiers, could be experienced as a unified and harmonious space thanks to the music that greeted him.

As Galatea's song continues, Davenant highlights this contrast between wild music out at sea and the harmony that unites the noble spectators inside the insular space of Whitehall. She sings of how the nymphs used to dance "On ever-moving waves.../Unto the whistling of the wind/Whose measures hit and meet by erring chance,/Where music can no concord find" (613-6). The erring movements of the sea come to represent that which is outside the temporary masquing house at Whitehall, turning the space within its walls into a realm of safety and harmonious control. This harmony is properly heard in the final movements of *Britannia Triumphans*, and Galatea ends her song by highlighting the harmonious movements to be seen within the shores of Britanocles' realm: "But now for their majestic welcome try/How ev'n and equally they'll meet,/When you shall lead them by such harmony/As can direct their ears, and feet" (617-20). The King, accompanied by fourteen of his male courtiers, remained onstage

41 See Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century Scenic Stage, c1605-1700* (Amherst: Cambria, 2008), 54.

throughout this song, having already danced their entrance, and would now descend to bring their female dancing partners out of the audience to join them for a final dance. Jones provided a final change of scenery for this dance, showing "*a great fleet... which passing by with a side wind tacked about, and with a prosperous gale entered into the haven*" (623-5; see figure 4.1). While the noble couples dance to music that would presumably have sounded especially harmonious to early modern ears, Davenant and Jones provide them with this marine backdrop, suggesting that the harmonious strains of music could be matched with the order and regularity of English naval power.

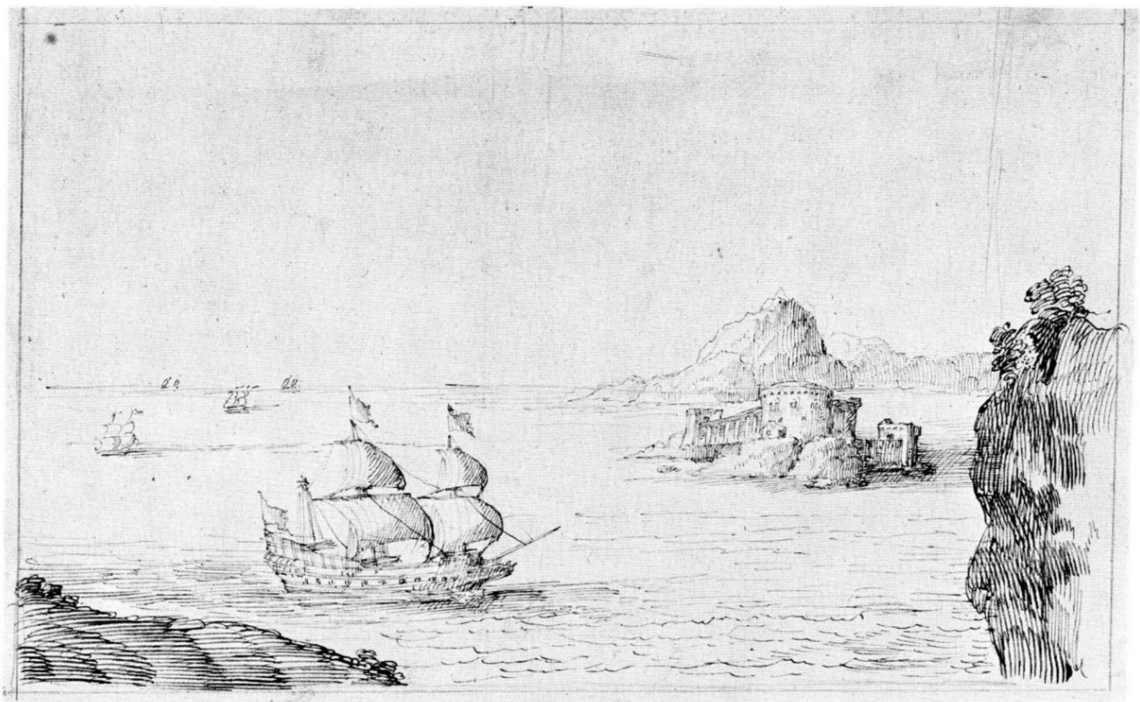

Fig. 4.1: John Webb, drawing after a design by Inigo Jones, final scene of *Britannia Triumphans*
Copied from *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, eds. Roy Strong and Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

In the operas or ballets he created during the Commonwealth,[42] now in collaboration with Jones' protege John Webb, Davenant continued to musically define the space inside the theater

42 Rachel Willie has argued that these works should be understood as a continuation of the masque tradition, in *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1647-72* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,

as ordered and harmonious. To create the sense that the audience shared such a unified space, Davenant gave these productions fictional settings that were bounded by islands or coasts, with a perspective out on the world beyond England's shores. This positioning drew on the musical harmony inside the theater, but also relied on visual elements, as Davenant combined harmonious music with scenes that showed fleets offshore. In *The Cruelty of the Spaniards*, after an opening scene that shows the Edenic life of pre-contact Peruvians, the second painted scene showed "*a fleet... at distance, with a prospect of the sea and Indian coast; the ships bearing in their flags the spread-eagle, to denote the Austrian family*" (2.2-4). This contrast between exotic coastline and conquering fleet gives visual form to the performance's central conflict. A similar image first introduces the island setting of *The Siege of Rhodes*, and in this case we have a clearer sense of what they would have seen, as Webb's preparatory drawings for the shutters survive. The opening shutter is dominated by the walled city, which extends with its harbor out from the coast into the sea, while the large Turkish fleet is seen arriving from further out at sea (figure 4.2). In the next shutter, the angle changes to show how the coastal city is besieged from both land and sea (figure 4.3). By the time the Turkish forces have fully overrun the city (figure 4.4), the perspective has changed. Whereas the first shutter had positioned the audience offshore, looking up the coast, the final shutter instead places them firmly on land, looking out towards the coastal city and beyond to the conquering Turkish fleet. This is the position from which Davenant imagines his London audiences gazing out over the seas, with the theater space itself drawn together as the harmonious center of a burgeoning maritime empire.

2015), 80-116. This seems to me only partially true, considering how important were the concluding dances where courtiers would enter the theatrical event from out of the audience in the prewar masque.

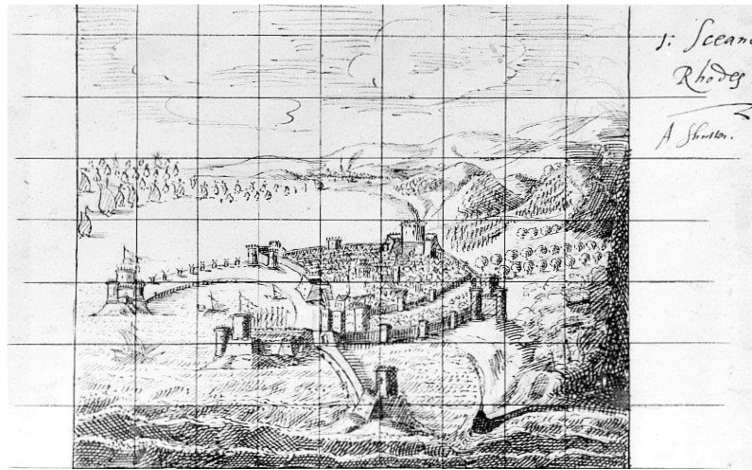

Fig. 4.2: John Webb, scene design for *The Siege of Rhodes*, prospect of Rhodes

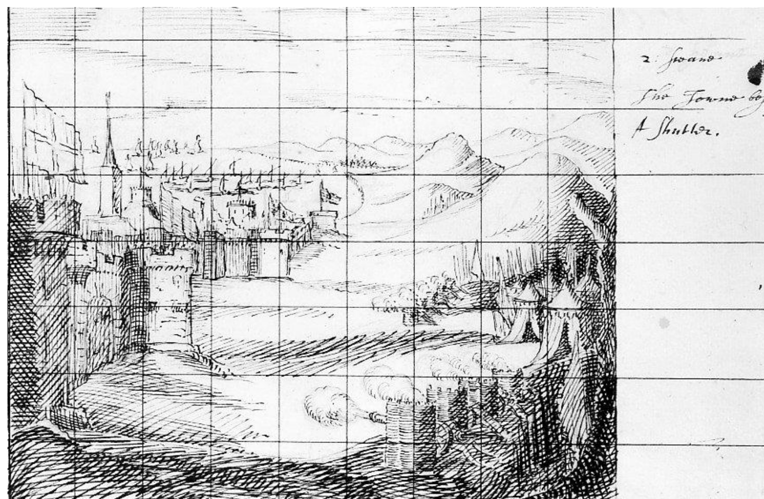

Fig. 4.3: John Webb, scene design for *The Siege of Rhodes*, Rhodes besieged

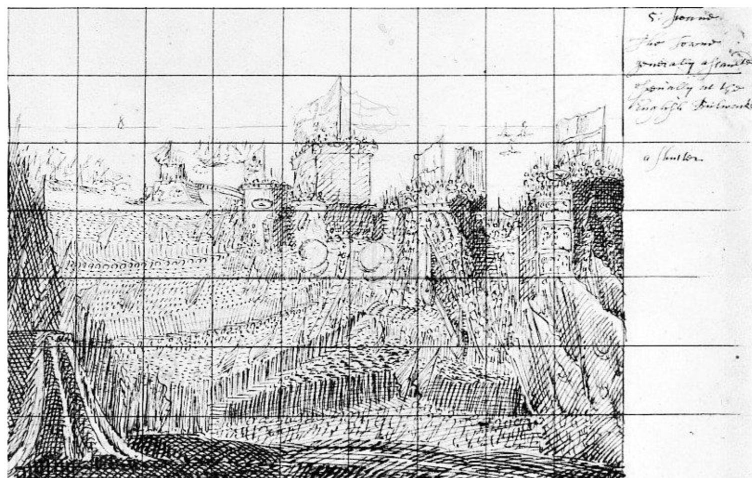

Fig. 4.4: John Webb, scene design for *The Siege of Rhodes*, the general assault
Webb images from restorationstaging.com

To make his audience feel the excitement of sharing such a theatrical space with each other, Davenant turned to music. He was especially fond of giving his theatrical music a martial air, explicitly connecting his maritime settings with England's burgeoning naval empire. This connection reaches its peak in his 1658 *Sir Francis Drake*, reimagining the Elizabethan privateer as a forerunner of the global expansion advocated by Cromwell. After Drake and his men have defeated an army of Spaniards in the Americas, Davenant concludes his production with a chorus of English sea-dogs imagining their glorious homecoming:

> Our course let's to victorious England steer!
> Where, when our sails shall on the coast appear,
> Those who from rocks and steeples spy
> Our streamers out, and colours fly,
> Will cause the bells to ring,
> Whilst cheerfully they sing
> Our story, which shall their example be
> And make succession cry, to sea, to sea. (113-20)

Positioning the audience imaginatively on the nation's coastline, Davenant invites them to inhabit the patriotic joy of being among those who "cheerfully sing" upon seeing a fleet returning from a successful naval campaign. With the final line, he tempts them to join in and sing along in the theater, becoming the "succession" that the historical Drake prophesied, as the rousing chorus aims to make those inside the Cockpit theater wish to fully support England's naval expansion. This patriotic feeling is accompanied with the ringing music of bells. If there were chimes or some kind of musical bell available to the musicians Davenant had assembled at the Cockpit, we can easily imagine them accompanying this song, creating a ringing sound that

may have reminded audience members of the church bells that rung regularly throughout their city. Music historian Christopher Marsh has pointed out that England was often referred to as the "ringing island" because of its many bells.[43] Davenant's emphasis on how the nation will be filled with this type of ringing upon Drake's return confirms the unifying power of music. Inside a theatrical space dominated by rousing patriotic music, audience members could be bound together as part of a national collective, physically sharing the space inside the theater but imaginatively sharing the space on the coastline.

Masques, the Sea, and the Confused Noise

The creation of such a unified audience appears to be the main goal of the Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite that concludes the operatic *Tempest*. Dryden and Davenant had already cut Shakespeare's Masque of Ceres, and had moved Ariel's celebration of freedom in "Where the bee sucks" from a private moment with Prospero to become a performance for the courtiers at the very end of the play. The Dorset Garden production of 1674 made this song the climax of its masque, with Ariel joined by a chorus of spirits that "*flying from the sun, advances towards the Pit*" (5.2.323.SD). Along with this final vision of flying spirits, Shadwell shaped his masque around the idea of Prospero being able to control the seas. Shakespeare's Prospero ends the play by requesting that Ariel provide "calm seas, auspicious gales" (5.1.314), but where he then turns directly to the audience for the epilogue, Shadwell instead imagines that these propitious sailing conditions will be created by the music of the masque. Five soloists sing at different points, as

43 *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1. See also Katherine Hunt, "Jangling Bells Inside and Outside the Playhouse," in Barclay and Lindley, *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, 71-83; and, more generally, David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

Neptune and Amphitrite request that Aeolus bind the winds and that Oceanus and Tethys give safe passage to the courtiers as they return to Italy. Following the model of Davenant's prewar masques and interregnum operas, the practitioners of the Duke's Company associate their own theatrical prowess with visions of calm and inviting seas.

In this section, I explore the differing spatial effects of Shakespeare's Masque of Ceres and Shadwell's Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite. Shakespeare stages a fragile aural transformation of the theatrical space. His masque aims to recreate the sounds of rural England on the exotic island, but is then interrupted by the offstage noise that reminds Prospero of Caliban's conspiracy, returning the play to a soundscape that proves equally disorienting for the audience and the onstage characters. This moment, that is, proves deeply skeptical about whether the theater can uphold and extend the spatial representation of a foreign and exotic place. Shadwell has no such doubts, instead using the display of musical skill to symbolically position Dorset Garden at the center of England's naval empire. His masque concludes with twelve dancing Tritons who "*mingle with the singers*" (5.2.318.SD), while Oceanus promises Prospero that "*We'll safely convey you to your own happy Shore*" and his "*Countrey's soft peace*" will be restored. Combining the spectacular sounds and visions of maritime deities with reminders of England's own happy shores, the Duke's Company draws its audience together in a space dedicated to dazzling musical display.

There is something almost shrill about the masque's insistence that its mythological singers have taken control of the seas, a frenzy that probably reflects contemporary political concerns. The position of England's navy was an especially sensitive issue around the time that the production premiered. England signed a disappointing peace treaty with the Dutch in February 1674, drawing to a close the Third Dutch War – a war that Charles had started in the

hopes that it would give England clear naval supremacy. As the Dutch continued their war against the French, however, England began to encroach on their control of the transatlantic slave trade, leading to their eventual dominance of that trade in the following century. The Duke of York, the patron of Davenant's company and future King James II, had been involved with an earlier attempt, the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa, which had traded from 1660-65 before being pushed out by the Dutch. In 1672, he became the titular Governor of the new Royal African Company and made major investments that would pay off handsomely.[44] The Duke was also well known as having been a successful naval commander in the 1665-67 Second Dutch War, although he had been excluded from service in the Third War by passage of the Test Act, which barred Catholics from public office.[45] While the Duke's Company does not explicitly invoke their patron at Dorset Garden, they do implicitly advertise his goal of uniting court and merchant interests in maritime pursuits.

In doing so, Shadwell and the company appear to have influenced both the themes and the musical style of the most spectacular musical event produced in the Restoration period. Charles II's court did not regularly feature masques of the type popular at the courts of his father and grandfather, but John Crowne's *Calisto*, which premiered in February 1675 at the cost of at least £5000, proudly proclaimed itself "the late Masque at Court" on its title page. Starring the Duke's young daughters – future Queens Mary and Anne – in speaking roles of a pastoral drama, the production also included extended musical numbers for its prologue, interludes, and epilogue.[46] With music by the composer Nicholas Staggins, the prologue in particular stages

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44 See P.E.H. Hair and Robin Law, "The English in Western Africa to 1700," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol 1: The Origins of Empire*, ed Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 255-58.

45 For this period in England's naval history, see N.A.M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 65-135.

46 I have found especially useful the discussion of *Calisto* in James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*

themes similar to those of Shadwell's Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite. A personified Thames, flanked by figures of Peace and Plenty, receives gifts from the four continents Europe, Asia, America, and Africa, with the latter notoriously offering that "Thou for thy Slaves, shalt have these/Scorched Sons of mine" (2).[47] Crowne then has the Genius of England cross the stage pursued by Giants, before the entry of "*One crown'd with a Naval Crown, attended by Sea-gods and Tritons*," who exclaims "The God of this fair Isle shall now,/Command (as all his Right allow)/The Empire of the Maine" (5). The musicians and singers who performed this musical celebration of English naval supremacy would have included a number who had been involved with the operatic *Tempest*, including the Chapel Royal singers and the royal band of 24 violinists.[48] Although Shadwell's text does not go as far as Crowne's in praising the "Empire of the Main," the use of figures such as dancing Tritons invites spectators to experience the theatrical space, both visually and musically, as dedicated to the celebration of maritime power.

Shadwell uses an onstage audience to shape his hoped-for patriotic response, both advertising the still relatively new Dorset Garden theater and trying to define it as a royalist space with strong court connections. Where Shakespeare has Iris, goddess of the rainbow, introduce the event, Shadwell instead makes Prospero a participant, in a part analogous to that earlier taken by Iris. After telling the courtiers and lovers that he will "entertain you with my

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-41. My discussion of the Duke of York in the previous paragraph has also been influenced by Winn's work. See also Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 107-33; and Andrew Walkling, "Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne's *Calisto*," *Early Music* 24, no. 1 (Feb 1996): 27-62.

47 *The Prologue to Calistho, with the Chorus's between the Acts* (London: 1675). Accessed via EEBO.

48 We do not have a cast list for the singers of the Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, but the crossover in the Chapel Royal suggests at least some overlap. The star singing role of the Thames was taken by Moll Davies, who had performed in the 1667 production of *The Tempest* (probably as Ariel), but she had since retired from the stage. For an account of the singers in the production, see Eleanore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660-1702), with a particular account of the production of* Calisto (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 197-99. For the instrumental musicians, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 366-73.

Magick Art," Prospero calls out: "*Neptune,* and your fair *Amphitrite*, rise;/*Oceanus,* with your *Tethys* too, appear;/All ye Sea-Gods, and Goddesses, appear!" (5.2.239-41). This masque, we immediately realize, will be significantly more crowded with figures from classical mythology than had been the case in the earlier masque of Ceres. Indeed, the four named divinities are drawn out onto the stage "*in a Chariot drawn with Sea-horses*," with a chorus of "*Sea-gods and Goddesses, Tritons and Nereides*" surrounding them (245.SD). In response to this spectacular vision, Alonzo, Antonio, and Gonzalo cry out in awe: "*Alon.* This is prodigious./*Anto.* Ah! what amazing Objects do we see?/*Gonz.* This Art doth much exceed all humane skill" (246-8). These exclamations help to guide the response of the Dorset Garden audience, and Shadwell is not afraid to flatter them. Prospero continues his introduction by reminding these Sea-Gods who they will be facing in their performance: "For you have Princes now to entertain,/And unsoil'd Beauties, with fresh youthful Lovers" (5.2.244-5). This refers, first of all, to the Dukes and courtiers onstage, as well as the happily united couples, Dorinda and Hippolito, Ferdinand and Miranda. The Dorset Garden audience could also see themselves in this description. Even if Charles II was not personally present at a given performance, audience members would still know that he had been present at the premiere, an event very much like this one, and the royal violin ensemble may have been present for multiple performances. For the price of a ticket, any Londoner could find themselves in a location with clear connection to the court.

Shakespeare, by contrast, uses the onstage audience of his masque, consisting of only Ferdinand and Miranda, to invite a shared wonder at the disorienting transformations of theatrical space. When Ferdinand reacts to the song performed by Ceres and Juno in a descending chariot, he seems both mystified and gripped by what he observes: "This is a most majestic vision, and/Harmonious charmingly. May I be bold/To think these spirits?" (4.1.118-

20). Ferdinand's phrase "Harmonious charmingly" suggests that the magical impact of the floating goddesses has been heightened by the music that swirls around them. The word "charming" has etymological connections both with the Latin *carmina* for song and the Anglo-Saxon *cierm* for spell.[49] When used in reference to this pair of singing spirits, both the musical and magical senses are drawn out, with the ordered harmony of their song encapsulating the harmony that is hoped for in the union of Ferdinand and Miranda.

While working to establish that harmonious union, Shakespeare's choice of Ceres as the central figure of his masque leads to a musical environment that seems at odds with *The Tempest*'s exotic location. The Goddess of cultivation and fertility is of course thematically appropriate for the royal nuptials celebrated by this masque, but she is also out of place on the island, with references to specifically English grains and the "nibbling sheep" that filled its countryside.[50] The speeches and songs of the masque all lead towards a dance between "temperate nymphs" and reapers (4.1.132). These reapers are described as "sunburned sickle men" and commanded to put on their "rye-straw hats," a visual presentation that creates a rural scene marked by hard labor (134-6).[51] Immediately before the nymphs and reapers appear, Ferdinand dreamily asks to "Let me live here ever" – *here* being the space of Prospero and Miranda's abode where the spirit-goddesses have been singing (122). The "*soft music*" that had accompanied these charming spirits gives way, however, to the dance tunes that accompany the

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49 See note in Orgel's edition, p. 178.

50 For a discussion of the "distinctly English countryside" called up by the masque, see Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 187-216.

51 The reapers may also add an element of disorder to the masque. Gavin Hollis argues that the reapers' "phallic sickles, their sunburned visages, and their participation in a dance of fertility recall Caliban's attempted violation of Miranda" (*The Absence of America*, 162). The description in the stage direction, however, calls the dance "*graceful*," and Peter Walls shows that certain types of country dance could be included when nobles danced the "revels" of a masque (*Music in the English Courtly Masque*, 329).

"country footing" of the nymphs and reapers (58.SD, 138). This shifting musical soundscape contributes to the dual transformations of theatrical space that Shakespeare stages with his masque. On the one hand, the dancing reapers and nymphs have magically transported Ferdinand and Miranda to a rural paradise, and on the other, Shakespeare's auditors find themselves observing the inhabitants of an exotic island as they encounter a native English tradition of music.

That musical tradition was only just beginning to experiment with the disordered sounds of the antimasque, and Shakespeare uses such sounds to return his audience to the disorienting and frightening space of the island. The "*strange hollow and confused noise*" that interrupts the rural dance echoes the "*confused noise*" that had been heard from offstage at the point when the ship sank in the opening scene, suggesting how the aural involvement of the audience in the theatrical space extends from the ship to the island. This noise also echoes that made by the witches in Jonson's 1609 *Masque of Queens*, performed at the Whitehall Banqueting House a little less than two years before *The Tempest* was performed there. In the same opening stage direction where Jonson introduces the term "*antimasque*," the "*foil or false masque*" that offsets Queen Anne's arrival onstage (9-10), Jonson describes how the witches enter "*with a kind of hollow and infernal music… all with spindles, timbrels* [tambourines]*, rattles, or other veneficial* [associated with witchcraft] *instruments, making a confused noise*" (19-23).[52] Scholars have long debated the ways in which Shakespeare incorporates the structure of antimasque and masque into *The Tempest*.[53] By placing a noise similar to that with which Jonson opens his masque at the end

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52 I cite from David Lindley's edition in *The Cambridge Works*, vol. 3.

53 For important studies of how Shakespeare's masque responds both to Jonson's masques and to various forms of courtly entertainment more generally, see Ernest R. Gilman, "'All eyes': Prospero's Inverted Masque," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (Summer 1980), 214-230; two chapters in the collection edited by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): Hugh Craig, "Jonson, the antimasque and the 'rules of flattery'" (176-96), and Bevington, "*The*

of his own experiment with the form, I argue, Shakespeare reverses the aural experience of his audience. Jonson interrupts the final dance of witches in *The Masque of Queens* with "*a sound of loud music, as if many instruments had made one blast*" – a sound that serves to introduce Queen Anne and her fellow dancers to the Banqueting House (319-20). Shakespeare instead uses his own surprising offstage sound to remind his audience that the theater stands in for an exotic locale. Providing a surprise even for Prospero, this noise completes the circle of disorientation experienced by *The Tempest's* characters. Just as those who had survived the shipwreck had proved unable to locate the source of Ariel's music, Prospero realizes that the sounds of the theatrical event are beyond his control. The mysterious island envelops him, along with Ferdinand, Miranda, and the audience, retaining them all with sounds whose sources can only be dimly discerned.

The 1674 masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, on the other hand, functions as an unambiguous emotional climax. The music for this new masque, by another court composer, Pelham Humfrey, aims above all to be celebratory and exciting. Early music specialist Elizabeth Kenny, describing a 2015 performance of the 1674 *Tempest* that she organized with period instruments at the Sam Wanamaker playhouse, notes that "Neptune and Amphitrite are not especially engaging characters, nor are they meant to be: their vocal display is what conjures their power as forces of nature."[54] Instead of bringing a blessing of fertility to a young couple, as do Ceres and Juno, these maritime figures aim much more grandly to express the power of

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Tempest and the Jacobean court masque" (218-43); James Knowles, "Insubstantial Pageants: *The Tempest* and Masquing Culture," in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings*, eds. Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 108-25; and Kevin Pask, "Caliban's Masque," *ELH* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 739-56.

54 "In Practice II: Adapting a Restoration Adaptation – *The Tempest*, or *the Enchanted Island*," in Barclay and Lindley, *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, 114-30, esp 122.

singers, musicians, and dancers to convey, and by extension to control, the vast space of the sea. The intimacy of Ceres and Juno's song for Ferdinand and Miranda has been replaced by an extended grand finale. By imagining a fictional power that extends past the shores of the island, the Duke's Company seems to reach beyond the bounds of their theater. Having already worked hard to establish the space of Dorset Garden as closely tied to Charles' court, they suggest that the musical excitement produced here partakes of a larger royal presence.

Taking a page from Davenant's book, Shadwell and his collaborators use the view out towards the sea as the central position from which the music is heard, further glorifying English maritime power. Although the sailors who are about to enjoy the calm seas are nominally Italian, the lyrics of the songs consistently invoke ideas of empire and rule. For an English audience hearing Neptune and Amphitrite subduing Aeolus and Oceanus on behalf of a cluster of English-speaking courtiers, the message would be clear enough. Amphitrite, for instance, complains to Aeolus that "*While fell Sea-monsters cause intestine jars,/This Empire you invade with foreign Wars*" (5.2.278-9), and Neptune continues, "*But you shall now be still,/And shall obey my* Amphitrites *will*" (280-81). Descending in the flying machine, Aeolus responds that "*You I'll obey, who at one stroke can make,/With your dread Trident, the whole Earth to quake*" (282-3). This display of Amphitrite's control over the winds is given visual force as well, as dancers dressed as Winds "*fly down*" into the trapdoors (293.SD), and are replaced by Tritons who, as the chorus sings the phrase "Sound a Calm" six times, "*at every repeat of* Sound a Calm, *changing their Figure and Postures, seem to sound their wreathed Trumpets made of Shells*" (302.SD). As these dancers whirl about the stage, Amphitrite triumphantly proclaims: "*Now they are gone, all stormy Wars shall cease:/Then let your Trumpeters proclaim a Peace*" (294-5). Even as they are

singing about the weather, that is, these classical divinities figure movement across the seas in political and imperial terms.

The glorious sights and sounds provided by this masque could also serve as an inspiration for its audience to keep returning to the playhouse. The advertisement was driven home with Prospero's final speech, originally by Dryden and Davenant and kept for this version. Drawing on the analogy between the theater and the enchanted island, this Prospero imagines the island experience to have been a consistently happy one:

> Henceforth this Isle to the afflicted be
>
> A place of Refuge, as it was to me:
>
> The promises of blooming Spring live here,
>
> And all the blessings of the ripening Year.
>
> On my retreat, let Heav'n and Nature smile,
>
> And ever flourish the *Enchanted Isle*. (347-52)

As a commentary on the masque that preceded it, this speech could hardly signal the distance from Shakespeare's Prospero more clearly. In this account, Dorset Garden has become a relaxing and pleasant retreat from which audiences can confidently stride out into the world beyond, even as they can return again and again. The continuing success of the production, well into the following century, suggests that many members of the audience did indeed find it inspiring to enter a space dedicated to vocal display and the celebration of maritime power.

The Shakespearean masque of Ceres, of course, ends with the "confused noise" and Prospero's proclamation that "Our revels now are ended," that "These our actors... Are melted into air, into thin air" (148-50). With his jarring aural interruption, Shakespeare shows how an enchanted setting – rural England with nymphs and reapers for Ferdinand and Miranda, an exotic

island for the King's Men's audience – only exists so long as the sounds of the play are heard. This process itself proves "strange and confused," demanding constant spatial interpretation, as Shakespeare recreates a space of disorientation inside his theater. The Restoration Prospero's promise that his enchanted island will always flourish presents the theater as a space where the audience can be drawn together as a unified and patriotic collective, sharing their enjoyment of the musical display that emanates from the stage. Shakespeare does not allow his audience such a clear presentation of musical performance. In his melting air, playgoers sink into the disorienting soundscape of Caliban's noises, voices, and twangling instruments.

Coda

One of the most notorious props on the Restoration stage, the feather headdress that Aphra Behn apparently brought back to London from Suriname and which may have appeared in plays like Dryden's *The Indian Queen* (1664) or Behn's own *The Widow Ranter* (1688), would seem to function in a manner similar to the use of props I traced in my first chapter.[1] Visually signifying that the stage represents "Mexico" or "Virginia," the headdress echoes the turbans that had signaled a "Persian" location in a play like *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*. Despite this obvious similarity, the mode of activating the theatrical space has been transformed in Dryden's and Behn's dramaturgy. Restoration playwrights may have continued the prewar interest in exotic locales, but they almost never show their characters traveling from one country to another.[2] *The Widow Ranter* opens with its English colonists arriving in Virginia, marked as a place where exotic objects like feather headdresses can be displayed, while *The Indian Queen* focuses on the attempted conquest of Mexico by the Inca. Instead of the expansive movement, the criss-crossing of the Mediterranean that proves so common in pre-1642 drama, Restoration playwrights intensify their depictions of exotic locales. Over the course of a play, Dryden or Behn attempt to establish a singular world, a country where different individuals and national

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1 For influential discussions of this prop, see Margaret Ferguson, "Feathers and Flies: Aphra Behn and the Seventeenth-Century Trade in Exotica," *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Margareta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 235-259; and Joseph Roach's chapter on "Feathered Peoples," *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 119-178.

2 The one Restoration play that I have been able to discover in which characters travel across a sea in the course of the play is Thomas D'Urfey's revision of Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*, a 1622 play which had followed the spatial model of *The Tempest* by beginning with a shipwreck and then taking place on two adjacent islands. D'Urfey adds an opening act for the shipwrecked characters to meet up in Covent Garden before heading out to sea; see *A Common-Wealth of Women* (London: R. Bentley, 1686).

groups compete for supremacy.

This shift towards a more restricted and focused depiction of exotic places, I argue, has both theatrical and political effects. The prewar travel play, attempting to show a variety of far-flung lands appearing onstage, uses props less to represent a single location and more to mark the rapid movement between different places. Theatrical attention is not directed towards the props per se, as objects in their own right, but rather to the interplay among different props, shifting from scene to scene. A play like *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* generates a sense of the theatrical space as constantly under transformation, switching from place to place and country to country in an instant. This theatrical motion brings with it a sense of adventure that marks the representation of imperial and global space as expansive and exciting. On the Restoration stage, theatrical space could be defined as more harmonious, with an emphasis on control and order. As we have seen in the Masque that Shadwell adds at the end of the 1674 operatic *Tempest*, a greater spatial unity in the fictional world of the play could be used to draw together the audience in the symbolic center of England's burgeoning naval empire.

This sense of ever more tightly controlled spaces marks the larger development that this dissertation lays out. That Jonson's spatial model would be so influential for Caroline and Restoration comedy, I argue, is due to his focus on controlling audience perceptions of the theater as an enclosed space. Having passed through the doors that lead in to the theater building, audience members might discover ever more intimate and hidden spaces, or they might find themselves looking out over a maritime or exotic world over which they can feel an increasing sense of ownership. In all of these cases, the tendency is towards a direction and manipulation of a shared audience perspective. The sense of openness and transformation that so marks earlier travel plays like *Old Fortunatus* or *Pericles* is increasingly replaced, as the theater develops

across the century, with a more tightly circumscribed and controlled sense of space. In experimenting with a variety of theatrical techniques and tools – the use of props, of doors, of discoveries, and of sounds – for representing new types of fictional world, playwrights found themselves ever more fully in control of the stage space.

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