EMCO#5

Special Issue on Early Modern Visual/Verbal Rhetoric

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II

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A note on EMCO

It's not quite a sea-change into something rich and strange, but this issue of EMCO marks a moment of transition for the journal, after a period of seeming inactivity during which much has happened behind the scenes. While there is nothing wrong with the traditional journal format to which EMCO has adhered, we have found it pertinent to move towards a wider scope of approaches to early modern culture.

The backbone of the journal will still be peer-reviewed articles on topics related to early modern literature, art, music, philosophy, history and language, but in addition to this we have now added a section for book reviews and a more easily readable and flexible layout. The new, dual-column design enables us to more easily integrate into the layout illustrations and tables of various sizes.

Furthermore, we have also decided to expand the scope for types and lengths of articles we will publish. Now we will accept short "notes," more essayistic and speculative articles, and survey articles, in addition to the traditional research pieces we already publish. This is only the beginning, however. In future issues we would like to invite other types of contributions, ranging from opinion pieces to short "encounters" with early modern art works. A more detailed account of the types of contributions we would like to see and present can be found in the back of this issue.

We hope you will enjoy this special issue of EMCO and the new format of the journal.

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Introduction
Early Modern Visual/Verbal Rhetoric

Svenn-Arve Myklebost

Visual/verbal rhetoric is a vast field of study, even when limited to Europe in the historical period that we now call the *early modern*, during which it was perhaps especially complex. This period was one of transitions, chiefly from the medieval into something else. The rhythm and pace with which these transformations took place differed between European nations, according to fashion, religious developments, degree of prosperity, the tides of war, taste, and, quite simply, chance. It took centuries for some innovations and forms to disseminate across the continent. But by and by, the nations of Europe fell into step; it is possible, therefore, to speak of the early modern world picture as a pan-European phenomenon, albeit with some exceptions and many notable variations of idiom. The reformation, one of the most salient changes of the period, played itself out quite differently in different European countries. France had Calvin (for a while) and religious wars. Germany had Luther. Italy never had a reformation and Spain too remained predominantly Catholic. The development of the Church of England was especially complicated. From Henry VIII' s break with the Pope, to Edward VI and Somerset's stronger move towards Protestantism, to the Catholic resurgence under Mary to Elizabeth's middle way, the Anglican Church came to be what it is slowly, with setbacks and by increments over a period of nearly 100 years. And yet, far into the reigns of James and Charles I, adherence to the old faith still lingered in various corners of Great Britain, concurrently with segregational puritanism. This gradual transformation is typical for how England became something other than it was, all the while retaining many of its underlying structures. "The world in which Shakespeare lived," writes Helen Cooper,

> was a medieval one. Stratford and its surrounding towns had been founded in the Middle Ages: Coventry, which owed its status as a city to its Norman Cathedral; Warwick, grown up around its castle; Oxford, fortified with castle and walls early in the Middle Ages, and given fame by the development of its university in the late twelfth century.... Early modern London remained a city defined by its enclosing walls, its bridge, its great cathedral, and its internal structure of parishes and their churches. ... England's topography, infrastructure and rhythms of life were still essentially medieval. (1)

We might envision a medieval parchment manuscript of grids, lines, street plans and hierarchies upon which bright and novel daubs of paint began to be limned in.

Much of the newness in early modern England stemmed from what we would today call globalism. The term may be an anachronism, but the fact remains that the known world had become both bigger and more closely connected. Trade with the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and the exploration and exploitation of the New

World on the other influenced the English mind set. And in addition to the exchange of goods came an increased exchange of ideas, from the time of Erasmus (at the very least) onwards. In this vein, Europe had become much more close-knit, despite traditional enmities and religious conflict. Sometimes, religious or political content would prevent a specific form from spreading, but often this does not seem to have mattered.

It is therefore natural for articles revolving around visual/verbal rhetoric in the early modern period both to trace how medieval traditions survived, albeit in altered form, as well to investigate how the early modern was a time of innovation where practices were instituted that still survive to this day on an international scale. This is precisely what the articles in this issue do.

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In the article entitled "What's in a Name?: James Burbage and his Playhouse," Charles Moseley establishes what may be seen as a framing device for this issue of EMCO: his discussion of The Theatre playhouse (later to be rebuilt and renamed – significantly – as The Globe) demonstrates how the innovation and novelty of calling a playhouse "The Theatre" has been obfuscated by the subsequent familiarity of the word "theatre". This word was so little known in English around the time that whenever it did in fact appear it was often given a marginal gloss. Its primary application before James Burbage's playhouse was so named, was in the realm of anatomical theatres, such as the ones in Salamanca (completed in 1554) and in Leiden (1594). The term was known (in specialist circles) in the Latin, as part of the concept of the *Theatrum Mundi* – the theatre of the world – later

made famous by Shakespeare and many others. But the world was not "a stage" in the early conception of "theatre". Now we may be accustomed to think of "the stage" and "the theatre" as synonyms, but when The Theatre was constructed in 1576, the name would have brought to mind – at least for those in the know – *the dissection of man* before an audience watching from surrounding concentric circles. This act of naming, then, is itself a statement of intent and an artistic and philosophical definition of the potential of a playhouse as something designed to instruct as well as entertain.

There are fruitful links between Moseley's article and the following piece by Matthew Wagner, entitled "Wheresoever the Body Is: Image, Matter and Corporeality on Shakespeare's Stage". In a way, the focus of this article is nested within the context established by Moseley: Wagner identifies parallels between the manifestation of the body on the stage and the position of man within the cosmos. As with the body laid out in the anatomical theatre, man is the centre of the cosmos. The alchemical and astrological diagrams featured in Wagner's article situate man in the centre of concentric circles, this time constituting the heavenly spheres. Man, moreover, is a cosmos unto himself – a microcosm within which all the truths of creation exist. It is significant, therefore, that *man* in these diagrams and emblems is habitually placed upon a globe or in the centre of a design based on circles; the metaphor is complex, rich and strange enough in itself, but it becomes even more striking when we remember that in the imagination of the early modern period that which is made manifest in visual or even corporeal terms is something very close to the truth, whatever that truth may be. No wonder puritans and princes feared the theatre.

Zooming even closer in on the human, Anne Sophie Refskou and Laura Søvsø Thomasen's article "Handling the Theme of Hands in Early Modern Cross-Over Contexts," details the language of gesture, pointing and touching, with special reference to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*. This article contributes to deepen our understanding of how the pre-Cartesian imagination, where the mind-body divide was not a given, challenges current ideas about the significance of the body and its place, both within the cosmos and on the theatre stage. Furthermore, like in the previous article, Løvsø and Thomasen investigate and present how these ideas were transmitted and debated through visual media, including John Bulwer's illustrated treatise on hands, and the stage practice of Shakespeare's time – in short, how the visual/verbal rhetoric functioned in nearly-seamless yet mutually enriching cooperation.

Visual/verbal rhetoric, or rather anti-rhetoric, is also at the core of Sandra Pietrini's article, "Anti-Rhetorical Strategies in Early Modern Images of Comic Actors: Harlequin's Iconography and its Surviving Medieval Features." It presents a fascinating account of the theme touched upon in the first part of this introduction: that mediaeval features exist in an early modern context, but in residual forms that were devoid of sense or inscribed with new meanings. Pietrini traces the sometimes mysterious origins of these features, still visible in Tristano Martinelli's 1601 book *Compositions de Rhétorique de Monsieur Don Arlequin*, but originating in a tradition which is in fact medieval and in which the iconographic elements connected with the Harlequin figure carry meanings that were about to become lost, including those of sinful folly and the demonic. Martinelli captures the Harlequin in a moment of

transition and also inscribes the figure with meanings both old and new, martial and parodic, direct and ironic, after which it was destined to experience "a gradual loss of this charming heritage and display of signs," to become "the well-known domesticated figure wearing a *patchwork of devised pieces* and devoting himself more and more to courtly activities such as wooing," according to Pietrini.

This special issue then circles back to where it began, with an article focused on architecture – what it represents as well as what it was deemed it ought to represent, specifically in the print medium. Ayşegül Yayla's "Representations of Architecture in Lucas van Leyden's Prints" debates whether Van Leyden was a medieval artist, a Renaissance artist or both of the above. Van Leyden's prints are salient examples of works than contain clear uses of both Middle Age and Early Modern devices. The spatial perspectives and general layouts of Van Leyden's images are clearly inspired by Italian art (and his contact with Albrecht Dürer), but the clustering of crowds, the depicted architecture, and the use of ornament all point back to a medieval type of iconography.

This final article also addresses something which most of the articles in this issue have in common: a connection with print culture. Yayla believes Van Leyden got his Renaissance influence from prints. John Bulwer does not merely describe how gestures of the hand work: he shows it as well, as do Refskou and Thomasen in their article. The idea of man as microcosm, just to mention one out of many concepts outlined in Wagner's article, is most powerfully expressed in visual terms, in engravings that carry fascinating, half-forgotten magical and astrological significances. The history of the Hellequin/Harlequin can now more easily be

traced in manuscripts and engravings than in any verbal history. And I am sure that whoever thought of drawing parallels between playhouses and anatomical theatres, as described in Moseley's article, had seen prints, drawings and descriptions of such buildings on parchment or on paper rather than in the life; on this we can only speculate, but ultimately, there can be little doubt that visual materials would have been fairly easily accessible and increasingly popular. This in itself is as good a reason as any to study the form.

What's in a name?

James Burbage and his Playhouse

C. W. R. D. Moseley

When the joiner James Burbage, borrowing 1000 marks from his brother in law John Brayne the grocer, built a new playhouse in Shoreditch in 1576, why did they decide to call it "The Theatre" (note, by the way, the definite article)? When the Burbages, desperate to generate some income, were nearly bankrupt after the debacle when the NIMBYs stopped them using the expensively-converted frater at Blackfriars, they rebuilt the frame of The Theatre on the South Bank. Why did they then call it "The Globe"? Other theatre names hang over from inns – Red Bull, Rose, Hope, Swan, Belle Savage and, later, from former use, the Cockpit. Even in 1577 the next purpose-built theatre, 200 yards away, built (as was The Theatre) by the young carpenter Peter Street, was called the Curtain because it was near a plot of land called Curtain Close. "The Theatre" is clearly the odd one out,[1] and it is difficult to think what sort of sign the place might have been given.[2]

What did that word "theatre" advertise, and what expectations did it arouse in 1576? As Lois Potter remarks, "the Greek-derived name would have been exotic".[3] It is clearly so regarded by, for example, John Stockwood, in his contemptuous remark in a sermon on St Bartholomew's Day, 1578, about "The gorgeous Playing place erected in the fieldes… as they please to haue it called, a Theatre." One can hear the intonation. According to *OED*, the word is first recorded in Chaucer's translation of

Boethius. The 1382 *Bible (Wycliffite E.V.)* Acts xix. 29, describing the riot in the theatre in Ephesus, has to *gloss* the word – which clearly therefore was not in common use – as "comune biholdyng place" – not a bad translation of the Greek word, as it happens. Lydgate (*Troy Book*, iii. 5442) does suggest a connection with acting, "In compleynynge, pitously in rage, In þe theatre, with a ded visage," but in 1541 Thomas Elyot (*Image of Gouernance,* 1540, xxii. f. 42), "Many wolde resorte to the common houses callyd *Theatres*, and purposyng some matter of philosophye, wolde there dyspute openly." This suggests the word is still not a familiar English one. In 1591 Spenser in *The Ruines of Time* [in *Complaints* 92] links "goodly theaters" with "High towers, faire temples" – the public buildings at the heart of a city, as does Vitruvius:[4] but he is referring to the ruins of Rome. There are very few examples in *OED* of the word's use much before, well, the building of The Theatre; then it becomes almost immediately much commoner both as proper name and, increasingly, in our sense (see information panel). There is, however, an intriguing use in 1581, in *Conference about the next Succession* (1584) ii. sig. K iv, "They are set before all mens eyes, and in the middest of the *Theatre of the whole world*" (my emphasis)*.*

For, by contrast, in Latin, the word is common, especially in the conceit of the *Theatrum Mundi,* whether or not in exactly those

words.[5] John of Salisbury has been credited (*Policraticus*, 1159) with first using the phrase (remarking that since all men are actors, there must be spectators to watch and judge them).[6] But the metaphor can have two significances: first, it may divide a world of appearances, that of ordinary experience, from the true reality. Second, it can stress the essential hypocrisy and falseness of human behaviour rather than the possibility of clearer perception of true being. To put it perhaps too sharply, it can be either a showing and seeing place or a showing off and being seen place.   And neither sense need preclude the other. In 1559 Calvin uses the word to describe the world, this "magnificent theatre of heaven and earth" as the manifestation to human sense of the spectacle of God's glory, almost as Augustine would have understood it.[7] Yet in I Corinthians 4.9 St Paul says that Christians, "fools for Christ's sake," are performing a *spectaculum* before the whole universe. Thus the idea of *theatrum* is intimately connected with "seeing" – its Greek root sense – as "knowing," but also with ideas of performance and pretence, and, of course, one person can do both, even at the same time. Thus the metaphor of the *theatrum mundi,* if taken seriously, both shows *to* the audience *and* challenges them as themselves performers. Its implications are thus inescapably moral and epistemological.

A trawl through the British Library catalogues throws up a few books with the word in their title, mainly German or Dutch printings – I would not, mark you, underestimate the links

Early instances of "theatre" in *OED*

?1577   "Those places…whiche are made vppe and builded for suche Playes and Enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtaine is." J. Northbrooke, *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi: Treat. Dicing* (59).

1578   "If you resorte to the Theatre, the Curtayne, and other places of Playes in the Citie." J. Stockwood, *Serm. Barthelmew Day* (24).

1578   "The gorgeous Playing place erected in the fieldes..as they please to haue it called, a Theatre." J. Stockwood, *Serm. Barthelmew Day* (134).

1597   "As in a Theater the eies of men, After a well-graced Actor leaues the stage, Are ydly bent on him that enters next." William Shakespeare, *Richard II* (5.2.23)

1587   "It was found better for them by the aduise of the prince of Orange..to tarie for his highnesse vpon a theater which was prepared for him." A. Fleming et al. *Holinshed's Chron.* (new ed.) III. Contin. 1334/1.

1581   "They..are set before all mens eyes, and in the middest of the Theatre of the whole world ..." in *Confer.* (1584) ii. sig. K iv.

1589   "A theater, or scaffold whereon musitions, singers, or such like shew their cunning, *orchestra*." J. Rider *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (1484).

with Holland or the Dutch language in late mediaeval and early modern London. There is a bit of a flurry in the 1560s and 70s of such books, mostly all moral, or moralising. From Basel in 1565 is Lycosthene's *Theatrum uitæ humanæ ... à Conrado Lycosthene ... iampridem inchoatum: nunc uerò Theodori Zuinggeri ... opera, studio & labore ... deductum* (Bynneman), and Day printed a French version in London in 1568. A frequently re-issued offering is Pierre Boaistuau's *Theatrum mundi the theatre or rule of the world, wherein may be sene* [NB] *the running race and course of euerye mans life, as touching miserie and felicity, wherin be contained wonderfull examples, learned deuises, to the ouerthrowe of vice, and exalting of vertue. wherevnto is added a learned, and maruellous worke of the excellencie of mankinde. Written in the Frenche & Latin tongues by Peter Boaystuau, and translated into English by Iohn Alday* (1566; several editions in Latin and English). Jan van der Noot's Antwerp 1568 volume *Het Theatre oft Too-neel*, was Englished (partly by Spenser) in 1569 as *A Theatre for Worldlings.*

In France the word had already been associated in 1536 by Guillaume de La Perrière with the complex moral and didactic form of the emblem, a hybrid of words and picture: *Le Theatre des Bons Engins, auquel sont contenuz cent Emblemes.* (Lyons? 1536) and this work was translated in 1593 (second edition 1614) by Thomas Combe, who as it happens may well have come from Stratford, and it was certainly printed by a Stratford man, Richard Field, who

Figure 1 The Anatomy Theatre, Padua.

printed a lot of the books we know Shakespeare used as well as his own *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Emblems are not simply a quaint small form of negligible importance: in their time, in their complex allusiveness and ambiguity of relationship between words and picture, they were aggressively topical, analytical and coded utterances. Moreover, visual symbol was the usual Renaissance way of conceptualizing abstraction, and this I do not think irrelevant to how drama was experienced. But: the point is that these titles almost without exception signal a moral purpose.

Where else might the more learned of the building's first customers have encountered it? With the exception of Ortelius' atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,* (1570, 1573), the other uses of the word in titles are mainly in medical books – and very soon, medical education. For example:
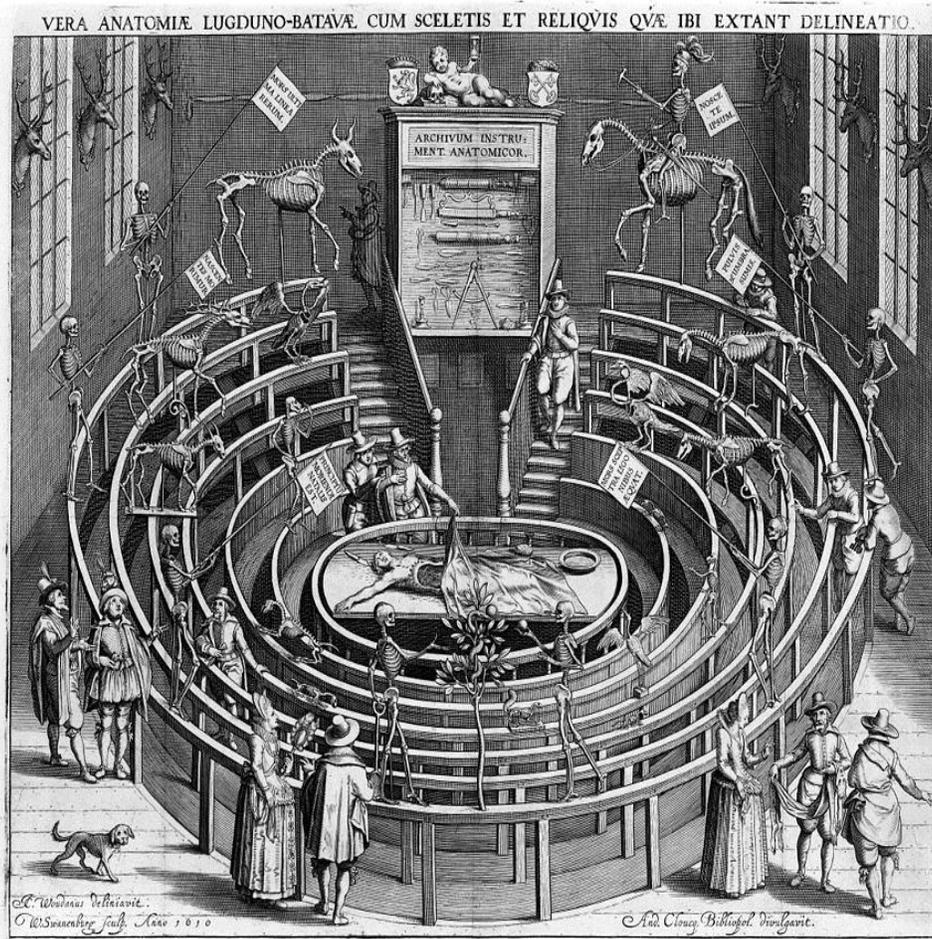
Figure 2 The anatomy theatre at Leiden. Wikimedia Commons.

Theatrum Galeni, hoc est, universæ medicinæ a ... Galeno diffuse sparsimque traditæ Promptuarium quo vel indicis loco in omnes Galeni libros [of the Basle edition, 1562]*, vel locorum communium instar in re medica: lector ... utetur. A. Mundellæ ... studio & labore ... conditum, & nunc demum editum.* And it is precisely at this time that anatomy theatres, seeing or demonstration places, as the Greek *Θηάτρον* suggests, begin to be built. The permanent anatomical theatre of the University of Salamanca was the first in Spain and perhaps in Europe, since it was ordered to be built in June 1552 and was finished in May 1554, but so far as I know no record exists of what it looked like, though we do know what it was made of and what the materials cost. The one in Padua, in the Palazzo Bo, however, may give us a clue (Figure 1).

It was built in 1594, nearly a hundred years after Alessandro Benedetti published his *De Anatomia* where he described a theatre that could be dismantled and reassembled,[8] to be used for autopsies, and almost 50 years after Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*.[9] It is an

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elliptical, upside-down cone with six concentric tiers – i.e. seven viewing spaces – with carved wood balustrades. Of the students who came here and returned home with knowledge of the new methods of dissection, two also set up anatomy theatres based directly on the Paduan model, Peter Paaw in the Theatrum Anatomicum in Leiden in 1594 (Figure 2), and Thomas Bartholin (1616 - 1680) in Copenhagen in 1643. Inigo Jones in England also designed an anatomy theatre.[10]

It is interesting that both Padua and Leiden have seven concentric ranks round the little world of man, made cunningly of elements which are being dissected. The spectators become in a (to us) macabre sense analogous to the watching planets circling the world, "judicious sharp spectators" of what is "act[ed] amiss".[11] There is evidence that the spectators at this hugely popular new activity were surrounded in their ranked places by the skeletal remains of previous dissections: *memento mori*. (Leiden even looks not unlike our usual mental picture of, well, the Theatre and The Globe.)

What these have in common is the idea of seeing, of something demonstrated, analysed, and inescapably moralized. Even Ortelius' *Theatrum* is less an atlas in our sense of the word than an analysis of the physical shape of the known world, and the physical world was full of hidden symbolic and moral meaning. Alan of Lille in the twelfth century succinctly summarized an attitude to the world perceived by the senses which Shakespeare and his contemporaries would have recognized.[12] Bohuslaus Balbinus in *Verisimilia humaniorum*

disciplinarum (Prague, 1666), remarked that there was nothing in the world that was not pregnant with hidden and complex meaning and could not become an emblem.

So, to choose as a name a word that was pretty new in English, so far out of the ordinary it might even needs glossing, and that carried a lot of baggage in Latin, seems to me a major declaration of policy. It is deliberately rather upmarket, and alters the vocabulary. When people talk of what we would call "theatre" in Elizabethan London they use term like "playgoing," "playhouses," "playing," and "Theatre" is not yet connected in common speech with that activity. But "theatre" by 1577 already seems to carry its analytical, even anatomizing,[13] overtones. Seeing is knowing – perhaps. (The word "anatomy" itself was common enough for Shakespeare to use it in *Comedy of Errors,* and it is used in various but closely related senses in English from 1541.)

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The name's strongly moral, intellectual connotations, and its echo of titles in the fashionable emblem genre, suggest the offering of a complex experience, where seeing and hearing are complementary but not necessarily convergent – the whole point of the visual/verbal emblem is that its meaning cannot be contained in either one of its elements, and they may be in tension: both can be true, even if conflicting. Now, although we rightly remind ourselves that audiences were just that, that they *heard* plays – in a complex mode of
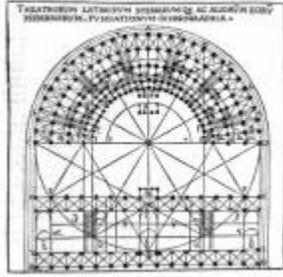
Figure 3 Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture* V,7: a theatre ground plan.

listening we moderns have lost since the brief golden age of what I still call the wireless – and that they were so enjoined to do by for example the Choruses in *Henry V*, they were *also* spectators, and this word had to be invented (*OED*'s first mention is 1586) to cope with the new concept. It is embraced willingly by Shakespeare.[14] In a paper to appear soon in *Cahiers Elizabethains*[15] I discuss how early modern drama employs the emblematic discourse in exploiting the tension between what is seen, performed by the actors in a special building, and what is heard, where the action becomes like the *pictura* of an emblem and the dialogue the *subscriptio*.

The implication of their choice of name is that Burbage and Brayne were claiming the importance and moral seriousness of what they were about to offer.[16] It might suggest that a seeing place does not have solely an *audience,* but "judicious sharp spectators," to use Ralegh's phrase, who are *themselves* actors. It also suggests that, through *fabula*, it will dissect the affairs of men, revealing their dynamics, their interactions, their significances. The name might even be an attempt to woo a certain clientele,

and even perhaps, with its moral overtones, to spike the guns of those hostile to plays.

And when they rebuild across the river, they call it The Globe: Boaistuau's already clichéd conceit, "*Theatrum Mundi,*" makes the name almost inevitable, but it is far from a cliché for a playhouse, and reinforces the claims to moral importance made by the earlier name. "*Totus mundus agit histrionem".* Whether that was actually the motto of the house has been doubted[17] – it certainly was that of Drury Lane after the redecoration of 1696[18]. But let that pass: consider the shape of the building, the "Wooden Nought" – I use E. H. Gombrich's suggested pronunciation.[19] An unusual name is fitting for a wholly unprecedented building in London of a very odd shape – a shape which must have surprised contemporaries. I know enough from experience of working with precut, ready mortised and drilled green oak to know that in that material it is a pretty major decision to build a polygonal rather than a rectangular structure, and it was perhaps quite a challenge to young Peter Street. Excavation[20] corroborated the shape of the Globe – and *ipso facto* The Theatre – in the Hollar Long View, and also supported a remark of Hester Thrale's – whose brewer husband bought the land on which it had stood – about "the curious remains of the old Globe Playhouse, which though hexagonal in form without was round within" (Chambers 2.428). Circular within: in *The Theatre of the World* (1969), Frances Yates connected this shape with Vitruvius' plans for Roman, theatres (Figure 3).

I can think of no major building of that shape before in England. The Theatre/Globe,

accommodating between 2500 and 3000 people, was one of the biggest and most visible buildings in London. One might ask, given that texts of Vitruvius were available[21] – there was a copy in John Dee's library, for example – why, if you are building a theatre, something brand new in England, and you know your classics, as it is a fair guess Burbage did, you do not go straight to the Vitruvian pattern, which saves a lot of design time. Not to do so may have been a choice based as much on what the building was meant to say or signify as on the need to enclose a space so that nobody could melt away from an approaching box, or to remind people of the pageant carts which were in the experience of the actors as well as punters.[22]

Pragmatically, one could argue that the shape, polygonal on the outside and more or less round on the inside, suggests Burbage could have been trying to approach the acoustical ideal recommended by Vitruvius. For every seat was almost equidistant from the stage. Thus – as noted by Vitruvius, who was perfectly aware of the physics of sound – rising and expanding sound waves produced by musical instruments and actors' voices, amplified by the particular shape of the surrounding structure, could be heard equally clearly and distinctly in all sections of the auditorium. Also, the building was wood, which vibrates with sound and resonates so that the whole structure would function like a large musical instrument. But while that is true it is very tempting to suggest that the shape was also importantly symbolic: outside, a polygon's relation to a circle – and the later Rose with its 16 sides takes the idea much further – raises all sort of metaphysical issues,

not least the relation between the square and the circle which is expressed by Π.[23] Such mathematical symbolism is commonplace in artistic contexts: Robin Headlam Wells notes how lute roses are also often circles circumscribing polygons and act as reminders of the *musica mundi* the *musica instrumentalis* momentarily recaptures.[24] Among other things, societies use spatial and temporal structures and relationships to comprehend, shape, their world. These can be both physical – measurable, observable – as well as mental, relying on fictional and/or metaphysical assumptions. If Burbage intended to play this metaphorical card, we ought to expect a building that would be a model of the Great Globe itself, and we ought to expect spatial and vertical symmetries and symbols. Which we do seem to get.

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In conclusion, two ideas. What would The Theatre, or The Globe, have said to a well-travelled man, who had been to see the sights of Padua or (perhaps easier to get a Privy Council licence?) Leyden, in the 1590s? Second, what was it like to play in The Theatre or The Globe? Which is the actor, which the spectator? The implication of the audience in the transaction with the actors self-declaredly performing a potentially moral *fabula* forces the question of how plays were *watched.* The inheritance of mediaeval drama, which Helen Cooper and others have demonstrated, can't simply have been shorn of the ritual baggage it carried with it. If we may posit the Elizabethan audience's

complicit intimacy with the performance, that takes us straight back to the semiotics of (especially) the mystery dramas, which after all did form the theatrical language of Shakespeare's generation. There the represented action is both distinct, in putative time, from the present actuality and yet is operating in and through it. The audience is no longer simply that, but is involved in the consequences of the action, is challenged by that action, and sees itself and its fate in that action. An audience becomes a crowd on Calvary in an eternal Present. Such drama provided a ritual space where a community could explore its identity. But while the cycle drama in the main took place at an acknowledged season of the ritual year, here that ritual time is replaced by a permanent ritual space, with its own complex symbolism. Hearing/seeing is a willed act, in real time, and it is *complementary* to acting. Jonson in his preface to the printed text of *Hymenaei* is admittedly talking about masque, but he does stress the subliminal effects of participation in performance and watching performance – and moral change as a result of it, when minds are "taken with more removed mysteries".[25]

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[1] Though it might have started a small fashion. In 1599 Philip Henslowe engaged for a playhouse in direct competition to that of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, and it was called the Fortune

[2] We know that the other slightly later playhouses had signs. Johannes de Witt noted in 1596 that the two 'more magnificent' of the four theatres he saw 'from the signs suspended before them are called the Rose and the Swan'.

[3] Lois Potter, *the Life of William Shakespeare: A CriticalBiography,* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012) p.53.

[4] Vitruvius sees the theatre building as a part of the complex of public buildings needed for a functioning community: 'festival of the gods'.

[5] I am indebted to the discussion 'Knowledge and Performance in the Early Modern Theatrum Mundi' by William N. West.

[6] (ed.1848, III..187f.).

[7] Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, transl. John Allen, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Board of Christian Education, 2 vols, 1936): see (Calvin's) Book 1, caps. V and VI, and Book 2, cap.6.

[8] Alan H. Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres: College, University and Town Stages, 1464–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) discusses the temporary theatres that might be erected. The late Professor Iain Wright, who worked on the evidence for the Queens' College theatre, in a private communication to me suggested it could have been used for anatomy demonstrations.

[9] Alison Abbott, 'Hidden treasures: Padua's anatomy theatre', *Nature* 454, 699 (7 August 2008; Published online 6 August 2008)

[10] Christian Billing. 'Modelling the anatomy theatre and the indoor hall theatre: Dissection on the stages of early modern London' *Early Modern Literary Studies* Special Issue 13 (April, 2004): 3.1-17'explores the similarities in design of three 'performance' spaces in early modern London: the indoor hall playhouse, the anatomy theatre, and the cockfighting ring. Inigo Jones designed an anatomy theatre but also built Christopher Beeston's Phoenix playhouse on the foundations of a cockfighting ring to which contemporary regulations prevented substantial alteration. Billing argues that the tragedies of John Ford reflect the performance space anticipated and images of anatomizing are common.

[11] Ralegh's poem 'What is our life?' plays the theatre metaphor for all it is worth

[12] *Omnis mundi creatura/ Quasi liber et pictura/Nobis est et speculum;/Nostri mundi, nostrae mortis,/ Nostri status, nostrae sortis, Fidele signaculum.* In Migne, *Patrologia Latina* vol. CCX, col. 579: 'Every created thing in the universe is like a book or a picture, or mirror, to us. It is a faithful sign of our world, our death, our state, our fate.'

[13]E.g. R. Copland, *Guy de Chaulac's Questionary Cyrurgyens* II,. sig. Biij^v, "Anathomy is called ryght dyuysyon of membres done for certayne knowleges". (quoted as *OED*'s example) The word "anatomy" itself was common enough for Shakespeare to use it in *Errors,* and it is used in various but closely related senses in English from Copland onwards.

[14] Shakespeare uses the word six times, the earliest being in *R2* and *John*, where in both case it is self referentially metatheatrical and by which time he is over 30 and with a lot of experience in the theatre behind him.

[15] "'Look on this picture, and on this': or 'words,words, words'?"

[16] The fact that the majority of 'Jacobethan' plays were comedies does not weaken this point, for comedies could be serious, analytical, moral as well as funny: just in fact as Jonson claimed. (see Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World*, London,: Arden Shakespeare, 2010, pp171-3). One might compare the moral importance and subtlety of a lot of medieval romances, the descendants of which formed the popular reading material of the Elizabethans.

[17] E.g. by Tiffany Stern, who points out that the evidence or it is rather late. (Tiffany Stem, 'Was *Totus Mundus Agit Histrionern* Ever the Motto of the Globe Theatre?' Theatre Notebook 51, 1997, 122-27.) T.W. Baldwin established, 'Totus Mundus' derives from a different source (John of Salisbury) than 'All the world's a stage with which it is often linked: the latter comes from Palingenius. ((8) Baldwin, I, 652ff.). But: Robert Burton says, 'For now as Salisburionsis said in his time, *totus mundus histrionem agit*, the whole world plaies the foole, we haue a new Theater, a new Sceane, a new comedy of errors, a new company of personat Actors'. This does seem to support Baldwin's view that Burron is recollecting 'a new comedie of errors ... that the motto was connected with the Globe in [Burton's] mind'. (15) The *Comedy of Errors* was not a Globe play. But it may have been revived there, and in any case, readers in 1621 would recall the Globe as the quintessential Shakespearian playhouse

[18] Richard Abrams, 'Oldys, Motteux and 'the Play'rs old motto': the 'Totus Mundus' conundrum revisited.' *Theatre Notebook*, Vol. 61, No. 3, pp.121-76.

[19] E. H. Gombrich, (& response by Humphrey Tonkin) Wooden '0' [Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Prologue, line 13], Times Literary Supplement - Letters, 10 March, 2000

[20] *Current archaeology* 225 (December 5, 2008) records the finding of what was thought to be the foundation of The Theatre, which seemed to suggest an octagonal building. The recent discovery of remains of the Curtain suggest it too was probably polygonal: see Cathy Hilts, "Raising the Curtain: Excavating Shakespeare's lost playhouse" *Current archaeology ,*269 (July 6, 2012).

[21] Editions in BL include: Florence 1513, 1522, Venice and Florence 1496, Venice 1511,

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Argentorati 1543, 1550, 1586, Rome 1486, 1497np, Lyons 1523, 1552, 1560, Perugia 1536, Rome, 1544. Crugher Germanum, 1567.

The Strasbourg 1550,copy is annotated by an anonymous early English reader in a fine italic hand with numerous small drawings (Sold at Sotheby's, London sale, 30 Oct 2007, Lot 3835.)

[22] It will be seen that in claiming the building itself permanently conveyed a subtle meaning to the observant playgoer I differ from Jerzy Limon, 'From Liturgy to the Globe: the Changing Concept of Space', *Shakespeare Survey* 52: *Shakespeare and The Globe.* ed. Stanley Wells. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.), who argues that the Globe says nothing except that 'I am a place where plays are performed: no symbolism, no nothing'. (p.49)… He argues that it is only through a performance that certain structural elements, through a layer of fictionality, come to mean something.

[23] Was the conversion of the frater of Blackfriars, and were the Curtain and the Rose attempts to adapt Roman style for modern audiences? (Orrell, *The Human Stage* pp.119-29, 115, 157-63)

[24]*Elizabethan Mythologies: Studies in Poetry, Drama and Music* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.113-143

[25] As Ben Jonson put it in the preface to *Hymenaei* (1606).

Wheresoever the Body Is
Image, Matter and Corporeality on Shakespeare's Stage

Matthew Wagner

Wheresoever the body is, thether will the Eagles be gathered together
Luke 17:37

This passage from the Gospel of Luke served Bishop William Barlow as his central theme for a sermon delivered in the presence of Queen Elizabeth during Lent, 1601. Contextualized by a recent (and indeed, ongoing) history of vicious debates surrounding the presence or absence of the body of Christ in the sacrament, Barlow's sermon did not actually take the Eucharist as its subject, at least not directly so. In fact, he steers somewhat clear of the kind of explicit engagement with the topic that wreaked such havoc for his (near-) contemporaries, such as Thomas Cranmer. Instead, he offers a perspective on Christ's love for humanity that is heavily corporealized, delivering a sermon that insisted on a *kind* of material presence that sat somewhere between the literal and the metaphorical. And that 'kind' of materiality was focused on, and derived from, the body.

Barlow's source – and indeed, the body-centred perspective it underscores – might also do apt service as an epigraph for the tenor of Shakespeare Studies in the past three decades, which have seen, as Keir Elam noted as early as 1996, a "corporeal turn" (142). Elam marked even then a "shift from a primary concern with 'language' to a primary concern with the body" (142-143). One might readily argue that such a concern has been adequately addressed, and then some: the scholarship that has tracked – and enacted – that shift has subjected the "Shakespearean body" to an expansive litany of critical treatments and tortures.[1] Even a cursory look at some of the scholarship of the past few decades on Shakespeare and the body suggests a rather diverse range of interests and approaches. To paraphrase a quip by Elam, the body has been counted as tremulous, single-sexed, double-natured, enclosed, intestinal, consumed, carnivalized, effeminized, embarrassed, sodomized, emblazoned or dissected, and disease-ridden (144). Since Elam's work, scholars have further considered the body interiorized (Hillman, 2007 and Schoenfeldt, 1999), gendered (Rutter, 2001), fragmented (Owens, 2005), temporal (Siemon, 2001), and indeterminate (Sanders, 2006).[2] A common, if elementary, linkage amongst these perceptions of corporeality is that the body is first and foremost a *thing*: the actor's body was, in Elam's words, possessed of "an irreducible and unrationalizable materiality" (143).[3] I would add to his adjectives "irrefutable" (and not merely for the alliterative pleasure afforded). Another common linkage is that each of these perspectives seems to assume this elementary issue of corporeal materiality without engaging in a detailed analysis of such materiality in and of itself.[4]

Hence, quite apart from relenting, I propose here to poke and probe at the matter a little further. My primary concern is figured in the terminology I employed above: "the body," "primary," and "matter". In short, my question is: what, primarily, is the body on (Shakespeare's) stage? And my short answer, which requires

explication in the following pages, is that the body is primarily matter, and, moreover, it is primary matter. Put another way, my argument is that a consideration of the body as matter opens up some intriguing insights about the function of the actor on Shakespeare's stage.

The first of these insights is somewhat counter-intuitive, and in fact may appear as self-contradictory: early modern corporeality must be understood in terms of a matter-form continuum, wherein matter and form are distinct and relational to one another, but also mutually affecting.

From such an understanding arise three theses about the role of the body in Shakespearean stage craft: 1) the body is microcosmic, containing within itself the vastness of everything outside of its own fleshy confines; 2) the theatrical corpus is a *primary* instance of materiality, and by primary I mean both first and most important, but also immediate and generative; 3) due to its primary and unique materiality, the body on stage is transformative, both of itself and of its surroundings. Finally, I suggest in this article that two related tropes from early modern England, along with a selection of their visual representations, form a constructive paradigm in which to explore the question of the material Shakespearean body; these tropes are the alchemical notion of *prima materia* and the alchemical/cosmographical notion of the microcosm, and specifically of "man" as microcosm.

The Eagle and the Body

One of the very telling elements of Bishop Barlow's sermon is the way in which it highlights the subtle interplay between materiality and metaphor at work in early modern England,

particularly with respect to the body. He begins by articulating a highly metaphorical reading of the lines from Luke. We might, he suggests, be tempted to interpret the Gospel's use of the term "body" in a number of contemporary, figurative ways: "the body" could be read as the English Court (a body dangerously ripe for ravaging), the Anglican Church (a body already over-ravaged), the courts of law, and even the Vatican – that *corpus Catholicum* that tempts sinful feasting upon "immunities to warrant sin, indulgences to remit sin, jubilees for liberty" (Barlow 4), and a host of other unwholesome and sickly morsels. But Barlow dismisses such figurative readings of Luke's use of "the body" fairly quickly, suggesting that these interpretations are only rhetorically and superficially pleasing, if at all.

A more serious reading, he proposes, is one which understands Luke's use of "the body" as a materialization of the love of Christ, nourishing humanity. His summative explication of Luke's line of verse is this: "the body is Christ, and he crucified; the eagles the elect, and they sanctified; their flocking, their affection, and that eagerly sharpened; the place, His residence, and that unlimited" (7). All abstractions are cast in a material, corporeal form, and that corporeality is insisted upon. Christ's love is real and tangible, as are the qualities that reside(d) within His physical body, and this is why the eagles flock to it and feed upon it:

> *Christ* being the very *Body* and substance of those graces and vertues, which in the saints of God are but accidental qualities: for in Him *dwelleth the FULNES of the God-Head BODILY*, and *from that FULNES we all have received grace for grace*. (9)

The body of Barlow's focus is of course different from the theatrical body; the Bishop's discourse concerns divinity, not stage craft. But the principles underscoring his depiction of corporeality are not at all dissimilar from those I will propose here for the actor's body on Shakespeare's stage. The theatrical *corpus* is a *primary* instance of materiality, and by primary I mean both first and most important, but also immediate and generative; it is, moreover, transformative, both of itself and of its surroundings; and it is, lastly, microcosmic, containing within itself, in Queen Gertrude's phrase, "all that is" – the vastness of everything outside of its own fleshy confines.

We are, however, faced with an immediate complication as soon as we say that the body is matter: as the work of Butler, and even Maus, demonstrates, the body cannot easily be thought of a *solely* or *simply* matter.[5] Such writers have convincingly demonstrated that the body has its own kind of subjectivity, and that any suggestion that the body merely *houses* consciousness, soul, spirit would be a gross oversimplification. Moreover, especially from an early modern perspective, matter itself had a very complex relationship to form, soul, spirit. In talking of the body-as-matter, then, my goal is not to strictly and surgically separate matter from form, body from mind, unthinking corporeal object from perceiving subjective consciousness; rather, by calling the body "matter," I want to place the acting body in a similar order of complex relationships to form, subjectivity, and spirit; indeed, this is precisely where the tropes of the microcosm and *prima materia* come into play, and Prince Hamlet offers us an excellent introduction to both.

This Quintessence of Dust

In the context of denigrating the literally mundane, earthly aspects of life, Hamlet famously calls the body a "quintessence of dust" (II.ii.274). His use of the phrase may, on the surface, be dismissive ("And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? Man delights not me"), but, as a number of editors have pointed out, the phrase bears alchemical and cosmographical significance as well, particularly in the use of the word "quintessence". The body is nothing but dust – base matter, not worthy of anything – but it is also composed of the same stuff as the heavens; this is what the word quintessence refers to, as Thomson and Taylor suggest in the Arden edition of the play: "quintessence means 'concentration', literally, the 'fifth essence', the substance of which heavenly bodies were thought to be composed, and which, according to alchemy, could be extracted from earthly elements by a process of distillation". (257 fn274). Here is the body understood very pointedly as "just matter" – a temporary concentration of particles of dust – but simultaneously positioned as heavenly, as extra-mundane. In four words, Hamlet offers up the heart of alchemical thinking, and, without using the actual phrase, brings into play the concept of *prima materia:* the more common term for "quintessence".

Prima materia (sometimes "Materia Prima") literally translates to "first matter," but the concept actually was considerably more fluid and indeterminate, while remaining central to the alchemical process and philosophy. As "first matter," *prima materia* is irreducible and also generative – it is that to which base matter could be reduced, and from which higher matter could be crafted. In the simplest of terms, it was the necessary ingredient for the alchemical crafting

of the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life (or, depending on one's source of information, it was the elixir of life itself). Such is the materiality of the Shakespearean body: it is a "first matter" which forms the basis and example for all other material presence in the (largely imaginative or immaterial) stage world of the play.[6] And as we shall see shortly, equating the human body with *prima material* is not merely a fanciful comparison; by many accounts, *prima materia* was directly aligned with human corporeality.

That said, *prima materia,* like most things alchemical, is a notoriously difficult notion to pin down. And my gloss on the term here – which highlights the literal denotation of "the first matter," and underscores the sense matter out of which other matter develops – is not precisely what the 16th and 17th century alchemists meant by the term. Indeed, from the early modern perspective, it would be a mistake to speak of a precise meaning for the phrase at all. Martin Ruland's 1612 *Lexicon Alchemiae*, for example, identifies the *Materia Prima* with fifty wildly divergent things, ranging from "Lead" to "Honey", from "Shade" to "Dung", from "Sulphur of Nature" to "the Soul and Heaven of the elements" (220-222). Ruland, in fact, explicitly acknowledges the undefinable nature of the *Materia Prima*:

> The philosophers have so greatly admired the Creature of God which is called the Primal Matter, especially concerning its efficacy and mystery, that they have given to it many names, and almost every possible description, for they have not known how to sufficiently praise it. (220)

Ruland's list and description are notable for a few reasons: first, his list contains both items that we would think of as the epitome of earthly matter (lead or dung) as well as "items" that might epitomize all that is non-earthly, above the realm of mortality (the soul of heaven and the elements). Secondly, the indeterminacy of *prima materia* is highly significant, in that it accounts for the malleable and transformational qualities of this "first matter": *prima materia* is always in flux, and as such, might become anything. Moreover, it might facilitate *other* matter to become something else. *Prima materia*, in this respect, is matter that is transformational and generative, capable of altering itself or the material reality around it. And here we begin to see why the concept offers a useful lens for, and has a direct link to, the theatre and the actor's body in particular: a body which perhaps more so than any other kind of body or matter transforms both itself and its surroundings. To see the body in the framework of *prima materia* is to understand it as a very specific kind of matter – not simple, dead earth as it were, not mere dust, but a *quintessence* of dust. It is a concentration of the elements of the cosmos. And on stage, this quintessence of dust, this body-as-matter, is capable of transforming itself, and its surroundings, and of calling forth other material presences. This kind of material body "lends" its materiality to the stage, thereby allowing all the immaterialities – spirits, abstractions, and otherwise "absent" ideas or concerns – that the stage so regularly "bodied forth" to be materially present.[7]

Homo Microcosmos

The third way in which Martin Ruland's description of *prima materia* is instructive is the fact that he aligns *prima materia* with the notion of the microcosm. The first and the fiftieth of his list of names for this first matter are the same: he calls the *Materia Prima* a "Microcosmos," saying
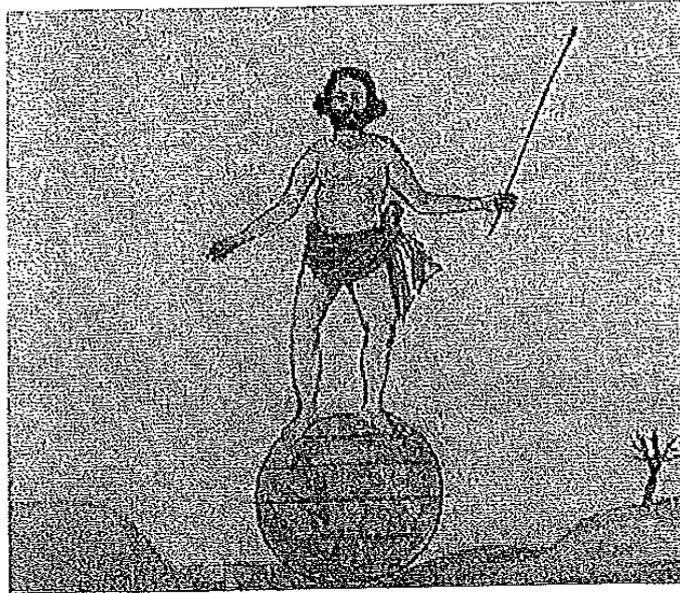
Figure 1
Henry Peacham, "Man the Microcosm," c. 1610. In Alan Young, *Henry Peacham's Manuscript Emblem Books*. University of Toronto Press, 1998.

first that "1. [the philosophers] originally call[ed] it Microcosmos, a small world, wherein heaven, earth, fire, water, and all elements exist, also birth, sickness, death, and dissolution, the creation, resurrection, etc." (220). His list then ends where it began: "50. Microcosmos – because it is a likeness of the great world, through heaven, the sea, and all the elements" (223).

So, alchemically, *prima materia* is defined (in part) as a microcosm; and it will probably be no great revelation to say that early modern cosmography frequently thought in terms of macrocosm and microcosm, and that both the theatre itself and the human body figured prominently in this thinking: both stage and *corpus* were microcosmic versions of the whole of existence.[8] Shakespeare provides some obvious theatrical examples with respect to seeing the body as the world: the "finding out of countries" on the body of Nell the kitchen maid in *Comedy of Errors*, for instance (III.ii.113-137), or

"Sweet Jack Falstaff" counting himself as all the world ("Banish plump Jack, and banish all the world" (II.v.438)). If the former example is somewhat light and literal, the latter carries its sense of the body as the whole world throughout much of the play. Jack Falstaff is, of course, a bit of everything, larger than life, and unable to be contained by it; and his own quip about being "all the world" is echoed, somewhat more crudely, by Bardolph later: "Why you are so fat, Sir John, that you must needs be out of all compass, out of all reasonable compass, Sir John" (III.iii18-19).

Beyond the stage, we certainly find this microcosmic perspective prevalent in the visual culture of the day. Two strong examples exist in the work of the popular emblematist, Henry Peacham (Figures 1 and 2); the first dates from
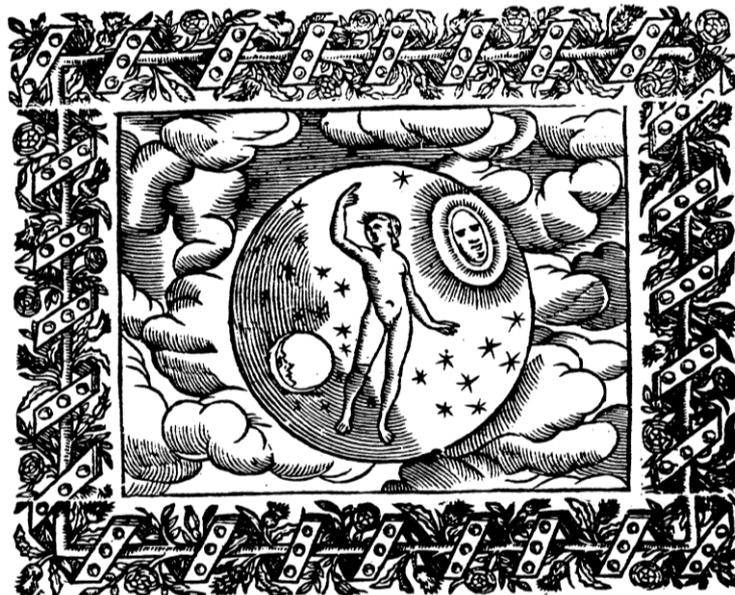
HEARE what's the reaſon why a man we call
A little world ? and what the wiſer ment
By this new name ? two lights Cœleſtiall
Are in his head , as in the Element :
Eke as the wearied Sunne at night is ſpent ,
    So ſeemeth but the life of man a day ,
    At morne hee's borne , at night he flits away .

Of heate and cold as is the Aire compoſed ,
So likewiſe man we ſee breath's whot and cold ,
His bodie's earthy : in his lunges incloſed ,
Remaines the Aire : his braine doth moiſture hold ,
His heart and liver , doe the heate infold :
    Of Earth , Fire , Water , Man thus framed is ,
    Of Elements the threefold Qualities .

Figure 2
Henry Peacham *Homo Microcosmus*. *Minerva Britanna*, London 1612.

around 1610, and is in an unpublished manuscript, edited here by Alan Young, that predates Peacham's more widely known *Minerva Britanna* of 1612, the source of the second image. Both depict "man" as a microcosm, but in clearly divergent fashions.

In the earlier of the two emblems (Figure 1), we see a pseudo-realistic depiction of a human being; clearly, the epigram identifies this figure as "man, the microcosm," but visually, it is the position of the body both on and in the world that seems significant. The physical being is at once that which exists, here before us, in cohesive and tangible fashion, but also that which is beyond us, straddling the world, and with the power (as indicated by the wand and the reference to the

Figure 3
Leonard Digges, *A Prognostication Everlasting* (Frontispiece). London 1576.

"divine sparks") to both affect and supersede the world.[9] The human form here is the manifestation of *all that is.* In the second, slightly later emblem, the human form is less realistically (and more allegorically) rendered. It shares a sphere of existence with celestial bodies, and, as the verse indicates, it also materially echoes those celestial bodies, with "two lights Celestailll […] in his head" (Peacham 1612, 190), and so on. The verse attributes the things of heaven to the physical form of "man," very notably focusing on the material form of the body – eyes, breath, lungs, brain, the humoral governance of physicality, and even the span of mortal life itself. In so doing, the emblem inscribes the heavens onto the body; but clearly, the inverse is also true here – the body is literally inscribed onto the world, just as the sun and moon are. The conjoined presence of the sun and moon, moreover, is the "simplest cryptogram for representing time in the abstract," as S.K. Heninger puts it (3).[10] The physical form of the human being is at once *in* the cosmos, of the cosmos, and manifesting the cosmos, including those aspects of creation, like time, that might
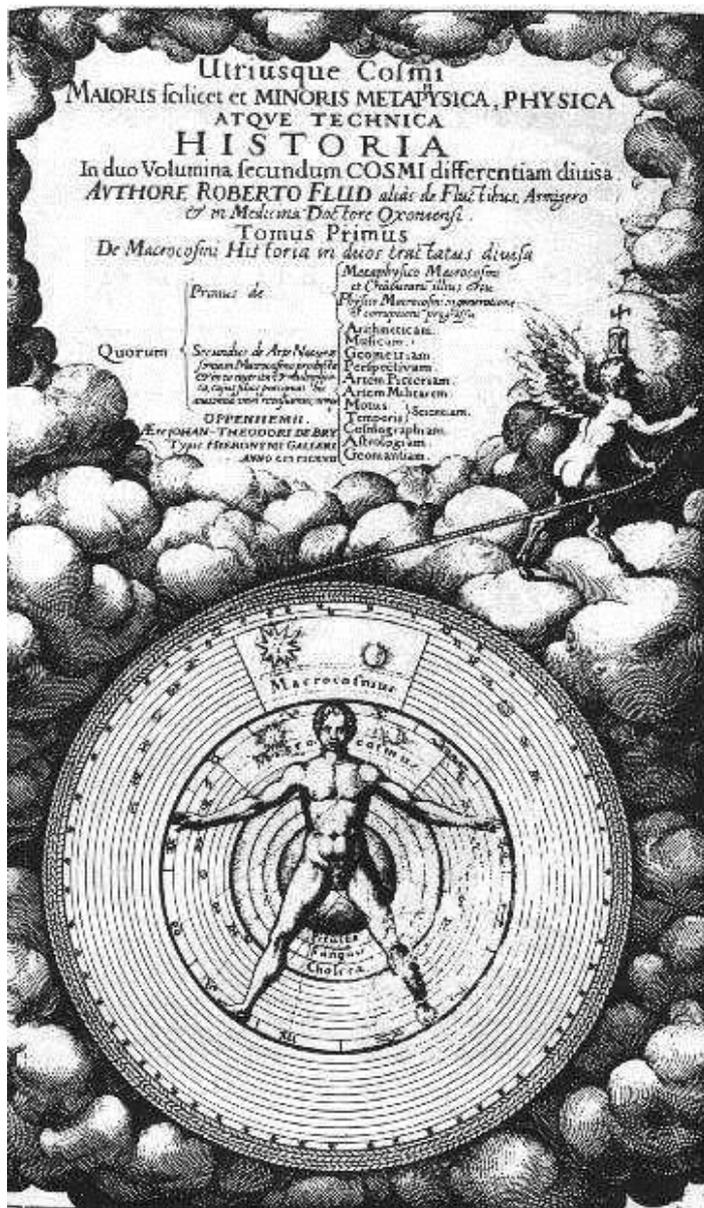
Figure 4
Robert Fludd, *Utriusque … Cosmi Historia*
(Frontispiece). Oppenheim, 1617.

otherwise seem resolutely immaterial and un-manifestable.

Peacham's second emblem dovetails nicely with a very common visual depiction of the body (of which the next image is representative), which saw the cosmos mapped onto the human form by way of assigning zodiacal signs to different parts of the body (Figure 3).

Again, it is no new news that a prevalent early modern view of medicine figured the body as governed (at least in part) by astrology; what is germane here is that such a view partakes heavily in the microcosm-macrocosm picture of the universe that counted the body as the materially present form of the intangible, immaterial realities of existence. In Peacham's *Homo Microcosmos*, the body is part and parcel of the cosmos; in Digges' frontispiece (and in the variety of other images like it), the cosmos is part and parcel of the body. The distant and abstract attributes of the planets and stars found very real and material expression in the workings of the body.[11] What was true of astrological abstractions was also true theologically; in 1576, John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter, penned *A New Anatomie of Whole man, as well of his body, as of his Soule*. In his Epistle Dedicatory, Woolton insists on the study of anatomy as a key to understanding the whole man, particularly as "the inspection of Anatomie [...] deduceth the creature, to some knowledge of his Creator" (2). Where it was conventional, of course, to attribute the divine portion of humanity to the soul, we also find those sparks of divinity manifest in this "first matter," the body.

This figuring of "man" as microcosm is rendered more complexly, and with greater attention to the materiality of the body, when we return to the milieu of alchemy. Though it post-dates Shakespeare's life, Robert Fludd's 1617
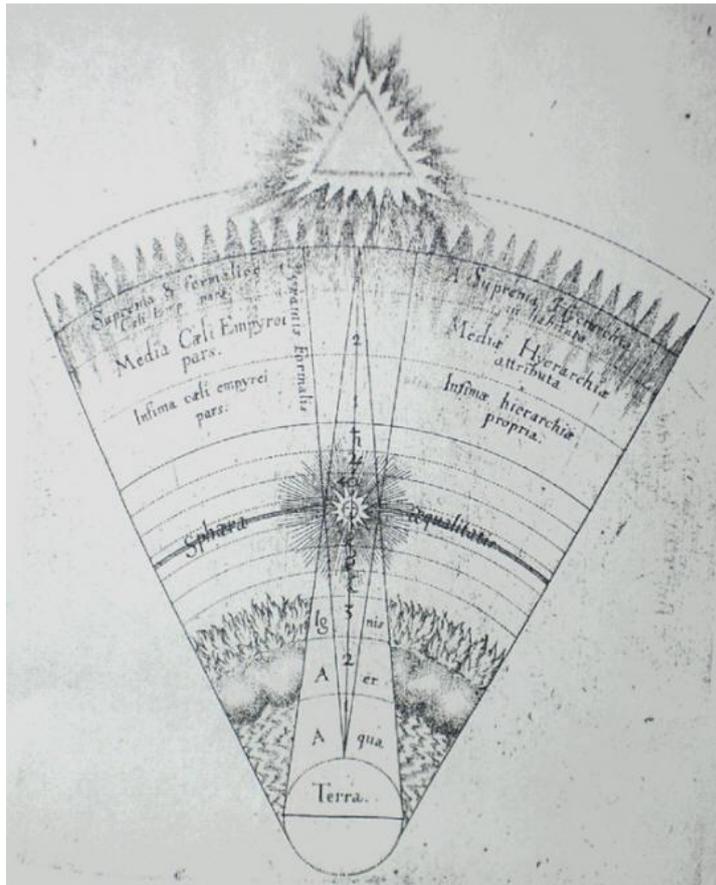
Figure 5
Robert Fludd, "De Musica Mundana". Oppenheim, 1617.

Utriusque … Cosmi Historia has long served as a benchmark of Elizabethan and Jacobean alchemical thinking. The first book of Fludd's volume is dedicated to an explication of the workings of the macrocosm, and the frontispiece signals that (Figure 4). Here is the human body positioned precisely in terms of a microcosmic manifestation of the macrocosm. Again, the zodiac criss-crosses the body, and the central, earthen sphere is surrounded by three spheres of water, air and fire, which correspond to anatomical attributes. That which exists "out there" has a direct and tangible corollary – a material reality – "right here". And the body is, in this figure, clearly the "first matter" – it is primary, central, and the most significant form of matter in this kind of cosmography.

Indeed, as Heninger suggests, this kind of cosmography understood the universe as a continuum of matter and form, to borrow the Platonic terms. He notes that "'Formality' and 'materiality' are different orders of existence" (28), but, crucially, those different orders are overlapping and mutually conversant. Fludd depicted this in a series of diagrams (Figures 5-7) which, especially when taken together, count the human body as a unique kind of matter.[12]

In the first diagram (Figure 5), Fludd crafts a picture of existence that places God at the "formal" end of a spectrum and earth (notably *not* man) at the material end of that spectrum. As formality increases, one gets closer to God, and vice versa. Other regular features of such cosmography are present here: spheres of water,
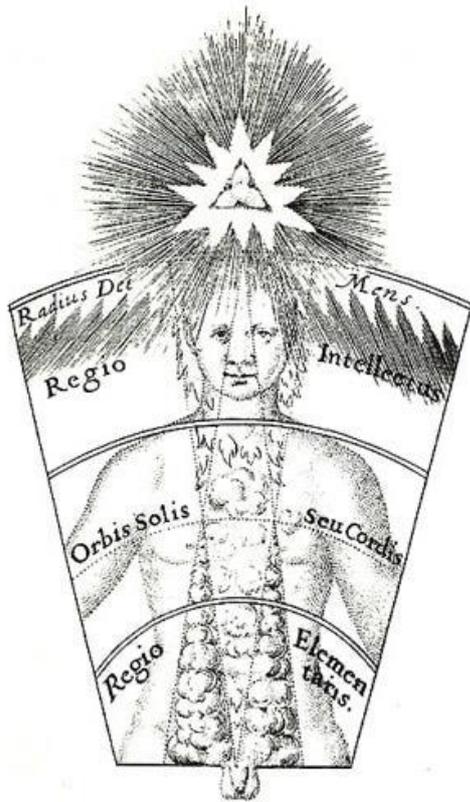
Figure 6
Robert Fludd. Oppenheim, 1617.

air, and fire; zodiacal correspondences; a precise order and structure to the universe. Noteworthy is the sphere of equality, the middle point of the spectrum, where the realms of matter and form are in perfect equilibrium; this is the sphere of the sun. Heninger's explication is this: "Here formality and materiality are in exact balance; the Sun has a component to be perceived by the intellect which is exactly equivalent to its component to be perceived by the senses" (29). The sun is matter and form all at once. Turning to the next two images (Figures 6-7), we see versions of this diagram superimposed onto a human body, and this median sphere of equilibrium, termed now "Orbis Solis" and "Via Solis," becomes the realm of the human heart: the centre and core of a human being and, more precisely, a human body.

Once again, the body is in, around, and representative of the cosmos; and just as the universe has a centre, the sun, that is equal parts matter and form, so the *homo microcosmos* has its corresponding centre, the heart, which similarly presents itself in equal measure to the perception of senses and intellect. It is not hard to imagine that a similar division – separating that which answers to the senses from that which answers to the intellect – is precisely what Hamlet has in mind in his comments about Gertrude's cleft-in-twain heart:

> **QUEEN:** O Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain.
> **HAMLET:** O throw away the worser part of it
> And live the purer with the other half.
> (III.iv.154-156)

The "worser" part, to Hamlet, would surely be that which corresponds to matter, and responds to the material world of flesh: a heart (or portion thereof) that resides "in the rank sweat of an enseaméd bed, / Stewed in corruption", or one that can be swayed and fulfilled by allowing the "bloat king [to] pinch wanton on your cheek" (III.iv.82-83; 166-167).

Indeed, one might argue that the whole of *Hamlet* is an exercise in exploring that relationship between the "sensible" and the "cognitive," particularly with respect to the material body and the way in which that body is, to come back around to the Prince's term, a "quintessence of dust": at once base matter and the stuff of the heavens.[13] Hamlet spends much of the play insisting on the separation of body (base matter) and mind (ideal form, a higher mode of existence), and of course denigrating the former while purporting to idealize the latter.
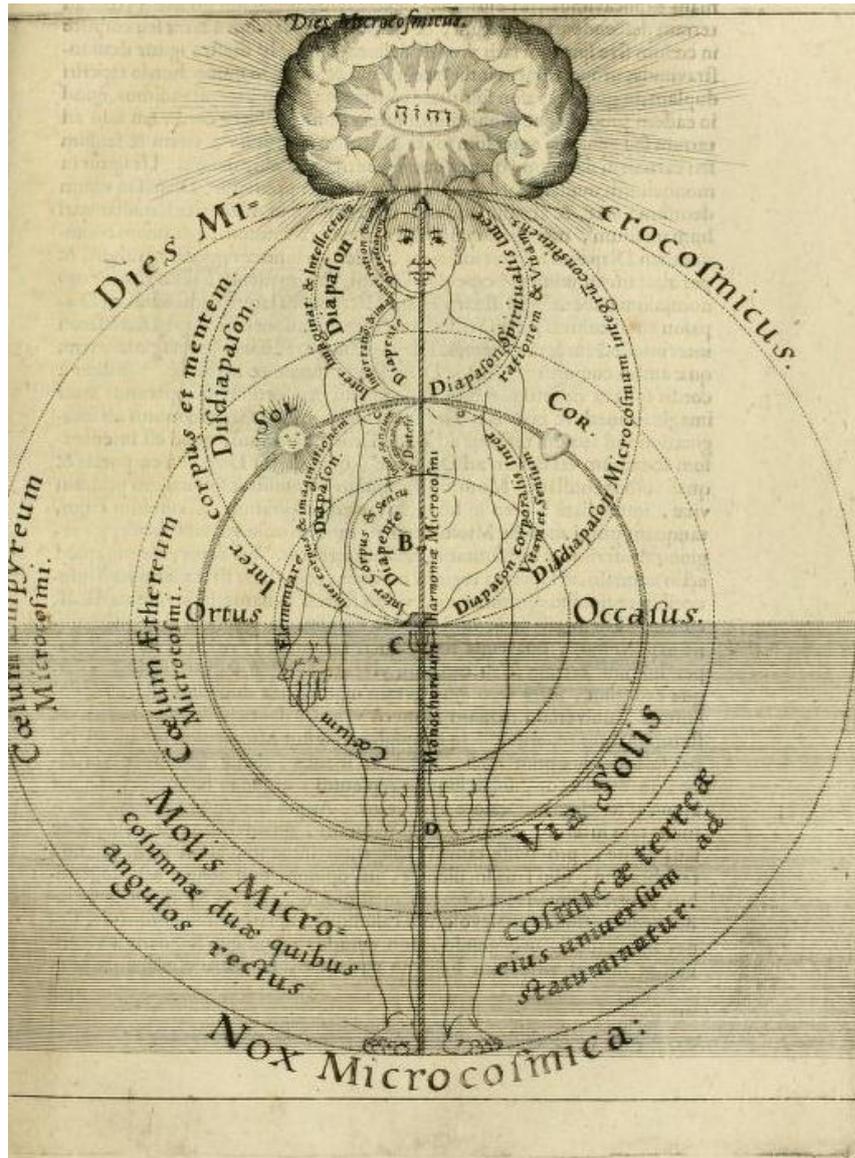
Figure 7
Robert Fludd. Oppenheim, 1617.

This insistence, though, is fraught from the beginning of the play. For instance, as Hamlet reels from his encounter with the Ghost, and vows to honour the latter's parting words, "remember me" (I.v.91), he at once inscribes the hierarchy of form over matter while simultaneously depending heavily on giving a material quality to an immaterial reality such as memory:

Remember thee!
Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there,
And thy commandment shall alone live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmix'd with baser matter.
(I.v.96-104)

On the surface, Hamlet's monologue expresses a simple determination to focus his thoughts and energies on nothing but avenging his father, the comparative adjective "baser" signifying that anything less important than this task will be eradicated from Hamlet's brain. But this specific vocabulary calls forth a comparison between matter and form, wherein all things connected with "baser matter" are to be expunged from the loftier, aspirational realm of Hamlet's thoughts. In this respect, the term "baser matter" foregrounds that distinction between spirit and flesh, mind and body, and it iterates Hamlet's hierarchical positioning of the two. In the same breath, however, the passage figures memory in the highly physicalized form of tables, books, and pressures, and indeed it does the same for the brain itself. It is, moreover, significant that he speaks of his brain – and not his mind, as he and others do elsewhere – leaning toward the physiological item, the corporeal organ itself, rather than the ungraspable consciousness of a perceiving subject. In other words, as we look beyond the surface meaning of the lines and into the connotative resonances of the vocabulary, we see Hamlet setting himself the seemingly impossible task of expelling baser matter from what is itself baser matter. As such, the separation between body and mind that Hamlet so frequently articulates, and the aspiration to the leave the former behind and dwell in the realms of the latter, are both significantly undercut. And in place of such separation, the play in fact presents (perhaps against Hamlet's will, as it were) a picture of the relationship between matter and form that is much closer to that described by Fludd's diagrams: a continuum, rather than a division of realms.

For all of his wit, then, Hamlet the character seems to miss a trick here, one which the play more broadly picks up. That the body was, as Hamlet casts it, "baser matter" did not necessarily mean that it was to be *dismissed* as such – thrown down in disgust as Hamlet eventually does with Yorick's skull – nor that it was separable entirely from the spirit. For Bishop Barlow, the fleshiness of the body was responsible for the *availability* of divine love; in similar, but broader, terms, materiality itself was responsible for the availability of all that would otherwise remain out of reach. If, in other words, there is more in heaven and earth than is dreamt of in Horatio's philosophy, *matter* is the means by which we access and make present whatever that "more" might be. Perhaps the most obvious instance of this phenomenon in *Hamlet* comes in the form of the Ghost, a literally embodied and material stage presence whose very function is to allow an immaterial spirit to become manifest before the audience.

Of course, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, and theatrical ghosts more generally, present a far more complex set of problems when it comes to corporeality, materiality, and immateriality, and as such, the phenomenon of the theatrical ghost warrants at least some attention here. For Alice Rayner, a ghost offers a nearly perfect prism through which to view and understand the theatrical phenomena of repetition and return – the ghost is that which implies reiteration, a coming back from elsewhere, a repeating of an already-accomplished presence. She also highlights the way in which the ghost foregrounds issues of illusion and reality, materiality and abstraction. "Ghosts", Rayner argues, "animate our connections to the dead, producing a visible, material, and affective relationship to the abstract terms of time and repetition" (Rayner 2006b, 13).

It is Rayner's engagement with the co-existence of the material and the abstract that is of interest here. In *Hamlet* especially, the Ghost is not only a return, it is one that carries with it in its wake that which exists elsewhere – not only the dead and absent father/king, but also a separate realm (purgatory), separate times (both past and future), and forbidden knowledge. It brings forth these absent abstractions by dint of the fact that the Ghost of Old Hamlet, ontologically, is a *body*, full and immediate in its material presence. But it is also an immateriality, an absence, a piece of "airy nothing," to quote Shakespeare's Theseus.[14] And as its immaterial components cling to, and find "local habitation and a name" in, the material body of the actor, so too the traces of its immaterial "elsewhere" cling to and find a home on the *stage*.

In the context of a theatrical encounter, both aspects of the Ghost exist in equal measure. One might be inclined, for example, in the closet scene to think that Gertrude is simply *wrong* with respect to the fact that she denies the presence of Ghost; it is tempting, here, to simply and instinctively side with Hamlet, and to insist that the Ghost is in fact there. But Gertrude's perspective is every bit as valuable to and necessary for the dramatic potency of the scene as Hamlet's: theatrically, the Ghost needs to be *both* of flesh and of the air. And the theatrical effectiveness of the Ghost depends precisely on the fact that it straddles these two spheres of materiality and immateriality, allowing the body of the actor to be both at once. The phenomenon is reminiscent of Helkiah Crooke's litany of the classical commentary on man as microcosm (see fn 8), and especially of his citation of Sinesius, who calls man "the horizon of corporeal and incorporeal things" (Crooke 3). In this respect, the Ghost in *Hamlet* allows us to see the actor's

body in its material fullness precisely because the stage presence of the Ghost simultaneously highlights the opposite: an immateriality. As we engage with character and fiction (the immaterial, the "spirit"), we necessarily ground ourselves in performer and "reality" (the material, the body of the actor).

As such, the Ghost underscores the two key themes that have been central in this study of the body-as-matter – the convergent relationship between matter and form, and the way in which the material body operated as a microcosm of the whole of existence. Indeed, though he may otherwise seem to miss the point, the bulk of Hamlet's speech on "the quintessence of dust" is an excellent articulation of this body-as-microcosm motif:

> [...] and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition, that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why it appeareth nothing to me but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is a man, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension, how like a god – the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? (II.ii.297-308)

As with Barlow's sermon, the structure and movement of this highly meta-theatrical speech is as telling as its content. Hamlet begins by drawing attention to the microcosmic function of the theatre itself: as has long been noted, the site-

specific references (this goodly frame, this most excellent canopy, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire) facilitate a potent layering of *locus* and *platea*, to use Robert Weimann's terms.[15] Placed before an audience is both Hamlet's open sky (in Elsinore) and its own (in Southwark); the frame of the Globe Theatre, to which Hamlet alludes rhetorically (and perhaps gesturally) in the speech, is at once itself and "the earth". From there, Hamlet's speech moves in, by concentric circles as it were, to map "man" in the same way: the movement is from "this goodly frame the earth," which presences Globe Theatre, Elsinore, and the whole world, to "what a piece of work is man," which similarly corporealizes actor, character, and all of mankind. And much, if not all, of Creation is figured in that mapping: infinite faculties, angelic and even divine likeness, the "beauty of the world" (language which is very evocative of that used outside of the theatre, cited earlier, specifically Crooke and Peacham). Like the stage, the body in its material presence was the localized manifestation of the whole of the cosmos. "The body is with the king, but the king is not with the body" (IV.ii.25-26) – another of Hamlet's indeterminable quips, but given this microcosmic view of the body I am foregrounding, the line takes on the meaning and weight of Hamlet's earlier "The time is out of joint" (I.v.189) or Marcellus' "Something's rotten in the state of Denmark" (I.iv.67). When the physical body, especially that of the king, is *not* fulfilling its microcosmic function, something is indeed wrong with the world, the universe, with time itself.

In this way, we return to issue of balance represented in Fludd's diagrams. Tragedy is a state of imbalance, a condition when the sun is not in its proper sphere, occupying (and maintaining) a state of natural equilibrium.

Indeed, we might well argue that one of Hamlet's tragic flaws is his desire to be closer to the formal end of these diagrams than the material end: his division of body and mind, matter and form, contributes to the world being imbalanced, rotten, out of joint.

But this is the precarious position of "man" in such a worldview. If one of the privileges and pleasures of the position of the heart/sun is that while there, one may be closer to a formal idea, closer to God, then its corresponding and equivalent danger is that one may fall into the lowly, sinful clutches of the world of matter. Fludd's visual depiction of the human condition suggests as much – his images relay a sense of movement (rather than stasis). The dual pyramids in Figures 5 and 6, for example, operate on the principle of increase or decrease; the eye/consciousness of the viewer is carried along the slope of the pyramid in one direction or the other. Similarly, the concentric circles of Figure 7 suggest a kind of planetary orbit. As such, the visual effect of the image is again the implication of motion: the icons of the sun and heart appear to be mobile along the "Via Solis," promising to dip into the lower, shaded realms of existence and (hopefully) to rise again. By definition, where one sees equilibrium (as in the geometric diamond created in Figures 5 and 6 by the meeting of the two pyramids), one also sees the potential for imbalance. Put another way, it is in the nature of balance that one might fall; or, it is in the nature of the sun to sometimes hide behind the clouds, or in the depths of night.

Too much i'th'sun.

As we are seeing, the identification of the sun as a site of balance between matter and form, the mundane and the divine, finds considerable expression in Shakespeare's stage craft. In

addition to the examples rehearsed above, one thinks immediately of Hamlet's second line – "Not so, my lord, I am too much i'th'sun" (I.ii.67) – or that of Richard of Gloucester in *Richard III*, speaking of "this son of York" (I.i.2).[16] There is, of course, ample punning on son/sun in Shakespeare where royalty is concerned, drawing attention to the fact that royalty is another site of balance between the mundane and the divine. The neatest example perhaps comes with Prince Hal, who stands as something of a paragon of transformational, indeterminate matter. "Yet herein will I imitate the sun," Hal informs us (I.ii.175): this is not merely a sharing with the audience of his plans, or a statement of social status. The sun does of course represent Hal's royalty, and the foreknowledge that he will not only be king, but will be kingly, and not only kingly, but the epitome of kingliness; but, more richly, Hal's self-identification with the sun places him squarely in that median sphere between Heaven and Earth, very like Claudius (setting aside issues of being a usurper) or Hamlet (setting aside issues of being usurped). And *1 Henry IV* is nothing if not a charting of the alchemical transformation of this "sun/son" from base matter to the highest form possible in the mortal world. That process follows the path of reducing Hal to the most elemental matter – to the point of irreducibility – before then reconstituting him as something better. He moves, literally and bodily, through the lower spheres of existence, nearly dissolving in the reconciliation scene with his father (III.ii), before rising up to conquer Hotspur and reside in the higher spheres of human life. Hal both *contains* and *is* the sun, and he contains and is the *prima materia*, and the stage facilitates his reduction to that pure state and his reconstitution as holy, royal, immortal.

Like Hal's promise to imitate the sun, Hamlet's barb that he is "too much i'th'sun" is, of course, richly layered. This thinly veiled verbal assault on Claudius – that Hamlet is too much in his uncle's presence – provides only slightly more substantial cover for an assault on Gertrude: that he is too much her son (a foreshadowing of the much more explicit attack in the closet scene, "you are the Queen, your husband's brother's wife. / But – would you were not so – you are my mother" (III.iv.15-16)). And, as numerous editors point out, the line carries the related lament that he is too much of a son-who-has-lost-a-father. As above, however, this "son/sun" is both matter and form: a thing and no thing, or a thing of nothing, as Hamlet later riddles (IV.ii.26-28). As such, Hamlet's being "too much i'th'sun" refers not so much to himself as to Claudius. And thus begins the unnatural fracturing that characterizes the entire play: the sun/son homonym refers not to one person (as with Hal or Richard), but to two: the lines of reference, like those of succession in the play, are splintered. So too is the balance between matter and form; even before he meets the Ghost (whatever one thinks of his reference to his "prophetic soul" (I.v.41)), Hamlet seems very much of the opinion that his uncle is made up of considerably more matter than form. Claudius simply does not belong in *Orbis Solis*.

Whether he belongs there or not, however, the king's position is one that casts him, like the Ghost, as being both of the material world and beyond it. Hamlet's being "too much i'th'sun" serves, in this respect, as the opening gambit of his struggle to reconcile matter with form – to "accept physicality, with all its dissolute inconstancy, as the image of mentality" (Hunt 27), as John Hunt put it. The sun/son imagery offered here, then, takes a prominent place in a

network of images across the play. These include not only those we noted earlier – the quintessence of dust, the reference to baser matter – but also in his (in)famous depiction of "the sun breed[ing] maggots in a dead dog" along with the invective to Polonius to keep Ophelia from "walk[ing] i'th'sun" (II.ii.182-185). These rhetorical solar images flash with the same vibrancy as Fludd's diagrams. We see in them a clear picture of the sun as being material and fleshy, particularly in terms of its ability to *affect* flesh by "breeding" either maggots or children in it; at the same time, the sun remains aloof and unearthly, especially as Hamlet's verbal images, are, after all, rhetorical and riddling, to be puzzled out in the mind.

Yet the theatre is, of course, a world of more than just the rhetorical image, and all of the above arises from and informs the encounter with the body on stage. The dualism I am tracing between matter and form is underscored – and, I venture to say, *materialized* – by the corresponding dualism of theatre, that most basic and fundamental "fact" about the actor's presence on stage: that (s)he is both actor and character at once. As Bert States said, this is "the inevitable starting point of any discussion of the actor's presence on the stage" (1985, 119). And while I did not actually start with this point, its saliency is hard to avoid now: the matter/form duality embedded in the image of the sun is perfectly realized in the actor/character duality embedded in the body on stage. Heninger's description of the Sun as having "a component to be perceived by the intellect which is exactly equivalent to its component to be perceived by the senses" (29) describes with equal accuracy the bodies we encounter on the stage, entities which, like the sun, seem to be composed of equal parts matter and form.

✳

I began by suggesting that we consider the body on Shakespeare's stage as primarily matter and, indeed, as primary matter, and much of this consideration has involved looking at the body in terms of either *prima materia* or of the microcosm, both of which materialize that which cannot in fact be materially present (God, ideal form, the heavenly spheres, the sun). And therein lies the salience of this material perspective to the study of the Shakespearean body. Matter *mattered,* because it existed on a continuum with form; and where significant, primary, matter was present – as it was in the actor's body – the whole of that continuum was present, by virtue of the microcosmic-macrocosmic relationship. Keir Elam's chapter, which I used near the start of this article, frames the enquiry into the body in the "aftermath" of semiotics; though perhaps somewhat dated, it crystallizes the notion, still very current, that the body cannot merely be "read". As Elam suggests, however, once that semiotic limitation was registered, the body seemed to become (in the eyes of contemporary scholarship) many other things besides a text or a sign, but rarely, if ever did it fully become what it was: fleshy, heavy, unique matter.

To understand the body as such, and to look on the actor's body as a body-as-matter, particularly in light of other arenas of early modern visual culture, significantly colours our understanding of the actor's role in the theatre-making enterprise of Shakespearean England. That role is not simply the playing of a character, nor the presenting of signs about that character or the narrative in which he or she takes part. The role of the body involves the introduction of

the most fundamental, elementary form of matter available to human experience to the theatrical experience. The actor's body serves as a pronouncement of material reality, called forth from a formal sphere of existence. Over and over again Shakespeare's stage-craft facilitates a turn from the image or the word to an irrefutably material presence: Macbeth's quick journey from an imagined dagger to the steel one he draws ("I see thee yet, in form as palpable / As this which now I draw" (II.ii39-40)); Bassanio's turn from the "likeness" of Portia in the casket to the living, breathing presence of the actor playing Portia ("Yet look how far / The substance of my praise doth wrong this shadow / In underprizing it, so far this shadow / Doth limp behind the substance" (III.ii126-129)); the shift from the portrait of Hamlet's father in the closet scene to the Ghost of his father, a move which, in a fashion rather different from Hal's, nonetheless seems to place us squarely in that "Orbis Solis," the sphere of perfect balance between form and matter (III.iv.94). These "material turns" are made possible by the material example set by the actor's body, and by the elementary *function* of that body; it is the body which serves as the first principle of materiality, and it is the body which contains, microcosmically and materially, all that the cosmos contains, enabling anything to be materially present in the theatre, indeed *gathering* other forms of matter to itself and to the stage. To turn the title of this essay, the verse from Luke, a little bit, we might conclude by saying "wheresoever the [actor's] body is, thether is the *matter* gathered together".

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[1] By "Shakespearean body," I mean principally the actor's body on stage, as it is encountered in theatrical activity. That meaning, however, is of course contextualized by broader understandings of the human body and corporeality in Shakespearean England.

[2] David Hillman, Shakespeare's Entrails: Belief, Scepticism and the Interior of the Body (Houndmills, UK, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999); Carol Chillington Rutter, Enter the Body: Women and Representation on Shakespeare's Stage (London and New York: Routledge, 2001); Margaret E. Owens, Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama (Newark: University of Delware Press, 2005); James R. Siemon, "Between the Lines: Bodies/Languages/Times", *Shakespeare Studies* 29 (2001): 36-43; Eve Rachelle Sanders, "The Body

of the Actor in Coriolanus", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 57:4 (Winter 2006): 387-412. Indeed, Siemon's article takes part in an entire forum in *Shakespeare Studies* dedicated to the role of the body in Shakespearean criticism.

[3] Dympna Callaghan objects to this perspective, calling it "a sort of historicist idolatry [whereby] we have placed our faith in the thingness of things in order to avoid the messy interactions of matter and consciousness" (68). Her objection is levelled primarily (though not necessarily wholly) at the trend for analysing the body anatomically ("why", she asks, "should it be that we are all rushing to examine the multifarious meanings of early modern innards?" (69)). My position here, however, is that attentiveness to the body-as-matter is not an exercise in avoiding the complicated relationship(s) between matter and consciousness, but quite the contrary, it is a very apt avenue for exploring those relationships. See Dympna Callaghan, "Body Problems," in *Shakespeare Studies* 29 (2001): 68-71.

[4] There are, naturally, important exceptions to this trend, both within and outside of the broad field of Shakespearean or early modern studies. One thinks most readily, of course, of Judith Butler's troubling of the relationship between bodies and selves, and of the vast amount of body-subject scholarship that has been built upon her work. Closer to home, with respect to Shakespearean studies, Katherine Maus' influential work on inwardness and theatre offers a detailed study of the relationship between concepts of inner truth(s) and external shows.

[5] Of even greater relevance here than Butler or Maus might be more sustained studies of embodiment, such as those which dominated the thinking and career of Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

[6] Alice Rayner has suggested (without recourse to alchemical terminology) something similar for role of props: "Stage props", Rayner claims, "as paradigmatic objects, constitute the worldliness of the stage and in a sense are owned by the stage; properties in all senses, they give their material attributes to an otherwise empty space and in turn populate that space, dominate it, 'own' it" (181). While I agree with the overall tenor of her argument, it strikes me that the same can, and should, be said for the body, and probably in even greater measure.

[7] The process, of course, is not quite so simple. Indeed, what I propose here is one segment of a larger thesis, which suggests that such 'bodying forth' (a phrase borrowed from Theseus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) is a product of the combined labours of the body and the word on stage, particularly when the words are counted – as in great measure they were – as material entities in their own right. I am detailing this larger thesis elsewhere; for this current article, however, I wish to focus specifically on how we might see the materiality of the body more clearly and more critically.

[8] Indeed, this line of thought was current not only in alchemy and cosmography, but medicine and anatomy more broadly. Helkiah Crooke's 1615 medical treatise, for example, is actually entitled *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man […]*. In his introduction to the first chapter (on anatomy), Crooke begins by citing classical thinkers and physicians who speak of Man -- in body and soul – as a microcosm:

> That thrice-worthy *Mercury* calls him a *great Myracle*, *a Creature like the Creator, the Ambassador of the Gods*. *Pythagoras [calls Man] the Measure of all things. Plato [calls Man] the wonder of Wonders. Theophrastus,* the *patterne of the whole universe. Aristotle, a politicke creature framed for society. Synesius, the Horizon of Corporeal and Incorporeal things. Tully, a divine creature, full of reason and judgment. Pliny, the World's epitome and Natures Darling*. Finally, all men with one consent, call him , [Microcosmos]*, or The little world*.   For his bodie, as it were, a Magazine or Store-House of all the vertues and efficacies of all bodies, and in his soule is the power and force of all living and sensible things (3).

[9] Young's translation of the epigram for this image is: "Endowed with the sparks of the divine mind from on high / Am I mistaken that the realm of heavenly Jove has created them? / And of harmonious design in which you may count so many marvels / Of the beautiful universe – this is man, the microcosm."

[10] Indeed, Peacham's second emblem can also be found in Heninger's seminal work, the *Cosmographical Glass*, wherein he dedicates a chapter to the subject of the human microcosm. In much of that chapter, he focuses on "the human condition as a microcosm of day and night" (150, 152-153), and vice versa.

[11] See, for example, *The Key to Unknown Knowledge*, an anonymous medical treatise dating from 1599 which stipulates that 'Princinpally it is to bee understood, that in mans bodie bee foure natural vertues (to wit) the vertue of Attraction, the vertue of Retention, the vertue of Digestion, and the vertue of Expulsion. The vertue of Attraction worketh with hot and drie, therefore the medicine most answerable to be received for that kind, ought to bee ministered when [the moon] is in a signe hot and drie, as [Aries, Leo, Saggotario] having then no impediment' ('Judicial Rules of Physick'; accessed on EEBO, 5 February, 2012:

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http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99843650&FILE=../session/1328555008_18734&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=8396&PAGENO=5&ZOOM=FIT&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=)

[12] All three of these diagrams appear in Heninger, and I am grateful to his book, as it has clearly provided a wealth of imagery for this article, and drawn my attention to other sources his book does not include.

[13] John Hunt, in fact, made such an argument quite convincingly nearly 25 years ago; Hunt suggested then that "[n]ot until [Hamlet] finds his way out of a despairing contempt for the body can he achieve the wish of his first soliloquy and quietly cease to be". See "A Thing of Nothing: The Catastrophic Body in *Hamlet*", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39:1 (Spring 1988), 27-44, esp 27.

[14] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.i.16. Theseus' description of the labours of the poet offers an excellent way of thinking about the relationship between material and immaterial realities:

> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them into shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.

<div align="center">(V.i.12-17)</div>

[15] Weimann distinguishes "between the *locus* as a fairly specific imaginary locale or self-contained space in the world of the play and the *platea* as an opening in *mise-en-scéne* through which the place and time of the stage-as-stage and the cultural occasion itself are made either to assist or resist the socially and verbally elevated, spatially and temporally remote representation" (181). See *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre*. Eds. Helen Higbee and William West. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000). Hamlet's speech brings into view for the audience both the 'locus' of Elsinore and the 'platea' of the Globe stage, the here and now.

[16] Hamlet's line, as cited here, uses "sun" as the base word for the pun, but it is worth noting that Q2 has the line as "in the sonne" and the Arden editors use "in the 'son'".

Handling the Theme of Hands
in Early Modern Cross-over Contexts

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Early modern culture incorporated the human hand into a large number of different visual-textual contexts: in religious imagery, in scientific illustrations, in manuals of various disciplines, as *manicules* in manuscripts and printed books, and with several functional and/or figurative significances in the literature and drama of the period. Hands seem to be thrusting themselves into these contexts as powerful reminders of a human agency, which is often both somatic and spiritual at the same time: in the human hand, relations between body and mind converge and contest in complex and multiple ways. As described by Claire Sherman in the exhibition catalogue *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, the early modern hand is "a meeting place of matter, mind, and spirit" (21).[1] This meeting place is, in several different ways, the implied setting for the following article. Some hands, such as Albrecht Dürer's *Praying Hands* (1508) or Michelangelo's meeting hands of God and Adam on the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508-1512), have become enduring and familiar icons of visual culture; and of course, Dürer's and Michelangelo's hands are found within religious contexts in which the hand has always played vital roles related to matter, mind and spirit. However, besides the vast field of religious studies, there are more and other hands offering rich sites for exploring early modern chiasms of body and mind.[2] In the following analyses of examples from early English cross-over contexts, our purpose is to highlight and discuss the ways in which the hand and in particular two of its most familiar functions – pointing and touching – may illuminate wider epistemological discourses that shift back and forth throughout the period: discourses on what a human being is and how humans perceive and understand the world they live in. Central here are questions as to how and where human perception and cognition take place; in the mind or in the body; or to be more precise: how bodies and minds are understood in relation to each other by early modern thinkers.[3]

We present an investigation of a selection of examples which span the dramatic writing of the period: from issues of the hand in two early Shakespearean tragedies, *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1594) and *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1597), to *Hamlet* (c. 1602); to the medical sciences, William Harvery's *de Motu Cordis* (1628); and to John Bulwer's manuals on gesture, *Chirologia* and *Chironomia* (1644). Extracts from Bulwer's manuals are also useful because their fluid generic qualities allow us both to provide a contextual backdrop specifically concerned with the hand for our other examples, as well as bridging some of the disciplinary gaps between them. At the same time, we want to acknowledge the fact that the early modern period did not, as William M. Hamlin writes, "recognize the strong disciplinary demarcations we typically acknowledge today" (5). Writers like Bulwer or Robert Burton, whom we also refer to, do not distinguish rigidly between their multiple interests, and we have therefore chosen the term "cross-over contexts" instead of the potentially anachronistic "interdisciplinary". The order in which these examples appear is not based

on chronology or causality, but thematically arranged precisely in order to show their differing *and* overlapping epistemological discourses and the ways in which they illuminate relations between bodies and minds.

Perception and Cognition – Bodies, Minds, and Hands

Early modern description of perception and cognition is fraught with questions of how bodies and minds relate to each other – as intertwined and organic, or as separate and even competing material and immaterial human components. On the one side, the process of obtaining knowledge was complexly, but distinctly described as embodied and physiological: as Bruce R. Smith puts it in *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture*, "before Descartes, thinking color, like thinking anything else, was a whole-body experience" (3).[4] In this Aristotelian influenced account, knowledge of the world was generally understood to be obtained by way of the five outward senses – seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching – sending the acquired information to the inner 'common sense', which, as Robert Burton describes in *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), was classified as "the judge and moderator of the rest" (101).[5] Sense information was then processed by the other inner senses – the "fancy or imagination" – before stored by the "memory" and all inner senses were described as situated organically within the brain. Another well-known key factor in the framework of embodied perception was Galen's, at the time still strongly influential theory of the four humours – blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. These were thought to regulate the human body and its emotions by way of fluids (humours) dispersed throughout the body by the three

"spirits," natural, vital and animal, originating respectively from the liver, the heart and the brain; a process also described in some length by Burton.

However, on the other side, Burton's predominantly physiological accounts also contain elements that could be read as contradictory formulations within the overall discursive framework. In the subsections on "the Rational Soul" and "the Understanding," he describes a component which, although working by organs, is in itself inorganic and incorporeal,[6] and Burton is not the only early modern thinker to provide several and diverse descriptions of how his knowledge of the world is obtained and processed. Leading up to and contemporary with René Descartes's paradigmatic separation of body and mind in *Discourse on the Method and the Meditations* (1637),[7] other discourses on perception are blurring a straightforward acknowledgement of the senses as the only viable way to knowledge, as well as questioning the fundamental understandings of knowledge per se. Two important early modern influences are key factors in this context: tendencies to doubt and question forms of knowledge stemming from classical scepticism, which saw a strong revival around the turn of the century.[8] Such tendencies, as has often been noted, explode in the conflicting epistemological discourses of *Hamlet* and we will draw on their influence in our reading of the play. Concurrently, the sciences were developing rapidly and, in doing so, also questioning the reliability of the senses in procuring knowledge and understanding, as we shall see when investigating the role of the hand in a series of illustrations from William Harvey's treatise on blood circulation *De Motu Codis*.[9] In early modern scepticism and co-related issues of science, the act of doubting becomes an inevitable factor in the

ongoing separation of mind from body, which is fully embraced in Descartes's understanding of the pursuit of knowledge. Francis Bacon too, not only rejects the reliability of sensory perception, but claims doubt as the first and most fruitful step on the path to learning in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605): "if a man will begin with certainties, hee shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to beginne with doubts, he shall end in certainties" (31). The same principle is echoed by Descartes, who arrives at his famous *cogito ergo sum* sentence by rejecting

> as absolutely false everything as to which I could imagine the least ground of doubt, in order to see if afterwards there remained anything in my belief that was entirely certain. Thus, because our senses sometimes deceive us, I wished to suppose that nothing is just as they cause us to imagine it to be. (*Discourse* 101)

For Descartes that which in the end is absolutely certain, is the existence of his thinking self separate from his body, because it is that thinking self which is capable of generating doubt. In addition to influences of scepticism and science, it is undoubtedly important also to keep in mind that much of this debate originates in classical philosophy with the *agon* between Platonic dualism and the degradation of physical senses to the lower world (as opposed to the higher world of Forms or Essences); and Aristotelian confidence in sensory experience. Both Aristotelian and Platonic influences were preserved and channelled into the early modern period via the Scholastic thought of Thomas of Aquinas as opposed to Augustinian neo-Platonic philosophy. So the body/mind split decisively put forward by Descartes does not

necessarily just signal the paradigmatic end-point of early modern embodied understandings of the self, but may be understood as part of continuous – and continuously shifting – discourses all of which influence the epistemological landscape of the early modern period.[10]

The early modern hand and two of its most familiar functions – touching and pointing – represent a condensed, but central site for exploring some of these diverse and diverging understandings of human perception and cognition. Hands and their functions may intersect configurations of body and mind, illuminating as well as confusing relations between these, whether understood as intricate or separate. Furthermore, the role of the hand is crucial in relation to questions of how outward bodily signs, such as gesture, relate to human interiority. Questions on how thoughts and emotions may be hidden within or detected without are frequent in the period and central within certain of our examples, particularly and famously in *Hamlet*. In our investigation, centred on Bulwer's work on gestures in dialogue with Harvey and Shakespeare, the hand is thus situated at a cross-section where outward and inward movements of human perception, cognition, emotion, and bodily expression meet. A sensory perceiver – in touching, the hand is also an extension of the mind – in pointing. Pointing can be understood as an active gestural movement projecting outward and forward what is in the mind of the pointer; it is associated with indication and demonstration, and provides a sense of direction. In the act of pointing there will always appear to be a clear distinction between the subject who points and the object pointed at, not least because of the obvious spatial distance between them. A hand that touches, however, bridges this distance. Rather than just projecting

Figure 1 Diagram from John Bulwer, *Chirologia*.
All images in this article can be found at archive.org

something unto to what it touches, it takes *in* what it perceives; a touching hand receives information and sends it inwards. The perceptive act of touching implies a certain permeable quality to the hand (certainly to the skin covering it). Thus touching, as we shall explore further on, is significantly passive as well as active; it is a movement of the hand that potentially blurs distinctions between perceiving subject and perceived object.[11]

"Spokesman of the Body" – John Bulwer's Handbooks

John Bulwer's two manuals on gesture with more than a hundred different illustrations, *Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand* and *Chironomia: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric* published in 1644, provide valuable insight into early modern understandings of gestural expression. Bulwer was a physician and teacher of the deaf, and the manuals appear to have been partly intended as a treatise on

sign language, but clearly developed into a study of everything historically and culturally related to gesture, with a strong focus on rhetoric in *Chironomia* and with abundant examples from classical literature and Scripture. Although there is no direct relation between the manuals and the stage, and Bulwer's works obviously postdate Shakespeare's career as well as the closing of the theatres in 1642, especially his illustrations are nonetheless often used in investigations of non-verbal effects of early English theatre (Figure 1).[12]

Several of the gestures described and depicted occur in Shakespearean dialogue and stage directions, and scholars have therefore been able to establish at least some visual evidence of a gestural vocabulary used by early modern actors and presumably understood by their audiences[13], but comparatively less attention has been paid to the textual parts of the manuals and Bulwer's arguments developed in them. We deal here with extracts only from *Chirologia*, foregoing the extensive discussion of the hand's importance to the contexts of rhetoric in order to concentrate on material more closely related to the outlined questions of mind/body relations. Among Bulwer's more radical claims are his description of gesture as a natural and universal language, 'spoken' and understood by all people (a pre-Babel form of human expression),[14] and his argument that gesture actually precedes spoken language happening almost simultaneously with thought. It is the latter idea which is of main interest to our investigation. Bulwer writes:

> Since whatsoever is perceptible unto sense, and capable of a due and fitting difference; hath a natural competency to expresse the motives and affections of the Minde; in whose

labours, the *Hand*, which is a ready midwife, takes often-times the thoughts from the forestalled Tongue, making a more quicke dispatch by gesture: for when the fancy hath once wrought upon the *Hand*, our conceptions are display'd and utter'd in the very moment of a thought (4).

There seems to be a symbiotic relationship between inward thinking and the outward expression of the body in this description. Bulwer's manual body-language is 'natural' in its immediate cause and effect, whereas the tongue takes time in dispatching the thoughts, denoting that verbal language is somehow less natural than a purely physical expression. At the same time, the mind and the hand also appear as distinct properties with a hierarchical co-relation, the hand working as "a ready mid-wife" to the mind and being "wrought upon" by the fancy. So, while Bulwer imagines the hand as a more direct source to the workings of the mind, the hand is also a servant to thought. Or is it? If gesture happens 'in the very moment of a thought', there must be a co-active relation between them more intricate and indistinguishable than the model of dominating soul over mechanical body, formulated a few decades later by Descartes.[15] Bulwer in fact seems to be operating simultaneously with differing understandings of mind/body relations; one in which the body (hand) is symbiotic and co-active with thought, in the sense that mind and body are inseparable and one in which the hand is a ready midwife to thought, hinting at bodily expression serving what can be understood as independent cognition. This plural understanding is further illuminated and complicated, when compared to a particular Shakespearean example.

Handling the Theme of Hands

Nowhere in the Shakespearean canon are the uses and significances of hands more consistent and central than in *Titus Andronicus*, Shakespeare's early and excessively bloody Roman tragedy (c. 1594). Taking his main inspiration from Ovid's tale of Philomela in *The Metamorphoses*, Shakespeare has Titus's daughter Lavinia raped and her tongue cut out, but adds to the gore by having her hands cut off as well. Titus himself cuts off his left hand as part of a petition to the emperor, and throughout the play, hands - and the actions implied by them - are concurrently presented as both material and metaphorical often resulting in grotesquely overcharged puns.[16] One of several instances of this self-conscious excess is Titus's reproaching reply (from which our title for this article is partly taken) to his brother Marcus in act three, when Titus and Lavinia have just one hand left between them: "Ah, wherefore dost thou urge the name of hands / To bid Aeneas tell the tale twice o'er / How Troy was burnt and he made miserable? / O handle not the theme, to talk of hands, / Lest we remember still that we have none" (3.2.26-30). This short scene, which displays Titus's rapidly growing insanity, contains a high number of explicit and implicit references to gestures. Initially Titus laments the loss of his left hand because he cannot, as Marcus appears to be doing, express his grief with a gesture of folded or wringing hands. That particular gesture, "Ploro" (Figure 2), is associated with the act of crying and described thus by Bulwer: "TO WRING THE HANDS is a naturall expression of excessive griefe used by those who *condole*, *bewaile* and *lament*" (28).

It occurs too in *Romeo and Juliet*: "Ay me, what news? Why dost thou wring thy hands (3.2.36)?" and, as we shall see, in *Hamlet*. As Titus continues

Figure 2 Detail from diagram from John Bulwer, *Chirologia*.

his lament, however, we find more implied manual action significantly confusing relations between body and mind:

> This poor right hand of mine
> Is left to tyrannize upon my breast,
> Who, when my heart, all mad with misery,
> Beats in this hollow prison of my flesh,
> Then thus I thump it down (3.2.7-11).

Titus here clearly implies a gesture in the "thus" beating at his chest with his remaining hand, but the syntax in the passage is odd.[17] Initially, the "poor right hand" is the subject of the construction, but in the last line Titus reinserts himself as subject with the pronoun in the first person: "Then thus I thump it down". It is as if Titus's body at first expresses emotion in what Bulwer would argue is inter-relatedness of gesture and thought, but then his dominating, even if disintegrating, intellect takes over the execution and meaning of his gesture. His body, in the end, is merely a "hollow prison" of flesh; his beating heart is "thumped" down by a hand that he controls. However, the fact that this hand was the executing subject, even if briefly, suggests a wavering understanding of where the body ends, and where the mind takes over. Not

unlike Bulwer, Titus displays mind/body understandings in which an embodied passionate self co-exists and overlaps with a separate intellect capable of mastering bodily functions. Both are moving inwards and outwards at the same time in the visualisation of the beating heart within, being kept down from without. The hand is absolutely centrally placed at an intersection of these; partly as a body part with a will of its own and partly as a tool to the will of its master. Titus's hand and its double significances are concretized by returning to Bulwer and his descriptions of our two key manual functions: pointing and touching.

Outwards and Forwards: "Gesture F: *Indico*"

On the act of pointing Bulwer begins thus:

> THE FORE-FINGER PUT FORTH, THE REST
> CONTRACTED TO A FIST, is an expresse of
> command and direction; a gesture of the
> hand most demonstrative. This *Finger* being
> called *Index ab indicando, Deiticos* by the
> Greeks*, id est Demonstrator* (162).

The illustration "F" with the title "Indico" (Figure 3) provides the viewer with the sense of active command and direction described by Bulwer. The hand depicted here may be interpreted as containing a sense of determination, due to the way in which it implies a strong and direct line through the arm to the point of the index finger. Being, as Bulwer says, used to demonstrate (and of course figuratively to point something out), the gesture of pointing is perhaps the most familiar of all manual signs and also appears in the form of the manicule in various early modern disciplines.[18] It is closely aligned with sight in directing another person's eye towards the object pointed at, but there is also frequently a claim to superior knowledge or status

Figure 3 Detail from diagram from John Bulwer, *Chirologia*.

implied in the action. It has an obvious performative quality both in the contexts of conferring distinction upon somebody (literally "to appoint") or denoting shame or accusation. As earlier explained, there is a clear distance measured out between subject and object; so that whoever performs the pointing is somehow in command. Bulwer also describes how persons of authority use the gesture:

> As it is a gesture of command and direction,
> imperious masters with a stately kinde of
> arrongancie often use it to their *meniall*
> servants who stand ready expecting but the
> signall of their commands, when they call
> them, not without a taunt, to execute the tacit
> pleasure of their lordly will; an expression
> flowing into their *Hand* from the hauntinesse
> of spirit, and an indolent humor of
> dominæring: (166).

The vocabulary of "spirit" and "humour", as well as the described flowing movement from within the body out into the hand and index finger, implies that Bulwer might rely mainly on humoral theory here, but in the following paragraph he begins to separate the immediate correspondence between meaning of mind and the body signalling it: the

meaning of the great man's mind is to be guessed at by his servants, it is not naturally and easily apprehended:

> And the signe of pride is the greater when men affect to have their minds thus descried, and put others to guesse at their meaning by what their talking *Fingers* exhibit, as if their high raised spirits disdained to discend so low as to explaine their minde in words, but thought it more then enough to signe out their intent with their *Fingers* (166).

The pointing hand here serves the mind of who performs the gesture, as the servants in Bulwer's description serve their masters. We perceive a movement that works from the inside outwards, the mind or spirit of the master is projected out into the world via the hand, and others are directed by it. By contrast, touching appears to provide a movement in the opposite direction: from outside to inside.

Within and Without: "Gestus M, *Dissidentiam noto*"

The conceptual understanding of touch offers in itself a somewhat contradictory perspective on the early modern period, as Elizabeth Harvey and others have shown in a recent anthology on touch in early modern culture. In her introduction, Harvey describes touch as a sense at once elevated and debased compared with the other senses and explains how, mainly through the legacy of Aristotle, sight continued to occupy a primary position among the senses, whereas touch was more commonly connected to the bestial and/or erotic elements of human perception. However, as Harvey writes, and as we shall see in William Harvey's medical illustrations further on, "tactility is also associated with authoritative scientific,

Figure 4 Detail from diagram from John Bulwer, *Chirologia*.

medical, even religious, knowledge" (E. Harvey 1). The sense of touch thus seems to be at the core of inter-related and yet contesting epistemologies throughout the early modern period, because touch is also a sense traditionally associated with doubt, most notably in the example of Thomas wishing to touch the wounds of the resurrected Christ. Bulwer also refers to Thomas in his section on touch in *Chirologia* and begins the section: "TO FEEL WITH THE FINGERS ENDS, is their scepticall expression who endeavour to satifie themselves by information of the Tact, in the qualities of a thing" (172). While providing sensory confirmation, touching can also imply an uncertain epistemology; it can be, as Bulwer says, an expression of scepticism. We may compare this to the illustration provided with the telling title "Dissidentiam noto" (Figure 4).

Here the touching gesture is depicted as the index finger of a hand touching two objects (smoking-pipes), and part of a burning fire is included in the background presumably to illustrate the more straightforward and highly useful purposes of tactile perception. However, whereas the illustration "F" of the pointing index finger creates a strong determined line within the frame, this touching index finger – and the whole hand it is

attached to – convey a more hesitating quality. The movement appears soft and somewhat awkward as if the hand experiences some uncertainty as to the effect to touch. Bulwer continues, with a reference to Helkiah Crooke's definitions in *Microcosmographia*:

> for although this touching virtue or tactive quality be diffused through the whole body within and without, as being the foundation of the animal being, which may be called Animalitas, yet the first and second qualities which strike the sense, we doe more curiously and exquisitely feele in the *Hand*, then in the other parts, and more exactly where the Epidermis or immediate organ of the outer touch is thinnest, but most subtily in the *grape* of the *Index*, which being the only part of the body that temperamentum ad pondus, is by good right chiefe Touch-warden to the King of the five senses (172).[19]

Bulwer follows Aristotle in associating touch with the animal being, but seemingly also Robert Burton, who says of touch: "Touch the last of the senses, and most ignoble, yet of as great necessity as the other, and of as much pleasure. This sense is exquisite in men, and by his nerves dispersed all over the body, perceives any tactile quality" (101). Touch is thus understood as felt within the body as well as without, and most of all with and through the index finger, but not in this finger's indicating capacity. Bulwer claims that the grape of the index is where the skin is thinnest; it is the permeable quality of the hand and the index finger in particular - its capacity to be a sensory gateway from the outside to inwards - that is appreciated here. Compared to the pointing finger, which is solely active, this

implies a simultaneously passive role in the act of perception. Pointing asserts the pointing subject's superior distance to the object pointed at. Contrastingly, touching can be understood as having a destabilising effect on whoever performs it, because it is mutual and reciprocal; touching indeed annuls the distance between subject and object, for in the act of touching how is it possible to distinguish between what is touching and what is touched? This question provides an important starting point for investigating a famous reference to touch in a likewise famous Shakespearean stage moment: the balcony scene of *Romeo and Juliet*.

To Touch a Cheek

Shakespeare's father John Shakespeare is known to have been a glover, so there can be little doubt that the young William would have grown up in an environment scattered with leathery replicas of the human hand, and his plays are likewise scattered with references to gloves carrying a variety of significances. Apart from the glove's importance in determining early modern social status, it is in itself a clothing item with complex material quality and significance. Its relationship with the hand that wears it is peculiarly intimate; when a hand wears a glove, the glove is situated in between the hand and the world, like a second skin, but it also touches the wearer's hand, while simultaneously being touched by it. In investigating Romeo's wish to be a glove upon the hand of Juliet in the balcony scene, this double understanding of touch can be crucial:

> Her eyes in heaven
> Would through the airy region stream so bright
> That birds would sing and think it were not night.

> See how she leans her cheek upon her hand.
>
> O, that I were a glove upon that hand,
>
> That I might touch that cheek!
>
> (2.2.20-25)

Shakespeare emphasises significance here by rhyming hand with hand: "See how she leans her cheeks upon her hand/Oh that I were a glove upon that hand/That I might touch that cheek". The hand is clearly important enough to be mentioned twice: the audience's attention is called for. On the stage, Romeo's "see how" verbally visualizes the act of pointing so that, even if not accompanied by an actual physical gesture by the actor, eyes in the audience will naturally be directed towards Juliet leaning on her hand. But what about touching that cheek? Initially the point is that Romeo is *not* touching Juliet; she is the object venerated from a distance. But even if he is not physically touching her, the sensory references to seeing and touching in the passage along with the tactile quality of the language begin to bridge that distance: Within three lines Romeo moves from implied pointing ("See how she..") to touching ("That I might touch.."); from a verbal movement that projects to a verbal movement that touches and, even more importantly, is touched. Romeo's words allow him to move from observing at a distance to being as close to Juliet as possible, in fact closer than possible: in between herself and herself (like a glove). Significantly, it would not be Romeo touching Juliet's cheek in straightforward subject/object fashion, but Juliet touching her own cheek with her own hand and Romeo squeezed in between: Juliet, Romeo, hand, glove, and cheek, all touching each other simultaneously and without clear distinction or demarcation. In likening himself to a glove, Romeo foregoes his status as sole

touching subject and becomes, at the same time, touched object.

Heard in this way, the glove presents an audacious verbal image: its significance can progress beyond the naively erotic manner of the courtly lover, to the notion of the lover giving up the contours of his own self for the involved co-existence with the loved one. The movement of Romeo can be characterised thus: from his pointing finger (whether the gesture is verbal or actual) his self flows out towards Juliet's hand where he situates himself in the in-betweenness of her touch, and the movement thus flows back from her to him. In this sense, this verbal touch echoes the touch of the lovers' hands in the palm-to-palm exchange in sonnet form during their first meeting, and the co-relation may show how closely words and physical actions intermingle. As so often in Shakespeare, the sounds of the language acquire a tactile quality in the sounds of the distinctively pleasurable consonant repetitions: "That I might touch that cheek", but there is even more synesthetic quality involved in the passage. The sensory effects intermingle for the audience who hear Romeo, see Juliet, and through hearing and seeing, may simultaneously imply the sensation of touch.

Thus, this moment of the balcony scene relies on a particularly sophisticated use of sensory elements in effects of early modern theatre; effects which have been reiterated very recently by several scholars,[20] but senses and their perceptual capacities are not unambiguously celebrated by Shakespeare. Time and again his characters express mistrust in what they perceive with eyes, ears, noses, or indeed hands, and Romeo himself of course comments on the balcony scene with foreboding words that imply his misgivings about the "substance" of what has just passed: "I am

afeared,/Being in the night, all this is but a dream,/Too flattering-sweet to be substantial" (2.2.140-41). His senses are dulled and flattered by the darkness of night and doubt consequently applied to the perceived reality. Early modern works published over the following decades in a very different context, that of science and scientific experiments, also show ambivalent attitudes to the senses. Such works are both sceptical as to the knowledge obtained by sensory perception, as we have already seen in references from the work of Francis Bacon, but, at the same time, science does not seem willing to absolutely abolish the senses, and contributes therefore often to the complication of epistemological questions rather than providing certainty. As we shall see presently, issues of science may co-illuminate some of the already outlined perceptive and cognitive ambivalences, as well as distinctions between subject and object in the gestural acts of pointing and touching.

The Scientific Hand – from Pointing to Touching to Proving

> Neither bare hand nor unaided intellect counts for much; for the business is done with instruments and aids, which are no less necessary to the intellect than to the hand. And just as instruments of the hand stimulate or guide its motion, so the instruments of the mind prompt or look out for the intellect (*Novum Organum* "Aphorism 2").

As new methods and practices evolved within the natural sciences throughout the early modern period, the former privileged position of the human sensory system as the primary catalyst for scientific knowledge was downplayed: The use of the senses was no longer neither the only nor the best way to achieve scientific knowledge, as emphasised by Francis Bacon in the quotation above from *Novum Organum*. The hands and eyes of the scientist were gradually supplemented and supplanted by new instruments and experiments which, especially during the seventeenth century, became the primary tools in scientific practice. Newly invented scientific instruments such as the microscope, telescope, and air-pump sparked the view that scientific instruments were the only way to achieve an objective understanding of nature. The use of senses – especially sight – was now linked inevitably to the subjectivity of the scientist. But, as argued below, the senses in form of the hand retained an important role in the visual culture in early modern science. The hand and references to senses thus are found in especially illustrations in late seventeenth-century scientific works. One such example is found in Robert Boyle's 1669-publication "A continuation of new experiments physio-mechanical, touching the spring and weight of the air and their effects" where the illustration depicting Boyle's experiment on barometers and atmospheric pressure shows two hands pointing at the barometer indicating different levels of measurement. And even though the hands in the illustration are graphic rather than being instrumental or directly involved in the experiment, it is worth noting that the hand is indeed still present in the illustration. One of the more prominent users of the references to senses is in fact Descartes who, in *Treatise of Man*, includes hands and eyes in illustrations accompanying his observations of the sensory system. Thereby Descartes depicts features about the senses by referring or pointing to these features through hands and eyes.

The Pressure of the Hand – Harvey and the Circulation of Blood

One of the most important scientific works of the seventeenth century, which fuelled the Scientific Revolution, is William Harvey's treatise from 1628, *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus.* In this work, Harvey presented his theory on the circulation of blood, basing his theory on different pre-existing medical theories, most importantly works by Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) and Galen (130-200AD), but offering a significant challenge to the Galenic humour theory on which we have seen both Burton and Bulwer rely. In the Galenic humoral system blood flowed through the body via the liver, but Harvey's dissections and experiments proved a different theory with the heart as blood-pumping vessel. Although ground-breaking, the theory did not immediately overthrow Galenic paradigms; discourses still co-exist and overlap. Most of Harvey's findings were based upon observations and vivisections of a number of different animals, but although the major part of Harvey's work is thus focused on animal observations, from around the tenth chapter he makes an important shift of focus from animals to humans.

The one iconic drawing in the book thus illustrates a human arm: an extension of a sensing subject rather than an object. The illustration shows how one can prove the circulation through veins and arteries by looking at the arm (Figure 5) and is part of a series of four drawings (or figures) of an arm showing and communicating the process of circulation of the blood. As the illustration visually instructs, a ligature is secured tightly around the upper arm, which subsequently cuts off the blood flow from the veins and arteries in the lower arm. The following drawings below show how the blood
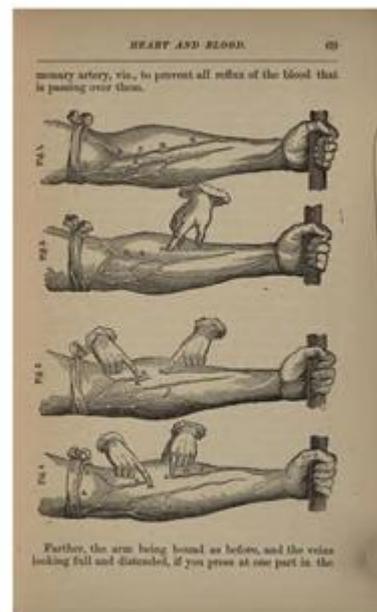

Figure 5 Illustration from Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* instructing how and where to put pressure on the arm.

flow is stopped (particularly visible in the veins as these are situated just underneath the skin), and Harvey further points to the now visible valves which help push the blood down the arm. Harvey's illustration is described in text over a couple of chapters in *De Motu Cordis* beginning with Chapter XI. Throughout the description of the experiment and the depiction, significant differences emerge between pointing and touching comparable to those already explored in this article. Harvey's description of the experiment falls in two central parts: First, he describes what happens when the ligature is applied to the arm (the first figure of the illustration), and secondly he describes the actual experiment which shows the nature of the blood flow in the arm (the last three figures of the illustration). These two parts of Harvey's argument equally represent the transition from pointing to touching. In the first part, Harvey relates how, when

a ligature has been tightened around the arm for a longer period and then released, the test-subject feels warmth streaming down the arm. Here Harvey examines the sensory experience of the test-subject; we are thus made aware of the fact that there is a person behind the arm and that the sensations this person feels are relevant to Harvey's argument. The scientist himself, however, is not interfering with his test-subject but remains merely observing.

In the second part of his argumentation, Harvey interacts more directly with the arm, thereby bridging the gap between himself as observer and test-subject. Thus, the scientist moves from pointing to touching, but the touch is not just symbolic: Harvey describes how he with one finger depresses one of the vessel valves in the arm and with another finger forces the blood in the vein back and forth, thereby "a violence to nature is done" (71), as he puts it. It is, then, because Harvey actually touches his test-subject and manipulates the blood that he is able to prove what he could merely observe in animals or in his examinations of the sensory experiences of test-subjects. Hence, apart from illustrating the features of the experiment with the blood flow, the illustration in Harvey's works also presents an interesting version of the pointing and touching hand: Contrary to the manicule or the pointing hand, Harvey's hands not only point to where one should look in order to see proof of his argument; instead, the hand is also actively touching the arm. Furthermore, it is clear that there is a subject behind the arm of the experiment, a person who is able to sense the warmth and cold depending on the tightness of the ligature: The experience of the test-subject, therefore, is an important notion in Harvey's description and depiction. In this respect, the bridging between the test-subject's sense and the touch of the scientist becomes very prominent.

Thus, in this case, the hands are indeed pointing towards the important part of the observation and experiment, but even more importantly, they participate in the experiment: It is the hand in the illustration which is actively pressing on the veins and performing the action necessary for the experiment to work. Thereby, the hand of the illustration becomes instrumental in proving Harvey's theory about the heart as a blood pumping muscle in the establishment of the theory of circulation.

Examination of proof and satisfaction of sense information are also essential elements in *Hamlet* written almost three decades before Harvey's treatise, but although Hamlet himself, as we shall see, "experiments" with forms of knowledge about the human body and mind, doubt remains at the core of these relations: there is no firm establishment of any given theory. What also marks an important link between Harvey and *Hamlet* in what follows, is a transitional understanding of the human heart – and, as we shall see, its relationship with the human hand. If Harvey's discovery of blood circulation was an all-important challenge to predominant early modern understandings of the heart, paradigmatic shifts are set in motion: where the heart is the embodied seat of spirits and emotions as in Galenic humoral theory, it is, to Harvey a functional muscle. As a consequence, the metaphor of the heart as the seat of emotions can become precisely merely a metaphor, as indeed it is to the present day.[21] In humoral theory human inward states and outward signs often correspond because both are embodied, as we have seen proof of in Bulwer. At the same time, throughout the seventeenth century, the relations between inner and outer components of the human self are set within a continuously shifting framework in which

it becomes increasingly difficult to discern between materiality of muscle and metaphor of emotion. These shifts are very much part of the contradictory discourses in *Hamlet*: a text which, as has often been noted, is written at the turn of more things than a century.

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Hamlet – the Heart and the Hand

In *Hamlet* relations between body and mind, human outward signs and inward states, and unstable epistemological issues, provide absolutely central parts of the discursive framework of the whole play, but in ways that are consistently inconsistent. *Hamlet* contains to an almost overwhelming degree all of the issues – and their counterparts – explored throughout this article, which makes it a fitting example with which to sum up, even if it does not provide any easy conclusions. As has been noted by many critics, past and present, it is notoriously difficult to extract any one systematic statement from the play, because it continuously oscillates between at least two conflicting statements that overlap and change, as in the usually comic exchange between Hamlet and Polonius concerning the potential shapes of a cloud in the third act:

> HAMLET   Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?
> POLONIUS   By th' mass and 'tis like a camel indeed
> HAMLET   Methinks it is like a weasel.
> POLONIUS It is backed like a weasel.
> HAMLET   Or like a whale?
> POLONIUS Very like a whale
> (3.2.368-373).

Of course Hamlet may be mainly exposing the old counsellor's insincerity in humouring his own rapidly changing statements and there is also a somewhat sinister element underlying the exchange, because it is their last encounter, before Hamlet mistakenly kills Polonius behind the arras in the closet scene, which we will investigate shortly. However, in a different perspective the exchange can be seen as a parody of a poorly performed experiment in which observation of a constantly changing form (such as a cloud) only leads to arbitrary conclusions and the knowledge provided by the senses is unreliable, to say the least. If there is a sarcastic comment on the reliability of empirical observation implied in this, it could be rendered even more tangible during the open-air performances at The Globe with real clouds visible overhead. It is one of several passages, which potentially epitomizes the play as in itself a kind of experiment that leaves no epistemology unexplored, but offers no *a priori* arguments, nor any *a posteriori* conclusions. In other words, it adheres to Bacon and Descartes's sceptical statements on doubt as the necessary starting point on the path to knowledge quoted in our introduction, but where Bacon and Descartes begin in doubts in order to end with certainties, *Hamlet* arguably continues and remains in doubts in order to avoid certainties.[22]

The play begins famously with Horatio's sceptical questioning of the ghost's appearance to the soldiers: he "will not let belief take hold of him" (1.1.23) till he has seen it with his own eyes. This questioning of the ghost's appearance and message is later reinforced by Hamlet himself, who, although appearing fully convinced that the ghost is indeed his "father's spirit" when he first encounters it, later finds it necessary to test what he has actually seen

and heard through "The Mousetrap," the play re-enacting the murder as described by the ghost: "I'll have grounds/More relative than this. The play's the thing/Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king" (Q1, 3.1.538-540). [23]

Howard Marchitello, in the essay "Artifactual Knowledge in Hamlet," has discussed these issues in-depth claiming that "The Mousetrap" is effectually Hamlet's take on a rapidly developing early modern scientific instalment: the experiment. But does Hamlet gain any certainty of knowledge from this "experiment"? The problem here is again symptomatic of the play's inter-conflicting statements: Claudius' reaction (expressed through body language) is taken as trustworthy, but in several places elsewhere Hamlet notoriously reiterates the unreliability of such outward signs, because "they are actions that a man might play" (1.2.84). Importantly, scepticism in *Hamlet* is thus not just a question of what the body can know, but also of what can be known about the body, especially if the body has a complex and unresolved relationship with its outside and inside components. The question shifting back and forth in the play between sensory perception as reliable and unreliable is linked to the similarly alternately severed and linked connection between outward signs and inward states, which David Hillman has explored extensively in *Shakespeare's Entrails: Belief, Skepticism and the Interior of the Body*. In the introduction to this book, Hillman formulates an important description of the shifting understandings of the human body in early modern England:

> The body was losing its ontological standing of primacy and having to struggle, as it were, in the realms of epistemology – a position

from which it has never recovered. One could almost say that, gradually forfeiting its aura of presence or givenness, the body now had to defend itself, and one way of doing so in early modern England was through recourse to fantasies of a clearly defined boundary between the 'inside' and the 'outside' (6).

"'Seems', madam - nay it is, I know not 'seems'" (1.2.76). Hamlet's already alluded to declaration early in the play in response to his mother questioning his signs of grief is what Hillman calls "a paradigmatically skeptical avowal of the unbridgeable gap between the 'inner' and the 'outer'" (85). In his first sustained speech Hamlet describes a series of gestural signs of grief – such as tears and sighs – and likens them to "actions that a man might play" (1.2.84) compared to having "that within which passes show,/These but the trappings and the suits of woe" (1.2.86). Tremendous amounts of scholarship have been devoted to the question of what Hamlet is hiding "within:" the question of what kind of subjectivity – pre-modern, early modern, or indeed modern – can be extracted from the play, so we will not here repeat what has been extensively explored for decades.[24] Instead we will condense our focus to one particular gesture, significantly related to this question: Gertrude's wringing her hands in the closet scene. This gesture, which also appears in Bulwer's *Chirologia* as already mentioned in our section on *Titus Andronicus*, occurs immediately after the mistaken murder of Polonius. It is implied in Hamlet's comment on his mother's distressed reaction which rekindles his intent of "speaking daggers" to her: "– Leave wringing of your hands. Peace, sit you down / And let me wring your heart" (3.4.32-33). Bulwer's full description of "Ploro" is as follows:

TO WRING THE HANDS is a natural expression of excessive grief used by those who *condole*, *bewail* and *lament*. Of which gesture that elegant expositor of nature (Francis Bacon in *Sylva Sylvarum*) hath assigned this reason: sorrow which diminisheth the body it affects provokes by wringing of the mind, tears, the sad expressions of the eyes, which (tears) are produced and caused by the contradiction of the spirits of the brain, which contradiction doth strain together the moisture of the brain, constraining thereby tears into the easy; from which compression of the brain proceeds the HARD WRINGING OF THE HANDS which is a gesture of expression of moisture (28).

Bulwer (and Bacon before him) here directly connects the outward signs of sorrow – tears and the wringing of hands – with an inward physiological state: the wringing of the brain caused by the spirits also encountered in humoral theory. Grief is here distinctly described as an embodied emotion operating via "spirits" between and through inner organs such as brain and heart. So it may well be in Gertrude's case, but, at the same time, there is reason to question whether Gertrude's heart is to be understood in a physiological or psychological context; whether it is the bodily seat of distress and grief or the metaphor thereof. [25] The answer, as so often in the play, is likely to be both, and this places Hamlet's understanding intriguingly somewhere between Galen and Harvey as well as in puzzling relation to Bulwer.

In fact, Hamlet seems at first to imply the contradiction of Bulwer's description: a severed connection between outer sign and inward state:

Gertrude's hand-wringing is an "action that a (wo)man might play". Hamlet's task then is to re-connect outer and inner by wringing her heart: "If it be made of penetrable stuff,/If damned custom have not brazed it so/That it be proof and bulwark against sense" (3.4.34-35). It appears that he succeeds, if we are to believe Gertrude's lines a little later: "Thou turn'st my very eyes into my soul" (3.4.88). However, this turning Gertrude inside out ought also to be counterpoised with Hamlet's exchange about his own heart – and what it hides – with Guildenstern by the end of the scene containing the performance of "The Mousetrap" which almost immediately precedes the closet scene. The significant prop in this brief exchange is the recorder, to which Hamlet compares himself accusing his old school friend of wanting to draw out his secret, of wanting to "play upon" him: "You would seem to know my stops, you would pluck out the heart of my mystery" (3.2.356-57). The exchange has been expertly analysed by Graham Holderness, who writes that "scepticism denies the inherence of inner in outer, and assumes a gap between inner truth and outer display. The sceptic assumes that outer display in others is probably misleading (actions that a man might play)" (305), which is undeniably the case here.

What is also important to also add in our context is attention to the recorder itself, because it is indeed an instrument to be handled; music is to be drawn out from it by the correct placement of fingers. As Guildenstern says "I know no touch of it, my lord" (3.2.348): the skill required is manual. Hamlet, however, implies a human interior that cannot be handled, that cannot be touched, that there in fact exists a place where the hand cannot enter. Not even the hand of the anatomist, for Hamlet's words "the heart of my mystery" seem to

denote a metaphorical as well as a material space. The heart of Hamlet's mystery is safe from outside interpretation, but few minutes later he penetrates his mother's heart proving again the changeable nature of epistemological statements about what can be known with and about the body in the play. To Bulwer wringing one's hands clearly denotes a direct corresponding inner state, but in Hamlet this correspondence is alternately contradicted and confirmed within the space of two preceding scenes. The fact that Hamlet predates Bulwer by several decades – and the fact that both Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* are published in between respectively in 1621 and 1628 – is arguably proof of the non-linear development of these shifting paradigms in the early modern period: the relations between Hamlet's hearts and hands thus represent a cross-section of our cross-over examples.

Handling the Theme of Hands: Conclusive Remarks

We have used the example of human hand, and in part its two familiar functions of pointing and touching, in order to explore, but by no means fully exhaust, early modern epistemological questions related to "Matter, mind and spirit". The intention has been to follow the hand as a thread through multiple and interwoven discourses in early modern England, creating a dialogue between the different, but also overlapping disciplines as a useful co-illuminating factor. Bulwer, Harvey and Shakespeare are all handling similar questions of how to understand relations between mind and body, but in significantly different ways that prove the non-linearity in the development of these paradigms. All three writers are pre-Cartesian, but that does not mean that they simply represent a

Figure 6 Detail from diagram from John Bulwer, *Chirologia*.

paradigmatic embodied understanding of human perception and cognition that changed for good with Descartes and his Enlightenment legacy. Rather they show how continuously relative such discourses were throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The human hand, which we have suggested represents a gateway between mind and body, between inner states and outward expressions, is thus found where discourses overlap. Bulwer's gesture "M" with the accompanying illustration entitled "sollicite cogito," "I think anxiously," (Figure 6) can be said to encompass, in a very condensed manner, some of these overlapping discourses – and the often accompanying anxiety in early modern thinking.

The illustration shows a thinking subject whose thinking process is hidden and yet revealed in body language – this is one of Bulwer's illustrations which contain a torso and head as well as a hand – and the gesture is the, even to modern eyes, very familiar scratching of the head. The question as to why humans scratch their heads while thinking, Bulwer answers thus: "But why we should in earnest meditation so naturally expresse our endeavour by this recourse of the hand to the head,

to scratch where it doth not itch; is, may be, to rouse up our distracted intellect" (85-86). A hand used to rouse up a distracted intellect shows a an interdependent, but at the same time confused relation between the body and the mind; between material and immaterial understandings of the human self that are highly important to continue exploring in the context of the early modern period. Our attempt described as "handling the theme of hands" points out the implication of performing material act (handling) with an immaterial notion (a theme). To handle a theme, as we have realised here, is literally trying to grasp the ungraspable – a fundamental paradox that characterises the early modern hand and its epistemological significances.

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[1] This catalogue was published for the exhibition *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe,* conceived by guest curator Claire Richter Sherman and organized by The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in cooperation with the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. in 2000 and 2001. Besides the catalogue an interactive website was created: http://handoc.com/WritingOnHands/index.html.

[2] The early modern period is here the conventionally understood timeframe of 1450-1750. Dealing with material beyond this time-frame or indeed questioning the time-frame itself, is beyond the scope of this article as our main examples for analysis are all from sixteenth-and seventeenth-century England. Furthermore, we deal only with examples from printed materials and thus not handwritten or hand-drawn materials.

[3] The *OED* entry for the verb "to perceive" is not irrelevant here, as it in fact reads: "To take in or apprehend with the mind or the senses." Key differences in descriptions of early modern perception can be read into this definition and several of the questions explored by this article are precisely between "taking in" *or* "apprehending with the mind *or* the senses".

[4] In recent decades scholars have explored early modern notions of the embodied self to great extent: important works include Michael Carl Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (1999); Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (2004); as well as Bruce R. Smith's historical phenomenology influencing several very recent publications on early modern senses, emotion and affect.

[5] This account of outer and inner senses appears in Burton, Part 1, "Anatomy of the Soul," subsections V-VII, (98-101). Similar understandings of the senses and perception appear in important works from the period with some variations: Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (1615); Thomas Wright's *On the Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1601, 1604,1621,1630); and Edward Reynoldes, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1647). The concept of the 'common sense' was derived from Aristotle, for an extensive account see Daniel Heller Roazen, *The Inner Touch: Archaeology of a Sensation* (2007).

[6] See Burton, Part 1, "Anatomy of the Soul," subsections IX-X, (104-105).

[7] Descartes writes: "This 'me', that is to say, the soul, by which I am what I am, is entirely distinct from body, and is even more easy to know than is the latter; and even if body were not, the soul would not cease to be what it is" (*Discourse* 101).

[8] The revival of scepticism is by historians inextricably linked to ongoing theological debates in the context of the Reformation. See for example Hamlin, *Tragedy and Skepticism in Shakespeare's England* (2005). Landau also discusses the connection between the revival of scepticism and the disputes over religious dogma during the Reformation in "'Let me not burst in Ignorance': Skepticism and Anxiety in *Hamlet*" (2010).

[9] Bacon, for example, also writes that: "By far the greatest hindrance and distortion of the human intellect stems from the dullness, inadequacy, and unreliability of the senses" (*Novum Organum* 87).

[10] For a more detailed account and discussion of these different early modern epistemologies see for example Gallagher and Raman, introduction to *Knowing Shakespeare: Senses, Embodiment and Cognition* (2010), pp. 1-29. Or Hillman, introduction to *Shakespeare's Entrails*: *Belief, Scepticism and the Interior of the Body* (2007), pp.1-57.

[11] This argument is also important in twentieth century phenomenology, particularly in the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and has been recently explored significantly within the contexts of what is known as "historical phenomenology" by Bruce R. Smith, particularly in *Phenomenal Shakespeare* (2010): see for example (xvii-xviii).

[12] See for example Roach, (1985) or Astington, (2010).

[13] The fact that the same actors were evidently influenced by verbal and non-verbal methods of rhetoric also provides a link to Bulwer: See Roach (1985) or Astington (2010), as well as Thomas Heywood's well-known *An Apology for Actors* (1612) which ostensibly emphasizes acting as rhetorical art.

[14] Bulwer is by no means the first or only advocate of this notion. It is found in Quintillian's *Institutio oratoria* (first century AD). See Kendon, (2004) p.18.

[15] See Descartes, *Treatise of Man* (*De homine*, 1662 and *Traite de l'homme*, 1664): "I assume their body to be but a statue, an earthen machine" (1).

[16] The whole play may indeed be read as a complex comment on an interplay between words and bodies, as Mary L. Fawcett has shown in an influential essay "Arms/Words/Tears: Language and the Body in *Titus Andronicus*" (1983).

[17] Jonathan Bate also mentions this in his notation of the Arden edition of the play (n9-11, 206).

[18] For an extensive account of the manicule see Sherman (2008).

[19] Touch was sometimes referred to as "the king of the five senses" (E. Harvey 1, n1.); an epitaph that contradicts its Aristotelian hierarchical status showing further its ambivalent place in early modern discourse.

[20] See for example Craik and Pollard (2013) or (Karim-Cooper and Stern (2013).

[21] For an example of how scholars have discussed the relationship between metaphor and materiality – differences in meaning between modern and early modern psychology – in recent decades see for example Schoenfeldt (1999) p. 8.

[22] For accounts and discussions of classical scepticism in early modern England and in Shakespeare's writing see Hamlin (2005) or Bell (2002).

[23] In the case of Horatio, senses are reliable in at least ascertaining the existence of the ghost whatever it may be or represent, but the play then proceeds to significantly complicate this epistemology, by offering its opposite. As Howard Marchitello writes: "*Hamlet* is important to this discussion of the senses in early modern culture in part because it marks a crossroads, a moment of the jarring coincidence of two radically opposed epistemologies distinguished above all by the different ways in which the body's role is understood. On the one hand, thinking happens only through the body and its properly functioning perceptions. On the other hand, Shakespeare's era witnessed an increasingly serious skepticism over their viability to secure knowledge" (139).

[24] See for example Holderness (2009) for an extremely helpful overview and discussion of this.

[25] Hillman argues that *Hamlet* represents precisely a striding of both meanings in relation to the heart; the transition from materiality to metaphor has not yet been made, but is in the making: "the play itself is one of the central transitional points between the physical and the 'spiritual' in Western culture; Hamlet's death a corporeal representation of these faultlines, half-metaphorical, half-somatic: 'Now cracks a noble heart' (5.2.364)" (116).

Anti-Rhetorical Strategies in Early Modern Images of Comic Actors:
Harlequin's Iconography and its Surviving Medieval Features

Sandra Pietrini

The *Compositions de Rhétorique* by Monsieur Don Arlequin was published by Tristano Martinelli in 1601 as a wedding present to Maria de' Medici.[1] Martinelli was at the time one of Maria de' Medici's favourite players and the book was completed during the company's journey between autumn of 1600 and spring of 1601, following the future queen, who was to be married to Henry IV.[2] *Imprimé Dela Le Bout du Monde*, the book, had been conceived during the period of Maria de' Medici's engagement to the king of France, while the Italian troupe the *Accesi* was staying in Lyon with the French court. Martinelli resorts to a clearly provoking procedure, since the title of the book evokes the most prestigious art of literary tradition, but these *Compositions de Rhétorique* are in fact composed of blank pages interposed with images. One of the pages shows the famous actor in the typical Harlequin's patchwork costume, a spear in his hand and a pannier with three little Harlequins and some tools on his back (Figure 1).

The reference to the noble art of rhetoric is an ironic trick which accompanies the iconographic strategy: the pages of the book contain a sort of parade of *comici* presented in the characteristic attire of their types: it is a promotional book to be browsed in order to celebrate and make memorable their successful stage performances. The ironical reference to rhetoric points out the diversity and alterity of players: while the *literati* use words and sentences, the *comici* employ their expressive
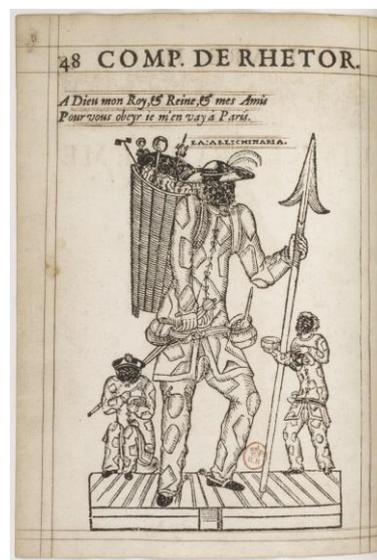

Figure 1 Tristano Martinelli, *Compositions de Rhétorique de Monsieur Don Arlequin*, Lyon, 1601, p. 48 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve Yd. 922)

bodies and gestures: a popular visual strategy counterposed to that of the dominant culture.

The (anti)rhetorical strategy of Tristano Martinelli does not explain some puzzling attributes of his image, in particular the three little Harlequins in the basket on his back and the spear in his hand, details which I will dwell upon later. A figurative document presenting a certain resemblance to this bizarre iconography is nevertheless worth mentioning right now. An engraving in the *Recueil Fossard*, one of the first iconographical documents concerning a *commedia dell'arte* troupe, shows Harlequin carrying the sons of Franceschina to their actual father, Pantaloon, holding some of them by the hand and others, once more, in a basket on his back[3] (Figure 2).

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Figure 2 *Recueil Fossard*. Stockholm, Drottningholms Teatermuseum.

In this case, the situation is part of a dramatic context, but the recurrence of the basket full of little Harlequins is not to be dismissed as a simple coincidence. It appears again, for instance, in a 1667 *scenario* by Domenico Biancolelli.[4] As I will illustrate with the help of some examples, the basket and other elements re-emerge in different contexts, until the climactic period of *commedia dell'arte*, the 17th century. Has the figure of Harlequin perhaps inherited the attributes of a more ancient tradition, moulding them into a new comical pattern?

As is known, the question of Harlequin's origin is still a subject of investigation for scholars. Numerous pages have been written since the 1904 publication of Otto Driesen's study,[5] which tried to demonstrate the devilish nature of Hellequin, gradually remoulded into a comic form.[6] Beginning with the evocative name,[7] some sources clearly show a link between Harlequin and the folkloric re-elaborations of the demonic. The existence of a possible link cannot be denied, even if the invention of *commedia dell'arte* masks has to be attributed to the creative imagination of some audacious performers rather than to a popular

tradition of entertainment such as the carnival (which probably featured an early example of comic types conceived on the rudimentary stages erected in market places).

At any rate, as already pointed out, some popular medieval roots of the most renowned mask, Harlequin, can be seen in iconography, especially if we look at a spectacular ritual form widespread in medieval popular culture: the *charivari*. Through a ritual staging of disorder and inversion of hierarchy, the burlesque procession of *charivari* is motivated by an anthropological need for social control, and its persistence is confirmed by the numerous interdictions from civil and religious authorities, repeated over and over even after the late Middle Ages[8]. The *charivari* was organized by the members of a community to stigmatize and mock socially improper behaviour, such as the second wedding of a widow or the marriage of an old man with a young woman, probably doomed to infecundity. It is impossible not to think about the recurring misadventures of Pantaloon, wooing his son's fiancée or someone just as inappropriate to his age. Of course, at the end of the story he will be ridiculed, cuckolded, beaten and obliged to economic loss (which also has the function of counterbalancing his proverbial avarice).

This underlying thematic convergence of *commedia dell'arte* subjects and the *charivari* has already been thoroughly explored.[9] What has not been sufficiently investigated is the medieval tradition from which these kinds of suggestions draw their inspiration. They are in fact a sort of branching tree, with many shoots growing in different directions: some of them dry up and die, while others give birth to new foliage, perpetuating a continuously transformed tradition, ultimately enduring into
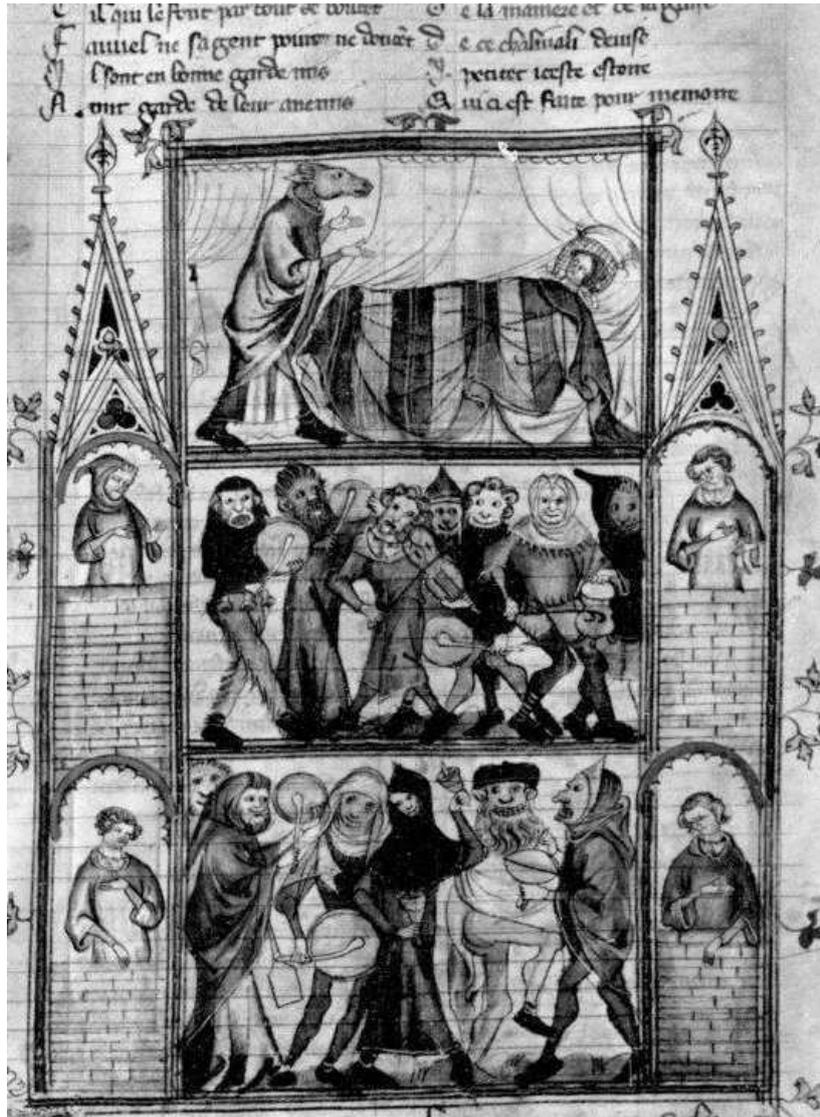
Figure 3 *Roman de Fauvel*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 146, f. 34

modern folklore. A larger investigation of medieval iconography related to the world of entertainment could cast a new light on the complex network of interpolations and juxtapositions from which Harlequin seems to emerge. The problem is that the focus on Harlequin's infernal connotations, partly faded but re-emerging in many different ways, has obscured one side of the question: the multifaceted conception of the comic in the early modern period.

Having its roots in the medieval connection between folly and sin, comicality is frequently linked to the demoniac, in an attempt to exorcise something terrible through the power of laughter. In order to reduce alterity to something no longer fearsome, it is necessary to soften it through a shift from the monstrous to the grotesque. Beginning in the 16th century, this need begins to fade away, together with the strong religious predominance over popular imagery. Of course, the belief in an

ultramundane reality crowded with devils, sinners, angels and saints, continued to be widespread, but laughing was not anymore considered the indispensable means to fight these evil forces. This process was obviously gradual and partial, but it clearly affects the attitude towards the comic that characterises the early modern period and the later centuries.

If we consider the question from this point of view, the *zannis* of the *commedia dell'arte* release themselves from a possible ancient heritage, which nevertheless tends to reappear in some specific elements and attributes. Devoid of their original sense, these attributes acquire ironic connotations hinting to a sort of rhetorical strategy which aims at a further ridiculing and taming of Harlequin's figure.

In this article, I will try to trace the possible origin of some details that have not yet received all the attention they deserve, the first of which is the basket carried on Harlequin's back, containing his offspring. I will analyse later the tools in the pannier in Martinelli's engraving, focusing on the model's possible origin: an eccentric figure (Harlequin) with a stick-like instrument (a spear) and a pannier. As I will demonstrate, the little Arlequins that appear in Martinelli's engraving and in the Fossard scene are probably a fanciful re-elaboration of the original iconographical pattern: a pannier full of children carried on the back of devilish figures.

A basket full of little sinners

What could be the meaning of this icono-graphical motif, the carrying of children in a basket? A manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* – the satyrical poem written by Gervais du Bus around 1310-14 that narrates the adventures of the eponymous ass, who embodies the worst

human vices – contains two bizarre illustrations[10] that constitute the most striking iconographical evidence of this folkloric rite. The two illustrations are divided into three levels: in the upper one we can see the circumstance causing the scandal, the ass Fauvel and his new bride in bed, while the other two depict a mock serenade (Figure 3). The other miniature represents three *charivari* scenes (Figure 4).

In the upper panel, among the participants in the noisy performance, appears a man with a feathered wing on his head carrying a child on his back; in the central one a hooded wild man drives a cart containing two children, while in the bottom one a man dressed as a monk pushes a barrow containing a naked, bald-headed man. In the central frame, a little barrow is pushed by a hooded man dressed in a bearskin and playing a drum. Another of the manuscript's illu-strations shows a tall man wearing wings on his head, driving the wheels of a cart containing numerous children (Figure 5).

The figure wearing wings on his head is the demon Hellequin leading the hellish brigade (*Hellequin / et toutes les autres sa maisnie*).[11] In the *Roman de Fauvel*, the *mesnie Hellequin* is in fact mentioned as a comparative term to describe the rattling and clanging *charivari*'s horde.[12] It is worth remembering that besides assuming a licentious character, the *charivari* implies disguise through animal masks or sexual inversions, unseemly dance and making music with improper instruments such as pots and pans, apt to produce cacophonic sounds instead of a pleasant melody. The noise caused by the use of common objects like pots and cowbells also has the purpose of summoning the attention of the inhabitants of the village where the comical procession takes place.

Figure 4 *Roman de Fauvel*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 146, f. 36v

The figure of Hellequin makes his first literary appearance in Orderico Vitale's chronicle, dating to the first half of the 12th century. The author recalls an event that has been described by a young cleric, who in the last night of the year 1091 happened to face a sort of giant with an enormous club, accompanied by a host of devils, monsters and tortured infernal sinners. The chronicler concludes that it is certainly the *familia Herlechini*.[13] The vision of the cleric is a reinterpretation from a Christian point of view of a very popular myth belonging to the folklore. This myth seems to have some specific elements and characteristics in common with the *charivari*, such us the metallic noise of rings and everyday instruments, which in

Orderico's chronicle are carried by some beasts preceding the hellish procession. The fact that the two brigades have a different connotation, the one being hellish and the other burlesque, does not exclude a convergence of signs, since in medieval imagery the comical and the fearsome can often mix, giving birth to the typical grotesque that can be seen in many reliefs and miniatures of the manuscripts' margins.

The name of Hellequin clearly suggests the realm of Hell (Hell-quin) and in fact his etymology has been the object of some debates.[14] The figure of Hellequin has been considered by some scholars the hellish ancestor of Harlequin.[15] In the miniature, the figure identified with Hellequin drives a barrow

Figure 5 *Roman de Fauvel*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 146, f. 34v

crowded by odd little creatures. According to the tradition, the mesnie Hellequin carried the children who died before being christened.[16] According to Henry Rey-Flaud, the brood depicted in the miniature are illegitimate and abandoned children adopted at the moment of their death.[17] In this case, the reference would be more precisely to a social behaviour deserving to be stigmatized with a burlesque procession.

An engraving by Jacques Callot shows a riding of an ass backward, an iconographical subject deriving from the medieval tradition of scornful attitudes, related to the widespread category of *obscena* and adopted also during the feasts of fools.[18] Also the *osculum infame*, that is the scornful kissing of the ass, is a *topos* in medieval iconography and it frequently

accompanies parodied ridings in iconography. In fact, it is more often shown in satirical and blasphemous images in the margins of gothic manuscripts.[19] Even more frequent is the anal threat, with someone pointing a sharp tool towards someone else's bottom[20]. Callot's engraving combines the backward riding and a menace to the ass's anus performed with bellows. Though not very characterised, the figures belong to the types of *commedia dell'arte* – the rider being recognizable as Pantaloon by his hat and pointed beard. On his back, the rider carries a basket containing indefinite black figures, most probably two cats. A very fascinating analogy has been traced between this depiction and a painting extremely derisive to the point of blasphemy, by Niccolò Frangipani, *Charivari e Sacra Famiglia.*[21] Here, an old Saint Joseph wearing a buffoon's cap is nourishing a cat representing Christ, held by a cheerful young Maria. The scene is very crowded, since the not-so-holy family is surrounded by coarse, laughing and gesticulating men, one of them lifting a frying pan over the cuckolded presumed father.[22] Dating to the 16th century, the painting is certainly part of a tradition of parody re-elaborations, whose success is partly due to the scenes re-launched by *comici dell'arte* in their exhibitions and sometimes surviving in iconography, such as an anonymous 17th century painting showing a Columbine holding a cat-child, a possible Pantaloon riding an ass, and a Harlequin with a menacing stick in his hand.[23] Such echoes of an enduring tradition of scorn and derision enrich the fruitful breeding-ground from which commedia dell'arte stems.

If the cat-children clearly belong to the context of mockery, though possibly not forgetful of the alliance between this ambiguous animal and evil forces, the presence of unbaptized dead children seems to hint at a different tradition: the return from hell of human souls in the form of visible ghosts (*revenants*). This is apparent mostly in the *charivari* miniatures and re-emerges in some *commedia dell'arte* elements (according to some scholars, beginning from the primitive *zanni*'s white costume, evoking the chthonic divinities.[24])

Figure 6 *York Hours*, London, Private Collection, f. 76

Figure 7 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud. Lat. 84, f. 227

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Figure 8 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 6, f. 153
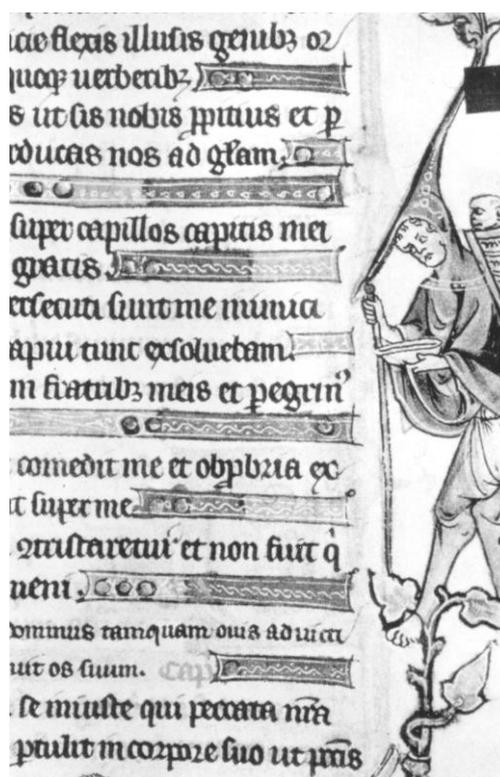
Figure 9 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 82, f. 207

Literary echoes of a psycho-pomp Harlequin can be found in some later *pièces* and pamphlets, such as the 1585 *Histoire pleasante des Faict et Gestes de Harlequin Comedian Italien*. Here, in the form of a monologue, the narrator, naming himself the dare-devil comedian Arlequin Roi, narrates his descent into hell, where he is admired for his dancing by the infernal King Pluto, to whom he grants the souls of a prostitute and her son.[25] But in fact the subject has its roots, once again, in medieval literary sources. In the *Jeu de la Feuillée* by Adam de la Halle, from about 1262, for instance, Hellequin (*Hielekin*) is a demon («leader of the furious host»): in love with the deadpan fairy queen Morgue, he sends his attendant Croquesos to woo her.[26] The context is the May feast for celebrating the cycle of the year and the signal of

the *maisnie Hielekin*'s arrival is the metallic sound of bells («*mainte clokete sonant*»).

Is the basket carried on Harlequin/ Hellequin's back to be interpreted as a sign of his prerogative of passing through the two different worlds? If we return to medieval iconography, we discover some occurrences of the pannier full of creatures, once again in the context of entertainment. The 13th and 14th century miniatures of jesters carrying children in a basket on their backs are rather frequent in western manuscripts. We can remember that Christian writers mention the entertainers mostly as negative examples of sinful behaviour and jesters' iconography clearly show the signs of these moral condemnations (they are often associated with monstrous or devilish creatures). Despite its recurrence, the subject of jesters carrying a basket on their back does not become a real

Figure 10 © London, British Library Board, Stowe 49, f. 220

topos, as the variety of depictions and their several variants clearly show. In the *York Hours*, a manuscript dating 1280-90,[27] the jester wears the typical tight hose tied under the feet, probably very useful for acrobatics, and a long hood, replicated on the child he wears in a basket on his back (Figure 6).

The contiguity with beggars is sometimes the most striking feature. In a manuscript containing the narration of Saint Denis' life, among the workers around a Paris bridge on the Seine, we can see a beggar with an offering plate and a stick[28]. He wears a red mantle with a hood and brings on his back a child wearing the same kind of hat. The kid is not in a basket but inside a sheet, with the flaps tied to form a sort of bag. Even more frequent, mostly in Franco-Flemish

14th century manuscripts, are depictions of jesters carrying apes (Figures 7-9).

The presence of "realistic" details strengthens the impression that the artists have possibly drawn their inspiration from actual contemporary life. In a bizarre marginal drawing of a *Legenda aurea* by Jacques de Voragine manuscript, compiled in England around 1260, the jesters complain in word balloons about hunger and cold,[29] realistic details revealing a kindly satirical attitude toward these outcasts (Figure 10). In the *Rothschild Canticles*, the jester is partly naked and only wears a short blue mantle, while the ape he carries in his basket has a long red fool's hood (Figure 11).

Figure 11 *Rothschild Canticles*. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 404, f. 188.

Figure 12 © London, British Library Board, Yates Thompson 8, f. 269

Figure 13 *Roman d'Alexandre*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 264, f. 133v

We can find the basket containing children also in some images satirically hinting at the world of entertainment and the upside down world, such as in a breviary that belonged to *Marguerite de Bar* dating to the beginning of the 14th century, where the basket full of children is carried by a wolf talking to a stag (Figure 12). Another miniature of the manuscript (f. 263) shows a man with a stick and the typical basket on his back, in this case not containing apes or children but two rabbits, one of them playing a trumpet. We can find suggestive re-elaborations of the theme also in the best known manuscripts of the 13th and 14th century. In a miniature from the *Roman d'Alexandre*, for instance, a man with a traveller's staff carries two children in a basket, while a buffoon with a stick and a typical offering plate is carrying two little buffoons in a

basket on his back (Figure 13). Perfectly replicating their father's attire, they also wear a cap with long horns. While common men give birth to children, buffoons can only breed little specimens of their kind, carrying them along in their wanderings and making a show of their descendants just as they exhibit their skills. In addition, on the left side of the *folium* margin we can see two apes playing with a barrow. Depictions of ape trainers carrying the animals on their backs are also very frequent, with the combination of realistic details and decorative re-elaborations typical of medieval imagery. We may remember that entertainers are often assimilated to the ape, an animal mimicking everything and understanding nothing, but also a sinful and morally disgusting animal frequently associated with the devil.[30]

The image of the buffoon-children would also be employed in later periods, in different depictions but with an interesting connotation, pointing out the idea of the replication and perpetuation of folly. In an engraving taken from a German text on the corporation of folly (*Schelmenzunft*), dated 1512, a buffoon is sowing another little specimen of himself (Figure 14).

Through an almost mythical, although prosaic and parodied view, the origin of

Figure 14 Thomas Murner, *Schelmenzunft*, Augsburg, 1513

entertainers is linked to the idea of the never-ending flow of human stupidity. The birth of folly is a theme that can be found also in the depiction of the *Mère-folle* nourishing many buffoon-children, depicted for example in the relief on a stall in the French church of Saint-Spire, at Corbeil. With some variants, the subject was re-launched in iconography at least until the 16th century. In an engraving by Pieter Brueghel the Elder, for instance, Mother Folly is nursing her offspring.[31] On the right, we can see two of her young looking after their little brothers and on the left two adult buffoons, one playing and the other clumsily dancing (Figure 15).

Figure 15 Pieter Brueghel The Elder, engraving. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Figure 16 Fresco, Castel Coira/Churburg, Sluderno (Bolzano).

Even more interesting is a fresco made around 1580 in the walls of the inner balcony at the Castle Coira at Bolzano, in Alto-Adige (Italy), belonging to the Count Trapp and housing a large collection of ancient armours. Here we can see a scene revealing the permanence of the birth of folly theme, repurposed in a fanciful variant: the little buffoons spring out from the

eggs nursed by an adult buffoon (Figure 16). Later on, they grow up playing joyfully and amusing themselves, until the moment in which they are caught, measured with a rule and put all together in a bag, probably in order to be carried on to some court, where they will be employed for the entertainment of the aristocrats.

These illustrations of the theme, present a common feature even in their variety: the connection of folly to mere stupidity, and the discarding of the previous tradition, which associated it with sin. After the humanistic re-evaluation of folly, things could no longer be the same. The prevailing line is the comic one, diverging from the gloomy view still dominating Bosch's paintings and reinterpreting folly as a mere category of the comic. In spite of all the considerations on the infernal attributes enduring in 16th century iconography of Harlequin, it is a matter of fact that the character places himself on this side: he is foolish only in the sense of being silly, constantly misinterpreting words and facts, deeply rooted in the material world and making himself ridiculous. Even his sinful behaviour comes out from an almost carnivalesque prevalence of base appetites (for food, luxury and money). Just like Falstaff, his incontinence, falseness and cowardice are more laughable than sinful. At

any rate, the medieval demoniac connotations of Harlequin's *ancestors* move in that same direction, making the primitive alliance with evil forces dissolve into a faded vagueness, often a mere pretext for recalling his diversity.

Returning to the point, the carrying of children in the *Roman de Fauvel* represents a common iconographical pattern, belonging to the world of entertainment and misery: it evokes on the one hand wandering jesters carrying trained apes and on the other beggars carrying their children. If in depictions of entertainers the basket could have a mere practical function, in the miniature from the *Roman de Fauvel* this element seems to have polysemic connotations. Within this net of iconographical references it can be considered a sort of link between the underworld of marginal figures such as jesters and beggars – often affected by some physical deformity which ideally corresponds to a spiritual degeneration – and the infernal world of demons. In a French manuscript of the *Histoire de Fauvain*[32], a probable source of inspiration for the *Roman de Fauvel*, a devil holding a stick in his hoofed hand and sporting a second face on his belly, both evoking his feral nature, carries on his back a basket containing a horse, that is, the sinful protagonist, and some children (Figure 17).

Figure 17 *Histoire de Fauvain*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 571, f. 150v

A pannier with children is also to be found in the depiction of a devil in the *Roman de la Rose* manuscript illuminated by da Richart e Jeanne de Montbaston around the mid-14th century (f. 71).[33] This miniature shows a punishment inflicted on sinners, who are boiled in a cauldron; the action is performed by two horned demons with burning eyes: one of them, crouched, is poking the fire, while the other is standing and carries a child in a basket on his back. Such depictions of the infernal world are more parodic than dreadful, but their comic connotations did not exclude a probable function of moral admonition. The child represents the poor souls of the unbaptised, doomed to remain in hell, and reminds its observers of the dangerous powers of evil forces. Also the above quoted image of the wolf

carrying a basket full of children in the *Marguerite de Bar* manuscript acquires new connotations if we reconsidered it in relationship to the satirical iconography of infernal creatures, clearly shifting towards a comical-grotesque meaning. On the other hand, within the context of the medieval consideration of earthly entertainments and hellish punishments, images like these cast a sinister light on similar depictions of men carrying apes or children in their baskets.

This tradition must have been very deeply rooted, as indicated also by the fact that some echoes of it have reached our time. In the Alpine regions of Europe, St. Nicholas is sometimes accompanied by an odd figure, Krampus, a hellish counterpart of Santa Claus who has the function of punishing naughty children. Usually represented as a devil with cloven hooves and horns, he carries a basket in which he will put abducted children. Krampus appeared in the 19th century and it still survives in the popular rites preceding St. Nicholas' Day.

Is therefore the Harlequin carrying a basket to be ultimately linked to the demons, with the image of jesters and trainers as a sort of morally connoted *trait d'union* between the two typologies? The superposition of signs is evident, even if tracing a direct analogy and line of continuity would be just a little far-fetched. At any rate, it is true that during the 13th century devils begin to lose their original monstrous character for a decisive shift toward the comic and the farcical, while entertainers often acquire devilish or beastly connotations. Harlequin has

probably absorbed the traditional traits common to both contexts, living as he was in the outsiders' land of entertainment, disorder and sinful behaviour.

What has probably been overestimated is the persistence of negative connotations linked to this iconographical pattern. To make a comparison, just as the Shakespearean fool escapes the heritage of the Vice, limiting himself to sporadically recall it and pursuing his way to wit and to the unmasking of appearances,[34] so Harlequin sometimes wears the old attributes of his infernal ancestry as a means of ostentation, a rhetorical emblem of a diversity more and more reabsorbed by its merely comic role. Since stupidity is one of the main marks of his character, his infernal eccentricity can only be ridiculous, a sort of pretence of an old sovereignty on the realm of evil. In fact, in *commedia dell'arte* there is no place for real evil forces in the moral sense of the term, since even conflicts deriving from sexual impulses, greediness, or boasting are conceived merely as human weaknesses to be defeated by laughter.

Seen from this point of view, the controversial question of Harlequin's infernal nature acquires quite another connotation as a deliberate ironic strategy, to safeguard a sort of mysterious appeal to a character destined to become more and more civilized. The basket carried on his back certainly hints at a folkloric tradition, which nevertheless could have been conceived as a sort of pretence, a sign and not an index, a rhetorical discourse within the context of an upside-down world.

Let's analyse the frontispiece image of the *Compositions de Rhétorique* (Figure 1) in greater detail. Why does Harlequin carry such a long and menacing spear? He seems willing to present himself as a fighting warrior, when we
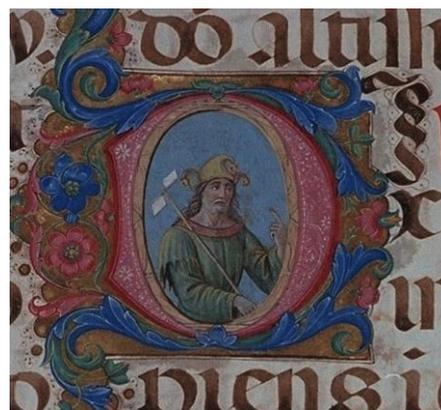

Figure 18 New York, Columbia University, ms. 2, f. 17.

know perfectly well that one of the recurring traits of his character is cowardice. And what utility have all the instruments carried on the basket on his back? One of them is clearly a pinwheel, an attribute of folly to be found in various other contexts. In a 15th century Florentine manuscript, the *insipiens* traditionally illustrating the Psalm 52 is depicted as a richly dressed buffoon who holds a pinwheel, alluding to his foolish carelessness and thoughtlessness (Figure 18).[35] A pinwheel (*girella*) is also mentioned by Cesare Ripa among the attributes of *madness* and *foolishness*.[36]

Harlequin has certainly lost the negative moral connotations of medieval foolery to show a plainer silliness, provoking laughter because of his behaviour and attitudes. Together with other tools, the pinwheel is an instrument of his trade, carried in the rhetorical purpose of reminding us of his foolery, while his silly offspring are at his feet, engaged in the everyday occupations of satisfying their perpetual greed and begging money (two attitudes equally typical and thus employed rhetoriccally as means of characterisation).

The black mask entirely covering his face – quite unrealistic since, as everybody knows, the

comici usually wore a typical half mask – could be interpreted as a hint of devilish connotation, but more as an ironic reference than as a reminder of a hellish origin. The figure's menacing dangerousness clashes with the instruments carried in his basket, pinwheels and spoons rather than weapons. Seen in this perspective, even the spear acquires the sense of an ironic hint at the domesticated otherness of the character, interested in satisfying his basic appetites rather than in fighting. The two little bags hanging from his ankles clearly confirm this hypothesis, one of them probably having the function of a purse and the other, with the spoon containing food, also used to nourish his hungry little children.

Tristano Martinelli resorts to some medieval elements alluding to folly within the context of a rhetorical iconographic purpose, aiming at an ironic domestication of the figure in which the devilish connotations are but mere survivals of a fading tradition. This mixture of different attributes confirms the heterogeneous nature of his invention, Harlequin's mask, summing up some of the old features of folly but also adding a specific character to the type. This is the result of a well-balanced mingling, where we can recognize faults such as folly, greed and cowardice. While folly is a reminiscence coming from the medieval tradition, with its old association with sin becoming an ironic hint, the other two vices are new features, which will be shared by another important comic figure, the Shakespearean Falstaff. In Harlequin's figure these signs coexist in a very well balanced way, without becoming a unique feature. This is the result of a rhetorical strategy in the construction of the character, whose climax can be seen in Martinelli's engraving. Let's briefly analyse one of these primary faults. The amplification of

cowardice as a comic sign is an invention by *comici dell'arte*, in particular with the figure of Capitan Spaventa, the character conceived and performed by Francesco Andreini. Harlequin shares this feature in many *canovacci*, but in fact he displays this characteristic more rarely and to a lesser degree, and Martinelli's iconographic appearance clearly confirms this point. Revealed by some iconographic hints (pinwheels and spoons rather than weapons), that is, through an ironic discourse alluding to many years of stage practice and well-known plots, Harlequin's cowardice is a sign re-proposed within a rhetorical frame in which iconography replaces words. This is just the beginning of a strategic use of figurative allusions and signs. Another very effective rhetorical strategy, though aiming at an opposite purpose, would be pursued by Giovan Battista Andreini, the son of Capitan Spaventa's inventor, around 1600, when for his portrait by Domenico Fetti he chose to hold a mask in his hand, an emblem of his profession just as much as a book in the hands of *literati*.[37]

If Martinelli seems more interested in the mingling of elements from different traditions than in strongly featuring his character, the reason cannot be seen as a weakness of conception, but on the contrary as making Harlequin a sort of iconic pivot or crossroads of suggestions, which other types are to develop and show to the extreme, becoming caricatures. Martinelli's Harlequin comes from *le bout du monde* that is hell and diversity, but his infernal origin is rescued by the paradise of the comic context, putting him on a sort of detached level in which all signs may converge and coexist to build up a refined strategy aimed at the survival of his figure through the deliberate use of ambivalent and heterogeneous signs. Only the definition of indefinite suggestions may hope to

survive the wear and tear of the everyday re-proposition of types on the stage. And in fact Harlequin will survive, but with a gradual loss of this charming heritage and display of signs, and will ultimately become the well-known domesticated figure wearing a *patchwork of devised pieces* and devoting himself more and more to courtly activities such as wooing (a trend which later on will be exemplified in Watteau's paintings). Tristano Martinelli's Harlequin carrying his offspring is indeed a last great rhetorical issue combining ancient heritage with contemporary suggestions, where an anti-rhetorical, ironic point of view wittily foreshadows the end of a tradition.

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[1] Tristano Martinelli, *Compositions de Rhétorique de Monsieur Don Arlequin* (Lyon, 1601), 48 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve Yd. 922).

[2] See Siro Ferrone, *Attori mercanti corsari. La Commedia dell'Arte in Europa tra Cinque e Seicento* (Torino: Einaudi, 1993), 191-192.

[3] Recueil Fossard. Stockholm, Drottningholms Teatermuseum. See Margaret A. Katritzky, *The Recueil Fossard 1928-88: a review and tree reconstructions*, in *The commedia dell'arte from the Renaissance to Dario Fo. The Italian origins of European theatre*, VI, ed. Ch. Cairns (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 99–116.

[4] Domenico Biancolelli, *La Hotte*, in Stefania Spada, *Domenico Biancolelli ou l'art d'improviser* (Napoli: Istituto Orientale, 1969).

[5] Otto Driesen, *Der Unsprung des Harlekin. Ein kulturgeschichtliches Problem* (Berlin: Duncker, 1904).

[6] See for instance Lucia Lazzerini, *Preistoria degli Zanni: mito e spettacolo nella coscienza popolare*, in *Scienze credenze occulte livelli di cultura*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Firenze, 26-30 giugno 1980 (Firenze: Olschki, 1982), 445-475; Ileana Florescu, "Harlequin, nom de comédien," *Biblioteca Teatrale*, n.s., 4 (1986), 21-59; Delia Gambelli, *Arlecchino a Parigi I. Dall'inferno alla corte del Re Sole* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1993); Bent Holm, *The Hellequin Figure in Medieval Custom*, in *Custom, Culture and Community in the Later Middle Ages: A Symposium*, eds. Th. Pettit – L. Sondergaard (Odense: Odense University Press,1994), 105-124, especially 114-115.

[7] See Alessandra Mignatti, *Nome, omen! Riflessione sull'etimologia dello Zanni*, in *Zani mercenario della piazza europea*. ed. A.M. Testaverde ,Giornate Internazionali di Studio, Bergamo, 27-28 settembre 2002 (Bergamo: Moretti & Vitali, 2003), 29-63.

[8] See François Lebrun, *Le charivari à travers les condamnations des autorités ecclésiastiques en France du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle*, in *Le Charivari*, eds. Jacques Le Goff – Jean-Claude Schmitt, Actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris (25-27 avril 1977) par l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris-La Haye-New York: Mouton, 1981), 221-228.

[9] See especially Ambrogio Artoni, *Le radici medievali e folcloriche della maschera zannesca*, in *Zani mercenario della piazza europea*, 15-28.

[10] *Roman de Fauvel*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 146, ff. 34, 36v. The allegorical poem *Roman de Fauvel* or *Fauvain* consists of two books, the first dated to 1310, the second to 1314. The protagonist, Fauvel, is an antihero who is a horse (or an ass) who has acquired a certain prominence in the French royal court.

[11] According to Schmitt, they are cock's feathers, a bird traditionally associated with Mercury, a god in which he sees a sort of Harlequin's *alter ego*: Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Le masques, le diable, les morts dans l'occident medieval,"

Razo, Cahiers du Centre d'Études médiévales de Nice, 6 (1986), 87-119. At any rate, as observed by Bent Holm (*The Hellequin Figure in Medieval Custom*), in late medieval iconography feathered wings are a typical element of demons and the torturers of Christ and the saints.

[12] "*Je crois que c'estoit Hellequin, / Et tuit li autre de sa mesnie, / Qui le suivent toute enrage,*" cit. in Carlo Ginzburg, *Charivari, associations juvéniles, chasse sauvage*, in *Le Charivari*, 133.

[13] Orderico Vitale, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, cit. in Holm, *The Hellequin Figure in Medieval Custom*, 106. On the *mesnie Hellequin* described in Orderic's chronicle and on the other literary documents in which it is mentioned, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants. Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris : Gallimard, 1994), 115-145. Hellequin's club has been associated with the weapon typically carried by the wild man by some scholars, such as Robert Lima, *Stages of Evil. Occultism in Western Theater and Drama* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 61.

[14] Starting out from a study by Hermann M. Flasdieck, "Harlekin. Germanischer Mythos in romanischer Wandlung," *Anglia*, 49 (1937), 225-340, Jean-Claude Schmitt proposes a derivation of the term from *Heer*, meaning *host*, and *thing*, a sort of free men association (*Les revenants etc.*, 122). Carlo Ginzburg associates the burlesque procession with a demonic savage hunting, making the term derive from *hourvari*, a hunters' shout to recall the dogs: Ginzburg, *Charivari, associations juvéniles, chasse sauvage*, 135-136.

[15] See in particular Gambelli, *Arlecchino a Parigi. Dall'inferno alla corte del Re Sole*, 83-125, who agrees with Driesen's hypothesis of an infernal origin of the figure, with a passage from folklore to theatre.

[16] Holm, *The Hellequin Figure in Medieval Custom*, 113.

[17] Henry Rey-Flaud, *Le charivari. Les rituels fondamentaux de la sexualité* (Paris: Payot, 1985), 89-90.

[18] During these rituals performed by clerics in the churches during the first day of the year, the youngest member of the group was elected the bishop of fools, mounting an ass backward and approaching the altar. See Jacques Heers, *Fêtes des fous et carnavals* (Paris: Fayard 1983) and Claudio Bernardi, *Agenda aurea. Festa, teatro, evento* (Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2012), 41-70.

[19] See Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gotiques (1250-1350)* (Genève: Droz, 2008).

[20] See some examples in Pietrini, *I giullari nell'immaginario medievale*, 212-230 and 281-283. On the *obscaena* in late medieval iconography, see Christoph Daxelmüller, *Das Fromme und das Unfromme. Der Körper als Lernmittel und Lernbild in der spätmittelalterlichen Volksfrömmigkeit*, in *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht. Groteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. K. Kröll – H. Steger (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1994), 107-129 and, in the same volume, Jan Svanberg, *Glauker und Blasphemiker in der gotischen Kunst Schwedens*, 357-372.

[21] Artoni, *Le radici medievali e folcloriche della maschera zannesca*, 25.

[22] Nantes, Musée de Beaux Arts.

[23] Roma, Biblioteca e Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo.

[24] Paolo Toschi, *Le origini del teatro italiano* (Torino: Einaudi, 1955), 196-208.

[25] See Frances K. Barasch, *Harlequin/Harlotry in* Henry IV, Part One, in *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Rewriting, Remaking, Refashioning*, ed. M. Marrapodi (Padstow, Cornwall: TJ International, 2007) 27-38, 33.

[26] As Bent Holm has pointed out, Morgue could be a variant of Morgan, a fairy figure linked with the mythical hero Arthur, another *wild huntsman*, sometimes designated by the name Hellequin (and in fact the *maisnie Hellequin* is mentioned by Étienne de Bourbon as *familia Aliquini or familia Arturi*): Holm, *The Hellequin Figure in Medieval Custom*, 110.

[27] *York Hours*, London, Private Collection, f. 76.

[28] *La Vie de monseigneur saint Denis, glorieux apostre de France*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2091, f. 111.

[29] See also Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries etc.*, 240.

[30] See Horst Woldemar Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance* (London: Frankfort, 1952).

[31] Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Cabinet des Estampes. The image is accompanied by an inscription, which I transcribe as reported in Louis Maeterlinck, *Le genre satyrique dans la peinture flamande*, in *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, XLII (Bruxelles : Hayez, février 1903), 1-372, 270: "*tis al sot, soo men wel mach anschouven hier / Ouer sots bestier, broeyt jonghe sotkens dees oude sottinne, / Soo douden pypen en singhen, oock dese jonghe sotkens hier / Ouer het eyhen danssen, seer liche van sine*".

[32] On the manuscript see Margherita Lecco, *Testi strutture immagini in tre manoscritti francesi del XIV secolo* (Milano: LED, 2009).

[33] *Roman de la Rose*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 25526, f. 71.

[34] About the Vice, see for instance Lysander William Cushman, *The Devil and the Vice in the Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare* (1900) (London: Halle, 1970).

[35] New York, Columbia University, ms. 2, f. 17. The miniature illustrates Psalm 13.

[36] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo descrittione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità, e di propria inventione* (1593), ed. E. Mandowsky (Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms, 1970). Madness is described as a man who laughs and rides a stick-horse, holding a in his right hand "a paper pinwheel, an pleasing instrument and a toy of the children who with great care make it spin in the wind" (381), while Foolishness is a poorly dressed woman "who laughs at a pinwheel held in her hand, like those that children make spin in the wind" (445).

[37] See Ferdinando Taviani - Mirella Schino, *Il segreto della commedia dell'arte* (Firenze: SES, 1986²), 13.

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Representations of Architecture
in Lucas van Leyden's Prints

Ayşegül Yayla

Was Lucas van Leyden a Renaissance artist? Situating his depictions of architecture and ornaments either in the Middle Ages or in the Renaissance needs to involve an assessment of the meaning of "modern" in the early sixteenth century. Insofar as art is concerned, reference to context is the most important criterion for approximating an exact interpretation of the current visual culture. The trouble with categorizing Lucas van Leyden's works emerges as a matter of periodization at the turn of the century. One of the causes of this problem is his depiction of architecture in his prints, where he included forms of late Gothic and classical architecture in the same prints. The question to be answered here, however, is whether he consciously chose to employ both structures to show an interaction between the Italian Renaissance and Netherlandish traditions, or not. Did Lucas van Leyden's share a similar approach with Gossaert, who "accepted both *modern* and *antiek* as valid artistic modes, languages of form that were chosen according to local circumstance" (Ethan Kavaler, "The Uses of Ornament" 229)?

Reconciliation of opposite structures in architectural representation in prints is a major point in this era of transition. In a different article Kavaler describes this as "the erasure of disparity or divergence as registered in geometric forms. It is worth observing that the elimination of difference, a reconciliation of opposites, is a common goal in late medieval and early modern culture" ("Pictures of Geometry and Narratives of Ornament" 29). Was this what

Lucas van Leyden aimed at as well? There is doubt that he truly did because he did not have a real chance to investigate classical architecture and sculpture in his surroundings since classical forms only existed in the post-Roman territory of Italy, which is always taken as the cradle of Renaissance; architecture in the Netherlands was not yet affected by Renaissance developments. In the light of this it may seem that Lucas van Leyden's only contact with the "Renaissance" may have been through Italian prints circulating in Europe at the time.

Periodization of works of art may become the subject of certain ideologies. This is what Karel van Mander did when he created the image of Lucas van Leyden as a renowned Renaissance artist. Van Mander's biography of Lucas van Leyden (1604) served as propaganda for elevating the status of art in the Netherlands at the time of a Dutch Golden Age in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Lucas van Leyden was made into a figure of a glorious national painter as if he were competing with his Italian contemporaries in artistic technique. In this context, Van Mander's interpretation of the representation of architecture in van Leyden's *Ecce Homo* print gives him perhaps excessive credit for observing and representing "modern" buildings:

Figure 1 Lucas van Leyden, *Ecce Homo*, 1510, Engraving, 285 x 452 mm, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Figure 2 Lucas van Leyden, *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket*, 1525, Engraving, 242 x 188 mm, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

The following year, 1510, when he was sixteen, he engraved the extraordinary, even unique, Ecce Homo, a work of art which fills one with amazement that such a young boy possessed such abundant spirit and intelligence, both in composition and in the variety of the figures, the details of various ethnic costumes, and the splendid "modern" buildings, all observed so well according to the rules of art and in keeping with the art of perspective and proportion. (Van Mander 212)

But Van Leyden may in fact have been 21. Only Van Mander claims he was born in 1494 rather than the now more generally accepted 1489, in order to make van Leyden a child prodigy just like all other genius artists who reached

Figure 3 Lucas van Leyden, The Return of the Prodigal Son, c. 1510, Engraving, 180 x 245 mm, Leiden University Library.

worldwide success (211). (Van Mander knew that Dürer, for example, was apprenticed at age 15 and wanted to instil Lucas van Leyden's life story with the same gravitas). The "modern" buildings to which Van Mander refers are exemplified by the Italian Renaissance style of classical architecture at the left hand side of the print (Figure 1). More typical of Van Leyden's immediate surroundings, however, is the Late Gothic architecture of the buildings in the middle right. This reveals the scarcity, locally, of up-to-date architectural innovations like those seen in southern Europe. Lucas van Leyden still perceived and evaluated the progress in architecture from a local vantage point with limited opportunity to keep track of novelties. The perspective of the artist and the viewer had changed sharply in a century but this is due to

the intention of van Mander, which was to glorify a Dutch artist to be an equal of his Italian contemporaries.

Urban Setting

The choice of an urban setting is an important aspect in Lucas van Leyden's prints. He generally uses a natural environment to tell a story. There is either a landscape in the background with a large rock or groups of trees in the foreground. He organizes the figures within multiple scenes depicted to show a sequence of acts as a technique of narration. This is a typically medieval approach to pictorial narrative. And when he chooses a story concerning public spaces, such as *Ecce Homo* (Figure 1), *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket*

(Figure 2) or *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (Figure 3), he arranges the setting accordingly.

In these three prints, the aim of the artist is to orientate the viewer to the scene, to what is going on in the story. There is always an audience in the image who is watching, commenting on or being enraged by the events taking place. The real viewer of the print cannot internalize the role of the main event experienced by the religious or historical figures, but he can share the position of the urban spectators to speculate upon the event. This use of setting gives the viewer the possibility to witness and to comment on the occurrences depicted.

According to James Snyder, the architectural representations in Lucas van Leyden's *Ecce Homo* print appeals to the religiosity of the viewers. He provides his audience with feelings of devotion and piety by showing the arresting scene of Christ. He shows his skill in perspective and sets the print within a city panorama of Leiden. Snyder describes the setting as follows:

> The event itself takes place on a raised podium in the center of a vast city square before the praetorium, here appropriately inspired by the old prison in Leiden, the Gravensteen. Other buildings about the open square have been tentatively identified as other prominent buildings in Leiden including Huis Lockhorst, the large Renaissance building to the left, the stepped rotunda in the far distance as the Jerusalemskapel, and the tower of the

Figure 4 Gravensteen

Figure 5 Huis Lockhorst
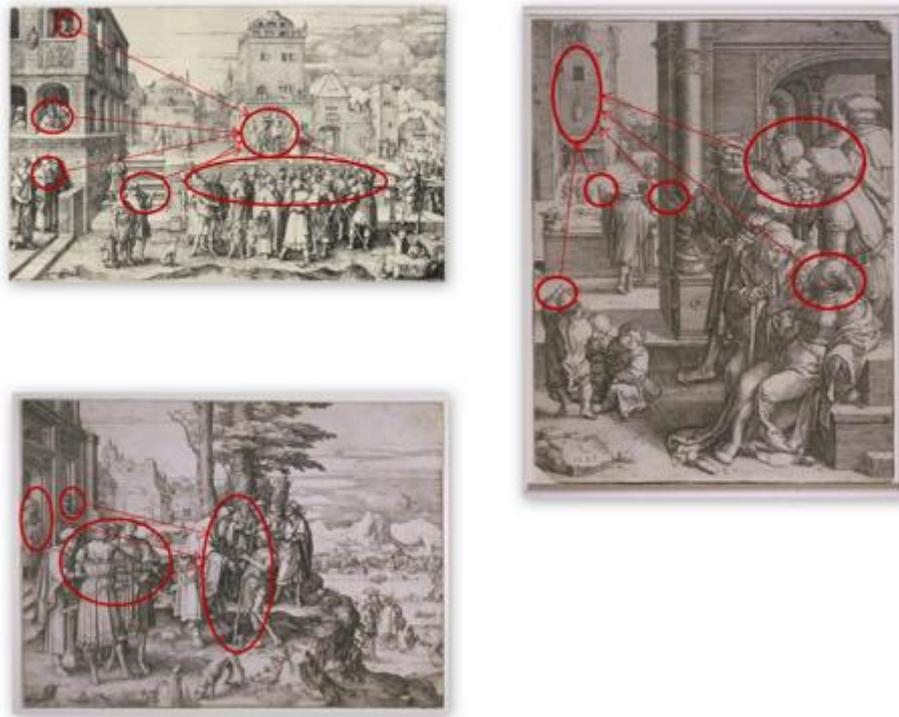
Figure 6 Leuven Town Hall

Figure 7 Gestures of the audience towards the main event

Begijnhof next to it, although these are not convincing. (458-9)

These vague references to Gravensteen (Figure 4), Huis Lockhorst (Figure 5), Jerusalemskapel, and Leuven Town Hall (Figure 6), though not all of them situated in Leiden, reminded contemporary viewers of their own immediate surroundings. Gravensteen, built in 1463, has a classical façade with pilasters of round arches supported by Greek columns. A similar decoration can be seen in the middle left hand side of the *Ecce Homo* print albeit with a slight disproportion.

The representation of architecture thus works in the creation of such a public space. It convinces the real-life beholder of the print to take the story seriously since it had ostensibly happened in a familiar space of his own, in a city.

The positions of the commenting viewers are arranged in such a way that they take the real viewer within themselves; they share the experience and sensation of what they are talking about with their gestures. Their hands, their arms and visages all point towards the main event in the middle- or background (Figure 7).

It can be argued that the emphasis of the artist is not to show the main event but to signify public opinion since this is the mainstream early modern method of grabbing the attention of viewers. The people represented are always multiple in number; Lucas van Leyden put groups of people in his engravings to make the viewer comprehend that the main event concerns public interest even though it is experienced by a single historical person: Virgil, the Prodigal Son and Jesus Christ are the
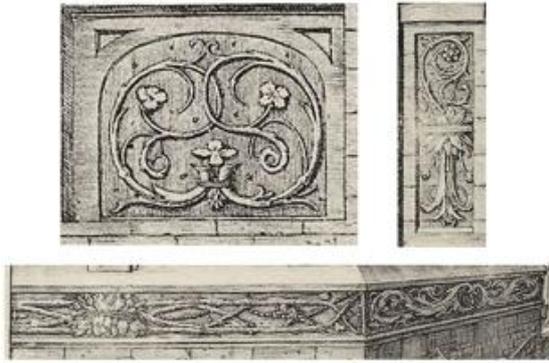
Figure 8 Detailed tracery in *Ecce Homo*

Figure 9 Detailed tracery in *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket* and *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (right corner)

protagonists in the stories. However, at first sight, they cannot be discerned easily. Only the Prodigal Son (Figure 3) can be observed straight away because he is situated right in the middle of the composition. Yet he is still situated among multiple groups of figures representing the expression of public opinion.

The importance of context is again a determining factor in making the choice of setting in a print. J. B. Deregowski evaluates the constructed space in pictures as follows:

> The representation of space, when seen in cross-cultural perspective, is far more complex ... a problem of "text" and "context" rather than one of 2D or 3D responses to pictures and illusions designed for literate, Western subjects. The cultural context of image making, image content, and image meaning are all important. (91)

We cannot be sure that all the viewers of Lucas van Leyden's prints were "literate Western subjects" since it was only the beginning of the
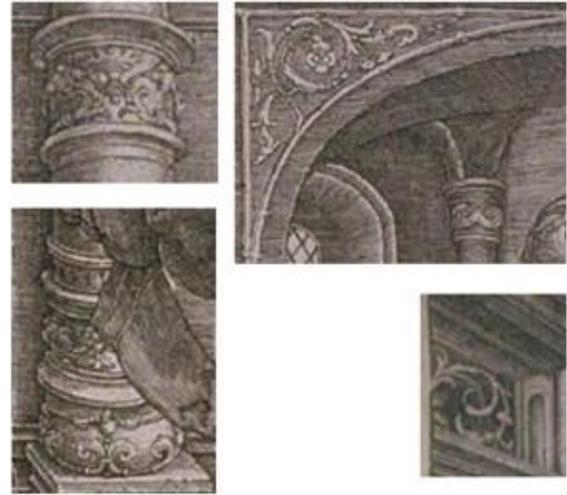
sixteenth century and at this time, a "richly diversified literary life was flourishing at every social level in the South, while in the North a literary culture was sorely lacking" (Herman Pleij 132). However, since Lucas van Leyden resided in a city in which international trade, education and religious institutions were present, his clients either commissioned him to make religious engravings or they purchased religious themed works pre-made by the artist himself. It means that his clients knew what they were paying for. But what about those who lacked the required knowledge to decipher the prints? If they looked at the prints without any information at hand, what they probably did see was only some people gathered to witness something and it must be important because the people represented are usually shown curious and interested in the event whatever that might be.

It is highly probable that Lucas van Leyden's prints and paintings were in popular circulation concurrently with religious stories produced for a growing urban readership, and may have been used as illustrations for religious printed books.

People themselves wanted to learn the stories of Christian virtues; the clergy were no longer the sole educators of the ignorant masses. Citizens were becoming more independent on choosing what to learn and practice through literacy because they were then at least enlightened by the *chambers of rhetoric*, societies that produced drama plays in the Low Countries, spreading Erasmian "freedom of opinion" (Pleij 116). Lucas van Leyden had followed the same approach when practicing his art since he is original and innovative within the medieval tradition of printing. But despite his innovations, he still used medieval techniques, as previously outlined.

Effect of Ornaments on Narrative

The ornaments in Lucas van Leyden's prints play the role of communication on a meta-level. Art historians such as Erwin Panofsky understand ornaments as signs of a metalanguage producing a subtle message related to the story depicted. Panofsky explains the ability of architectural components to communicate as a matter of evolution:

> Ultimately, the flying buttress learned to talk, the rib learned to work, and both learned to proclaim what they were doing in language more circumstantial, explicit, and ornate than was necessary for mere efficiency; and this applies also to the conformation of the piers and the tracery which had been talking as well as working all the time. (57-8)

Here Panofsky refers to the elements of Gothic architecture that served the illiterate public to recognize the magnificent forms of religion and its institutions and due to this magnificence they should be admired and believed in deeply. The comprehension level of the viewers is commonly low, so that the architectural design of the buildings gives away the intended message. The ornaments work as reference points for the viewers to catch the meaning of the narrative to its aimed level.

Since "narrative is dependent on cultural context," (Deregowski 91) the artist needs to choose the most appropriate ornaments in order to provide the viewer with the best communicative means. In Lucas van Leyden's case of being a prominent artist in the Netherlands, where the Renaissance tradition has not yet reached its full strength, he chose Gothic style ornaments which imitate vegetal forms. Kavaler interprets the meaning of these vegetal forms of ornament as follows: "The juxtaposition of geometric figures, intact and flawless, with renderings presented as incomplete or transformed into plant-like effigies again suggests degeneration or adulteration" ("Pictures of Geometry and Narratives of Ornament" 32). In this light it is possible to claim that the ornaments in Lucas van Leyden's prints of *Ecce Homo*, *The Return of the Prodigal Son* and *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket* hint at the theme of degeneration. (Figures 8 and 9).

The plant-like circular ornament with flowers, the plaster tracery with branches and another reflection of plant-like ornament at the left hand side of the *Ecce Homo* print reveal the injustice done to Christ in the middle-right of the composition. On the other hand, these Gothic style ornaments have a place in the Renaissance era as an extension of tradition. It would not be wrong to put forward that Lucas van Leyden implemented plant-like ornaments as metalingual elements to convey a particular

Figure 10 Lucas van Leyden, *Emperor Maximilian I*, 1520, Engraving and etching, 260 x 193 mm, Leiden University Library, and details of tracery.

meaning by being loyal to the medieval tradition of art when it is not possible to innovate. This is because a symbol can only regenerate properly within an iconographical tradition; without giving reference to an old occurrence, the symbol loses its meaning. If he wanted to narrate a particular scene, creating new symbols was out of the question in Lucas van Leyden's circumstances, because his aim was to give recognizable meaning to the image, not making up new scenes with different meanings. It was important for him that these elements were recognizable by his audience. Ornaments that were too innovative would have obscured the meaning of the print.

The tracery in the upper left corner of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* print is the single reference to prodigy as degeneration. In *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket* print, Lucas van Leyden again attaches the Gothic ornaments right behind the public commenting on the suspension of the magician who had attempted

Figure 11 Albrecht Dürer, *The Emperor Maximilian,* 1518-19, Woodcut, 537 x 433 mm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

to commit adultery with the daughter of the Emperor Augustus. She had deceived him by hanging him in the basket halfway down her window and caused a mockery of his intention.

However, in the print of *Emperor Maximilian*, the ornaments do not specifically tell a story of degeneration (Figure 10). Lucas van Leyden had copied Albrecht Dürer's print of the emperor to a certain extent since there are a lot of similarities as in a mirror image (Figure 11). It is worth stating that Dürer's original does not have any background; there is only the emperor. The reason why Lucas van Leyden chose to fill in the blankness of background with architecture and ornaments is doubtless that he wanted to add something of his own to the portrait. The emperor is situated in a semi-closed area with an opening to a backyard. The coat of arms of the Holy Roman Empire with the double-headed eagle as a symbol of authority is positioned in front of the emperor. It is a question why he chose the racket-like non-identical ornaments in the coat of arms though. The tracery in the right hand side column does not refer to anything special about the reign of Maximilian. The children dancing around the column may be a

Figure 12 Piero della Francesca, *Ideal City,* c. 1470, Panel, 60 x 200 cm, National Gallery, Urbino, Italy

reference to the pre-Christian folkloric symbol of the Maypole, celebrating abundance. Van Leyden must have thought this reference was relevant to the theme of a powerful emperor. This partial lack of communication is rare in the use of ornaments as metalanguage. Concerning this, Kavaler suggests that

> The ornament itself rarely communicates specific information. It can signal, rather, a way of perceiving the structure it inhabits, a mode of understanding. It inflects the idiom of its carriers – church façades, tombs, choir screens, and so on – and might be considered in this sense a metalanguage, concerned with the primary language of architectural iconography ("The Uses of Ornament" 227).

The effect of ornaments, then, may not always reach the goal of making meaning possible for the audience due to the relative obscurity of the iconography.

Spatial perspective and the paintings of Italian contemporaries

The Renaissance artist needs to be faithful to the reality in nature as well as he aims to elevate the real to the ideal by using correct proportions and perspective. Spatial perspective is an instrument to be employed in this respect. Murray Roston declares that the ultimate aim "of painter, architect, and sculptor was to present in his work the attainment of a harmonious ideal by means of fidelity to the actual, and thereby conversely to endow the terrestrial with divine proportion" (114-5). This is what Lucas van Leyden lacks in his prints. He does not only depict human figures that are disproportionate, but he also organizes the buildings in his prints with defects yet these are minor. His aim is to fill the space in the most harmonious way in order to serve the viewer better, to keep him focused on the main event.

The concept of white space important at this point. In graphic design, the artist leaves an empty area for aesthetic composition. In his prints, Lucas van Leyden's application of white space comes into being mostly as the sky in the background. However, in representing architecture, for example in his *Ecce Homo* print, some buildings are darker and some are lighter

Figure 13 Perugino, *Christ Handing the Keys to St. Peter,* 1481-82, Fresco, 335 x 550 cm, Sistine Chapel, Vatican

in gray tones. This is due to the effect of lighting. On the other hand it is still doubtful if he practiced single source of light technique like his Italian contemporaries who mastered the Renaissance style of painting. Many of his human figures are composed of lighter tones of gray due to his fine workmanship. Every single detail of clothes of these figures can be discerned easily and this proves his proficiency in his daily life observation of clothes. His portrayal of bodily proportions may not be, but his clothing designs are very close to reality. His truthful representations of clothes constitute a strong characteristic to be ranked equal to the Renaissance artists because ideal depiction of reality is very important in this artistic tradition. Another point is that, Lucas van Leyden's strict application of composition elements of fore-, middle- and background in his prints is praiseworthy. He employs the new method of Renaissance perspective in order to give the

feeling of depth to the image; to construct three dimensionality. There is always something in his backgrounds to divert the viewer.

Roston describes the application of the classical architecture of antiquity in the Renaissance: "Only the Renaissance blended those two aspects of ideal and real as intrinsically unified elements of its philosophy, incorporating that duality into its art and literature to create its remarkable breadth and range of vision" (116). The aim of Italian artists is to convey this duality of ideal and real to the trained eye. Piero della Francesca's *Ideal City* (Figure 12) is a typical example of Renaissance work of art depicting the architecture of the era.

The rotunda is positioned in the middle of the composition surrounded by several three-story buildings. The painting shows the obsession of Renaissance artists with linear perspective. None of Lucas van Leyden's prints indicate such an obsession with perspective, or

Figure 14 Raphael, *School of Athens,* 1509-11, Fresco 500 × 770 cm, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura, Rome

the glorification of the classical architecture of antiquity. His aim is to tell the story rather than focus on architectural design. For him, architecture does not constitute the primary issue to concentrate upon, it is a side element to be carefully planned in order to support the meaning of the story in its most captivating form. It may even not exist if not necessary. He takes architecture as a background image, as a supplementary element. On the other hand, the building on the left hand side of his *Ecce Homo* print is parallel to Piero della Francesca's buildings. They are different in the forms of ornaments and proportions to serve the viewer in the Netherlands, to make him/her feel a bit more familiar with the setting. The audience in Italy, however, is more connected to the architectural culture of antiquity. If their eyes were already trained in their daily environment, then it can be concluded that they demanded to

see the harmony of real buildings added the artists' idealization of these structures. This may be the consequence of the equation of "man's spiritual well-being [being] intimately related to his physical surroundings and to the harmony or lack of it implicit in that environment" (Roston 111). This may be why Renaissance artists were so anxious to apply the technique of perfect proportions in their paintings. Roston's description of the "window of the soul" in Renaissance visual culture is related to Leonardo da Vinci. He states that,

> For Leonardo, however, all medieval warnings against the deceptiveness of sight fall away. The eye, no longer the seducer of the Christian spirit, has become in his luminous phrase the "window of the soul," establishing a healthy communion between the inner

self and the outer surroundings of its habitation (1987: 113).

Perugino fills the blankness of the ideal city with a narrative of *Christ Handing the Keys to St. Peter* in his painting (Figure 13).

The background consists of three major buildings: a rotunda in the middle again and two decorative arches on both sides of the rotunda placed with perfect symmetry. The middle- and foregrounds are balanced with static and dynamic human figures. In comparison with Lucas van Leyden's *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket*, the narrative is composed with reversed approaches: whereas Lucas van Leyden pushes the main event in the background in order to give the real viewer the chance to get in the shoes of the audience present in the print, Perugino directly situates the major theme in the foreground. The figures in the middle ground can be taken as the audience but they are not strategically put there for the real viewer to get in touch with the event. They seem to be enjoying the event rather than speculating about what is happening in the foreground.

Lucas van Leyden's *The Poet Virgil Suspended in a Basket* and *The Return of the Prodigal Son* prints have similar pilasters on façades of buildings with the inner walls of Raphael's *School of Athens* fresco (Figure 14). The point of divergence lays in the ornamentation of both walls (see Figure 15). Lucas van Leyden applies tracery to these pilasters whereas Raphael positions sculptures in the niches difficult to decipher along the corridor. The slightly visible hands and faces of the sculptures reveal the three-dimensionality within the painting not only towards the linear depth but also in the direction of sideways. Lucas van Leyden's

Figure 15 Ornaments on *The Return of the Prodigal Son* and *School of Athens*

ornamentations of these pilasters remain only two-dimensional and decorative. There is not a single reference to "window of the soul" concept of the Renaissance tradition at all, meaning that the world view is changing towards appreciating knowledge found in the world rather than religious doctrine. Roston praises Raphael's *School of Athens* for its

> Aristotelian interest in actuality find[ing] its expression in the spatial rationalization of the architectural setting, so accurately rendered with its broad stairway, decorative pilasters, and noble arches that it is believed by historians to represent the interior of St. Peter's as Bramante was actually planning it at the time. (120)

It is obvious that Lucas van Leyden does not glorify the architecture in the sense that his Italian contemporaries did after all. There is certainly interconnectedness with the philosophy of nature at the time of Renaissance.

However Lucas van Leyden's concern is still the narrative itself.

Comparison with Albrecht Dürer's Prints

On the other hand, a better comparison of Lucas van Leyden's prints in the issue of representation of architecture is possible through analyzing his German contemporary Albrecht Dürer's prints. In Dürer's three prints of *Glorification of the Virgin, Christ Among the Doctors* and *The Rejection of Joachim's Offering*, which he made in between 1502 and 1504, the subsequent stories of *The Life of the Virgin* take place indoors.

There is always an arch in the image and it is in the ancient Roman style. Only in *The Rejection of Joachim's Offering* print (Figure 16), one can distinguish the groin vault made up of pointed arches, which is an element of Gothic architecture. Like Lucas van Leyden, Albrecht Dürer also seems to go in between two styles of architecture but with the difference of concise application of the technique in order to enrich the decoration. The viewer really senses that it is a closed room with accurately managed spatial perspective. The proportions of the arches and pillars are well organized for the full effect. It seems like Dürer better kept pace with the Renaissance art flourishing in Italy than Lucas van Leyden did. It is feasible that Dürer was the most inspirational artist in Lucas van Leyden's life concerning art to follow the developments in the global sphere since their meeting in 1521 in Antwerp is evidenced by both artists drawing each other's portraits.

Conclusion

The challenge of periodization of Lucas van Leyden's works is dealt with in this article by looking at the representation of architecture and ornaments in his prints. It is still difficult to situate him either in the medieval tradition of art or in the Renaissance era. Although it is possible to put him in a third space in which both architectural styles exist together, it would still be very doubtful to think of Lucas van Leyden to aim at such a transcultural claim since his opportunity to get in touch with the real Renaissance artists of Italy and exchange of knowledge was limited to his account with Albrecht Dürer only. This incident may direct future research on analyzing in depth how and why Lucas van Leyden chose to employ different architectural forms in his prints as if making collages.
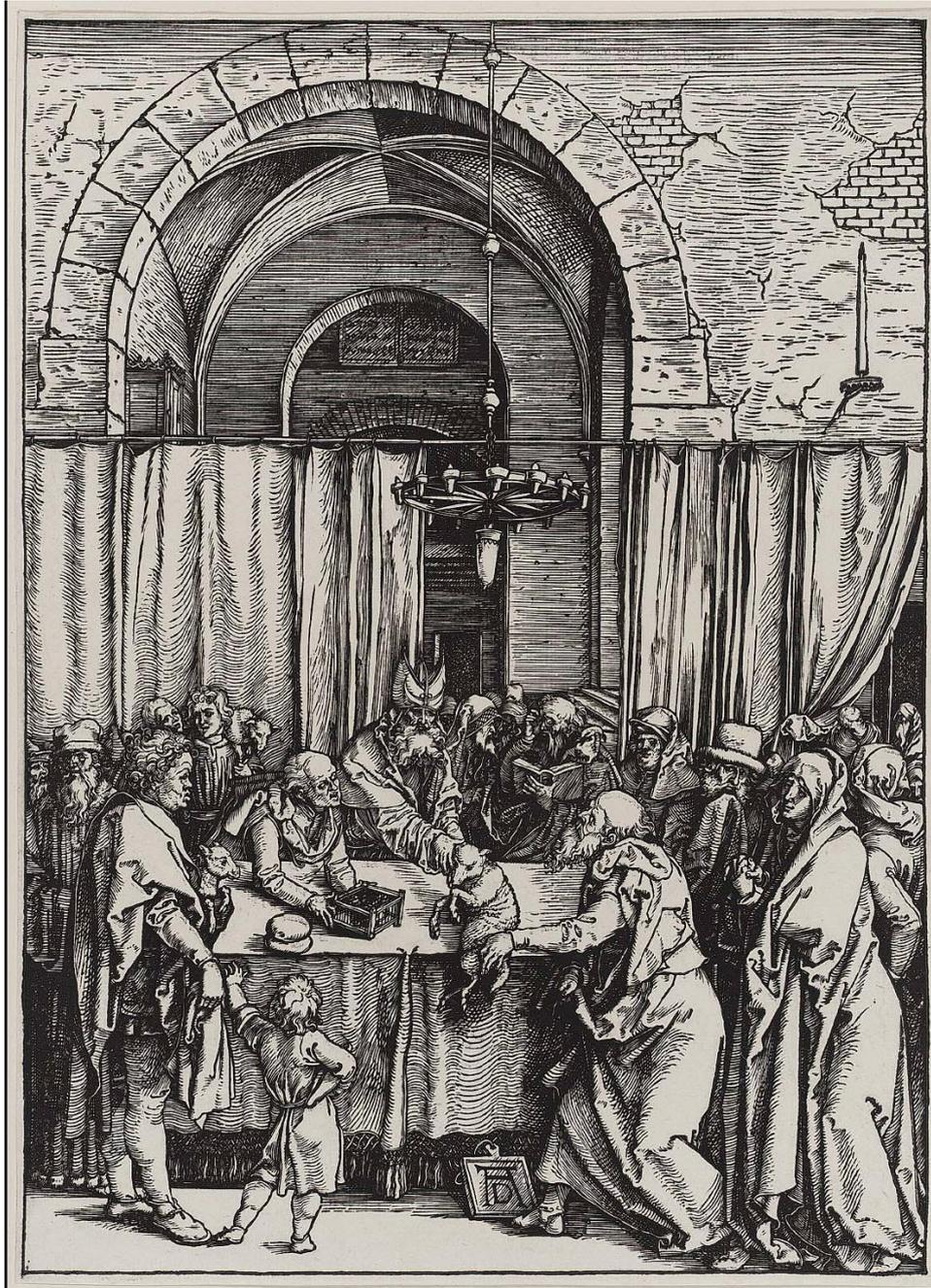
Figure 16 Albrecht Dürer, *The Rejection of Joachim's Offering (The Life of the Virgin)*, c. 1504, Woodcut, 295 x 212 mm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Ayşegül Yayla

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Afterword

Svenn-Arve Myklebost

Any student of the early modern period knows that it was the time of the word – or even more specifically, of the spoken word. This oft-repeated claim has obvious merit. Early modern audiences were, or must have been, adept at listening to language, deriving from it joy in its rhythms and sounds, catching its puns and multiplicities of meaning, understanding its deeper resonances and sustaining concentration over time. Sermons would last for hours on end, with relatively little in the way of visual distractions; theatre plays required an attentive audience; verbal dispute and oratory were highly refined arts.

The written word was also widely understood. Among the gentry and the aristocracy, literacy was virtually total, and the rise of print culture ensured that the dissemination of writing would only increase.

The word was dominant, yet, this special issue of EMCO focuses on visual culture, especially the way in which visual concerns always accompanied the verbal. Despite the iconoclasm seen in many European countries, visual communication (often formalized and codified) remained an important and ubiquitous factor in all walks of life, from instructing the illiterate to pleasuring or challenging intellectuals.

Even when we look at words unaccompanied by concrete illustrations, they are often strikingly pictorial. One example from the King James Bible:

After this, opened Iob his mouth, and cursed his day. And Iob spake, and said, Let the day perish, wherein I was borne, and the night in which it was said, There is a man-childe conceiued. Let that day bee darkenesse, let not God regard it from aboue, neither let the light shine vpon it. Let darkenes and the shadowe of death staine it, let a cloud dwell vpon it, let the blacknes of the day terrifie it. (Job 3.1-5)

Light and dark, clouds and shadows, and above all the importance of seeing as a way of knowing. Illumination, in all senses of the word, was important for the early moderns, and they would be used to having the importance of light and sight confirmed repeatedly from reading their Bible. But the early moderns were sometimes sceptical about that which only the eye could see and the soul not feel. Shakespeare addresses this subject frequently and would interrogate the relationship between the illusions of the theatre and the complex relationship between it and the truth. In *The Tempest*, for example, every vision, be it of storms, harpies or dancing nymphs, is an illusion and every example is with some fanfare "discovered," dissolved and laid bare. Yet, ultimately the play suggests that these illusions have a value and a power belied by their ephemeral nature: superficial appeals to the senses may be fleeting, but this does not meant they are not to be taken very seriously. Another playwright interrogating the possibly deceptive nature of vision is Christopher Marlowe, in whose *Doctor Faustus*, the duke of Vanholt thanks the doctor for "these pleasant sights; nor know I how sufficiently to recompense your great deserts in erecting that enchanted castle in the air, the sight
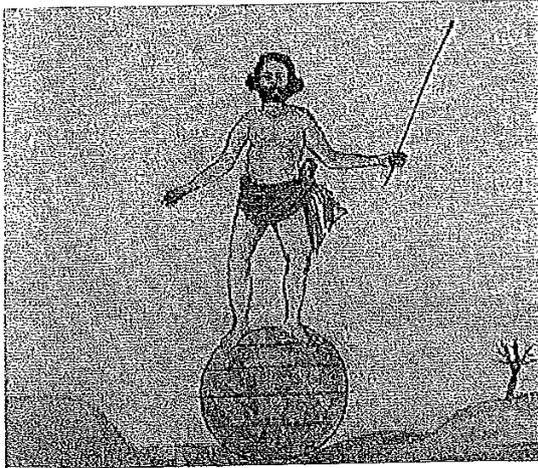
Figure 1

Above: Henry Peacham, "Man the Microcosm," c. 1610. In Alan Young, *Henry Peacham's Manuscript Emblem Books*. University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Right: Richard Appignanesi (adapt.) and Paul Duffield (adapt., illus.), *The Tempest*. © SelfMadeHero, 2007.

whereof delighted me as nothing in the world could please me more" (4.6.1-5). We know, of course, as the Duke does not, that Faustus' magical power to create visions is given him by Mephistopheles and that therefore these visions must be demonic in nature.

But even though the visual was sometimes treated with scepticism and distaste, this is only testament to its power to seduce and impress. Artists and propagandists knew how to utilize this power – and they would often do this in manners that some would now call multimodal.

The emblem book tradition, which originated in Italy and was especially popular during the early modern period, is perhaps the Renaissance's most explicit and salient example

of visual/verbal rhetoric. There seems to have been a notion in this period that images were more truthful than words, or that they were, somehow, closer to "the thing itself" than words could ever be. "Emblems are not simply a quaint small form of negligible importance," Charles Moseley writes in the article that appears in this issue, "in their time, in their complex allusiveness and ambiguity of relationship between words and picture, they were aggressively topical, analytical and coded utterances." And further, "visual symbol was the usual Renaissance way of conceptualizing abstraction" (3). Thus, the relationships between the concrete and the abstract, the truthful and the speculative, the physical and the metaphysical, the mundane and

the magical were given unique emphases in the meeting between the word and the image, like in emblem books, but also in other types of works, like Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, portraits of royalty (when containing verbal elements), alchemical diagrams, frontispieces and the entire range of print culture in general.

One of the most central implications of the term "early modern" is the suggestion that it denotes the beginning or formation of something that is still ongoing – that whatever was going on in music, language, politics, finance, exploration, colonization, science, philosophy and the visual and verbal arts somehow influenced and shaped the world we live in today. At the same time, as has been mentioned, the early modern was a period during which medieval structures remained deeply entrenched in all aspects of life. This was no coincidence. Despite its innovations, the early modern population was conservative. The Reformation, for example, did not take place because the people and religious scholars wanted a new religion; on the contrary, they wanted a form of worship that was closer to the original, freed from the novelties that had accrued on the face of Religion since the time of the early Christians (which is why the Anglican Church calls itself a "Catholic" Church). These issues are vital for how we understand the early modern period and how we receive it; there is probably no unbroken line between the traditions, figures and concepts presented in this issue of EMCO and us. Some major cultural shifts, some to do with scientific discovery, some to do with literary and artistic innovation of a more profound kind, some to do with religion and psychology, and some to do with war and politics, have ensured that modern man and early modern man, should they ever meet, would have problems communicating; their world views would be too divergent. Yet,

sometimes interesting things happen that reveal how transhistorical communication is a possibility, even if it may be classified as a type of atavism.

Figure 1 is a juxtaposition of an illustration from Matthew Wagner's article "Wheresoever the Body Is" (11-30) and a splash page from a modern comic book. More specifically, the left-hand illustration is a *pictura* from an emblem book manuscript by Henry Peacham, where the concept of "man as microcosm" is delineated as a man with a staff in his left hand, standing on top of a globe; the right-hand image is a moment in a scene from a Shakespeare play, somewhat emblem-like in the manner it combines the visual and the verbal. It too features a man (in this case Prospero) with a staff in his left hand, standing on top of a globe. This second image is taken from SelfMadeHero's *Manga Shakespeare: The Tempest* (2007). In it, Prospero is in the middle of his "our revels now are ended" speech (which would be 4.1.146-63 in a textual edition), standing on top of a globe, in front of what looks like The Globe and, further in the background, dilapidated, cloud-capped towers, the future remnants of a doomed civilization. His word balloons lack the little indexical arrows that normally would point them to a speaker, thus making it less clear who is speaking and on what kind of diegetic level this scene takes place (at least if seen in isolation). I asked the illustrator, Paul Duffield, whether he had seen Peacham's emblem (made around the same time as Shakespeare's play) or anything similar to it. His response, via e-mail, was as follows: "I have studied both art history and the history of illustration as part of my training in illustration and animation, so I might be familiar with similar illuminations from different sources," but

when I composed the image, I derived it from the text rather than from another graphical source, and as you noticed, it was intended to highlight the double meaning in the use of the word "globe," but also to bring to mind the famous quote from *As You Like It* [cf. the *Theatrum Mundi*], which seemed quite appropriate at that point! In that respect, it's partly coincidence, but partly because Prospero himself represents man as a creator and manipulator, and Shakespeare used the image of Prospero's staff, and the visual metaphor of the globe in conjunction with that, from which I drew the image.

From this we might observe two things. One: in some writings, and perhaps especially in works by Shakespeare, powerful visual constellations are packed into the words, and may be unpacked by visual artists. Manga and comics have the potential to illustrate and present *ideas* (conceptualised through the distribution and juxtaposition of visual and verbal elements) as well as narratives (a sequence of panels and word balloons) and is therefore not entirely dissimilar to the emblem tradition or even the theatre. Two: the resulting visuals may be understood – even at a glance – in the present-day reception of early modern verbal art. The majority of readers will understand that Prospero in the manga does not in fact stand on top of a globe, but that he, in tandem with the words, now exists in the realm of the symbolic. (He moves in and out of this realm throughout the manga.) It seems that at

least on some levels, modern man or woman can understand complex visual-verbal constellations that derive from another time period. There are of course differences: current readers are not familiar with the emblem tradition and its implications, while early modern readers would perhaps be taken aback by Duffield's lightly Japanese-inspired drawing style. I imagine they would quickly get used to reading manga and comics, though, since both the setting of images in a sequence and the use of speech bubbles (of sorts) already existed in early modern visual culture. The differences are less important now, what matters is that despite the time that has passed, we may sometimes catch glimpses of the early modern visual-verbal idiom and conclude that we actually understand what is going on.

Naturally, the articles included in this issue cannot come anywhere close to creating an exhaustive overview of the field of verbal/visual rhetoric, but taken together it is interesting to note how they revolve around similar concerns and issues, most of which have already been mentioned, but which may be repeated: the relationship between the traditions of the past and the possibility of innovation, the exploration of the role of man both as material body and philosophical concept, and the actual representation of verbal and visual forms, i.e. how early modern visual/verbal rhetoric actually works, in contrast with that which came before and after it.

Review

Lynn Enterline. *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion*. Philadelphia: U Penn P, 2012.

John Jay Marinan

Lynn Enterline argues that the pedagogical practices of schoolmasters, inculcating Latin into their young charges in Elizabethan England, had a great effect on William Shakespeare, and that he infused rhetorical strategies and content from his schoolboy existence into some of his poetry and drama. Enterline examines the already complex social and materialistic world of early modern England by successfully showing that Shakespeare often invoked traditionally excluded voices, like those of women, in his best art. Enterline's central assertion is that "when Shakespeare creates the convincing effects of character and emotion for which he is so often singled out as a precursor of 'modern' subjectivity, he signals his debt to the Latin institution that granted him the cultural capital of an early modern gentleman precisely when undercutting the socially normative categories schoolmasters invoked as their educational goal" (1). She explores how works such as *Othello* and *Venus and Adonis* draw upon schoolroom texts and practices to personify passions at some considerable distance from the socially normative positions for which English schoolboys were actually trained. Her detailed look at rhetorical training indicates that the cumulative effect of grammar school instruction in socially sanctioned language, expression, and bodily movement was to establish a dichotomy between narrated events and emotions.
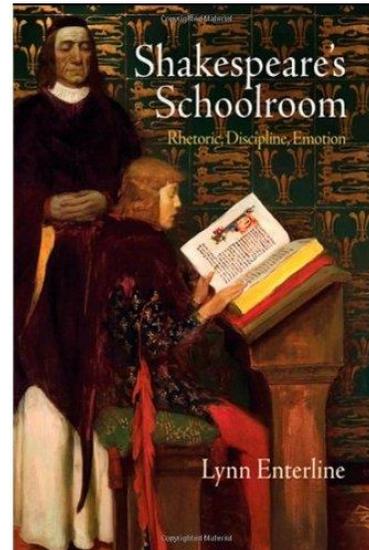
Enterline's study blends feminist scholarship with psychoanalytic theory. In this regard, her work is similar to that of Kathryn Schwarz, whose recent book, *What You Will*, examines the intersection of rhetoric, sexual and gendered identities, and the individual psyche in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. For early modern narratives, writes Schwarz, intentional compliance poses a complex problem: it sustains crucial tenets of order and continuity but unsettles the hierarchical premises from which those tenets derive. Enterline's study echoes some of the key ideas of Schwarz's work due to the nature of compliance between schoolboys and the Latin master. Like early modern narratives focusing on women, schoolboys unsettle the classroom hierarchy through role-playing and regendering while maintaining the façade of order. As with Schwarz respecting female agency, Enterline asks important questions utilizing Shakespeare's works, such as: What types of ideological constraints are in place for English Latin students, and How did

William Shakespeare identify with and depart from feminine values in his writing and characterizations? These questions and their answers have important implications not only for early modern studies but also queer theory, histories of gender and sexuality, and ideology.

Another similar vein of research revolves around the role of rhetoric in Shakespeare. Joel B. Altman's *The Improbability of Othello: Rhetorical Anthropology and Shakespearean Selfhood*, argues that Shakespeare's *Othello* indicates that probability, and not certainty, governs the lives of men and women, an indication by Shakespeare tantamount to accepting the value of rhetoric on its face. Enterline agrees that Shakespeare, as a Latin schoolboy, exposed to rhetorical skills, practiced them in the classroom and out of it. While Altman's text makes the impact of audience reception a key to its thesis, Enterline traces psychological and ideological instances throughout the schoolboy's day, generalizing them to Shakespeare, thereby tracing crucial interactions such as reimagining gender roles that would later manifest themselves in his creative work. Enterline's work follows in the tradition of scholars looking to reexamine and to recover an existent, vibrant subjecthood for women, and to undermine previous beliefs in feminine subordination through identity.

Shakespeare's Schoolroom is a valuable revision of the views of "masculinist" rhetoricians such as Walter Ong, who believe that Latin education was a puberty rite of boys in English society. While Enterline does not object to Ong's insight that masculinist drives animated cultural and linguistic norms of the Elizabethan grammar school, she does question, "whether a finished identity or ego we can call definitively 'male' was ever finally consolidated

by the school's methods of induction into Latin" (142). Enterline makes her case that advocates of masculinist humanism fail to take into account the actual experiences of the students and teachers in Latin grammar schools. She indicates that the *habitus* of the schoolroom influenced not only Latin proficiency and rhetorical power, but also the fluid gender movement through *imitatio*, whereby students took and male and female roles while practicing Latin. Through these actions, students gained access to emotions of "others" (women), and therefore, Enterline succeeds in refuting established scholarship omitting the role of these transgendered moves.

In the second chapter, Enterline employs psychoanalytic theory in order to put schoolmasters' claims about the effects of rhetorical training to the test of material, archival, and literary scrutiny. She states that, "motivation reveals the student's identification with, or desire for, the place from which he is seen—which is also the place from which he is judged and loved—as well as the accompanying internalized divisions that characterize Freud's topographic description of a composite, fractured psyche" (36). Enterline accounts for simple rebellion in the boys of the school, and her establishment of psychological reasons for student actions is reasonable; however, she accounts for the power differences between student and master in a fashion different from recent scholars, through the transference of pain into future creative energy.

Enterline does discover that learning Latin rhetorical facility through the school's intense regime of imitation and punishment could not but aggravate the gap between a boy's experiences of bodies and emotions and his grasp of what they

signified in the social world around him. The master judged rhetorical display, and he either persuaded students nicely to recite their passages, or beat them senseless as punishment or "motivation." Unlike Foucault's argument, that the daily practices of the master would install a kind of self-monitoring in the student, crushing his attempts to rebel, Enterline's feminist analysis emphasizes the creative energies unleashed by each boy's transgendered role-playing. William Shakespeare was one such boy. Enterline contends that Shakespeare, like many other grammar school students, resisted the controls employed by the hierarchy at the school. His rebellious behavior dovetailed with his initial artistic energies, and he later utilized the facility of Latin and its historical texts as sites for future artistry. Thus, Enterline illustrates in *Venus and Adonis* his theme and perspective, linking the content of the poem to some of his childhood interactions and gender transference. Instead of surveillance from a disciplinary perspective, surveillance becomes more like the watching of a performance, a play, which makes Shakespeare's acts of resistance so inviting and "modern."

What remains an issue is Enterline's emphasis on the transference of punishment into creative energy, as opposed to linking the discourse in the classroom rhetorically to a discourse of power. Boys responded to threatened violence more than with creative outbursts; they replicated this violence in future interactions as adults, replicating the very hierarchy they sought to oppose as children and charges. What became instantiated in the boys of the Latin schoolroom was that power won out, and their proficiency in Latin was the hard-fought result of the battle with authority that they were bound to lose. Enterline, while rejecting traditional scholarship on the manifestations of a principally male nature of Elizabethan schooling, denies the historical dynamic of power clearly at play in schoolrooms, and the almost sexual nature of sadism and masochism that drives the relationship of teacher and student. As Foucault would argue, the aspect of agonistic display in the Latin schoolroom is an interstitial event positioned in England's social, gender and political history. Not only is power manifested in future creative acts; power appears prior to the classroom conflicts. Enterline's reading invokes the androgynous nature of sexuality on the part of the students, taking both gender roles in response to their declarations of rebellion against schoolmasters. Concluding that this move involves sexual expression, and not a version of historical, discursive rhetoricity, provides a highly specialized view of English literary history, and one that will surely engender debate about this significant period and subject.

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