

The dramaturgy of the tragedies of John Webster and John Ford with special reference to their use of stage imagery.

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THE DRAMATURGY OF THE TRAGEDIES OF JOHN WEBSTER
AND JOHN FORD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR USE
OF STAGE IMAGERY

by

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of London

Westfield College

October, 1975



ABSTRACT

The imagery of the plays of John Webster and John Ford is not only verbal: in staging as well as language these dramas display strongly imagistic, symbolic elements. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the seven extant tragedies of Webster and Ford from the point of view of their total dramatic nature - to examine the staging, costumes, hand and large properties, movement and gestures as well as the verbal imagery, and the interplay of these verbal and visual elements. The original appearance of these plays in their contemporary theatre, and the dramatist's intentions for performance, can only be surmised. The original stage directions are examined for hints of the original presentation: these stage directions may not always be authorial, but, especially in the case of Ford, they seem to reveal the playwright's hand. The dialogue, too, frequently implies particular gestures, grouping or stage placement.

The visual imagery, it is here suggested, is created by the dramatist for several purposes: a moral or ironical point may be silently established; a chain of related visual motifs may bind various actions and characters into an organic union; a visualization may appeal outward to other works of art or theatrical or non-dramatic conventions, enlarging the immediate significance by this shorthand reference; visual ceremonies may make concrete the more ephemeral words and feelings of the characters.

Each of the tragedies is studied in a separate chapter, in the following order: Webster's The White Devil, The Duchess of Malfi, and Appius and Virginia (the authorship of which is disputed); John Ford's The Broken Heart, Love's Sacrifice, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, and Perkin Warbeck. A conclusion indicates the differences between Webster's more overtly theatrical visualizations and Ford's quiet tableaux.

The thesis is accompanied by illustrations which are either explanatory or comparative.

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EDITIONS CITED

In the seven plays under discussion, but especially in those of Ford, the stage directions of the first quartos are frequently altered or ignored by later editors, and I have therefore chosen to quote all stage directions from the original quarto editions: even if these early stage directions do not always represent authorial intentions, at least they come closer to contemporary theatrical practice. It has not always been possible, in a typewritten script, to lay out the stage directions in exactly the form employed in the quartos; however, the stage directions have always been given beside or directly below the line(s) which they originally accompanied.

In quoting from the text of the plays, I have used the standard, original spelling, edition of Webster's works, an edition easily available: The Complete Works of John Webster, ed. F.L. Lucas, 4 vols. (London, 1927). The complete plays of Ford have not received similar modern critical treatment, the original spelling edition not being always easily obtainable: John Fordes Dramatische Werke, ed. W. Bang and Henry de Vocht, *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, 2 vols., Bd. 23 and n.s. Bd. 1 (Louvain, 1908 and 1927). The most readily available complete edition is still the nineteenth century modern spelling edition: The Works of John Ford, ed. William Gifford, rev. Alexander Dyce, 3 vols. (London, 1869). However, as the lines are not numbered in the Gifford-Dyce edition, line references can become very cumbersome. As there are reliable and readily available modern editions of The Broken Heart, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, and Perkin Warbeck, I have chosen to cite from these editions - The New Mermaids editions of the first two, the Revels Plays edition of Perkin Warbeck which has not (yet) appeared in a New Mermaid edition. For Love's Sacrifice I have used the Gifford-Dyce edition. Wherever our interpretation of a word or passage in these modern spelling editions seems doubtful and may be clarified by the original spelling or punctuations, I have referred to the first quartos.

The use of different editions has resulted in some inconsistency, from chapter to chapter, in the format of quotations - in the rendering of the speakers' names and the distribution of lines.

In quoting from the plays of other Elizabethan and

Jacobean dramatists, I have, where possible, used reliable and available modern editions, and again, except in the cases of Shakespeare and Jonson, I have referred to the quartos or folios for most stage directions. All Shakespeare quotations (unless otherwise indicated) come from: The Complete Works, ed. Peter Alexander, The Tudor Edition [1 vol.], (London and Glasgow, 1951); and all Jonson quotations come from: Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-1952).

The spelling of play titles follows that of the edition to which I refer: modern if a modern edition; original if the quarto or folio. In the text of the thesis the titles of the seven plays under discussion appear in modern spelling for convenience and brevity.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A&C</u>	<u>Antony and Cleopatra</u>
<u>A&V</u>	<u>Appius and Virginia</u>
<u>BH</u>	<u>The Broken Heart</u>
<u>DM</u>	<u>The Duchess of Malfi</u>
<u>ETI</u>	<u>Edward II</u>
<u>ELH</u>	<u>Journal of English Literary History</u>
<u>ELN</u>	<u>English Language Notes</u>
<u>EMOH</u>	<u>Every Man Out of His Humour</u>
<u>HV</u>	<u>Henry V</u>
<u>JC</u>	<u>Julius Caesar</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>LS</u>	<u>Love's Sacrifice</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
<u>N&Q</u>	<u>Notes & Queries</u>
<u>OED</u>	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of</u>
<u>PW</u>	<u>Perkin Warbeck</u> / <u>America</u>
<u>RII</u>	<u>Richard II</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>SB</u>	<u>Studies in Bibliography</u>
<u>SEL</u>	<u>Studies in English Literature</u>
<u>SQ</u>	<u>Shakespeare Quarterly</u>
<u>TN</u>	<u>Twelfth Night</u>
<u>TP</u>	} <u>'Tis Pity She's a Whore</u>
<u>'Tis Pity</u>	
<u>WD</u>	<u>The White Devil</u>
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library
B.M.	British Museum
d.s.	dumb show
s.d.	stage direction
sl. cropt	slightly cropt
tit. head	title head

INTRODUCTION

The practical dramatist - the dramatist who writes essentially for the theatre rather than for the reader - is working in a genre as visual as it is verbal, a genre rich in the possibilities of organic interrelationship between word and stage picture, between themes and stage action, between audience and stage characters.

John Webster and John Ford display an acute consciousness of the total stage creation in their dramas. Their strong visual powers are obvious - when Ferdinand presents the 'dead' (wax) bodies of his sister's family (DM, IV.i), when Giovanni enters the stage with Annabella's heart on his dagger's point (TP, V.vi),¹ the visual awareness of the audience is certainly stimulated. But to isolate these moments of spectacle rather than to examine them in relation to the total plastic performance, is to be unjust to the plays. The pervasive and powerfully evocative verbal imagery of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama² is the continuing subject of much investigation and admiration. The stage imagery of these same plays, for a long time ignored, has more recently come under examination. The dramaturgy of these plays as a whole is a rich field for examination. By the word 'dramaturgy' I refer to the movement of the plot, the order and juxtaposition of scenes, the confrontation of characters, the verbal imagery, visual symbolism, gestures, properties, and all those elements which are involved in making the given story with its themes not only a picture with words, but an immediate and living picture, and one which, while constantly changing and developing as we observe it, can draw the spectator into its world, can involve us with the characters in a more intimate way than can any purely pictorial art form. Although in the rich multiplicity of elements, any aspect of the play's construction reveals the dramatist's hand, in this study we shall be most concerned with the symbolic and the imagistic, both verbal and visual, and with the interrelationship of word and picture. The Elizabethans and Jacobean, delighting in riddles, symbols, and paradoxes, gave to and demanded from the dramatic realization of a story more than its mere adaptation in terms of physically present actors upon a stage.

The highest dramatic achievements by both Webster and Ford are tragedies: The White Devil, The Duchess of Malfi, The Broken Heart and 'Tis Pity She's a Whore. Two other tragedies,

Appius and Virginia, disputedly of Websterian authorship, and Ford's Perkin Warbeck, have their critical admirers. I have chosen to examine all the extant tragedies of Webster and Ford,³ including the latter's Love's Sacrifice, in order to view in breadth the characteristics of the two playwrights' dramaturgy within the genre which produced their finest work.

In order that we may contemplate within our mind's eye each of these dramatic creations in the form or staging which was intended by the author or achieved in early performances, we must make some imaginative reconstruction of the original playhouses. It is not, however, necessary to enter the critical battle concerning the exact appearance of these theatres. All that is necessary, as a starting point, is to postulate the generally accepted features of the playing area - at least two stage doors for entrances; an open platform before the tiring-house façade; an upper acting level above the platform and perhaps extending around its sides; in the public theatres the painted 'heavens' over the platform and supported by pillars or posts; a curtained discovery space which may be either permanent or supplied by a portable onstage booth, and into which properties can be moved from the rear, unseen by the audience when the front curtain is closed; and some place for musicians, perhaps on an upper level.⁴ Any other details will be defined in terms of the individual play under discussion and the theatre at which it was likely to have been performed. The basically simple tiring-house façade, rich though it may have been in the profusion of architectural details, probably offered little to distract the eye of the audience from the characters themselves - their costumes, gestures, grouping; their placement upon the platform or on an upper level, their absence ('withdrawn' and known to be spying), their confinement within the (comparatively) restricted space of the discovery space.

These seven tragedies had their early performances in a variety of theatres, both public and private: The White Devil probably at the Red Bull; The Duchess of Malfi at the Globe and the Blackfriars; Appius and Virginia perhaps at the Red Bull and later at the Cockpit; The Broken Heart at the Blackfriars; and Love's Sacrifice, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Perkin Warbeck at the Phoenix.⁵ The details of these theatres differed, from the large open public theatres, the Red Bull and

the Globe, to the roofed and more intimate Blackfriars, Phoenix and Cockpit with their increased potential for more subtle effects, especially those involving lighting. And yet, the demands placed upon the theatre building and its staging possibilities by those of the seven plays which were seen at private playhouses do not give evidence of great technical changes such as the exploitation of new machinery or properties. The private theatre's lighting potential is probably used in The Duchess of Malfi (V.iii) (which, of course, also played at a public theatre), and perhaps the playing of the tomb scene which concludes Love's Sacrifice takes advantage of staging possibilities at the Phoenix, but on the whole the private theatre plays here examined do not impose difficult demands upon their theatre, and the stock of 'effects' and necessary properties could, with very few possible exceptions, be supplied by the older public theatres. Bed, chair, 'state', table, bar: the properties demanded by Webster and Ford are those which are required in innumerable plays of the times.

The difference in playhouses represented by these plays is observable instead in a change in mood, to a more gentle verbal utterance suited to the smaller compass of the private auditoriums, and in many cases in an increase in the integral rôle played by music. These changes can be noticed when one turns from The White Devil to The Duchess of Malfi. Ford's four tragedies all had their initial performances in private houses, and certainly the quieter mood appropriate to these playhouses is also consistent with Ford's individual style as a playwright.

In order to determine the stage appearance of these plays, we must consider both the original stage directions and the placement, movement or grouping implied by the dialogue. In the case of Ford's four tragedies, it seems likely, from certain idiosyncrasies such as the extensive use of italics for important words in the text, that the first quartos are authorial in origin, and that the descriptive stage directions represent the playwright's intentions fairly closely.⁶ Such directions as that in The Broken Heart's final scene which calls for the entrance of Ithocles borne "on a hear/e, or in a chaire" (sig. K2^v),⁷ is more likely to derive from the author's papers than from a prompt copy where the available property would be clearly specified.

The earliest editions of The White Devil and The Duchess

of Malfi also seem to be of authorial origin, although of rather different types. The quarto of The White Devil was revised during the printing; the placement of the stage directions in the margins suggests that these were supplied (probably by the dramatist) while the manuscript text of the dialogue was already being set.⁸ The Duchess of Malfi, printed years after the play's first performance, is a careful publication, perhaps prepared by a scribe. The involvement of the author is suggested in his denial of any hand in the ditty which accompanies the dumb show at Loretto (III.iv; sig. H2);⁹ and the statement on the titlepage that the quarto includes "diuerſe / things Printed, that the length of the Play would / not beare in the Preſentment" also implies that the copy from which it derives is authorial. However, this statement also means that in examining the stage imagery we may be visualizing that which Webster intended, but not necessarily that which was actually performed. Appius and Virginia, the latest of these quartos by twenty years, and published thirty or more years after the play's first performances, may well provide a prompter's, rather than the author's, stage directions. However, many of the properties and much of the action can be deduced from, or supported by, the dialogue. Even such an overtly descriptive stage direction as

Enter Virginius with his knife, that and his arms ſcript up to the elbowes all bloody; coming into the midſt of the ſouldiers, he makes a ſtand

(sig. H)¹⁰

is made necessary by the following dialogue (IV.ii.126-132).

The formal stage directions in plays by Webster, Ford and their contemporaries indicate only a minor part of the total stage picture. When characters speak together, we, the later readers in particular, must try to visualize the whole stage picture - whether these characters are alone on an empty stage, isolated on a crowded platform, or the observers of a mimed scene. Very simple contrasts of crowded and empty stages, of a stage brightly illuminated (with extra torches) or by contrast seemingly dark and shadowy, can make powerful impressions upon a spectator which may be lost on a reader. Sometimes we, the audience, are drawn into a more intimate relationship with certain characters, sometimes we are distanced from characters who suffer or triumph.

I am applying the term stage imagery in a wide sense - to

all that is part of the stage picture as conceived or arranged by the author and that is not merely a necessity of plot. Every visual element, from the grouping and gestures of characters, their dress or disguise, to the order and juxtaposition of scenes, and the use of hand or large properties may be part of the stage visualization.

Visual imagery may affect our understanding of character or of a plot situation, or it may make a moral or ironical point: Annabella descending from the upper stage to join her brother (TP, I.ii) is also descending morally. Stage visualization may underline a given action by formalizing or ritualizing it, as in the little ceremony by which the Duchess marries Antonio (DM, I.i); or it may represent a transformation of character, as when the Cardinal is divested of his spiritual robes and given the garments of a general (DM, III.iv). Sometimes the stage picture recalls earlier visualizations, thus drawing two scenes or actions into a close relationship: the 'seating' of Brachiano, on a cushioned carpet, on a chair, on his own gown, creates a motif, visually underlined, which helps to express Brachiano's abandonment of his throne for the bed of lust and ease (WD, I.ii, II.i, II.ii and III.ii).

The interplay of verbal and stage imagery is of prime concern, and in several of the plays under discussion, an immense richness of this interrelationship gives to the creation an organic structure, a totality which contradicts those accusations sometimes levelled against the apparent fragmentation or sensationalism of spectacle as created by Webster or Ford. The stage picture can give support and emphasis to verbal imagery, or it can afford a dual perspective, qualifying or even undermining the words that are spoken. Thus, for example, the wooing scene of Vittoria and Brachiano (WD, I.ii) is given a multiplicity of dimensions by means of a simple staging - the cushions and carpet quietly underline the lascivious nature of the relationship; the presence of Cornelia, hovering in the background, ironically undermines the confident power which Flamineo believes himself to possess as 'director' of the scene. By recalling earlier actions a scene may pass silent judgement upon a character who is unconscious of his fate or who, in dramatic terms, is allowed to appear grand and heroic, but in moral terms is condemned because of his earlier actions. Particularly in Ford's plays we are made aware of a chain of

verbal and visual motifs culminating in a final composite and densely symbolic stage image.

At some moments the plays become entirely or largely visual - processions across the stage, dumb shows, the fighting at barriers. Especially when these strongly visual actions are not strictly necessary to the furtherance of the plot, it is important to ask their purpose - whether they are pure pageantry to delight and excite the eye, whether they are part of the thematic development, silently underlining a moral or ironical point, or whether they contribute to the dramatic development of character.

Often there is a ritual or a ceremonial element to the stage imagery, a consciously artificial, distancing quality which draws attention to the stage scene as theatrical, as a work of art. Related to this convention is the dramatist's implied reference, by means of his stage picture, to other works of art or popular images. This reference may take many forms: a staged scene may resemble, in the interplay of word, picture and theme, a popular type of scene, a scene familiar to a wide range of the potential audience by its repeated appearance in, for example, popular woodcuts (such as the ars moriendi woodcuts showing the death of the good or bad Christian). There is a wide range of possible forms to which the dramatist may make reference or in which we may seek for general sources: tapestries, mirror backs, ballad sheets, printed titlepages, tombs, emblems, medals, portraits, and of course other plays. By making this reference to some visual convention, the dramatist broadens and universalizes the significance of the individual story, and often allows a multiplicity or ambivalence of interpretation: we are shown the character in relation to his own story and his own dramatic life, and also in relation to more absolute or eternal standards. The character may thus be allowed to retain our sympathy dramatically, while we are reminded of the moral or universal nature of his actions.

A specific work of art may, in some cases, have inspired the dramatist's allusion, but much more frequently it is probably a type or class of works to which he alludes; indeed, if the reference is to be grasped by a wide range of his audience, it must be fairly general and popular. It is therefore often helpful for our own interpretation of these plays for us to be aware of the type of visual material that may have provided a

frame of reference for some of the stage or verbal allusions, and for this reason many of the illustrations accompanying the thesis have been included. The rest of the illustrations are purely informative, offering contemporary illustrations which suggest the appearance of certain costumes or properties.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Cf. John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, ed. F.L. Lucas, The Complete Works of John Webster (London, 1927), vol. II. (The White Devil is in vol. I; Appius and Virginia in vol. III.) And cf. John Ford, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, ed. Brian Morris, The New Mermaids (London, 1968).
2. Throughout this thesis I have used the words 'Elizabethan' and 'Jacobean' in the free manner in which they are, in fact, usually applied by critics, not tying them specifically to the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Although all Ford's tragedies were first published, and may have been first performed, after the ascension of Charles, Ford's roots are within the Jacobean theatre, with its conventions in turn developing from Elizabethan drama. It does not seem to me particularly relevant to call Ford a 'Caroline' playwright, implying a distinction between his plays and those of the true 'Jacobean'. See below, pp. 295-298.
3. I have not included any studies of works of doubtful authorship or of collaboration, except in the case of Appius and Virginia, where the original quarto makes Webster the sole author. See below, pp. 264-283.
4. T.J. King, Shakespearean Staging, 1599-1642 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971), provides, from extant plays, useful lists of properties and structural features of the playing area which are required during the period of Webster and Ford, and down to the closure of the theatres. For further secondary material on the subject, cf. his Appendix A, "Major Scholarship since 1940", pp. 119-132.
5. The playhouses at which these tragedies were performed are, in five cases, indicated on their quarto titlepages and quoted below, pp. 113, 294, 402, 504, and 603. Concerning The White Devil, see below p. 93 n. 5; and for Appius and Virginia, see E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), vol. III, p. 509. If A&V was written for Queen Anne's Men, it would probably, like WD, have been performed at the Red Bull.
6. Cf. comments on the texts in the following editions of Ford's plays: The Broken Heart, ed. Brian Morris, The New Mermaids (London, 1965), p. xxxi; 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, ed. Morris, p. xxvii; and Perkin Warbeck, ed. Peter Ure, The Revels Plays (London, 1968), pp. xxii-xxiii. Ure thinks a prompter may be responsible for some of the simple directions. I feel that Love's Sacrifice shows all the signs of careful authorial stage directions which are found in Ford's other tragedies.
7. John Ford, The Broken Heart (London, 1633; B.M. C.12.g.3(2)).
8. Cf. John Russell Brown, "The Printing of John Webster's Plays (I)", SB, VI (1954), p. 125.
9. John Webster, The Tragedy of The Dvtchesse of Malfy (London, 1623; B.M. 644.f.72). On the text of this quarto and its sources, cf. John Russell Brown, art. cit., pp. 133-134 and 137; and the same author's "The Printing of John Webster's Plays (II)", SB, VIII (1956), p. 120.
10. John Webster, Appius and Virginia ([London] 1654; B.M. 644.f.74).

CHAPTER ONE: THE WHITE DEVIL

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The text of The White Devil is quoted from The Complete Works of John Webster, ed. F.L. Lucas, (London, 1927), vol. I (hereinafter, Lucas, Works, I). The stage directions are quoted from the first edition: THE / WHITE DIVEL, / OR, / The Tragedy of Paulo Giordano / Vrfini, Duke of Brachiano, / With / The Life and Death of Vittoria / Corombona the famous / Venetian Curtizan. / Acted by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. / Written by IOHN WEBSTER. / Non inferiora secutus. // LONDON, / Printed by N.O. for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold / at his Shop in Popes head Pallace, neere the / Royall Exchange. 1612. / [Bodleian Library: Malone 216 (6).]

THE WHITE DEVIL

I. Sacraments and ceremonies: the development of Brachiano and Vittoria.

The characters of Webster's plays set out upon the journey of life, a journey punctuated by crucial sacraments and ceremonies, performed with formality and pageantry. These rites de passage represent the conventions of an ordered society, represent too the milestones by which the individual measures himself. Such ceremonies formalize and sanction actions, but, being conventions, they may often be at variance with the individual's desires. While secretly, in a hidden, whispering world, Webster's characters may ignore and oppose conventions, openly they conform to this extent: they accept the formal framework of their society's values and do not discard it nihilistically; but at the same time they pervert these ceremonies and sacraments to their own ends. James R. Hurt¹ has drawn attention to the atmosphere of religious perversion formally conveyed through three inverted rituals in The White Devil: the divorce celebrated between Isabella and Brachiano (II.i); Lodovico's confession of intended murder (IV.iii); and the extreme unction performed by the Capuchin assassins (V.iii). I believe that these three scenes are but part of a web of perversion that envelops the play - perversion not only of the church sacraments, but also of legal and social conventions. The significance of these perversions is extended beyond the boundaries of the natural world by the playing out upon the stage of scenes symbolic of salvation and damnation.²

The dramatic device of a journey through life is employed frequently in the medieval Morality plays. The hero's journey leads him through a series of trials which measure his spiritual stature. Often these tests are presented to the hero by a character who has generally come to be known as the Vice.³ The Vice tempts the fallible hero by providing opportunities for the pursuit of his desires. In offering these temptations, the Vice frequently acts as a theatrical director for whom his

victim becomes an actor, too easily relinquishing responsibility for his own behaviour. Slowly, as the journey progresses towards death, the hero is stripped of support - physical and emotional - until he stands alone and naked to his essential being, stripped of the façade of appearance. Transformations - moral and physical changes in the hero, personality disguises in the villains - accompany the journey, and are often symbolized in changes of clothing.⁴

Certain of these Morality features are employed in more sophisticated form by Webster - the journey with its ceremonies and tests, the Vice-director emphasizing the theme of life as a play, the character transformations, and the isolation as characters face the end. In The White Devil the presentation of the action is frequently formalized and artificial, with a self-conscious (and thematically significant) insistence upon the medium of the play. The relationship between Vittoria and Brachiano is not developed or revealed through scenes of intimacy and informality. From the conception of their love affair to their final destruction, the lovers progress through a series of stylized and symbolic scenes.

The development of their story is as follows: the formal, visual presentation of Vittoria and Brachiano in the stately passage over the stage (I.ii); the wooing scene with its suggestions of a Fall in a "faire garden" (I.ii.264); Vittoria's trial (III.ii), which provides a testing situation for Brachiano also; the second fall (IV.ii) where, having vowed repentance (at least temporarily), they allow Flamineo to reawaken their own desires; the wedding, presented visually in a second formal passage over the stage (V.i); the death of Brachiano, prepared for by the visual ceremony of the barriers and completed in an inverted ritual (V.iii), and the death of Vittoria, prepared for by the little play of Flamineo's own devising (his 'suicide'), and completed in a masque by the assassins (V.vi). In these scenes, when frequently Flamineo acts as their tempter, presenter, and director, the lovers seem to be playing out a conscious rôle in which they communicate with each other in symbolic or highly rhetorical terms.

a) The wooing scene: temptation to a fall

The story of these two characters is first shown at the moment when their two journeys come together. It is an entirely formal view, a stately passage over the stage:

Enter Brachiano, Camillo, Flamineo, Vittoria
Corombona.

BRA. Your best of rest! VIT. Unto my Lord the Duke,
The best of wellcome - More lights, attend the Duke.
[Exeunt Camillo & Vittoria.]

(I.ii.1-2; sig. B2)

The procession enters by one stage door, as from dinner where Brachiano has been the guest (cf. ll. 11-12), and it prepares to retire for the night through the other stage door.⁵ The awareness of gracious banquetting and luxurious living offstage is a minor motif in the play. Like the tiny scenes revealed through a window or behind a curtain in contemporary portraits,⁶ this offstage scene gives an added symbolic dimension which, subtly, can qualify the audience's attitude to the characters and the presented action. Symbolically, this offstage world may act as an omen or as a desired goal. We are occasionally required to imagine it, in order to complete the picture of Brachiano and Vittoria (III.ii.200-205 and, symbolically, 241-242).

This brief passage of characters must suggest (probably through costume and carried lights) the luxurious nature of the play's world, and the greatness of Vittoria and the duke. Vittoria, whose "husband is Lord of a poore fortune" (II.i.56), lives in a courtly manner above her station. Monticelso, in his prosecutions, charges her with having lived in "most ryotous surfets" (III.ii.79), an accusation accepted in essence by Vittoria (III.ii.215-218). Vittoria wears "cloth of Tissue" (II.i.57), glittering with its threads of gold or silver. Frequently associated with royalty and with lavish celebrations, cloth of tissue would suggest both richness and pride.⁷ In the brief, stately passage, Webster has set Brachiano and Camillo apart by carefully directing the focus of attention upon Brachiano who is, literally, in the light, and whose title occupies much of the two lines of dialogue.

Camillo is a silent nonentity, making no effort to play the rôle of host which convention would place on him.

The symbols of light (and fire), shadow and darkness that recur in the play are established visually in this scene. The White Devil had its first production in a public theatre, probably the Red Bull.⁸ The open public theatres, unlike the closed private theatres, took advantage of, and could not eliminate, natural lighting. Such a situation, however, need not undermine the effective use of artificial lighting, especially by means of rapid contrast. The carrying on of lights - either torches and cressets carried by servants, or brachia placed against the tiring-house façade⁹ - are possible means of creating an atmosphere of night.¹⁰ However, the emphatic call for more lights in this scene underlines their symbolic use, and their sudden removal (9) signals a change in mood, as the duke shows himself to be, emotionally, 'lost' (3).

The wooing scene, although establishing the most intimate relationship between the lovers, emphasizes its own stylization and artificiality. The scene is presented as a play, with actors, director,¹¹ audience and properties, with a ritualized exchange (of the jewel), and with formal recitation and interpretation (of the dream). The scene is not devised by the lovers; they are principal actors, dependent upon and manipulated by Flamineo. He tells Vittoria that she must go to Brachiano, and prepares to get rid of the troublesome husband:

Shalt meet [Brachiano], tis
fixt with nayles of dyamonds to inevitable necessitie.
VITTO. (How shals rid [Camillo] hence?)
FLA. (I will put breees in's tayle, set him gadding
presentlie.)

(I.ii.152-155)

Vittoria accepts the temptation without hesitation.

Zanche brings on the properties - a carpet and "two faire Cushions" (sig. B4^V) - which she lays on the stage, and on which Vittoria and Brachiano sit. (There is no need for them to remain statically seated throughout the scene). These properties, arriving before any order has been spoken, give to the ensuing scene the nature of a

pre-arranged act. The stage scene presents a little allegorical picture, with Vice (the pander) and his black agent (a colour symbolic of evil), attending upon the lovers while Cornelia, the fierce figure of Virtue, hovers over them. The sexual union of the lovers is signified by the exchange of jewels, while they sit upon cushions of soft luxury. The carpet was still considered a luxury object by Webster's contemporaries, used frequently to cover tables rather than floors, the typical covering for the floor being inexpensive matting or rushes.¹² The softness of the cushions placed on the carpeted floor suggests the bed towards which Flamineo's pandering leads. "Come," he tells Vittoria, "my Lord attends you, thou shalt go to bed to / my Lord" (141-142). "Thou shalt lye in a bed stuf with turtles feathers, / swoone in perfumed lynnens..." (148-149). Contemporary chairs were hard, strong and uncompromising.¹³

Erwin Panofsky, discussing Bronzino's highly symbolic painting variously known as "Exposure of Luxury" and "Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time" (c. 1546), now in the National Gallery, London, mentions that Cupid "kneels on a pillow, a common symbol of idleness and lechery".¹⁴ Panofsky's whole description of this painting is relevant, for it exposes some general similarities between the painted scene and the stage scene, similarities which show that this type of allegorization could make its appeal to spectators (although the theatre audience would probably be less astute at identifying the more obscure symbols). Bronzino's painting depicts luxury (in the full Medieval sense, embracing lechery) "surrounded by personifications and symbols of treacherous pleasures and manifest evils ... unveiled by Time and Truth."¹⁵ The same ambivalence of beauty and evil, of pleasure and danger, is evident in the wooing of Brachiano and Vittoria. Truth, in the fury-like figure of Cornelia, will unveil the evil hidden in the poetic beauty of the love scene.

In order to avoid direct statement of intended adultery, the lovers communicate through two artificial devices, the exchange of the jewel, and the interpretation

of the dream. The duke's intentions are made clear in the double entendres of the jewel scene. Flamineo has described Camillo as a false stone:

you [i.e. Vittoria] are a goodly
Foile, I confesse, well set out - (but covered with
a false stone,
yon conterfaite dyamond).

(137-139)

Brachiano gives the jewel of his manhood to replace the counterfeit jewel, offering to cover Vittoria with a true stone. But Brachiano is also a false diamond - an adulterer. Vittoria, in giving away the jewel of her chastity and honour, can only appear virtuous hereafter. Monticelso, in the trial, expands the image:

Well, well, such counterfet Jewels
Make trew [ones] oft suspected. VIT. You are deceaved.
For know that all your strickt-combined heads,
Which strike against this mine of diamondes,
Shall prove but glassen hammers, they shall breake [.]

(III.ii.145-149)

In her final challenge to Monticelso and Francisco, Vittoria represents herself as a true jewel:

Know this, and let it somewhat raise your spight,
Through darkenesse Diamonds spred their ritchest light.

(III.ii.304-305)

The exchanged jewels, tokens in a love compact, have counterparts in the wedding rings which Brachiano and Isabella exchange, not to mark their union, but to signify their divorce (II.i.197-199 and 256-257).

The jewel exchange allows a physical intimacy between the lovers without momentarily abandoning the rhetorical mood of the scene:

BRA. What valew is this Jewell? VIT. Tis the
ornament
Of a weake fortune.
BRA. In sooth ile have it; nay I will but change
My Jewell for your Jewell. FLAM. Excellent,
His Jewell for her Jewell, well put in Duke.
BRAC. Nay let me see you weare it. VIT. [Here]
sir?
BRAC. Nay lower, you shall weare my Jewell lower.
FLAM. That's better, she must weare his Jewell
lower.

(I.ii.211-218)

The yew tree under which Vittoria initially rests before any upheaval must be Camillo; by remaining loyal to the yew she denies that the break in her marriage is initiated by her. It is not she who first roots up and disturbs the natural order, but her husband and Isabella. Protection then seems to come from the rightful possessor, the yew tree (although the tree's identity has been cunningly changed). Thus, she suggests the desired action, but claims innocence. Indeed, the yew tree is 'sacred' (244), making the murders of its attackers appear as holy acts of retribution.¹⁷

In the visual scene, the lovers recline together at their ease while Vittoria tells an idle tale "To passe away the time" (219). But the simultaneous verbal scene is heavy with an atmosphere of death and diabolism. The dream takes place in "a Church-yard" where Vittoria, "sadly leaning on a Grave" (225), appears as a woman unconcerned with worldly vanity. And yet, her words are ominous for herself too:

Lord how me thought
I trembled, and yet for all this terror
I could not pray. FLAM. No the divell was in your
dreame.

(238-240)

Flamineo carries the suggestion of devilry further, calling his sister an "Excellent Divell" (246) for teaching Brachiano "To make away his Dutchesse and her husband" (248).

Brachiano's response to her dream is to pervert even further the normal patterns of morality and convention, saying to her, "I'll seate you above law and above scandall" (253). He denies his own rôle by abandoning the duties it confers, and imposes upon Vittoria a multiple rôle:

you shall to me at once,
Be Dukedome, health, wife, children, friends and all.

(257-258)

The very goal of happiness which these two lovers seek is in itself an inversion of the natural order of things. Flamineo describes the promised bliss to Vittoria:

- so perfect shall be thy happinesse, that as
 men at Sea thinke
 land and trees and shippes go that way they go, so
 both heaven
 and earth shall seeme to go your voyage.

(150-152)

The ominous hint in Flamineo's picture is the word 'seeme'.

The wooing has been conducted like an orderly contract, progressing from the exchange of a gift to the promise of land, love and family. The symmetrical placement of characters - two centrally-focused lovers and two witnesses¹⁸ - emphasizes order. The only exception to this symmetry is Cornelia, the unexpected audience, who enters just as the 'play' begins, when Zanche brings out the properties (s.d., sig. B4^v).¹⁹ She lingers behind the other characters, an eavesdropper. Flamineo's self-confidence and the lovers' uninhibited plans are ominously threatened by her impassioned aside (206-210) and by her brooding presence as she remains silent until they damn themselves. As Brachiano reaches the complacent climax to his promise, the 'fury' bursts forward:

Woe to light hearts! - they still forerun our
 fall!

(259)

Her forceful, theatrical line, cemented to Brachiano's by the rhyme, seems to constitute an inevitable conclusion to his boast. "What fury rais'd thee up?" (260) asks Flamineo. Like the ghosts, she seems drawn forth from a dark supernatural realm, raised by the furies who avenge abuses to the sacredness of the family.²⁰ On the one hand, Cornelia speaks for order - religious as well as moral - which has been abused. On the other hand, she is an element of disorder, as an avenging fury, and like a force of nature she is uncontrollable once unleashed. She is not portrayed naturalistically as a grieving mother. Her secret, silent presence, waiting until a logical conclusion of the wooing scene is reached, robs her protest of spontaneity. The artificial device with which she reveals herself and her use of platitudes and rhyming couplets depersonalize her. 'Fury', throughout the play, is a word which represents excess and imbalance. In contemporary dramas, furies are frequently associated with lust and destruction. In The

Misfortunes of Arthur (1588),²¹ three Furies representing death and "vnlawfull heate and loue" perform in the First Dumb Show (sig. A). In A Warning for Faire Women (1599),²² Furies are agents of Tragedie, and after they perform in a dumb show which foretells of a murder, Tragedie remarks:

Here is the Maske vnto this damned murther,
The Furies first, the diuell leades the daunce.

(sig. D)

Webster's use here of the word 'fury', combined with Cornelia's imagery of destruction and the devices by which he distances the audience from Cornelia, give a dynamic ambiguity to the whole scene; he does not suggest that she is evil, but he gives to her moral rectitude associations of destructiveness.

Although Cornelia begins the scene with a personal lament:

My sonne the pandar: now I find our house
Sinking to ruine

(207-208);

she moves towards a statement of the general condition of family woes:

- see the curse of children!
In life they keepe us fre[qu]ently in teares,
And in the cold grave [leave] us in pale feares

(270-272);

until finally she becomes the spokesman for general morality:

The lives of Princes should like dyals move,
Whose regular example is so strong,
They make the times by them go right or wrong.

(279-281)

This criticism of Brachiano, implying a disturbance to the rhythmical, orderly flow of life, is apt. Brachiano would pervert the steady movement of time, just as he would pervert the natural and social order of life:

BRA. I could wish time would stand still
And' never end this enteruew, this hower [.]

(192-193)

The fall which Cornelia predicts within "this faire garden" (264) suggests the Fall in the Garden of Eden; Brachiano, like Satan, is an evil force in the garden. Cornelia asks:

What make you [here] my Lord this dead of night?
Never dropt meldeu on a flower here, tell now.

(261-262)

The metaphor of the garden recalls the trees of Vittoria's dream. In her dream, the disruption of nature that followed the Fall has already occurred.

With the intrusion of the harsh voice of morality, the lovers rapidly lose their lyrical confidence, and become isolated from each other. Vittoria responds with uncertainty and terror. The visual focus of the scene falls upon Vittoria and Cornelia as they kneel together. But their reverent action is a perversion: the mother prays for misfortune for her child if Vittoria should stain the marriage bed (286-293). This powerful prayer, more like a curse, unnerves Vittoria, who flees the stage, crying, "O me accurst!" (294). Brachiano is sufficiently discountenanced to feel physically unwell, but unlike Vittoria, who hysterically glimpses her own sin, he turns the blame upon Cornelia:

I'le to bed.
Send Doctor Julio to me presently -
Uncharitable woman, thy rash tongue
Hath rais'd a fearefull and prodigious storme,
Bee thou the cause of all ensuing harme. Exit Brachiano.

(296-300; sig. C2)

There is meanness in his words, but there is cunning also. He is committed to "ensuing harme", and can conveniently place the responsibility elsewhere. Unconsciously he helps to unleash the storm, conjuring up Dr. Julio who materializes as Flamineo's 'property' when Brachiano next thinks of murder (II.i.290).

b) The trial: a formal test.

After the disunity and isolation which shatters the wooing scene, Webster does not present the lovers together again until Vittoria's trial, in Act III, scene ii. In the intervening scenes, the murders of Isabella and Camillo have been performed. The initial inspiration of these actions is unambiguous, suggested first by Vittoria, but

the murders are committed without any active participation from her. The last recollections which the audience has of Vittoria are of her kneeling protestations of innocence, and of her flight from Brachiano. When the trial begins, therefore, Vittoria has been distanced from the murders and from her lover. The audience is intellectually aware that, in intention at least, Vittoria is, or was, guilty of adultery. However, she is not made to accuse herself through her own actions. Instead, the accusation comes from without, through the formal machinery of the trial. The condemnation is spoken first by a fool, the Lawyer, and then by her declared enemy, Monticelso, who abuses the very system of justice which gives the trial validity.

The trial is a high point of pageantry and pomp. Again Webster uses a combination of artificiality (rôles being acted) and perversion (rôles being abused, transformed or usurped). The trial scene is prepared for by the "passage of the Lieger Embassadors over the Stage seuerally" at the end of Act III, scene i (sig. E2). The hurried entry and exit of the ambassadors, with their bustle amid stateliness, produce a feeling of expectation and excitement, and elevate the trial to a matter of international concern. After this rapid, informal preparation, the trial (III.ii) begins with the stately, formal procession (or discovery) of about fifteen characters, who are placed in an orderly fashion, for each knows where he belongs by rank and present situation. We must imagine that chairs for Monticelso and Francisco have been placed on the stage, probably towards the back and facing the audience, perhaps on a raised dais.²³ A logical stage placement of the other characters would be for the lieger ambassadors, who form both an audience and a jury, to be (whether seated or standing)²⁴ on one side of Monticelso and Francisco, while Vittoria, her brothers, and Zanche, guarded,²⁵ stand on the other side. Later, Vittoria will take her place at the 'table' (9).²⁶

The power and hierarchy of the court is displayed in the scene's opening spectacle, but the confidence is immediately jarred by the focus of attention, which falls upon Brachiano:

MONT. Forbear my Lord, here is no place assign'd you,
This businesse by his holinesse is left
To our examination.

BRA. May it thrive with you. Laies a rich gowne

FRAN. A Chaire there for his vnder him,
Lordship.

BRA. Forbear your kindnesse, an unbidden guest
Should travaile as dutch-women go to Church:
Beare their stooles with them.

(1-8; sig. E2^v)

There is no place and no rôle in the present action assigned to Brachiano. Thus, when he assumes the rôle of Vittoria's champion (158-187), he does so in opposition to the intentions of the trial's director, Monticelso.

The seating of Brachiano at the trial visually recalls the wooing scene, the first meeting of Brachiano with Francisco and Monticelso, and the dumb shows. In the wooing scene, Brachiano reclines upon the rich carpet and cushions, usurping the position of Vittoria's husband. Something of the brazen casualness with which the lovers plotted the removal of Isabella and Camillo is recalled in the proud arrogance with which Brachiano (at the trial) successfully turns Monticelso's insult and scorns Francisco's belated offer of a chair. In Act II, scene i, Francisco greets Brachiano, saying:

You are welcome, will you sit?

(21)

Webster here employs an effective placement of characters. For Brachiano there is honour in being offered a seat, while Francisco and Monticelso remain standing. The situation easily conjures up a picture of the ducal throne with its attendants or advisers.²⁷ However, Brachiano is not permitted to enjoy this honour, for his advisers suggest that he is unsuited to fill the throne. Brachiano neglects his "awfull throne, for the soft downe / Of an insatiate bed" (32-33). The offered chair, while alluding to a seat of honour, becomes a seat of captivity - the captivity of the schoolchild or the congregation, and Brachiano promises to be "As silent as i'th Church" (1.26). Francisco and Monticelso turn upon their prey in that typical Websterian arrangement of two characters against one.

The third visual reminiscence in the opening of the trial is of the dumb shows. In Act II, scene ii, the Conjuror offers Brachiano a seat:

pray sit downe,
Put on this night-cap sir, 'tis charm'd, and now
I'll shew you by my strong-commanding Art
The circumstance that breakes your Dutch[e]sse heart.

(II.ii.20-23)

This seat is powerfully ambiguous. Brachiano, morally responsible for the murders, is presented as the audience to the dumb shows, removed from the action. Here, the question of Brachiano's rightful place is extended into a supernatural realm. In accepting the Conjuror's chair, Brachiano takes his place in that world of witchcraft and devilry which Vittoria's dream has only verbally suggested. Instead of the open formality of the throne, the magician's chair surrounds Brachiano with artful secrecy. In making his choice between the throne and the "insatiate bed", Brachiano denies Isabella his bed, and fittingly, in the dumb show, she is murdered as she goes "as to bed-ward" (sig. D4^v). These recollections of the wooing and murders underline the moral ambiguity of the trial scene. Although we are reminded that Brachiano is guilty of adultery, we are made to compare him favourably with Monticelso, and his assumed rôle of protector does not seem altogether impudent.

As soon as Brachiano is seated at the trial, attention is drawn away from him, and for one hundred and fifty lines he is a silent audience. His presence, visually striking, cannot be ignored. He creates a threatening imbalance in the scene of Monticelso's devising, just as Cornelia has done in Flamineo's 'play'; but by leaving Brachiano out of the central action, Webster has emphasized the solitary position of Vittoria. Like the Morality hero, Vittoria faces this test alone, stripped of aid.²⁸ Her solitary position is visually obvious when she takes her place at the 'table' (9). Although, later in this scene, Brachiano acts as her protector, there is no evidence of any union of their souls. When he abandons the trial and Vittoria, she is in no way disturbed:

MON. Your Champions gon.
VIT. The wolfe may prey the better.

(187-188)

She seems almost contemptuous of Brachiano's aid.

Vittoria is sensitive to the theatricality of her trial. She plays to her audience, both the onstage ambassadors and the theatre audience. Skilfully she encourages her accusers to demolish themselves. She draws attention to the Lawyer's conceit and folly, and by contrast appears sincere and yet clever. She bids him speak in English, although she understands Latin, for

amongst this auditory
Which come to heare my cause, the halfe or more
May bee ignorant in't.

(16-18)

"[T]his auditory" and "this assembly" (21) draw together her two audiences. We, the theatre audience, are forced to participate in the trial; to us, Vittoria pleads her case.

While the trial is a thrillingly personal and dramatic struggle, it is also something of an ambiguous allegorical confrontation. Costume and colour symbolism, playing upon the play's title, create a powerfully dense visual image of the trial's conflict. The Lawyer, Monticelso, Vittoria, and Flamineo with Zanche, become a symbolic network. The Lawyer, more caricature than individual, is probably dressed in a costume approximating the long loose gown of black stuff, with hanging sleeves, and the round cap, worn by members of his profession.²⁹ His costume is as drab as his wit. Further, his black garments (the colour of evil) would contrast ironically with the 'white' devil who is on trial. He carries the badge of his office - the buckram bag on which Francisco puns (48-51). When the lawyer departs, Monticelso usurps his rôle. The black gown and the buckram bag are literally gone, but figuratively Monticelso assumes them - he wears holy scarlet but acts as if he carries the bag. Like the Morality Vice, he has transformed his rôle to aid his plots. The Pope has assigned him the position of judge; in choosing to play a second rôle, that of prosecuting lawyer, Monticelso, like Brachiano, occupies a place not assigned to him by papal order. Vittoria can justifiably criticize him:

if you bee my accuser
Pray cease to be my Judge, come from the Bench [.]
(233-234; cf. 63-64)

In garments of the church and placed upon the seat of ecclesiastical law, the Cardinal is, however, represented as lacking in charity (73-74), a quality particularly associated with the church.³⁰ (Instead, Brachiano, the adulterer and murderer, reclining on his gown, takes to himself the quality of charity (165-168).) Scarlet is also the appropriate symbol for Monticelso's extended rôle of judge. By the end of Henry VI's reign, scarlet had become accepted in England as the colour to be worn by presiding judges.³¹ In Christian symbolism, red was associated "with the blood of Christ, therefore with justice and mercy".³² Instead of a merciful judge, the Cardinal resembles "the uncivill Tartar" (133). To Webster's Protestant England, there would be the additional symbolism of the scarlet-clad Cardinal as a minister of the scarlet Whore of Babylon. These two representatives of justice, the Lawyer and the Cardinal, cast doubt upon the quality of justice itself, and also upon the reliability of external appearance (the very doubt which Monticelso wishes to raise, but not at his own expense).

At the trial Vittoria is dressed in some splendour, and just possibly her costume is white. Nowhere is the colour of her dress in this scene stated, but Monticelso emphasizes that she does not wear the clothes of mourning, which would be black:³³

Shee comes not like a widow: shee comes arm'd
With scorne and impudence: Is this a mourning habit?
(124-125)

What could appear more impudent than the wearing of white, the colour of innocence, purity, chastity, by this whore and murderess (112-133)? There is a wealth of imagery in the scene which hints at the immense aptness of white for Vittoria. The play's title suggests that contrast between appearance and reality that pervades the play and leaves hardly a character untouched. 'Devil' is a term of abuse hurled at many of the play's characters.³⁴ In this scene, Monticelso gives the name to Vittoria,

claiming that she would corrupt "a second Paradise" (72).
She is a devil who appears to be a saint:

When shee did counterfet a Princes Court,
In musicke banquets and most ryotous surfets
This whore, forsooth, was holy[.]

(78-80)

She is a saint worshipped by sinners; she inspires
idolatry. This perversion of worship is later admitted
by a jealous Brachiano:

Your beautie! ô, ten thousand curses on't.
How long have I beheld the devill in christall!

(Iv.ii.88-89)

Monticelso, playing the lawyer, declares to Vittoria:

I shall bee playner with you, and paint out
Your folies in more naturall red and white,
Then that upon your cheeke.

(54-56)

The red and white of her complexion (false colours, the
Cardinal suggests) are also represented in the red of his
robes and (conjecturally) the white of her gown; but
these latter colours are also false, the pretense of jus-
tice and of innocence. In attempting to define the
character of Vittoria, Monticelso eagerly creates a series
of parallel images, all stressing the falseness of a
'seeming' beauty:

What are whores?
They are those flattering bells have all one tune
At weddings, and at funerals:...

(95-97)

This ominous relationship between marriage and death is
repeated when Vittoria marries Brachiano so soon after
the murders of their spouses. If the white gown of her
wedding procession³⁵ (Act V, scene i) is the white dress
of the trial, this visual repetition would add forcefully
to the foreboding nature of the rash marriage which
flaunts decorum.

The visual significance of physical appearance
extends to the black Zanche. She is not a painted
devil, for her black skin truly represents her inner
self. She stands beside the guarded Flamineo, a symbol
of his devilish pandering. In her later actions, Zanche

herself draws attention to the blackness of her deeds and of her skin, 'sadly' confessing that she "had a hand / In the blacke deed" - the murders of Isabella and Camillo (V.iii.257-258). To break free from Flamineo, she betrays him to Francisco-Mulinassar, and offers to steal Vittoria's treasure, a deed which, she claims, should make her 'white':

[Vittoria's treasure] is a dowry,
Me thinkes, should make that sun-burnt proverbe false,
And wash the Ethiop white.

(269-271)

The final element in the colour symbolism of the trial is Giovanni. He enters after Vittoria's exit, in the clothes of mourning which she did not wear:

FRA. How now my Noble cossin - what in blacke!
GIO. Yes Unckle, I was taught to imitate you
In vertue, and you must imitate mee
In couloures for your garments - ...

(320-323)

Francisco, like Vittoria, has (albeit unwittingly) attended the trial inappropriately clothed.

Webster, while allowing Vittoria a dramatic and personal grandeur in this scene, does subtly remind us of her guilt. Monticelso, aiming to expose Vittoria's 'character', says, "I yet but draw the curtaine - now to your picture" (251). By these words the playwright reminds us of the murder to which her adultery has led. In the first dumb show (II.ii), the simple action of drawing the protective curtain which covers Brachiano's portrait has twice been performed - by the murderers and by Isabella (sig. D4^V).

Vittoria's exit demands comparison with her previous exit (I.ii). With a crescendo of personal strength she leaves the trial, vowing to rise above the terms of her confinement in the "house / Of penitent whoores" (277-278):

It shal not be a house of convertites -
My minde shall make it honeste to mee
Then the Popes Pallace, and more peaceable
Then thy soule, though thou art a Cardinall -
Know this, and let it somewhat raise your spight,
Through darknesse Diamonds spred their ritchest light.
Exit Vittoria.

(300-305; sig. F2^V)

This speech is the perfect culmination of her defense. Monticelso, although questioning the reality of Vittoria's external appearance, believes in the power of external, generalizing titles - whore, murderess, the house of convertites. Vittoria returns the challenge: external symbols are no guarantee of the inner state of Pope or Cardinal. Her fine words become ironical when her deeds debase her in the house of convertites scene (IV.ii); her words also foreshadow the papal election (IV.iii), qualifying our reaction to the otherwise de-personalized scene of Monticelso's transformation from Cardinal to Pope.

c) The house of convertites: a second fall.

In the trial - a formal, pre-ordained test before an audience - the lovers, and especially Vittoria, display great personal grandeur. Alone, they prove themselves unable to sustain this confident dignity. In the house of convertites they become enemies to each other, and in this alteration a decline and coarsening in their character is evident.

At the close of the preceding scene, Francisco prepares for the present action, supplying it with a player (the Servant) and a property (the false love letter to Vittoria) (IV.i.123-134). Brachiano takes one look at the letter and cries:

Ile open't, were't her heart. What's heere subscribed?
 Florence? This jugling is grosse and palpable.
 I have found out the conveyance; read it, read it.

(IV.ii.23-25)

The speed with which Brachiano believes his suspicions is characteristic of his superficial method of reasoning which makes him an easy victim for any exploiter. In his reaction to the letter, Brachiano comes to resemble Monticelso in the trial. Vittoria is "this whore" (45) while Brachiano is both her accuser and her judge. Nothing could degrade Brachiano more thoroughly than the ignoble and humorous beating which he gives Flamineo (whom he now calls 'Pandar', l. 51). As the angry lover

drives his pander upstage, the dialogue punctuated by slaps and kicks, Flamineo can save his pride only by jesting; this jesting reduces Brachiano's attack to that of a bestial master kicking a dog (52-72).

With theatrical timing, Vittoria enters to the height of discord between her supporters. There would probably be a startling change in her appearance, from the bravery of fabric and accessories at the trial, to the unadorned simplicity befitting a widow and convertite. In view of her future marriage and of the changed relationship between the lovers in this scene, widow's weeds would create a great irony; of their original resemblance to the dress of a nun, widow's garments had retained the veil.³⁶ The uniform of a convicted prostitute³⁷ would, also, add strength to the development in this scene where Vittoria claims to be repentant (122-124), but in behaviour, for the first time, does seem to be something of a whore (cf. 193-198).

In his accusations, Brachiano attributes to Vittoria an element of religious perversion. She has, he claims, led him

like an heathen sacrifice,
With musicke, and with fatall yokes of flowers
To [his] eternall ruine.

(90-92)

But he also recalls the ceremony which he has perverted in divorcing Isabella. "That hand," he cries to Vittoria,

that cursed hand, which I have wearied
With doting kisses! O my sweetest Dutchesse
How lovelie art thou now!

(99-101)

The hand given in marriage is an image which weaves through the fate of Isabella. Early in the play Francisco makes a fateful wish. To Brachiano he declares:

Thou hast a wife, our sister; would I had given
Both her white hands to death, bound and lockt fast
In her last winding sheete, when I gave thee
But one.

(II.i.66-69)

Brachiano inverts the giving of hands ceremony when he discards his first wife:

Your hand I'll kisse,
 This is the latest ceremony of my love,
 Hence-forth I'll never lye with thee - by this,
 This wedding-ring: I'll ne're more lye with thee.

(II.i.195-198)

Now, by cursing Vittoria's hand, he tries to negate the earlier ceremony of divorce, and transforms his dead wife once again into his "sweetest Dutchesse". Cunningly Vittoria unites herself with the innocent Isabella as a victim of Brachiano's infamy:

You did name your Dutchesse.

BRA. Whose death God pardon.

VIT. Whose death God revenge

On thee most godlesse Duke. FLA. Now for [two]
 whirlwindes.

VIT. What have I gain'd by thee but infamie?

Thou hast stain'd the spotlesse honour of my house[.]

(IV.ii.105-110)

Vittoria repents of her fall in a powerful image:

I had a limbe corrupted to an ulcer,
 But I have cut it off: and now Ile go
 Weeping to heaven on crutches

(122-124),

and longs to "tosse [her] selfe / Into a grave", (ll.127-128),

after which the stage direction reads: "She throwes her

selfe vpon a bed" (sig. G4^v; beside ll. 129-130). To

the touching image of the weeping Magdalen, the truly

repentant whore, Vittoria has added a violence expressive

of her impassioned and theatrical nature - the severed

limb, the wished-for death leap. Ironically, she throws

herself, not into a grave, but onto a bed, symbol of their

lust and shame. The bed is not a logical, naturalistic,

property for this scene in the house of convertites;³⁸

it is an element in Webster's weaving pattern of bed and

throne, of passion and conventional order. The gifts

which she vows to return to her lover (124-125) include,

of course, Brachiano's jewel, with which he wooed her.

Her intended action thus recalls Brachiano's return of

Isabella's wedding ring - both try to cancel a human

relationship by inverting the ceremony of plighted loyalty.

The termination of Brachiano's jealousy is as sudden

as its birth - "I have drunke Lethe" (130), he says. But

since Vittoria is determined not to forgive him, the

lovers have reached an impasse. It is now that Flamineo can once again play the tempter, a seeming friend who points the way to destruction. The visual focus remains upon the bed, as the setting for the action, but the lovers no longer determine their own behaviour as Flamineo gives the stage directions that are played out by Brachiano. The difference between this wooing scene and the earlier one is visually striking. In Act I, scene ii the stylization of their wooing allowed their relationship to appear delicate and idealized. Now the crudeness is shown in a physical performance which, with Flamineo's lewd and cynical comments, increases the debasement of the lovers' affair. Flamineo urges the lover to action:

Hand her, my Lord, and kisse her: be not like
A ferret to let go your hold with blowing.
BRA. Let us renew right handes. VIT. Hence!

(170-172)

Flamineo's use of the word 'hand' is more delicately interpreted by Brachiano. The giving of a hand as a contract of love has received one further reversal in Brachiano's affairs.

Ironically, Vittoria has vowed that by deeds her moral regeneration shall be known:

BRA. all the world speakes ill of thee. VIT.
No matter.
Ile live so now Ile make that world recant
And change her speeches.

(103-105)

Yet it is by deeds that her second fall is shown, for neither in this scene nor later does she verbally forgive Brachiano (swearing, indeed, that she will not speak again), but in action she accepts Brachiano's renewal of love, as Flamineo's description of the scene makes clear:

VIT. Ile speake not one word more.
FLA. Stop her mouth, with a sweet kisse, my Lord
So - now the tide's turned the vessel's come about.
Hee's a sweet armefull.

(194-197)

Vittoria remains true to her vow of silence, despite her subsequent appearance onstage as Brachiano's duchess (V.i), until after Brachiano is poisoned. Her silence creates

the strange impression that she is a prisoner still, now to her own lust and ambition. As Flamineo and Brachiano plan Vittoria's escape, they speak of her in the third person, as if she were not present or, like an actor, had no choice in her own behaviour (cf. 208-210 and 215-217).

d) The wedding and its revels.

No meeting between Brachiano and Vittoria is shown, after the quarrel, until the fulfilment of Brachiano's promise to make Vittoria a duchess. The portrayal of this marriage is twofold - a formal, entirely visual passage over the stage, which economically expresses the new relationship, and a collection of scenes preparing for and celebrating the wedding revels. In these expressions of the accomplished sacrament of holy matrimony, no intimate exchange passes between husband and wife. Consequently, the official display of the marriage seems more important than its personal, private meaning.

A passage over the stage of Brachiano, Flamineo, Marcello, Hortensio, Corombona, Cornelia, Zanche and others.

(V.i; sig. H4)

Visually there is order and splendour. Vittoria, probably dressed in the honourable symbols of the bride - the white dress and powdered hair³⁹ - is supported by the unity of her family. Possibly the 'others' in the procession include the six ambassadors, wearing the garments and insignia of their orders of knighthood, as described by Lodovico in Act IV, scene iii (5-17).⁴⁰ These ambassadors would lend to the marriage procession the sanction of the highest codes of noble civilization. But this scene forces a recollection of that former stately entry when Vittoria was another man's wife, before the murders (I.ii). In the marriage pageant, the very claim of honourability is a great impudence; the sacrament which Brachiano and Vittoria have just received is flaunted, not by being denied or ridiculed, but by being forced to a dishonourable use. Brachiano employs the ceremonies of the church to honour a relationship for which he has

been excommunicated (IV.iii.71-72), thus making a complete nonsense of the church itself. The attendance of the ambassadors, coming directly from the papal election and the declaration of excommunication, is, as Professor J.R. Brown comments, a typically Websterian irony directed against the universally corrupting influence that courts and great men exert.⁴¹ The silent presence of Cornelia, after her kneeling prayer that just such an action should not occur (cf. I.ii.286-293), and of the virtuous Marcello, who owes his allegiance to Francisco from whom he, like the vicious characters, has fled,⁴² add to the sense of foreboding and corruption which taint this 'honourable' procession.

Brachiano gathers an august and holy audience (knights and Capuchins) to give the wedding revels a significance beyond the momentary enjoyment. It is the play's aptest irony that these celebrations provide the means of his death, and that the audience which he earnestly invites includes his murderers.

The barriers - a knightly combat fought on foot - is a perfect form of revelry for this marriage. A sport of the aristocracy, it has the courtliness towards which Vittoria's life is seen to be striving. Upholding the values of chivalry, it applauds and displays manliness; but it is chivalry now as a game, and as such contrasts with the serious threat of war that exists in the background of these scenes (cf. V.i.27-30). Brachiano graciously invites the prospective Capuchins to attend the revels, saying:

Your wish is you may leave your warlike swordes
 For Monuments in our Chappell. I accept it
 As a great honour done mee, and must crave
 Your leave to furnish out our Dutchesse revells.

(V.i.47-50)

In the last moments of Brachiano's life, his bed chamber becomes, like a chapel, the setting for a sacrament (the extreme unction parodied) with sacred properties - the crucifix and hallowed taper (V.iii; sig. K2). The Capuchins' 'monument' is the murder, for they seek to leave their action as an example worthy to be recorded.

hereafter (V.i.73-75).

Brachiano, having given his invitation, exits "to the presence" (1.60):

Exeunt Brachiano, Flamineo.

CAR.⁴³ Noble my Lord, most fortunately
and Marcello.
wellcome,
You have our vowes seal'd with the
sacrament
To second your attempts. PED. And all
thinges readie.
Hee could not have invented his owne ruine,
Had hee despair'd, with more proprietie.

The Conspirators here im-
brace.

(61-65; sig. I)

The sudden surge of conspiratorial truth is startling and harsh. How Lodovico is disguised as a Hungarian is not known, but Brachiano's inability to penetrate the disguise is logical; he is not perceptive, and does not look deeply into matters. The eventual disguise adopted by the conspirators would provide a particularly efficient mask of their identity, for the hood of religious tunics tended to fall low over the face⁴⁴ (see figure 1).

The meeting of the conspirators marks the completion of an initiation ceremony which makes of them a formal brotherhood. The vow of fidelity sealed with the sacrament, the putting on of special clothing, and now the embrace, create an unholy ritual, a perversion of both the entry ritual of the Capuchin order, and of the chivalric orders represented by the six ambassadors.⁴⁵ The ceremony, with its yoking of 'holy' vows with evil, has its parallel in the initiations and Sabbat services of witchcraft. Francisco, as a black Moor, is wearing one of the disguises of the devil. In the initiation ceremony of a witch, the proselyte gives himself to the devil's service, kisses Satan, and learns the use of certain poisons.⁴⁶ Lodovico wishes they had poisoned various of Brachiano's personal objects (67-69), including

th'handle of his racket - ô that, that!
That while he had bin bandying at Tennis,
He might have sworne himselfe to hell, and strooke
His soule into the hazzard!

(69-72)

a
It is/typical desire of Elizabethan and Jacobean revengers, to damn the soul of the enemy,⁴⁷ but Lodovico's choice of

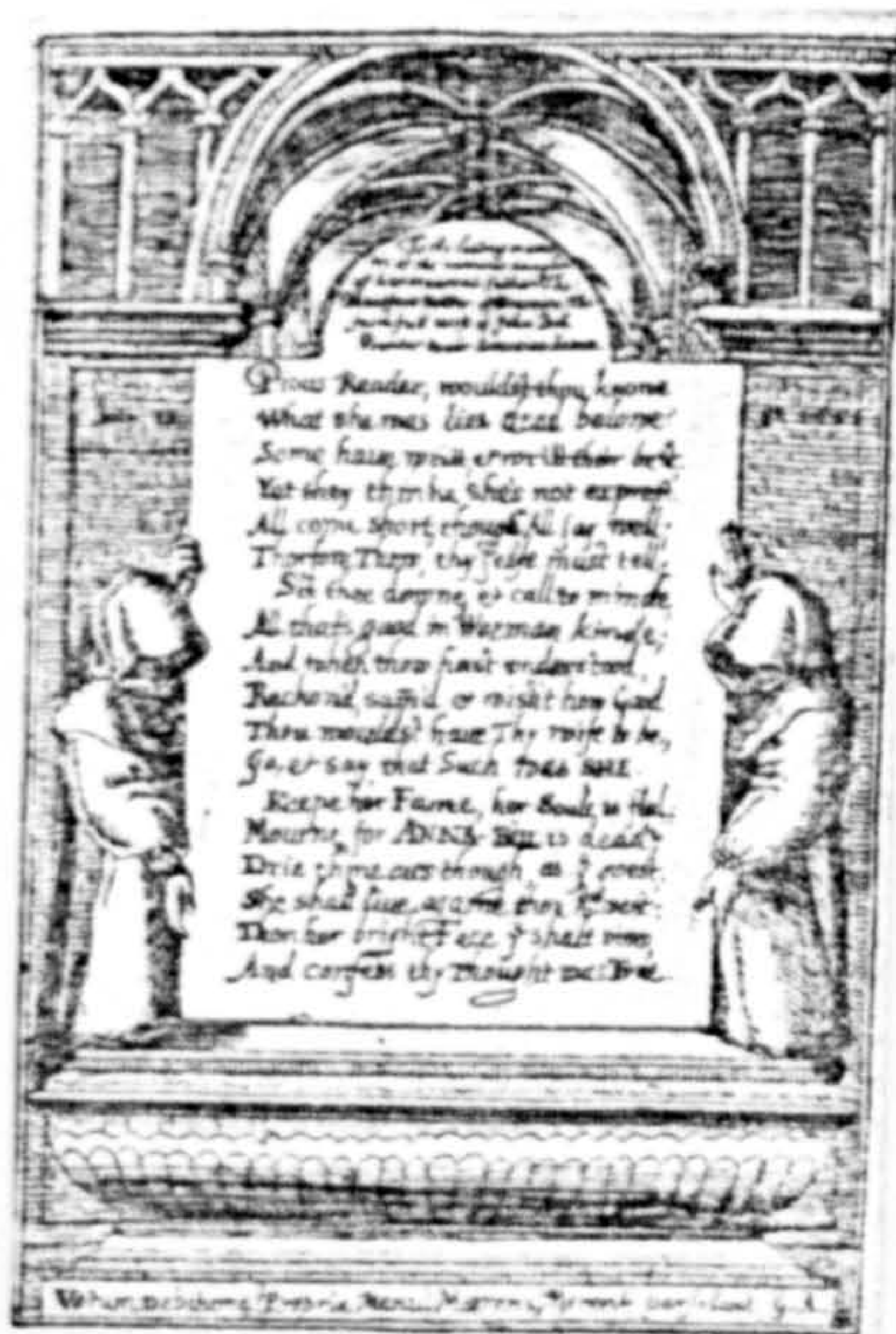


Figure 1. Memorial verses in Anne Bill, A Monument of Mortalitie (1621), reproduced from Arthur M. Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, Pt. II (Cambridge, 1955), pl. 162c. The hood of religious robes makes a particularly effective disguise (the character looking piously downward), and allows for startling 'discoveries'.

the racket is particularly suitable, for it recalls Francisco's taunt that Brachiano 'shift[s]' his garments at Vittoria's dwelling when he "retire[s] from Tennis" (II.1.54-55).

The assassins are now ritually prepared, but the deed is delayed while the victim prepares himself to meet their vengeance with even more propriety, helping to damn himself. Intervening between the conspirators' meeting and the barriers is the killing of Marcello by Flamineo. Brachiano delivers a tyrannical sentence: he leaves the murderer free to live, yet claims the right to renew this freedom each evening (V.ii.72-75). The poison is applied in the audience's view, and Francisco-Mulinassar points to the moral of the scene:

Lodouico sprinckles Brachiano's beuer with a poison.

. . . .

BRA. Where's our beaver?
 FRAN. [aside] Hee calls for his destruction. Noble youth,
 I pitty thy sad fate. Now to the barriers.
 This shall his passage to the blacke lake further,
 The last good deed hee did, he pardon'd murther. Exeunt.
Charges and shoutes, They fight at Barriers;
first single paires, then three to three.

(78-82; sig. I4^v)

Of the various tournaments, the barriers was most suitable for inclusion in a play, being fought on foot. Contemporary drawings show the combattants fighting in an open rectangular space, divided by a longitudinally placed bar, and surrounded on all sides by the spectators.⁴⁸ One of the splendid Valois tapestries shows a combat at barriers which was performed at Whitehall during a visit to England by Elizabeth's suitor, the Duke of Alençon (by now Duke of Anjou) in 1572 (see figure 2).⁴⁹ In The White Devil, the wooden bar, which must be brought on stage (perhaps by supernumeraries in the uniform of Brachiano's retainers) need be only a simple beam on supporting legs, placed centrally, and running at right angles or diagonally to the front of the stage, recalling the 'table' in the trial scene. The onstage spectators, including the ambassadors and the conspirators, would take their place behind the combatants and down the sides of

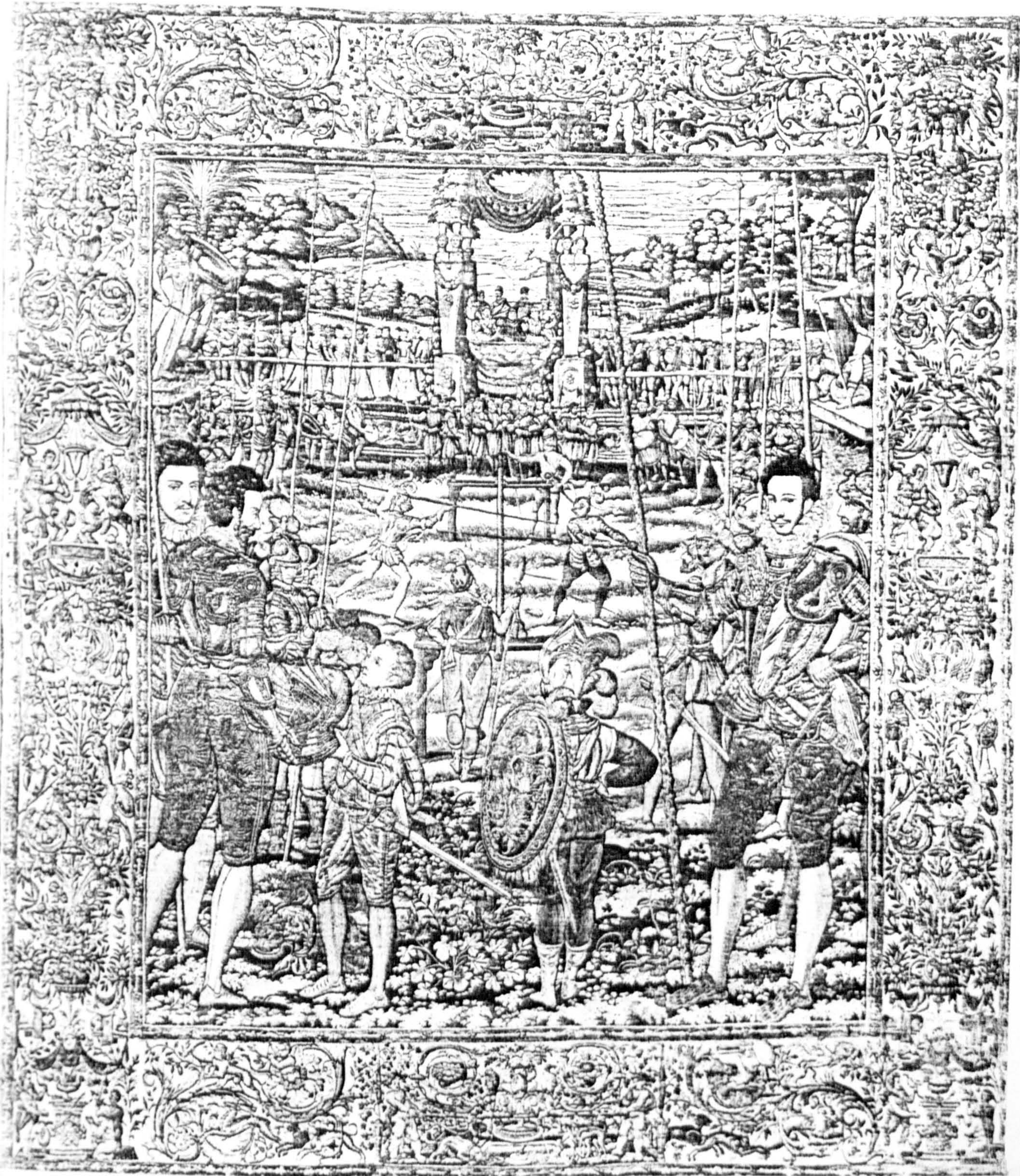


Figure 2. Barriers at Whitehall, 1572. Reproduced from Frances A. Yates, The Valois Tapestries (London, 1959), pl. VII.

the stage.⁵⁰ Thus the theatre audience and the stage audience become united, surrounding the fighting ground on all sides. Brachiano's barriers takes place at night (V.i.53), and it would thus be consistent for some of his retainers, carrying torches, to mingle with the spectators.⁵¹ The atmosphere of rich warmth and flickering excitement which these torches would help to create is in vivid opposition to the mournful and frightening mood achieved by the single 'hallowed' candle of Brachiano's death scene.

Like the scenes of the papal election and the trial, the barriers is a formal and colourful pageant, and although it satisfies the spectators' desire for excitement, it is by no means gratuitous. Tempo is controlled, to increase the tension. Physically, the speed of the play is accelerated by the swift action of the weapons (pike and sword). Emotionally, an hiatus of anticipatory breathlessness retards the action of the assassination. The dichotomy of a game and reality is once again exploited. The barriers gives blows that are visibly real, and yet unreal in that they exist within the convention of a game; the attempt at murder threatens to deliver a stroke from which there is no convention for recovery. Further, the barriers, followed by Brachiano's frenzied entry in the poisoned helmet, creates a dramatic parallel to the death of Brachiano's victim, Camillo. The preliminary to both deaths is a mimed representation of manly sports. Camillo's vaulting begins with a respectful ritual:

Enter Flamineo, Marcello, Camillo, with foure more as Captaines, they drinke healths and dance, ... Flamineo and Camillo /trip them/elues into their /hirts, as to vault, complement who /hall beginne, ...

(II.ii; sig. D4^v)

Brachiano's death is preceded by the formal combat. The qualities glorified by the sports of Renaissance manhood are qualities which Camillo lacks, and he can only fail. Neither physically nor intellectually is he a match for Flamineo's cunning. When Flamineo compares Camillo and Brachiano as lovers, he emphasizes the unmanliness of Camillo who is unable to offer Vittoria the satisfaction

that Brachiano can give (I.ii.passim). To Monticelso, Camillo seems incapable of leadership or heroism (II.i. 319 ff.). Camillo allows control of his own life to pass out of his hands, passively accepting manipulation, and leaving his honour to the protection of Monticelso (II.i.352-369). Thus, although innocent, he dies because he fails to be a man, a failure symbolized by his defeat in the sport of vaulting.

Brachiano has, by nature, all the gifts which Camillo lacks. It is by his own choice of behaviour that he debases his manhood. His indulgence in 'sports', especially the sport of love, is contrasted with his son's longing to be a warrior; while Brachiano is being baited for his illicit love, the child, Giovanni, enters in armour (II.i.99-101 and 112), and Francisco pointedly draws the relevant conclusion:

See a good habite makes a child a man,
Whereas a bad one makes a man a beast[.]
(140-141)⁵²

Unlike Camillo, Brachiano "calls for his destruction" (V.ii.79), casting himself in the rôle of chivalric challenger,⁵³ a rôle for which his moral decline has made him unfit. The prizes awarded to the successful combatants in tournaments were frequently presented by an honoured lady, and often consisted of a jewel.⁵⁴ It is a minor but interesting irony that Vittoria has already presented Brachiano with a jewel for which he did not fight honourably. If Brachiano's helmet (like most tournament helmets) is plumed, it would suggest a further similarity between him and Camillo. Flamineo, attributing Camillo's lack of virility to venereal disease, draws his comparison from the barriers:

The great Barriers
moulted not more feathers than he hath shed haire, by
the
confession of his doctor.

(I.ii.27-29)

The poisoned helmet will destroy the gay plumage; the fires of lust devour the lover. And feathers, too, belong to that world of games, of pleasure, which contrasts with the harsh reality of war.⁵⁵

The fatal revels weave together the life and death of the lovers and their victims. Brachiano invites the Capuchins to his "Dutchesse revells", but for which duchess? Isabella, acting out her 'divorce', asks:

Are all these ruines of my former beauty,
Laid out for a whores triumph?

(II.i.240-241)

These wedding revels seem to be the triumph of that whore over the former wife. (William Segar, in Honor Military, and Ciuill (1602), gives to tournaments the name of 'triumph'.)⁵⁶ The triumph, a familiar form of Elizabethan and Jacobean pageantry, is by its nature ambiguous. It is a paradox that displays the instability of Fortune's wheel, for while it honours victory and merit, it warns of the dangers of pride.⁵⁷ The wedding celebrations clearly express the ambiguous position of the lovers - victorious, but indecorous and incautiously proud. Francisco has clearly informed the audience that his planned revenge includes these marriage revels; he has, he says gloatingly, "directed [Brachiano] the way / To marrie a whore; what can be worse" (IV.iii.58-59). Isabella's Ghost, consciously summoned forth by Francisco, has been the motivating force that has urged him on to action (IV.i.102-119). Thus, indirectly, she has motivated the marriage and its revels, and she triumphs in her brother's revenge.

e) The unholy ritual of Brachiano's death⁵⁸

The hysterical entry of Brachiano in his poisoned helmet is intensified by the surge of followers who enter with him. Since his return to Padua in Act V, scene i, he has been constantly attended. This expression of his ducal power contrasts with his earlier secretive appearances befitting the adulterer and murderer. The irony is that the support of his friends is imaginary; he has not regained a position of strength, but blindly accepts the service of his arch enemy. From this entry (V.iii) until his death, he grows increasingly solitary, abandoned

(albeit unintentionally) by those who wish to comfort him, and given into the hands of his assassins, stripped of all support, like the Morality hero, as he faces his final test.

The flurried action of the first forty lines of this scene, with the rapid, confused entries, exits and withdrawals, reflects visually the raging fire within Brachiano. The removal of the beaver is a useless gesture, for Flamineo, the pander who fanned the fire of lust, remains attached to the burning man, directing the entries and exits, echoing Brachiano's thoughts (cf. 1, 2, and 5-12) like an alter ego. The beaver, protection in a clean fight, is corrupt; the power of the physicians fails "as oft, as great mens needy friends" (l. 23), an interesting comment upon the impoverished Flamineo. "Remove the barre," cries Flamineo, "heer's unfortunate rev[e]lls" (9). With the removal of the bar, the game is over. In his wilful blindness and refusal to hear truth, Brachiano urges on his own isolation, casting away, in turn, the Armourer, Giovanni, the Physicians, the Capuchins, and even Vittoria (cf. 36-37), to whom, only moments before, he has longed to bequeath "infinite worlds" (18).

Brachiano's re-entry at line 80, "presented in a bed" (sig. K^V), signifies the physical and mental deterioration of imminent death. The stage directions explain that

The se speeches are severall kinds of distractions and in the action should appeare so.

(sig. K^V; beside ll. 83-90)

The bed in which he is brought onto the stage (or discovered) recalls the "insatiate bed" and the bed in the house of convertites. In his death scene, Brachiano seeks peace and sleep, but finds only terror and damnation (cf. 30-35). It is very fitting that he who has abused the sanctity of the marriage bed should be denied the bed's peace. The scene is a culmination of the wedding festivities: the guests become mourners, and the death stroke is "a true-love knot / Sent from the Duke of Florence" (175-176). The true-love knot which, instead of binding two hearts together binds Brachiano to his death, is rich in connotations. A knot, being any form of bond or obligation,

refers to the tie or bond of wedlock.⁵⁹ The knot encircling Brachiano's neck recalls the circle of the ring which has made permanent his ritual of divorce. But this allusion to a ring also recalls the comparison between Camillo and Brachiano in Act I, scene ii. Flameneo tells Vittoria that Camillo will give her "a ringe with a philosophers stone in it", to which Camillo adds, "Indeed I am studying Alcumye" (146-147). Camillo, the "false stone", the "counterfaite dyamond" (138 and 139), will be transformed by alchemy into the lover of worth, Brachiano. Finally, the true-love knot may conjure up a vision of the knot in a halter for hanging,⁶⁰ an overtone which enforces the poetic justice of the murderer's murder.

The visual symbols become simplified and intensified in this death scene - the bed, the candle and crucifix, and the robed friars. R.W. Dent, referring to the cassock eventually worn by Brachiano's Ghost, mentions Coryat's account of the Venetian custom of burying sinners in the habit of a Franciscan friar, in the hopes of winning remission of sins.⁶¹ If, as Dent's comparison suggests, Brachiano re-enters for his death scene wearing the robes of a friar, the irony would be intense - the murderer and his murderers all clothed in religious garments.

In Brachiano's dying ravings, the conjunction between Francisco (whose band of assassins have vowed to send Brachiano's soul to hell) and the devil is close. Brachiano sees that Francisco - "That old dog-fox, that Polititian Florence" (93) - had some hand in the poisoning (cf. 91-96);⁶² he also sees a colourful vision of the devil:

Yonder's a fine slave come in now. FLA. Where?
 BRA. Why there.
 In a blew bonnet, and a paire of breeches
 With a great codpeece.

. . .
 Why 'tis the Devill.
 (97-103)

Brachiano fails to recognize the connection between the two ideas, a connection made visible to the audience by

means of the black Mulinassar. G.K. Hunter⁶³ records numerous contemporary accounts in which the devil was said to have appeared as a 'blacke moore', 'blacke man' or 'Ethiope'. Francisco has improved upon the efficacy of his devilish disguise by pretending to be a Christian (V.i.25-26). To appreciate the significance of Mulinassar's Christianity one must recall that the most common stage character of the Moor was that of a villain, Moors being displayed in an "antithetical relationship to the European norm of the civilized white Christian".⁶⁴ The reversal of expectation achieved in Othello is doubled in Mulinassar; in the fictitious character of Mulinassar, an individual outside the society's national boundaries, is established the only example of successful virtue in the play (opposed to the unsuccessful Marcello, V.i). And yet, in the safety of his disguise, he functions here as a true devil.

Brachiano's death scene bears some relationship to the contemporary (and earlier) ars moriendi tradition (see fig. 3). In these very popular illustrations of the death of the good (or evil) Christian, certain basic properties and characters are usually present.⁶⁵ The central object is the large bed in which lies the dying man. Candles, crucifix and hooded churchmen surround the bed, joined by demons and, sometimes, hell-fire and the virgin hovering overhead. Brachiano's death thus becomes something of a parody of the death of a Christian. The main properties are supplied, including the devil, but the holy objects and the priests are in fact properties in the service of evil. Francisco and his churchmen, like the devils in the ars moriendi illustrations, strive to send Brachiano's soul to hell (cf. V.i.70-72 and ii. 81-82). Vittoria, probably still in the wedding garments of Act V, scene i, would, in white,⁶⁶ ironically simulate one symbol of the Virgin, and it is she, the holy whore (cf. III.ii. 80), whom Brachiano chooses (V.iii.17-19), wishing that he could give her worlds. By making visual use of the popular ars moriendi concept, Webster allows Brachiano to play out his death as a grand dramatic character, while



Figure 3. Ars Moriendi. Dutch, 17th century.
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 Warburg Institute (Photograph Library, ref.
 Knipping).

at the same time, the scene silently makes a moral comment. The sinner is glorious, and admired by Webster and his audience for his "strong heart" (14); but as a Christian he is damned.

A ballad broadsheet of Queen Eleanor's Confession contains a woodcut which shows how simply the scene of Brachiano's death might have been staged (see fig. 4).⁶⁷ The two friars at Eleanor's bedside are, like Brachiano's murderers, known to her, but successfully disguised by their friars' habits.

It is possible that for practical theatrical reasons, the murder of Isabella, the mourning over Marcello and the death of Brachiano may have shared certain symbolically rich properties. Isabella's dumb show (II.ii), in which her actions parody private devotions as she kneels "as to prayers" (sig. D4^V), would not illogically take place in a family chapel, represented by a table or simple altar in the discovery space or carried onto the stage. The burning of the perfume could then be performed over the altar candles.⁶⁸ The picture of Brachiano could be standing upon the table or hanging on the back wall or curtain of the discovery space. She is going "as to bedward" (sig. D4^V) - a bed is imagined, but not present. During Brachiano's death scene, the discovery space may contain the altar again. The Capuchins could then fetch the crucifix and candle from it. (An altar is present in the deathbed scene of fig. 3). For the scene around Marcello's corpse (V.iv), an altar (and candle), visible once again at the back of the discovery space would be appropriate (with the crucifix hanging about Cornelia's neck) because of the Christian overtones in his sacrifice and death. The presence of such an altar is purely conjectural, but Marcello is certainly laid out, probably on some form of day-bed. The formality of the mourning scene gives the impression that Marcello is on display, lying in state, and for this reason figure 5, an engraving by N. Briot, showing Henri IV of France lying in state, 1610, is interesting.

After Brachiano is dead, Flamineo supplies a superbly

Queen-Eleanor's Confession:

Shewing, how King *Henry*, with the Earl *Martial*, in Fryars Habits, came to see her, instead of two Fryars from *France*, which she sent for. To a pleasant New Tune.



Figure 4. Queen Eleanor's Confession, from The Bagford Ballads (B.M. C.40.m.9/33), vol. I, number 33. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

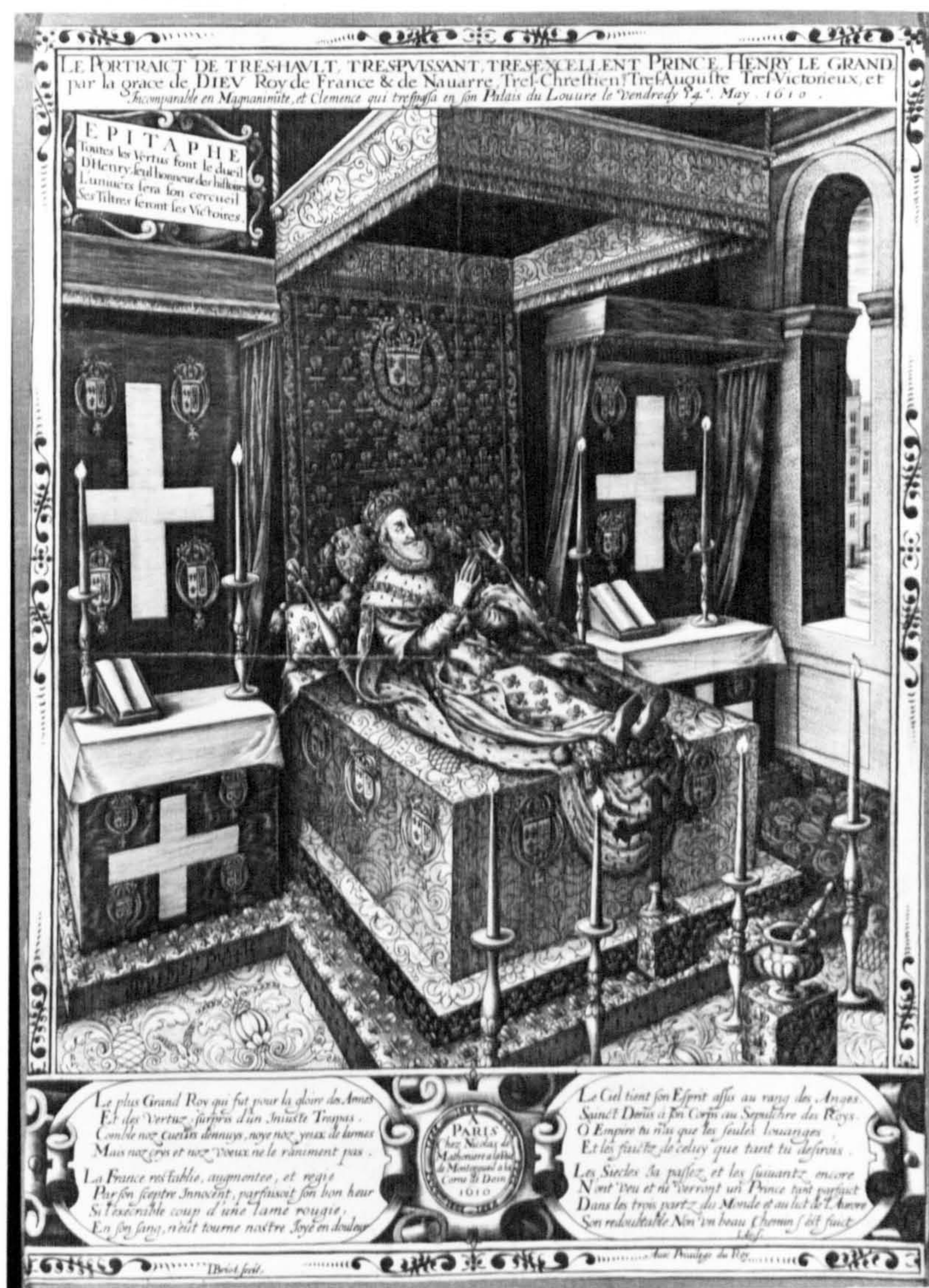


Figure 5. King Henri IV of France, lying in state.
Engraving, 1610, by [Nicolas] Briot (b. 1579 or
1580, d. 1646). Reproduced by kind permission
of the Warburg Institute.

vivid description which, while revealing much about the speaker, also completes the transformation of the duke from his first, as yet unfallen appearance, to a devil "damn'd ... Perpetually" (V.iii.150-151). Flamineo longs to follow the dead man,

though forty devils
Waight on him in his livery of flames[.]

(212-213)

In Brachiano's first appearance, he was waited upon by torch bearers; those torches were dismissed before the illicit love scene, with its hints of murder, was performed. As death approaches, he is offered the candle of the extreme unction, but it changes dramatically from a holy symbol to a property in a murder. It is an entirely appropriate change, for, like the burning poison, it is a symbol of Brachiano's lust. He seeks salvation from the holy flame, but instead (at least in Flamineo's supposition) sets off to hell accompanied by devil-servants wearing his badge of flames. (The association between Brachiano's lust and the taper's flame is suggested in Lodovico's reaction to the completed strangulation: "The snuffe is out", l. 178).

Flamineo, acting as presenter to those who watch Brachiano's last act, cries:

See, see, how firmly hee doth fixe his eye
Upon the Crucifix

(131-132),

and Vittoria, deluded into trusting in the comforts of religion, implores:

O hold it constant.
It settles his wild spirits; and so his eies
Melt into teares.

(132-134)

The Capuchins' chant and the laying on of hands (around his neck) recall the performance in the ritual of exorcism by an ordained priest, by which a possessed man is freed from the devil.⁶⁹ But in their ritual, these murderers taunt Brachiano with being the devil himself (150). The enormous relish of their taunting carries the assassins to such lengths that they arouse superhuman fear in their

victim, who cries out for Vittoria. Visually, the intrusion of the bride with her powdered hair into a scene of murder and unholy ritual recalls the inappropriateness of her appearance at the trial after her first husband's death, when she came "not like a widow" (III. ii.124). The trial is further ironically recalled in Gasparo's cry:

for charitie,
For Christian charitie, avoid the chamber.

(V.iii.173-174)

With this appeal to charity, Brachiano is abandoned to his murderers.

Brachiano, although he inspired Isabella's murder, was only an audience to the deed, and required explanations of the details from the Conjuror (II.ii.24-34). Francisco, the organizer of Brachiano's murder, is also distanced to the rôle of spectator, and since he is absent from the final strangulation, must have the action explained to him (V.iii.217-219). The cold, heartless reaction to the deaths is identical:

BRAC. Excellent, then shee's dead

(II.ii.24);

FRA. Excellent Lodovico!

What? did you terrifie him at the last gaspe?

(V.iii.215-216)

This parallel gives further weight to the poetic justice of Brachiano's death, and to the tightly-bound circular nature of the play.

Hereward T. Price comments that

At the moment of death Brachiano repeats the actions of his wife as she was dying. She had prevented those about her from touching the poisoned picture. Brachiano says to Vittoria: "Do not kisse me, for I shall poyson thee" (V.iii.27). 70

Remembrance of Isabella's death is further encouraged by the fire in Brachiano's brain (recalling the perfumes burned by her murderers); by the 'hallowed' ritual (recalling her 'reverences'); and by the presence of Giovanni, Lodovico and the chorus of mourners. But whereas this effective recollection points to the justice of Brachiano's

death, it also accentuates the ambivalence present in the death of Isabella. Although she is innocent, she is capable of perversion, for she has made a deity of her husband as her little ritual before his picture (an idol) suggests. While other characters attend upon her with lights,

Shee kneeles downe as to prayers, then drawes the curtaine of the picture, doe's three reuerences to it, and kisses it thrice,...

(sig. D4^v; II.ii)

Brachiano earlier implies in her a confusion of love and religious worship by intentionally misunderstanding her words. He asks his wife what has brought her to Rome, to which she replies:

Devotion my Lord. BRAC. Devotion?
Is your soule charg'd with any grievous sinne?

(II.i.153-154)

Necessity, not desire, urges Isabella to take part in the perversion of the marriage sacrament (II.i.218-220 and 254-265).

f) Vittoria's death: ritual and reality.

Vittoria's death, like Brachiano's, is played out in an atmosphere of ritual and ceremony. During Brachiano's death scene, her frequent coming and going, and her silence broken only by hopeless exclamations, suggest her disordered mind. At her next appearance, in Act V, scene vi, she enters "with a booke in her hand" (sig. L2^v). This typical picture of introspection and melancholy is several times used by Webster, and with a specifically religious bias.⁷¹

FLA. What are you at your prayers? Give o're.
VIT. How Ruffin?
FLA. I come to you 'bout worldly businesse:
Sit downe, sit downe: Nay stay, blouze [i.e., Zanche],
you may heare it,
The dores are fast inough.

(1-5)

Flameneo's rough treatment of Vittoria and his contempt for her prayers recall Brachiano's scorn for Isabella's 'devotion'. Flameneo challenges Vittoria to damnation.

(96). His hand is stained with the crime of Cain, as Vittoria knows (14-15), and as he gives her the pistol she prepares to commit Cain's sin.

The bizarre spectacle of the 'murder' of Flamineo is made apt by the force of its many ironies and layers of deception. With violent exultation the two women shoot him and tread upon the dying man who is "mixt with Earth already" (121), recalling the prophetic action of the Ghost as it threw earth upon Flamineo (V.iv.129). In Flamineo's 'suicide', as in Brachiano's final scene, a vivid atmosphere of hell is created, not as something distant, but present and horrible. The sense of sight is stimulated by contrasts of light and darkness - the burning hell fire (141) and the dark and horrid way (139). He smells the soot and feels the scalding fire in his liver and guts (142-145). An imagined rush of activity appeals to the sense of hearing - the company of sins tearing pell mell towards the flames (140-142), the metallic thud of "a plumber laying pipes in [his] guts" (145), the hammered stake driven through his suicide's corpse (146-148) - , and complements the sound of the false shots and the treading women with their shrill exultant cries. Even the sense of taste is awakened as Flamineo likens his 'purboil'd' liver to "scotch holly-bread" (144), a further example of the inverted religious atmosphere. Zanche's allusion to the stake through the suicide's body would not, to contemporary hearers, suggest an action performed only by the living. In many popular book illustrations, devils are shown driving stakes and forks through the bodies of their victims, sinners in hell (see figure 6).⁷⁴

Vittoria sees herself as an agent of good, ridding the world of Flamineo and his sins. His death is not only her triumph, but also her salvation:

I tread the fire out
That would have bene my ruine.

(125-126)

Her imagined apotheosis raises her aloft in a grandiose theatrical vision that contrasts with the hell to which Flamineo is consigned:

The most wonderfull
and true storie, of a certaine Witch
named *Alse Gooderige* of *Stapen hill*,
who was arraigned and conuicted at *Darbie*
at the *Assises* there.

As also a true report of the strange torments of *Thomas Darling*, a boy of thirteene yeres of age, that was possessed by the *Deuill*, with his horrible fittes and terrible Apparitions by him vttered at *Burton* vpon *Trent* in the Countie of *Stafford*, and of his maruelous deliuerance.



Printed at London for I. O. 1597.

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Figure 6. Devils driving stakes through witches in hell. Title-page to The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine Witch named *Alse Gooderige* ... (London, 1597). Reproduced by kind permission of Lambeth Palace Library.

Those ambassadors who have graced the play's great ceremonies - the trial, the papal election, and the wedding festivities - become a ghostly audience to her execution, giving the event a ceremonial solemnity. Possibly the boy playing Vittoria would, with the aid of padding and makeup, be given the bare-breasted appearance which certain contemporary women displayed. Thomas Coryat, in his Crudities, which appeared in 1611, includes the portrait of a bare-breasted Venetian courtesan (see figure 7), and comments disapprovingly on this common Italian habit, concluding that "it is much v^red both in Venice and Padua".⁷⁸ Vittoria ends her career as the Duchess of Padua, and the quarto titlepage calls her "the famous Venetian Curtizan" (sig. A). But as contemporary engravings reveal, it was not necessary to look beyond England for examples of excessively décolleté garments.⁷⁹ It would appear that, at least in masques, and certainly in French courtly entertainments, boys did sometimes simulate female nudity.⁸⁰ If Vittoria flaunts a (seemingly) naked breast towards her killer's weapon, her helplessness (especially remembering that the Capuchins have vowed to wear armour beneath their religious garments, V.i.23-24) would be accentuated, and at the same time her audacious past life would be recalled.

Flamineo's praise of his dying sister contrasts her with the ignoble executioners and raises her into that realm of masculine virtue admired throughout the play, and assumed by her once before, for her defence in the trial (III.ii.39-40):

Th'art a noble sister,
I love thee now; if woeman doe breed man,
Shee ought to teach him manhood: Fare thee well.
Know many glorious woemen that are fam'd
For masculine vertue, have bin vitious,
Onely a happier silence did betyde them.
Shee hath no faults, who hath the art to hide them.

(241-247)

This chillingly cynical view of all virtue as well-disguised vice epitomizes Flamineo's supreme appreciation of the successful actor.

Vittoria accepts the justice of her punishment:



Il Signior Tomaso Odcombiano *Margarita Emilianiana bella*
Cortesana di Venetia
Gu. F. Volle sculp.

Figure 7. The bare-breasted Venetian courtesan from Thomas Coryat's Crudities (London, 1611; B.M. C.32.e.9), following p. 262. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

O my greatest sinne lay in my blood.
Now my blood paies for't

(240-241);

and although her soul drifts, she does not weaken, but, to the end, plays to her audience.

O happy they that never saw the Court,
"Nor ever knew great Man but by report.

(261-262)

With this rhyming platitude she reveals the larger significance of sin nurtured by a corrupt court. Webster does not present her final couplet as a serious vision of an alternative to court life, but merely as her insight into that court. Vittoria and Brachiano, after living to the uttermost, and in the desperation of suffering, look with envy towards an impossible escape and rest.

Through the use of ceremony, ritual and stylization, Webster establishes a double perspective. The two lovers are seen in their grandeur and beauty, somewhat distanced from their sin, facing great tests, then debased by their own passion, and finally, large of heart despite approaching death (cf. V.iii.14-16, and V.vi.224-227). Webster allows Vittoria and Brachiano to become heroic characters in their own right, often seeming far more noble than the characters who oppose them. But, by the use of the perverted sacraments and the often-recurring visual recollections of Isabella, Camillo, and the lovers' lust, the playwright places before us powerful reminders of their sin, and of the moral and dramatic fitness of their ends.

II. Perversion and direction.

The theme of perversion runs throughout The White Devil. The manipulation and exploitation of one individual by another results in the perversion of selfhood and individual integrity; the abuse of social codes extends the perversion outwards beyond the individual to infect society and, finally, the spiritual cosmos. Perhaps the most important and recurring motif by which Webster expresses these perversions is that of life as a

play - of the individual as an actor, director, presenter or audience; of the world as a stage on which the sacraments and ceremonies of society may be enacted.⁸¹ Webster has made two characters consistently conscious of themselves as actors in a play which they intend to direct, and these two are Flamineo and Francisco.

a) Flamineo as director and Vice.

As a director, Flamineo plays his greatest scenes with Vittoria and Brachiano. Because the temptations and rewards which he offers are not desired by Cornelia and Marcello, it is not surprising that he has less power over them as their director. To manipulate them he must, instead, become an actor or a preacher. Through imagery and action, Webster has created in Flamineo a character who seems to be something more than an individually vicious man. At times he can be seen as an agent of evil, causing harm for the sake of harm. This element of evil makes Flamineo resemble the Morality Vice, offering temptations, consciously guiding other characters, and acting as a satirist of his society.⁸²

We have already seen Flamineo as director and presenter of the wooing scene.⁸³ He successfully tricks Camillo out of the way for the night (I.ii.156-179), supplies properties for the lovers (the carpet and cushions are brought on by Zanche, whose intimate relationship with Flamineo is throughout the play avowed), and then, with asides to the audience, presents the significance hidden in the dream and the exchange of jewels. He is a conventional tempter because he provides means to a fall which both the lovers desire, but which they are helpless to effect without his inspiration (cf. 3-10, 25, 36 and 154).

But Flamineo is not all-powerful, and Webster clearly exposes his villain's dangerous self-confidence by placing Cornelia upon the stage, unknown to Flamineo, during this scene. When she rushes forward, destroying Flamineo's 'play', he attempts to regain control, but both Vittoria and Brachiano abandon him. In his angry confrontation with

his mother, the theme of family perversion, so strong in the play, is given forceful expression. Flamineo and Cornelia attempt to deny their relationship, the mother wishing that she "ne're had borne" the son (326), while Flamineo wishes that "the common'st Courtezan in Rome,/ Had bene [his] mother rather than [Cornelia]" (328-329). With a very active image, Flamineo refuses the physical bond which ties him to his mother:

shall I,
Having a path so open and so free
To my preferment, still retaine your milke
In my pale forehead?

(320-323)

Having denied the maternal gift, he cannot turn instead to the paternal inheritance, for his father has squandered the patrimony. One (negative) picture of manhood is provided in the life of his father:

My father prov'd himselfe a Gentleman,
Sold al's land, and like a fortunate fellow,
Died ere the money was spent.

(310-312)

The proper relationship between father and son is upset, not only by Flamineo's profligate father, but also in the figures of Brachiano and Giovanni. When the child, Giovanni, appears in the manly armour of war, while Brachiano wears the soft clothes of luxury (II.i.54-55; 99-141), their unnatural position in relation to each other is given simple visual presentation.

Flamineo's perversion of his own family relationships, begun in his pandering of his sister, and continued in his quarrel with Cornelia, is extended until he perverts the very idea of the family:

Nature is very pitt[i]full to whoores
To give them but few children, yet those children
Plurality of fathers - ...

(330-332)

Webster puts these perversions into the larger context of the play by means of Cornelia's prophecy of a family sinking to ruin (207-208).

Flamineo's denial of the sanctity of the family is completed when he kills his brother and attempts to murder

his sister. The diabolic nature of Flamineo in relation to the family is evoked in the verbal picture of a childhood act. Marcello says to Cornelia:

I have heard you say, giving my brother sucke,
Hee tooke the Crucifix betweene his hands,
And broke a limbe off.

(V.ii.11-13)

This recollected deed of apparently unprovoked viciousness is at once given an active counterpart as Flamineo runs his sword through his brother's body.

In Act II, scene i, Flamineo acts once again as a presenter,⁸⁴ and as an agent for Brachiano. In an aside to Brachiano, he indicates the 'whispering' of Francisco, Monticelso, Marcello and Camillo (283). These latter characters mime together while Flamineo, at some distance from them, perhaps downstage,⁸⁵ draws the scene to the attention of Brachiano and the audience. The duke at once gets to the point, depending upon Flamineo for the practical details:

About the murder [i.e. of Camillo].

FLAM. They are sending him to Naples, but I'll send him to Candy, here[e]'s another property to[o]. BRAC. O the Doctor!

(288-290)

Flamineo is ready with a plot and a player. This discussion of murder while the victim stands by is superbly impudent, and through it Webster exposes Flamineo's extreme confidence (which ultimately destroys him). By pointing out the whispering group as something to be watched and commented upon, Flamineo draws himself, Brachiano and the Doctor emotionally away from the others. By means of this intermediary group, the audience is also distanced. Camillo is made to seem part of a picture, not of reality, a fact which diminishes our horror at the planned murder. Webster, by means of Flamineo's coarse jests at the Doctor's expense, diminishes our serious or sympathetic concern for Camillo. While man, lowered to the level of a toad, an "abominable loth- / some gargarisme" (305-306), holds the stage in confidence with the audience, a tragic mood is not created.

The death of Camillo is formalized in the dumb show,

and it is Flamineo who breaks Camillo's neck in mime. Flamineo often draws back from the action as a commentator and director; and yet, when he becomes an actor in the main, he is almost always involved in some act of gross physical violence. At the same time, he is, basically, not a hot-tempered, crudely physical, violent man, but a cold, calculating, rational individual. This impression is intensified by the method by which Webster presents these violent acts. They are consciously distanced, either through stylization or through ridicule. When he kills Camillo he is an actor in a scene presented before an audience, Brachiano, and commented upon by the Conjuror.⁸⁶ We are not shown the murder at the moment of its happening, but as a re-staging. Each of the other acts of violence is similarly stylized. Flamineo strikes Lodovico while, as he directly tells the audience, he is playing the rôle of a madman:

because now I cannot
counterfeit a whining passion for the death of my
Lady, I will
faine a madde humor for the disgrace of my sister, ...
(III.ii.314-316)

This transformation of behaviour is a disguise, for he claims that he

put[s] on this feigned Garbe of mirth,
To gull suspicion
(III.i.30-31),

a disguise which metaphorically and effectively resembles the changes of clothing used by the Morality villains to gull their victims.⁸⁷ The death of Marcello is played out with intense unreality - sudden, startling, forewarned in omens, but unprepared for in human and dramatic terms. Once again Flamineo seems to be an actor, both because his action so theatrically completes the story of the broken crucifix, and because his attitude to the murder is so unemotional. He shows no anger or remorse, and reacts to the sight of his dying brother with a jest:

Do you turne your gaule up? I'le to sanctuary,
And send a surgeon to you.
(V.ii.18-19)

By emphasizing the self-conscious 'play' element in

Flamineo's actions, Webster makes the actions seem part of the general condition of a valueless and irrational society, and also forces us to step back and observe these deeds consciously, not emotionally.

Flamineo is most conspicuously a Vice figure when compared with Marcello, for in some ways the two brothers can be seen to represent opposite abstracts of evil and good. Webster is fond of creating blood relationships which link together extremes of vice and virtue, and in which the sins of one member must be expiated by the rest of the family.⁸⁸ In the second dumb show, in which Flamineo first actively commits evil, the two brothers enter together:

Enter Flamineo, Marcello, Camillo, with foure more as Captaines, ... Marcello and two more whi/per'd out of the roome, ...

(II.ii; sig. D4^v)⁸⁹

This visual yoking of Flamineo and Marcello establishes their respective guilt and innocence, which is then underlined by the Conjuror as presenter:

The vertuous Marcello,
Is innocently plotted forth the roome[.]

(43-44)

In Act III, scene i, a prelude to the trial, Marcello and Flamineo enter 'guarded' (sig. E). While Flamineo thinks of his own safety (30-31), Marcello thinks of his sister's honour:

O my unfortunate sister!
I would my daggers point had cleft her heart
When she first saw Brachiano: You 'tis said,
Were made his engine, and his stauking horse
To undo my sister. FLAM. I made a kind of path
To her & mine owne preferment. MAR. Your ruine.

(32-37)

Marcello's words, with their foreboding of death for Vittoria, come ironically close to another death which he does not suspect. The 'engine' and the "stauking horse" recall the dumb show of Camillo's death, and echo the Conjuror's words of explanation to Brachiano:

Flamineo calls to have a vaulting horse
Maintaine their sport.

your eye saw the rest, and can informe you
The engine of all.

(II.ii.42-46)

The virute of Marcello and Cornelia, like that of Isabella, is mainly passive and ineffectual in the play's society. It is through conflict with Zanche, Flamineo's black mistress whom he calls 'Witch' (V.i.148) and who "knowes some of / [his] villanny" (148-149), that Cornelia and Marcello are roused to action. Cornelia strikes Zanche (V.i.178-179), and when the Moor retaliates verbally, Marcello kicks her:

MAR. You're a strumpet. [Kicks Zanche.]
 An impudent one. FLA. Why do you kicke her? say -
 Do you thinke that she's like a walnut-tree?

(182-184)

The sudden stroke which Cornelia gives Zanche recalls Flamineo's unexpected striking of Lodovico.⁹⁰ Marcello, kicking Zanche, visually parallels Brachiano, kicking his 'dog', Flamineo. In each case, Flamineo affects to find the kick inappropriate - is she a tree, is he a Russian? The effect of these visual repetitions is to debase and ridicule the righteous actions of Cornelia and Marcello. Even Flamineo's sentence structure - "Why do you kicke her? say" - parodies Marcello's - "Why doth this devill haunt you? say" (V.i.85).

As Marcello opposes his brother on the subject of his black mistress, Flamineo's scorn reduces Marcello to frustrated anger:

FLA. You['re] a boy, a foole,
 Be guardian to your hound; I am of age.
 MAR. If I take her neere you I'le cut her throate.
 FLA. With a fan of feathers?

(189-192)

The contrast between cynical maturity and childishness adds poignancy to Marcello's death scene, with its overtones of an image of the Madonna and Child. Whether the feathers to which Flamineo refers are really in a fan carried by the soldier-turned-courtier, or are simply the plumes in his hat,⁹¹ the jibe is a painful taunt when leveled at the serious-minded young man. Hat plumes would link Marcello with Flamineo's previous victim, Camillo, whom Flamineo has described as one who has lost more hairs than the great Barriers has lost feathers (from its combatants' helmets) (I.ii.27-29).

The family honour, which Marcello constantly seeks to

defend, now ironically leads him to draw his sword first against his brother. It is the Young Lord whom Marcello must employ to carry the challenge:

And thou beest a noble, friend, beare him my sword,
And bid him fit the length on't. Y.LORD. Sir I shall.

(203-204)

The nameless Young Lord's rôle is brief. Some sixty lines earlier he has brought news of the preparations for the barriers, providing Flamineo with the opportunity of making a satiric point which, at that moment, appears gratuitous:

Enter Hortensio,
a yong Lord, Zanche, and two more.

How now, Gallants; what, are they readie for the Barriers?
Y.LORD. Yes: the Lordes are putting on their armour.
HOR. What's hee?
FLA. A new up-start: one that swears like a Falckner, and
will lye in the Dukes eare day by day like a maker
of Almanacks;
And yet I knew him since hee came to th' Court smell
worse of
sweat than an under-tennis-court-keeper.

(139-145; sig. I2)

Since the Young Lord has attracted Hortensio's attention, there must be something in his appearance to support Flamineo's description. Flamineo here presents a character who resembles the picture of Camillo. Camillo, who likes to think of himself as a well-descended gentleman, is described by Flamineo as

a lousy slave that
within this twenty yeares rode with the blacke guard
in the
Dukes cariage mongst spits and dripping-pannes

(I.ii.127-129)

Flamineo portrays them both as ambitious strivers with a servile past which they seek to hide.

The description of the upstart has been carefully planned by Webster, so that Marcello and his challenger are forced into the atmosphere of feathers and flattery. Further, there is in both these characters a boyishness and lack of long court experience which ill prepares them to confront Flamineo's worldly knowledge.

Marcello's death scene, with its strong Christian allusions, is hedged about with suspicion and fear. Intervening between Marcello's challenge and his death is

a meeting between the two Moors, Zanche and Mulinassar. It is a brief meeting of nineteen lines conveniently covering the exit of Marcello and allowing a passage of time for the Young Lord's errand. But the meeting also effectively raises an expectation of strange revelations and chilling horrors:

ZAN. At your better
leasure I'll tell you things shall startle your blood.

F[R]A. [aside] Of all intelligence this may prove
the best,
Sure I shall draw strange fowle, from this foule nest.

(218-223)

Zanche's proposed betrayal of secrets is made sinister by Francisco's use of the word 'intelligence', with its connotations of spies and plots.⁹² It is not until after the death of Brachiano that Zanche tells her promised tale.

The entry of Cornelia and Marcello splendidly continues this sinister expectation of some momentous action about to occur:

COR. I heare a whispering all about the Court,
[You] are to fight, who is your opposite?
What is the quarrell? MAR. 'Tis an idle rumour.
COR. Will you dissemble? sure you do not well
To fright me thus - you never look thus pale,
But when you are most angry.

(V.ii.1-6)

The whispering, the quarrel, and the physical transformation that makes Marcello pale before Death shall do so, create a heavy mood of impending disaster. Mother and son are drawn together in a close physical relationship as Marcello takes in his hand the crucifix that hangs about Cornelia's neck,⁹³ asking, "Was not this Crucifix my fathers?" (10). While we are told the story of Flamineo's childhood act, Flamineo enters, unnoticed by the others. Cornelia, still thinking of the crucifix, says:

'tis mended.
FLA. I have brought your weapon backe. Flamineo runnes
COR. Ha, O my horroure! Marcello through.
MAR. You have brought it home indeed.
COR. Helpe, oh he's murdered.
FLA. Do you turne your gaule up? I'll⁹⁴
to sanctuary,
And send a surgeon to you. HOR. How?
o'th ground?
MAR. O mother now remember what I told,

[Exit
Flam.]

Of breaking off the Crucifix: farewell - Enter Car.
 There are some sinnes which heaven doth Hort. Pedro.
 duly punish,

In a whole family.

(13-23; sig. I3^v)

The intense visual, verbal and thematic concentration in these few lines is admirable. Flamineo's father, who squandered the family's fortune, did leave a patrimony - the crucifix, a holy image. Marcello's youthfulness, exposed in Flamineo's jibes (V.i.189-190) and continued by Cornelia who will call the Duke to 'schoole' him (7-8), is a symptom of his innocence. In contrast, Flamineo was never young and innocent. The picture of his childhood act (with perhaps a suggestion of supernatural strength) is chilling. He seems to have been 'possessed', for the evil is entirely unprovoked. He returns hate for love, abusing religion in his destruction of his Saviour's cross, and perverting the mother and child relationship. Cornelia, giving him suck, is almost a personification of motherhood. Giovanni has already drawn attention to the depth of love in a mother who will nurse her own child (III.ii.345-347). Although Cornelia is not of Isabella's noble blood, contemporary accounts suggest that it was not unusual for fashionable women to disdain to nurse their children.⁹⁵ In this vivid picture of the broken crucifix there is a link between Brachiano and Flamineo that extends backwards and forwards. The violently broken limb, now mended, recalls the broken friendship between Francisco and Brachiano:

FRAN. Come you and I are friends. BRAC. Most wishedly,
 Like bones which broke in⁹⁶ sunder and well set
 Knit the more strongly.

(II.i.142-144)

Violence cannot be so easily repaired. The hypocrisy of Brachiano's wish was quickly exposed. Now, as we visualize the child Flamineo with the crucifix limb in his hands, he enters holding Marcello's own sword which he runs through the body of his brother. He has truly "fit the length on't". It is ironical that, forewarned by Marcello's ominous recollection, Cornelia has not guessed who is to be his 'opposite', trusting instead that

past vice has been 'mended'. The crucifix looks forward to the one held by the assassins during the death of Brachiano. Again the crucifix is abused. The dying man looks upon it for salvation, but having accepted the directions of the Vice (who has done the devil's work on a crucifix) he cannot be saved by the crucifix.⁹⁷

As Marcello dies, he sinks to the ground (19) with his head in Cornelia's bosom (64-65). In this position, mother and son visually suggest a pietà.⁹⁸ Marcello accepts at last the Christ-like sacrifice of dying for the sins of another. He recognizes that his death is an atonement.

The speed of Marcello's death is accentuated by the rapid movement - the entry and exit of Flamineo, the entry of Hortensio and the conspirators, and the re-entry of Flamineo with Brachiano (sig. I3^v-I4). This speed makes poignant Cornelia's desire to hold onto his life, refusing to believe that he can yet have departed. Her delusion, modelled on Lear's complaint over the dead Cordelia,⁹⁹ does contain a truth:

How

many have gone away thus for lacke of tendance; reare
up's head,
reare up's head;...

(32-34)

This careless treatment of the dying will be exploited and parodied in Brachiano's last moments and in Flaminco's mock suicide.

In retribution for Marcello's death, Cornelia runs as an avenging fury upon the murderer. The shock and horror of Flamineo's act is repeated, this time before an onstage audience momentarily paralyzed by surprise. Just as she reaches him, arm raised to plunge,¹⁰⁰ she stops, unable to bring her weapon home:

Let mee goe, let mee goe.
The God of heaven forgive thee.

. . . .

Shee runes to Flamineo
with her
knif drawne and
comming to
him lets it fall.

Halfe of thy selfe lies there: and
maist thou live
To fill an howre-glasse with his mouldred
ashes,
To tell how thou shouldst spend the time
to come

In blest repentance.

(51-52; 56-59; sig. I4)

Relinquishing revenge, she offers life and forgiveness.

Cornelia takes refuge from reality in madness. The scene of her mourning over Marcello is separated from his death by the barriers and the death of Brachiano. Marcello's rapid, violent death is a brief prelude to the elaborate murder of Brachiano; the confusion and hypocrisy which expose the solitariness of dying princes (V.iii.42) contrasts with the genuine but mad mourning over Marcello. Flamineo, an actor in Marcello's death, an audience and commentator at Brachiano's, is a passive audience in the mad scene. The scene is created as a picture or act:

FRAN. I met even now with the most pitious sight.

FLA. Thou me[est] another heare - a pittifull Degraded Courtier. FRAN. Your reverend mother Is growne a very old woman in two howers. I found them winding of Marcello's coarse;

FLA. I will see them.

FRAN. 'Twere much uncharety in you: for your sight Will adde unto their feares. FLA. I will see them. They are behind the travers. Ile discover Their superstitious howling. [Draws the trayerse.]

Cornelia, the Moore and 3. other Ladies discovered, winding Marcello's Coarse. A song.

(V.iv.45-49; 55-59; sig. L)

As Flamineo draws the curtain, revealing the scene in the discovery space, his action recalls that of Isabella in the dumb show, when she drew back the curtain that concealed Brachiano's portrait. The mourners, like the portrait, are an artificial, created image, for no realistic explanation is given for Flamineo's knowledge of their presence. The opening song and Cornelia's mad song emphasize this artificiality. For a moment Flamineo becomes passive and impotent while Cornelia directs. She has her symbolic properties - the followers and the corpse in its winding sheet - , and she governs the scene despite Flamineo's desire to escape (85-88).

The mourning ritual, with its focus upon Marcello (probably on a day-bed) parallels the ritual of the Capuchins around Brachiano's bed.¹⁰¹ Cornelia's song corresponds to their chant, the flowered garland to the "true-love knot" with which they strangle Brachiano. From the opening of the discovery space curtain until

Cornelia and the ladies exit (sig. L^V) - a stage direction which probably indicates the closing of the curtain rather than a physical exit by these characters (cf. l. 105) - there is a concentration and flow of movement that contrasts noticeably with the agitated action and frequent entries and exits of Brachiano's death scene. The demonic ceremony enacted during Brachiano's last moments, his isolation, and his previous participation in murder prepare him for hell. Marcello's sacrifice, the protective flowers, and the beautiful pathos of his mother's madness transform him into a saintlike figure. The earth, however, will receive neither. The grieving mother says of her son:

They would not bury him 'cause hee died in a quarrell
 But I have an answere for them.
Let holie Church receive him duly
Since hee payd the Church tithes truly.

(99-102)

She, at least, in her 'distraction' (s.d., sig. L^V), believes that Marcello's soul will be spiritually acceptable. In terms of the stage picture, he lies at rest, wrapped in the white of innocence. Almost immediately after the curtain closes upon the peaceful corpse, Brachiano's Ghost enters, restlessly walking (cf. 126-128). Instead of the sleeping impersonality of the winding sheet, the Ghost wears a "leather Cassoc & breeches, bootes, a coo[le] a pot of lilly flowers with a scull int" (sig. L²). It is a highly theatrical vision - a ghost in a stage costume,¹⁰² with properties (see figure 8) - and not, like Isabella's Ghost, simply a representation of the living person (cf. IV.i.103-110). Boots, conventionally worn on the stage to denote a journey,¹⁰³ here represent Brachiano's fiery route to hell, and his endless roaming. The long cassock and cowl perhaps contain a bitter reminder of the gown and cowl worn by the Capuchins.¹⁰⁴ Instead of Marcello's garland of victory ("the bayes", l. 62), the Ghost carries the lilies and skull, an emblem of vice and death.¹⁰⁵

Flamineo asks the Ghost:

In what place art thou? in yon starrie gallerie,
 Or in the cursed dungeon?

(120-121)

Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost :

OR,
A true Relation of the manner of his Death, who was murdered in his Bed-Chamber
at *Doucafter*, by three of *Pontefract* Souldiers who pretended that they had Let-
ters from Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, to deliver unto him.

To the tune of, *My bleeding heart with griefe and care.*



You gallant Brides of Mars his traines,
who serue the State for wealth & fame,
Such by respects will be your baine,
if onely at such things you aime.

My name was Rainsborow haire of late,
whose troubled Ghost can take no rest,
Unill some things I doe relate,
which to the world must be exprest.

Then know frō whence my haire did spring,
haire-gloze and my thirst of blood,
I hated them that lov'd my King,
as by his friends was understand.

Witness the bloody sight in Kent,
the Siege at Colchester likewise,
I serued well the Parliament,
all deeds of mercy wd dispise.

For when the Towns they did surrend,
I ploted all against them then:
I quickly brought unto an end,
the likes of two brave Gentlemen.

I would not give the Generall rest,
till he unto their deaths had sent,
My troubled Ghost hath here exprest,
what to the world should be reveald.

My Charles Lucas and Sir George Lilley
two worthy men whom I did love,
The glory of the British Ile,
whom I did make unmovable.

With resolution thus they died,
and call'd me Traitor to my face:
It did no whit abate my pride,
I saw them fall in little space.

The death of them reborn'd hath be n
on me, by those that lov'd them & sell
to sweet Jesus Christ for ever my sin,
for by my means those worthies fell.

October last the twenty nine,
it being then the Sabbath Day,
Twenty seven Cavaliers combined,
to Doucafter they took their way.

These were from Pontefract-Castle sent,
with an their Resolution thus:
And taking of a false intent
to spoake with me, but spilt my blood.

The Countinell did bid them stand, (come,
and say would know from whence they
from him they said that did command,
they presently this fauce did frang.

Figure 8. A ghost in a costume that would be possible for the stage. Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost, from The Thomason Tracts (1648; B.M. 669.f.13). Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

Flamineo is here referring not only to heaven and hell, but to the different levels in the public theatre itself - the "starrie gallerie" suggests either the balcony level or, more probably, the stage 'heavens', painted with stars and from which heavenly beings sometimes descended; while "the cursed dungeon" would mean the space beneath the stage, reached by traps, from which infernal spirits sometimes ascended.¹⁰⁶ Since Flamineo is able to ask this question, it seems likely that the Ghost enters by one of the tiring-house doors. Flamineo interrogates the 'mockerie' (119), his lines broken up into agitated questions, and he is distressed by the Ghost's silence - "No? not speake?" (121); "Not answere?" (126). In response to the questioning, "The Ghost throwes ear[th] vpon him a[nd] shewes him the scull" (sig. L2). The Ghost gives only an omen, not a direct answer, and Flamineo acts as presenter of these gestures:

O fatall! hee throwes earth upon mee.
A dead mans scull beneath the rootes of flowers.
(129-130)

Presumably Brachiano's Ghost only goes through the motions of throwing earth, so that when he exits with the pot of flowers, the skull and earth can, as Flamineo tells us, vanish (cf. l. 135).

The silence of the Ghost is a striking contrast to the verbal rambling of Brachiano at his death. Flamineo asks:

Are you still like some great men
That onely walke like shadowes up and downe,
And to no purpose?

(126-128)

It is a pathetic image, suggesting the endless wandering of the Ghost; suggesting, too, the futility of Brachiano's life. The Ghost is a mockery of Brachiano; but great men are also merely shadows, images, of real life. Isabella worshipped the image of Brachiano. Together these words and pictures question whether Brachiano was ever more than a shadow of a man.

Flamineo approaches his death with a sense of support falling away from him, and of a transformation within

himself. Overtly he sums up his situation for the audience:

Now to my sisters lodging,
And summe up all these horrors; the disgrace
The Prince threw on mee; next the pitious sight
Of my dead brother; and my Mothers dotage;
And last this terrible vision [i.e. of the Ghost].

(137-141)

Giovanni has 'thrown' disgrace upon him, and this active verb recalls the earth thrown by the Ghost. With his mock suicide he will, seemingly, be trampled down into the earth. Images of a fall for Flamineo contrast with a vivid picture created by Brachiano during the latter's half-mad raving:

See, see, Flamineo that kill'd his brother,
Is dancing on the ropes there: and he carries
A monie-bag in each hand, to keepe him even,
For feare of breaking's necke. And there's a Lawyer
In a gowne whipt with velvet, stares and gapes
When the mony will fall. How the rogue cuts capers!
It should have bin in a halter.

(V.iii.110-116)

Brachiano sees Flamineo as a performer. Dancing on the ropes was a popular entertainment that could sometimes be viewed in the public playhouses, including the Red Bull.¹⁰⁷ Figure 9, a lively illustration of entertainers in Holland, c. 1635, includes not only a rope dancer, but also a vaulting horse such as the murderers must have used in the dumb show killing of Camillo.¹⁰⁸ Flamineo's activities constantly partake of the theatrical. Throughout the play, Flamineo has, figuratively, danced upon the ropes, enjoying the exhilaration of danger, and conscious of the artificial element of being a performer. It is not his neck that is broken, but Camillo's; it is not his neck that will end in a halter, but Brachiano's (in the "true-love knot"). Brachiano's mention of the lawyer recalls the trial, where Flamineo escaped without punishment, although he recognised his danger (III.ii.273-275). The money-bags, symbol of his grasping at reward, have been the means by which he has sought to save his neck. "Pray what meanes have you", he asks his mother, "To keepe me from the gallies, or the gallowes?" (I.ii.308-309).

Flamineo's destruction is heralded by a child, a

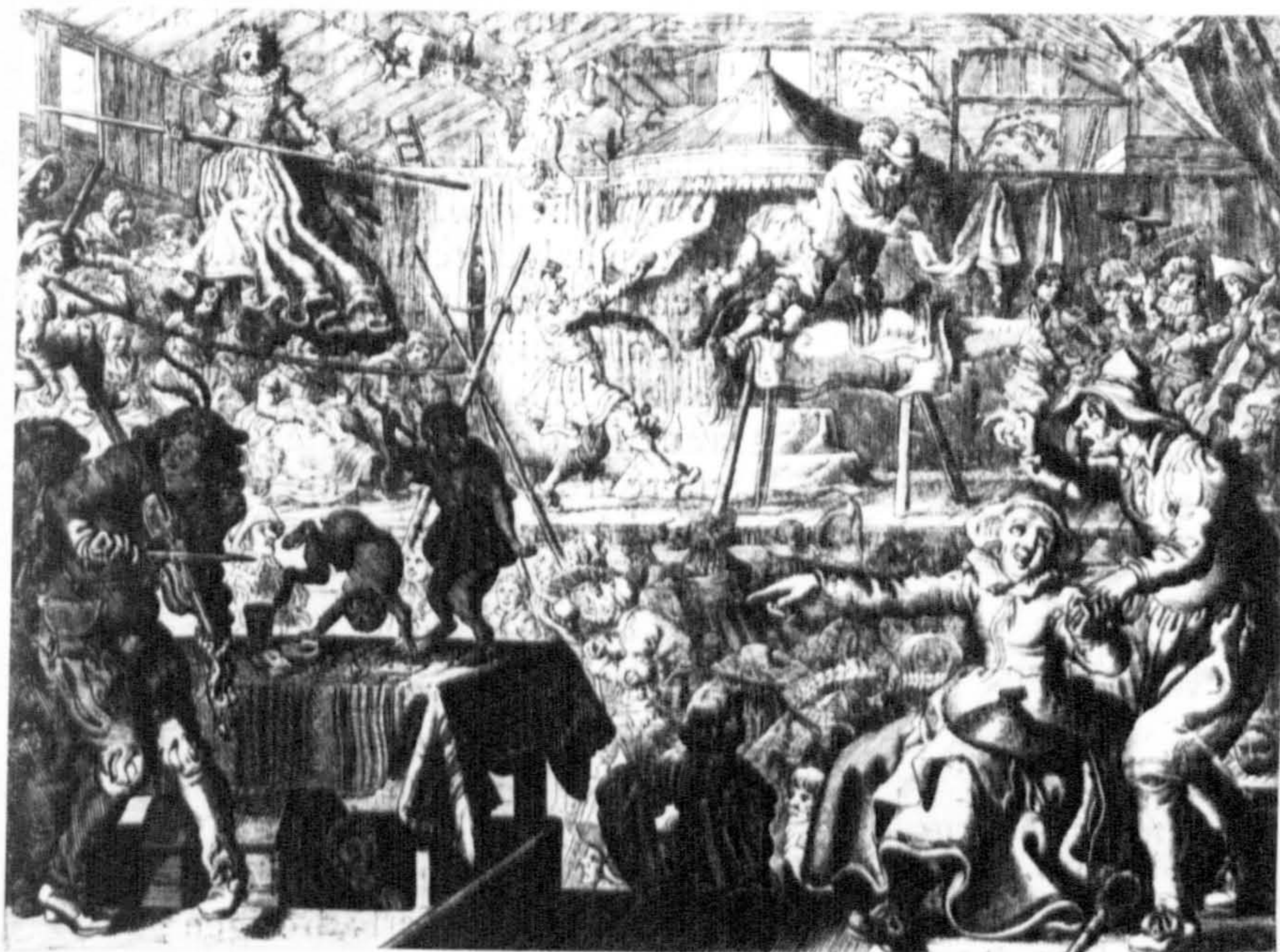


Figure 9. Rope dancer and vaulting horse. From Adrian van de Vennes's Tafereel van de Belacchende Werelt (The Hague, 1635; B.M. Cup. 403.n.35), p. 69. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

madwoman, and a ghost. He makes one final attempt to win reward from his sister, and then the murderers enter:¹⁰⁹

What noise is that? hah? falce keies i'th Court.
LOD. We have brought you a Maske. FLA. A matachine
it seemes,
By your drawne swords. Chu[r]ch-men turn'd revellers!

(V.vi.169-171)

The false churchmen with their masque present the final twist to the image of play and reality which so frequently centres upon Flamineo. Webster employs a highly appropriate term in describing the churchmen's murderous act as a matachine. The word refers to a type of sword dance¹¹⁰ which has its origins in folk ritual. The swords were used rather to symbolize a sacrificial or mock death than to represent a real fight. The ceremonial, theatrical, ritual elements of the matachine make a fitting setting for the death of Flamineo, but ironically he has already played the mock death, and here must in reality become a sacrifice to the conspirators' daggers. It is fitting too that he, the rope dancer, should die in a confrontation which he typifies as a dance, and he can rightly claim that his assailants perform an armed dance, since they have vowed to wear "coates of malle" beneath their religious garments (cf. V.i.23-24). The sword dance frequently included some element of disguise (as does Webster's 'matachine'), and was sometimes connected with wedding revels (the play's Capuchins were pressed to attend Brachiano's marriage festivities (V.i.39-53)). Figure 10 shows a 16th century sword dance.

As the murders begin, all three of the victims are points of focus, but Flamineo is most striking, for he is tied to one of the stage pillars, perhaps one of those which supported the 'heavens'.¹¹¹ The subduing of Flamineo is a superb culmination of images. He is tied down and so can dance on the ropes no longer: defeated, like an inversion of the Antaeus myth, only when he is bound to the earth. Like Proteus, now that he is held he cannot vary his shape. He has risen (socially from the level of Brachiano's stirrup, and physically from beneath the feet of Vittoria and Zanche), but now the premonitions - the 'thrown' disgrace, the thrown earth -

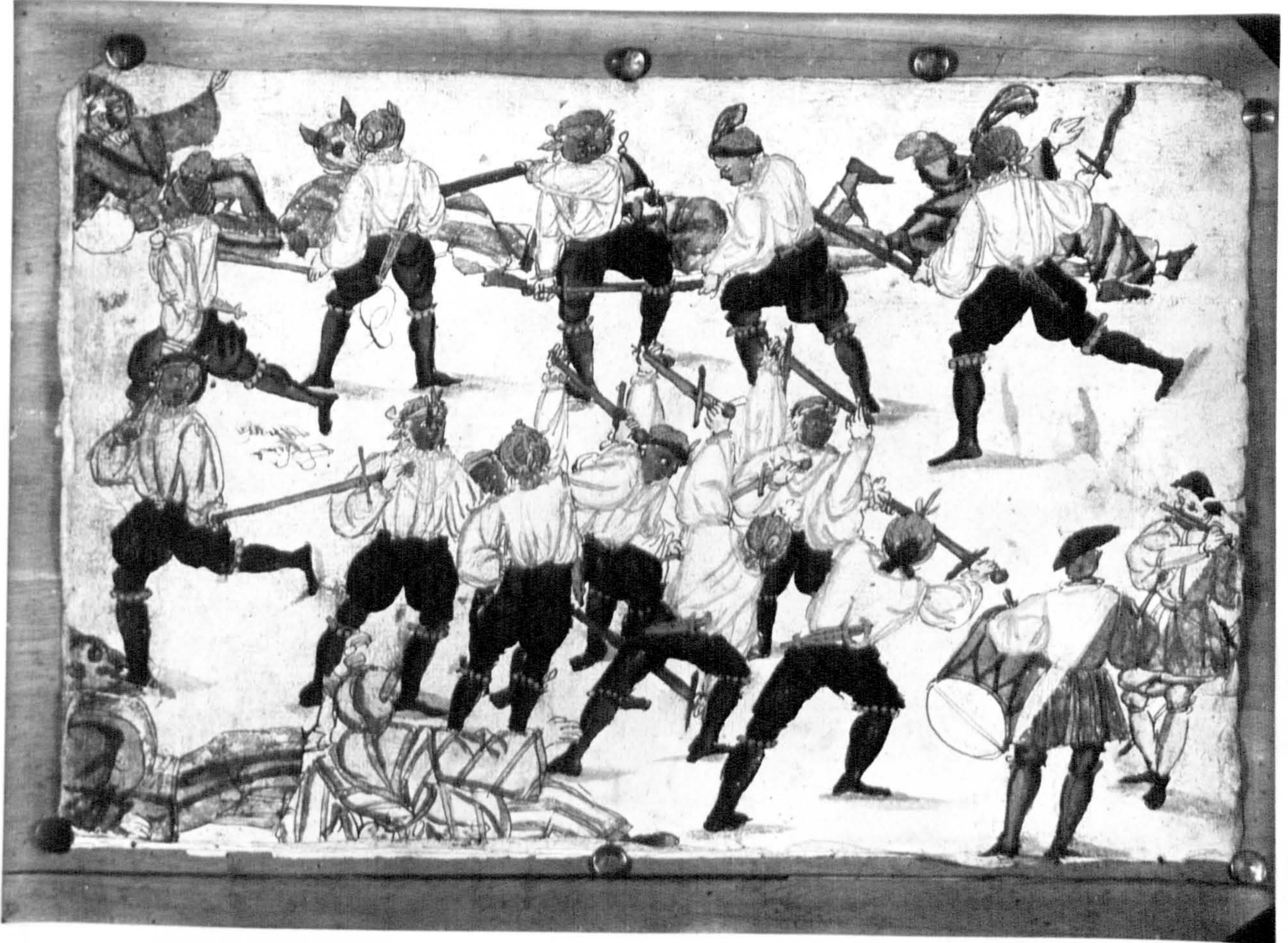


Figure 10. A sixteenth century sword dance, by Johann Jakob Wick (1522-1588), in the Zentralbibliothik, Zurich (Ms. F. 27, 62^V). Reproduced by kind permission of The Warburg Institute.

are realized in visual terms. The sword which he brought home to his brother (his other half) and the thrust which his mother relinquished for forgiveness are brought home to Flamineo in the hands of his assassin. Bound to the pillar, Flamineo is a parody of a martyr,¹¹² and this visual effect gives him an audacious heroism. The greatness which Flamineo attains despite his villainies is partly achieved by means of his two 'death' scenes. The actor grovelling beneath the feet of the women, picturing a "darke and horrid" way full of fire (139), is inferior to the Flamineo who genuinely faces death, killed by "a base hangman" (193), and seeing a mist (260). Even in death he is not quite laid low, for he droops but remains vertical, tied to the pillar. He is true to himself, seeking knowledge to the very end (cf. ll. 235-238). If knowledge ultimately leads him to a mist; if he (with a fitting jest) has lost his voice (270-272) and goes to study silence like Brachiano's silent Ghost (203-205); yet he departs with a theatrical flourish. Not for him the "superstitious howling" that Cornelia's grandmother "[w]as wont, when she heard the bell tolle, to sing ore / Unto her lute" (V.iv.59 and 87-88), but the applause of the natural forces:

Let no harsh flattering Bels resound my knell,
Strike thunder, and strike lowde to my farewell.

(275-276)

The pervading atmosphere of witchcraft frequently touches Flamineo,¹¹³ and now, like a witch or one dedicated to the devil, he is able to control the elements.¹¹⁴ Immediately upon his demand an imitation of thunder comes, represented by the knocking on the doors from within the tiring-house, the forced entry of Giovanni and the Ambassadors, and the shooting of the conspirators:

ENG.E. This way, this way, breake ope the doores,
this way.

. . . .

ENG.[E] Keepe backe the Prince, shoot, shoot - ...

(277; 282)

His cry for thunder is in keeping with his theatrical nature, for thunder was well within the range of possible

stage effects in the contemporary theatre.¹¹⁵ The conspirators are struck down in his storm; Marcello, in his apotheosis, escapes, for his brow is bound with a garland of bays to keep him from lightning's harm (V.iv.63-64). Thus the end of these two brothers, the virtuous and vicious halves, is drawn together by word and image. Marcello attains freedom because the soiled earth will not receive him; Flamineo is physically bound down, but he soars in character, vicious, unrepentant¹¹⁶ (and, one might say, admirable) to the end.

b) Francisco as director and actor.

Throughout the play, two factions oppose each other with a conscious use of plots, properties, actors and directors. In the household of the Medicis, Francisco acts as a subtle director. For Boklund,¹¹⁷ Francisco is "the supreme director of events", "a projection of Flamineo; ... a Flamineo as the latter would like to be". Certainly Francisco has greater unrestricted power, and, seemingly, greater success than Flamineo, but it is not true that he directs with impunity.

Perhaps the most important difference between Francisco and Flamineo as directors is in their relationship with the audience. From the beginning Flamineo confides and draws us in; Francisco is more aloof until his power of manipulation and revenge culminates in a demonic yelp of joy. Even in his disguise he remains distanced because he remains a duality - he is both Francisco the villain and Mulinassar the noble soldier.

Webster's first presentation of Francisco enforces comparisons. The entry (II.i) is an impressive pageant that recalls the stately entry of the rival faction at the beginning of the previous scene. The important difference between Francisco and Brachiano is conveyed by the position that each duke holds. Francisco is seen within his own domain, not as an intruding guest; and his position is strengthened by the support of the church (in the scarlet robes of the cardinal) and his army (in

the half-armour of Marcello);¹¹⁸ by the hope of the future (in the figure of Giovanni), and by the sanctity of the family (in the person of Isabella, a loyal unadulterous wife). Unlike Brachiano, who at once becomes dependent on Flamineo, Francisco here takes command in the dialogue. He is the point of focus, and each character addresses him.

The first twenty lines, however, ironically undermine the power that is visually expressed. Destruction and magic fill the language. Repeated orders to exit make the stage appear an unsafe, intrigue-ridden place. Once again, although now with more justification, a brother is interfering in the life of a sister.

Francisco's succeeding scenes - the confrontation with Brachiano, the removal of Camillo, and the trial - have been mentioned in previous sections. In all these appearances, his control is dignified and distant. He allows Monticelso to be his orator, in the quarrel with Brachiano and in the trial, but is, in the same two scenes, a capable disputant.

After this somewhat passive beginning, Francisco is transformed, in Act IV, scene i, into an active 'director'. It is his sister's death which begins this alteration. The lyrical beauty of Francisco's love for Isabella finds expression in Monticelso's admirable image: 7/16

Come, come my Lord, untie your foulded thoughts,
And let them dangle loose as a brid[e]'s haire.
Your sister's poisoned.

(1-3)

But the bride, Isabella, is now married to death, as Francisco so foolishly wished (II.i.66-69). Monticelso's image gains a bitter potency later when Vittoria, the usurper of Isabella's bridal bed, crosses the stage in that "whores triumph" (II.i.241) which Isabella feared, with (probably) her hair dangling loose.¹¹⁹ Finally, when retribution overtakes Isabella's murderer, he sees the bridal hair of Vittoria and, in his dying madness, raves:

Ha, ha, ha. Her haire is sprinckled with Arras powder,
That makes her looke as if she had sinn'd in the Pastrie

(V.iii.118-119),

reducing their love to the level of lechery.

There is much that is poetic in the soul of Francisco, and much that is vicious. These two sides, which find perfect expression in the duality of Mulinassar, are drawn together through the use of black. In Act IV, scene i, Francisco has, presumably, imitated Giovanni and changed into black mourning clothes (cf. III.ii.320-323). Black is further suitable in this scene, as the colour of melancholy and tragedy.¹²⁰ He is very conscious of his melancholy mood that conjures up the Ghost of Isabella (cf. 113-115); and conscious of the 'Tragedy' which he is arranging (123-124). As he develops his plot, he changes the black clothes for the black skin of his disguise. The disguise is a double symbol. On the one hand, the dark appearance contradicts a pure interior (Mulinassar is an admirable image of man); and on the other hand, it reflects the black heart of the Machiavellian villain (Francisco the murderer).¹²¹

In this scene (IV.i), Francisco's mourning clothes would heighten the scarlet of the Cardinal's robes. The rareness of charity "in scarlet" (III.ii.73-74) is recalled as Monticelso fetches his own black symbol, the black book with its catalogue of sinners in which he displays an excited and inquisitorial interest. The book provides a possible cast of actors for Francisco's tragedy (92-94).

The gentle Ghost of Isabella, appearing as she did in life (cf. 108-110),¹²² is an appropriate apparition to face the melancholy Francisco, just as Brachiano's theatrical Ghost perfectly suits Flamineo's nature. Although Francisco interprets the Ghost as a mere product of his mood, it is not necessarily meant to be dismissed as such by the audience.¹²³ The vision of his sister prompts the duke to action, and he sends the false love letter to Vittoria. The seal with which he closes the letter (130) may have been on a ring,¹²⁴ in which case Francisco's action provides one more link in a chain of associations beginning with his sister's divorce and ending in the "true-love knot" of his revenge.

The papal election (IV.iii), like the barriers, is visually brilliant while thematically dense. The

introduction of the six ambassadors, as a prelude to the election itself, makes use of Lodovico as presenter. Francisco's choice of Lodovico as his agent reveals something of his own character, for although he admits that Lodovico, the acknowledged murderer and pirate, is as vicious as when banished, ready to sell himself to evil (IV.i.137-139), he here employs him in a respectable, responsible position in a ceremony of spiritual and international importance (cf. IV.iii.1-7).

The stage business of the election¹²⁵ allows the theatre audience and the stage audience to become one (as in the barriers). All characters face the tiring-house, waiting for word from the world beyond. The Cardinal of Arragon appears "on the Tarras" (sig. H2^V), and his announcement, with the answering cheer of the crowd (45-48), not only transforms the private character, Monticelso, into Pope Paul IV, but also creates the climactic moment in the election of the Pope in abstract. Suddenly, into this universalized moment, the play's private world invades with news of the flight of Vittoria and Brachiano:

OMNES. Vivat sanctus Pater Paulus Quartus. [Enter Servant.]

SER. Vittoria my Lord -

FRAN. Wel: what of her?

SER. Is fled the Citty--

FRA. Ha?

SER. With Duke Brachiano.

FRA. Fled? Where's the Prince Giovanni?

SER. Gone with his father.

FRAN. Let the Matrona of the Convertites

Be apprehended: fled - ô damnable! [Exit Servant.]

(48-54)

During Arragon's announcement, the scene is a flat picture focussed upon the tiring-house façade, with an elevated, impersonal spokesman. With the entry of the Servant, singling Francisco out from the crowd of observers, the theatre audience is made suddenly conscious of the distance between the crowd and itself. As the private exchange in clipped question and answer takes place, the colourful crowd ceases to be an extension of the audience and becomes a background to Francisco's indignation. But as the Servant moves away from Francisco, the duke's mood and speech change startlingly:

How fortunate are my wishes. Why? 'twas this

I onely laboured. I did send the letter
T'instruct him what to doe.

(55-57)

Francisco wins Lodovico as his 'engine' by the trick of giving coins which seem to have come from the new Pope (cf. 131-146), displaying once again his capacity to understand the workings of men's minds.

When next seen, Francisco has entered into the household of Brachiano, safely disguised. As Mulinassar, he is Zanche's colour (V.i.94), and although they are Moors, their skin is black.¹²⁶ His costume may perhaps bear some resemblance to that of Aaron the Moor in Peacham's drawing (c. 1595) of Titus Andronicus (see figure 11). If Hal H. Smith's¹²⁷ contention is correct, Aaron's appearance is modelled upon an emblematic tradition of the herald of death. Such a representation would be highly suitable for Mulinassar, entering first in Brachiano's train, unseen (because unrecognized) like the skeletons in a Dance of Death. A type of Irish mantle must be draped around him and tied close if his jest - that he wears nothing beneath it¹²⁸ - is to make sense. Probably it is short, leaving his black legs bare (see figure 12). Since the imaginary character, Mulinassar, is supremely a soldier (V.i.6-11 and 97-99), and as he is professing his service for the expected wars against the Duke of Florence (that is, against himself), he probably carries a weapon (as does Aaron).¹²⁹ Mulinassar-Francisco's soldiery is a worthy jest: by offering his services for the war between Brachiano and Francisco, he successfully advances the murder, thus saving his subjects from that war, the horrors of which he once painted to Monticelso (IV.i.7-13).

Ironically, Flamineo, the clear-sighted and cynical expert at deception, fails to detect Mulinassar's disguise, and, acting as presenter, defines the Moor to the audience in a scene of pure exposition not essential to the progress of the plot. Abandoning his usual rôle of satirist, Flamineo expends one of his rare speeches of genuine praise on the man who guides his eventual murderers:

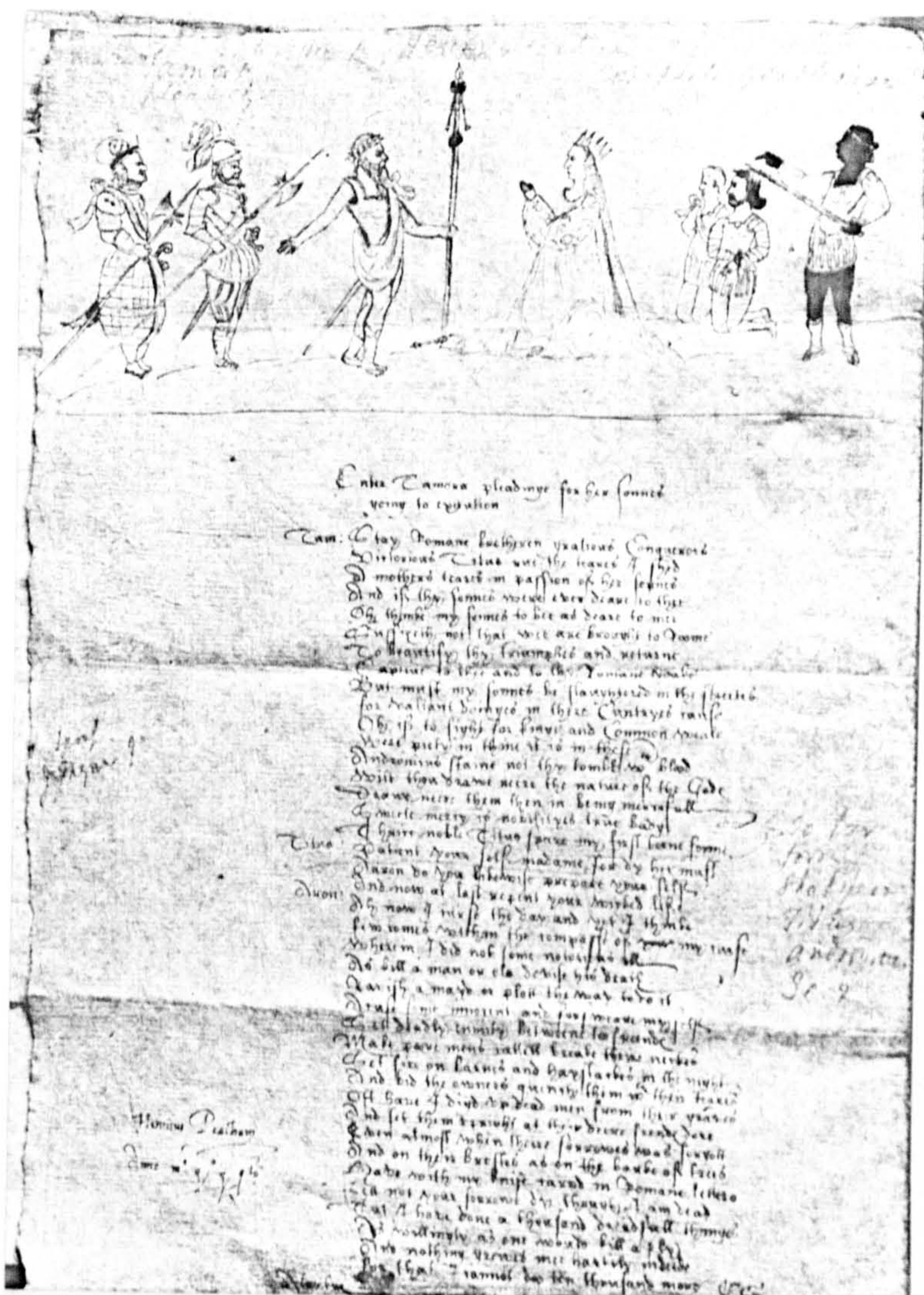


Figure 11. Henry Peacham's drawing of Titus Andronicus (1595), in the possession of the Marquis of Bath, and reproduced from Eldred Jones, Othello's Countrymen (London, 1965), pl. 3.



Figure 12. A wild Irishman in his mantle, by Lucas de Heere. Reproduced from Th.M. Chotzen and A.M.E. Draak, Beschrijving der Britsche Eilanden door Lucas de Heere (Antwerp, 1937), G XVI. De Heere lived in England from 1567 to 1577. Some variation on this Irish mantle would be a suitable costume or addition for Mulinassar, leaving his black legs bare. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

I never saw one in a sterne bold looke
 Weare more command, nor in a lofty phrase
 Expresse more knowing, or more deepe contempt
 Of our slight airy Courtiers.

(V.i.31-34; and cf. 6-8)

Flamineo has fallen into the trap of accepting appearance as a sign of reality, for Mulinassar's war record comes only "by report" (9). The reported behaviour of Mulinassar and the Capuchins presents positive standards which contrast with the society of the play. Mulinassar, like young Giovanni (cf. II.i.116-126), is a model of manly vigour as expressed in war, while Brachiano is given to games. We are specifically told that the Moor is a Christian (V.i.25-26), the suggestion being that he is so by choice, not by birth. Thus he becomes a foil to Monticelso, the Christian churchman whose behaviour is that of a barbarian (IV.ii.206-207), worse than "the uncivill Tartar" (III.ii.133). But the audience soon learns that in reality this black Christian is a white devil in black disguise. The revelation of Mulinassar's identity comes immediately after Flamineo and Brachiano have delivered their praises of him, and it comes in the conspiratorial embrace with its overtones of perverted ritual, of "vowes seal'd with the sacrament" to murder Brachiano and damn his soul (V.i.61-83).

The meeting of the conspirators is a ritual which establishes Francisco as their chief. Thereafter, although he plays a passive rôle, he, in his striking disguise, is repeatedly brought before the audience so that the black author is not separated from his black deeds.

Throughout Brachiano's death scene, with its many confused entries and exits, its ritual, its use of large properties, and its verbal pictures created in madness, Francisco and Flamineo, the two great plotters, form a calm and distanced chorus. The theme of hypocrisy in mourners, introduced by Flamineo (V.iii.47-53), is intensified by Francisco's pretended indignation at Flamineo's disrespect for the dying duke: "Come you have thriv'd well under him" (54), he reminds Flamineo, and urges, "O, speake well of the Duke" (64).

The wooing scene between the two Moors recalls the first wooing scene, and acts as a counterpoint to Brachiano's death scene, which it directly follows. Zanche's laughter in the dream (V.iii.244-245) and her 'simpering' (248) mark a callous contrast to the tears of the mourners. At the same time, those mourners' tears are, Flamineo has suggested, but salt water wept over "step-mothers graves" (48-50). Even worse, Zanche believes that only the guilty should weep (224-226). This totally heartless aftermath to Brachiano's death, with lust and villainy dressed in neither the sombre beauty of Vittoria's dream nor the soaring passion of Brachiano's love, suddenly achieves its own crescendo of power. Learning the details of the first murders from Zanche, Lodovico, with a pedestrian thought, comments: "Why now our action's justified" (276). Francisco, transformed into a symbol of vengeance, loving the act and the glory, cries:

Tush for Justice!
 What harmes it Justice? we know, like the partridge,
 Purge the disease with lawrell: for the fame
 Shall crowne the enterprise and quit the shame.

(277-280)

Not for him, the stolen hundred thousand crowns (268),
 but the laurel crown of victory.

Francisco's final appearance is a meeting of eleven lines between himself and Lodovico, on an unlocalized stage, probably near one of the tiring-house doors, for they have not the leisure to come forward and speak at length. Hortensio, looking in through the other door, concludes the scene with an expositional comment:

There's some blacke deed on foot. Ile presently
 Downe to the Citadell, and raise some force.
 These strong Court factions that do brooke no checks,
 In the carriere [oft] breake the Riders neckes.

(V.v.12-15)

This brief scene, thrust in between the splendid visual theatrics of Brachiano's Ghost and Flamineo's suicide, is dramatically necessary, in order to account for the entrance of Giovanni and the English ambassador after the triple murder in the following scene. 130

The scene is not merely functional. Webster has taken care, in his removal of Francisco, to show the dangerous intoxication of exploitation and revenge. More than any other character, Francisco has in his power those gods which rule the play's world. "Ha, Ha," cries the banished Lodovico as the play begins:

ô Democritus thy Gods
That governe the whole world! Courtly reward
And punishment. Fortun's a right whore.

(I.i.2-4)

At the end of the play when Fortune's wheel has turned, raising Lodovico up and bringing Vittoria low, the image is directly applied to Francisco:

VIT. If Florence be ith Court, would hee would
kill mee!

GAS. Foole! Princes give rewards with their
owne hands,

But death or punishment by the handes of others.

(V.vi.188-190)

The irony of Gasparo's remark is that Francisco has come close to forgetting its truth. Act V, scene v is important in showing that Francisco has lost his distanced control and has "ridiculously ingag'd" himself (2).

Hortensio, listening in the background, provides the same threat to the over-confident duke that Cornelia does to Flamineo in Act I, scene ii. In each case, Webster simply and visually shows the audience that the plotter figure can, himself, easily be deceived.

Francisco, taking Lodovico's warning, promises to leave the city. Surely Webster does not intend the audience to regard Francisco's victory as absolute. The proposed journeys are graphic - Francisco leaving the city, and Hortensio hastening to the citadel to raise a force. When Hortensio's force arrives, it brings with it Giovanni's declaration:

All that have hands in this [i.e., the killings],
shall tast our justice,

As I hope heaven.

(V.vi.294-295)

Giovanni's words have been thought to be empty.¹³¹ What is important is not whether we believe that he will actually overtake his uncle, but that our last vision of

Francisco is one of ignominious flight, with troops in pursuit. Webster denies him the enjoyment of victory. Flamineo, permitted to play out his final scene, rises to the challenge and gains something of a person's victory. Lodovico's final words expose the enforced impotence of his master:

I do glory yet,
 That I can call this act mine own: For my part,
 The racke, the gallows, and the torturing wheele
 Shall bee but sound sleepes to me, here's my rest -
 "I limb'd this night-peece and it was my best.

(295-299)

It may be a grandiose boast, a gesture, but throughout the play the ability to perform a rôle well has gained positive value. It is not virtue that is established or defeated at the end of the play, but some measure of human independence and magnificence. The imagery of the director is dual, and possibly even remains ambiguous. To exploit others is shown to have evil effects; to accept exploitation, like Camillo in the extreme case, is to be less than a man. But to act and to act well is to be grand and admirable, even if sinful.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. James R. Hurt, "Inverted Rituals in Webster's The White Devil", JEGP, LXI (1962), pp. 42-47.
2. The suggestions of salvation and damnation are found in the sacrifice and pietà scenes involving Cornelia and Marcello (V.ii.1-65 and V.iv.60-106); the hell conjured up in Brachiano's death scene (V.iii) and in the mock suicide of Flamineo (V.vi.108-146); and the behaviour of Brachiano, real or imagined, after his death (V.iii.209-215 and V.iv.118-137).
3. On the Morality Vice figure, see Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1958), esp. pp. 57 and 140.
4. E.g., in Everyman ([London, 1530?;] B.M. Huth 32), Knowledge gives the hero a new garment marking a spiritual renewal which succeeds his despair (sig. B6).
5. On the likelihood of there being at least two stage doors in Elizabethan theatres, cf. C. Walter Hodges, The Globe Restored (London, 1953), p. 29, and Allardyce Nicoll, "Passing Over the Stage", Shakespeare Survey, 12 (1959), pp. 47-55. The first performance of The White Devil probably took place at the Red Bull (Lucas, Works, I, p. 195). On the stage doors at the Red Bull, cf. George Fullmer Reynolds, The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater, 1605-1625, Modern Language Association of America, General Series IX (New York, 1940), pp. 109-130.
6. See, e.g., Roy Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits (London, 1969), vol. II (plates): pls. 199, 206, 529 and 532. These glimpses of an 'offstage' scene continued popular. Cf. Henry, Prince of Wales, by Robert Peake the Elder, c. 1610, in Roy Strong, The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture (London and New York, 1969), pl. 226; and "The Family of Arthur, Lord Capel", by Cornelius Johnson, c. 1639, in Oliver Millar, The Age of Charles I: Painting in England, 1620-1649, Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1972), fig. 38.
7. Cf. M. Channing Linthicum, Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries (Oxford, 1956), pp. 114-115. In England, long-standing statutes restricted the wearing of cloth of gold or tissue by anyone under the degree of duke or marquess. Cf. the entry under 'Apparell', in A Collection in English, of the Statutes now in force (London, 1603; B.M. 505. g.12), fol. 13.

8. Lucas, Works, I, p. 195, and cf. John Russell Brown, ed., The White Devil, The Revels Plays, 2nd edn. (London, 1966), p. xxii.
9. Cf. M. St. Clare Byrne, "Stage Lighting: 1. History", The Oxford Companion to the Theatre (London, 1967), pp. 559-569, esp. p. 561. The lavish use of artificial lighting in Italian courtly entertainments was certainly known in England. Sebastiano Serlio's Architettura, in which he discusses lights hanging over the stage, lights behind coloured paper and the use of water-filled basins as reflectors, had been translated into Dutch, and thence into English in 1611, and printed for Robert Peake (The First Booke of Architecture...; B.M. C.47.L.1). The five books are bound together, the theatre section being Bk. II, chap. 3, folios 24-26^v, with the lighting references on fol. 26^v. Whether this work could have affected the open public theatres may be questionable, but that lights were used as a simple means of swelling the visual scene when possible in plays can be conjectured by such stage directions as the following, in Henry Chettle's The Tragedy of Hoffman (London, 1631; B.M. 644.b.11): "Enter as many as may be par'd, with lights" (sig. H). Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, vol. III, p. 264, suggests 1602 as the earliest date of Hoffman.
10. Of the numerous Elizabethan and Jacobean examples of a carried light signifying night, cf. Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking scene (Macbeth, s.d. foll. 1. 16 and 17-22) and the comic extension of the symbol by Quince (A Midsummer Night's Dream, III. 1.52-55 and V.1.232-237). All references from the plays of Shakespeare are from William Shakespeare, The Complete Works, ed. Peter Alexander, The Tudor Edition (London and Glasgow, 1951).
11. Flamineo, as onstage director, visually recalls a medieval origin. In illustrations of plays, the director often stands, script in hand, among his actors. See, e.g., "The Martyrdom of St. Apolline" (c. 1460), reproduced in Allardyce Nicoll, Masks, Mimes and Miracles (London, 1931), fig. 132, p. 197. For similarly relevant illustrations, showing the 'presenter' reading his script in a booth amid miming actors, in frontispieces to Terence codices, cf. ibid., pp. 153-155 and figs. 102-103. For a discussion of the 'presenter' figure in drama, cf. Dieter Mehl, The Elizabethan Dumb Show ([Die Pantomime im Drama der Shakespearezeit, 1964] trans. London, 1965), pp. 11-12.
12. Cf. Chambers, op.cit., II, p. 529 and p. 529 n. 4, and cf. Monticelso's remark about Camillo breaking his neck "Ith' rushes" (III.ii.119). On the luxurious nature of carpets and their important

position among household possessions, cf. Lionel Cust, "The Lumley Inventories", Walpole Society, VI (Oxford, 1918), pp. 15-35; Mary F.S. Hervey, "A Lumley Inventory of 1609", *ibid.*, pp. 36-50; and C.E.C. Tattersall, A History of British Carpets (Benfleet, Essex, 1934), pp. 25-50, pls. I-IX. For fine cushion covers of English Turkey work, early 17th century, see Carpets, pl. XIII.

13. Cf. Ralph Edwards, A History of the English Chair (London, 1951), figs. 5-8 and 14-15.
14. Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology (New York, 1939), p. 88 and p. 88 n. 72. Cited by Richard Elton Raymond Madelaine, "The Moral and Dramatic Functions of Stage Images and Verbal Emblems in Selected Jacobean Plays", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London (Westfield College), 1973, p. 513 and p. 579 n. 15.
15. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, p. 90. The full discussion of Bronzino's painting is on pp. 86-91, and the painting is reproduced in plate XXXVIII.
16. Lucas, Works, I, p. 213; Brown, White Devil, p. 25.
17. The traditional associations of the yew tree with mortality are here doubly ironical: because of the ambiguous identity of the dream's yew, the death-threatening propensities of the tree apply ominously to both Camillo and Brachiano. But the yew may have been "an emblem of Resurrection, from its perpetual verdure" (Shakespeare's England (Oxford, 1917), vol. I, p. 524), which would contribute to the 'sacred' quality of the tree (cf. l. 244), and to the audacious religious symbolism which Vittoria applies in Brachiano's favour.
18. Flamineo and Zanche may be standing together at one side of the lovers, for they exchange a private comment (I.ii.204-205), but their brief words do not make it impossible for them to be placed symmetrically, one on either side of the central scene.
19. Lucas (Works, I, pp. 212-213), places Vittoria and Brachiano in the 'study' or inner stage. Prof. J.R. Brown (*op.cit.*, p. 23), finds Lucas' suggestion impossible, since Zanche 'brings out' the carpet and cushions. I agree with Prof. Brown, and his placement is satisfying for further dramatic reasons: for the wooing scene to make a powerful impact, the lovers should not be too far distanced from the audience; and, especially, the onstage listeners, Cornelia, Zanche and Flamineo, must not interfere visually between us and the lovers, although Flamineo, to one side, can directly implicate the audience. Indeed, I disagree with the amount of action which Lucas places on the 'inner' stage. For a more

plausible view of a concealable stage space, see Richard Hosley, "The Discovery-Space in Shakespeare's Globe", Shakespeare Survey, 12 (1959), pp. 35-46.

20. Cornelia, throughout the play, hovers like a fateful warning above her perverted family; like Aeschylus' Furies in The Eumenides, but in an entirely different way, she relinquishes her final revenge and, like them, offers a salvation greater than revenge (V. ii.51-59).
21. Thomas Hughes, The Misfortunes of Arthur (London, 1587 [1588]; B.M. C.34.b.3), sig. A. (This usual form of the title is only given on the verso of the fourth, unsigned, sheet of the Introduction. The titlepage calls the work Certaine Deuifes and shewes presented to her Maiestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inne).
22. A Warning For Faire Women (London, 1599; B.M. 161.b.13), sig. D. There are certain crude similarities between this play and The White Devil. In a lengthy dumb show, the death of Master Sanders by his wife and her lover is suggested and predicted allegorically. Mistress Sanders and Browne approach to embrace each other, when
 "suddenly riseth vp a great tree betweene them, whereat amazedly they step backe, wherupon Lust bringeth an axe to mistres Sanders, shewing signes, that she should cut it downe, ..."
 Eventually, still in the dumb show, Browne cuts down the tree, and they embrace, whereupon Chastitie enters,
 "and taking mistres Sanders by the hand, brings her to her husbands picture hanging on the wall, and pointing to the tree, seemes to tell her, that that is the tree so rashly cut downe" (sig. E3^v).
 Later there is an onstage trial at which Anne Sanders and Anne Drurie are brought to the bar (sig. I).
23. Reynolds (op.cit., p. 55) mentions the frequent stage use of a formal seat, probably "elevated two or more steps". Vittoria speaks, perhaps figuratively, of the judge's (i.e. Monticelso's) 'Bench' (III.ii.234). E.W. Ives, describing the seating arrangements in Westminster Hall, asserts that "the judges sat on benches against the walls raised high off the floor; over them were canopies" ("The Law and the Lawyers", Shakespeare Survey, 17 (1964), p. 81).
24. Reynolds (op.cit., pp. 55 and 61) believes that the scene is discovered, and that all the ambassadors, as well as Monticelso and Francisco, are seated. This arrangement, although perhaps cramped, is quite possible. In Sir Thomas More, a large trial scene is discovered:

"An arras is drawn, and behinde it (as in Sessions) sit the L. Maior, Iustice Suresbie, and other Iustices, Sheriffe Moore and the other Sherife sitting by, Smart is the Plaintife, Lifter the prisoner at the barre."

The Book of Sir Thomas More, The Malone Society Reprints, ed. W.W. Greg (Oxford, 1911), s.d. ll. 104-106, p. 5. However, for Webster's trial scene, the 'Enter' of the opening s.d. (sig. E2) could be literally correct (although it is not a reliable s.d. as it includes Isabella, who is dead), perhaps with the entry of the important characters preceded by a bustling entry of clerks placing chairs on the stage.

25. The entry stage direction to the trial scene ignores Flamineo, Marcello and Zanche, but they doubtless enter and remain under guard. Flamineo and Marcello have crossed the stage 'guarded' (sig. E) in the preceding scene (III.i), and Monticelso passes judgement upon them and Zanche (III.ii.261-265 and 273-274).
26. Because there is mention of a table, not of a bar, Reynolds (op.cit., pp. 82-83) considers Vittoria's trial to be "really more like a council scene... or a scene where a commission is holding an investigation..." than a trial. This distinction, although subtle, is appropriate. Vittoria's trial is one event in a series of councils or investigations - Monticelso's and Francisco's questioning of Brachiano (II.i); an examination of the Black Book (IV.i) and of Lodovico's intentions (IV.iii. 83-130); Brachiano's questioning of Vittoria and the letter in the house of convertites (IV.ii); the papal election (IV.iii), and Giovanni's investigation of the murderers (V.vi.277-301).
27. E.g., 'King James I in Parliament', from Thomas Milles, The Catalogve of Honor (1610) (see below, figure 20).
28. E.g., in Everyman, the hero finds that those whom he has trusted - Felawshyp, his Kynnesmen, Goodes and Goode Dedes - all abandon him as he proceeds on his journey.
29. Cf. W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, A History of Legal Dress in Europe (Oxford, 1963), pp. 88-89. Brachiano, in his poisoned raving, sees "a Lawyer / In a gowne whipt with velvet" (V.iii.113-114). Could the implicit accusation of wealth earned by questionable means have been suggested already to Brachiano and the audience by unnecessary trimming upon the Lawyer's gown?
30. A Renaissance image that was used to represent both Ecclesia and Caritas was that of a woman suckling infants. Cf. Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death (Princeton, New Jersey, 1951), figs. 108 and 110, and p. 116. This image

of the Church as a suckling mother is of long tradition (*ibid.*, p. 116 n. 41). Into this scene that shows little Christian charity comes the young Giovanni, mourning for his mother, one of the few innocent characters in the play, of whom he says:

"I have often heard her say shee gave mee sucke,
And it should seeme by that shee deerely lov'd mee,
Since Princes seldome doe it."

(III.ii.345-347)

31. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *op.cit.*, p. 51; cf. H.K. Morse, Elizabethan Pageantry (London, 1934), "Judge's Attire", p. 115. For contemporary portraits of scarlet-robed cardinals, see El Greco's "Grand Inquisitor Don Fernando Niño de Guevara", c. 1598, and his "St. Jerome as Cardinal", c. 1600, reproduced as colour plates in Ludwig Goldscheider, El Greco, 2nd edn. (London, 1949), pls. 123 and 139. Portraits of English cardinals are naturally of slightly earlier date. Cf. Reginald Pole, by an unknown artist, after 1556, and Thomas Wolsey, by an unknown artist, 16th century, reproduced in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, II, pls. 498 and 622. For a comparison with the scarlet robes of a judge, see Sir John Popham, by George Perfect Harding, after 1592, Strong, *op.cit.*, pl. 502.
32. Linthicum, *op.cit.*, p. 15. John Ferne, in The Blazon of Gentry (London, 1586; B.M. 9917.ccc.3), identifies the five colours which he allows for arms and heraldry, and attributes to 'Gewls' (vermillion) the virtues of Charity and Magnanimity (pp. 168-171).
33. Giovanni wears black in mourning for his mother (III.ii.320-326). The visitor Lupold von Wedel of Kremzow saw Queen Elizabeth "in black, because she is in mourning for the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Alençon" (1585), in Victor von Klarwill, ed., Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners (London, 1928), pp. 322-323. The Second Maiden's Tragedy (1611) makes black a stage image for mourning:

"Enter with the
Lady clad in Black

Tyr. why mournes the kingdomes
mistris? does she come
to meet advauncement in a
funerall garment?"

(The Malone Society Reprints, ed. W.W. Greg (Oxford, 1909), p. 4, s.d. & ll. 122-123). Webster's Jolenta enters "in mourning", the stage direction taking for granted that an appropriately distinctive garment would be worn (a veil may have sufficed). (The Devils Law-casse (London, 1623; B.M. 644.f.71), sig. F^v, III.iii).

34. Vittoria is called a devil by Flamineo (I.ii.246 and V.vi.149), and by Brachiano (IV.ii.89); she uses the word to describe Monticelso (III.ii.291) and Flamineo (V.vi.124). Zanche is a devil to Marcello and Flamineo (V.i.85-90 and V.vi.149). Brachiano sees the devil (V.iii.97-106) and then is seen as the devil by his assassins (150). Vittoria has a devil within her (V.vi.19) and is guided by him in her dreams (I.ii.240). Monticelso's black book contains a cast of devils (IV.i.31-88); Lodovico raises a devil (IV.iii.91-92), and man, tempted by gold, is a devil (III.iii.20). Many of the characters are, at some moment, possessed either by the devil or by a 'fury'. Cornelia is raised by a fury (I.ii.260), Isabella is characterized as a fury by Vittoria (I.ii.237), and then turns fury (II.i.247); Flamineo seems a fury to Vittoria (V.vi.7); as does Vittoria to Monticelso (III.ii.289).
35. Although it does not appear to have been essential for the bride to dress in white, it was usual, white being a symbol of innocence and chastity. Princess Elizabeth was seen at her wedding "in her virgin-robes, clothed in a gowne of white sattin, richly embrodered, ..." Her hair is described as "dependantly hanging playted downe over her shoulders to her waste" (From The Magnificent Marriage of ... Frederick Count Palatine ... and the Lady Elizabeth (1613), quoted in John Nichols, The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First, etc., (London, 1828), vol. II, pp. 542-543). As a widow, Vittoria might not be expected to wear this symbol of chastity, but the marriage is displayed with extreme impudence and does not shun any of the trappings of an honourable wedding. She apparently displays the other symbol of the bride, the powdered hair (cf. V.iii.118-119), in support of which Professor Brown (White Devil, p. 149) mentions Hymenaei, where Jonson also specifies the white dress: "a personated Bride, supported, her hayre flowing, and loose, sprinckled with grey; on her head a gyrland of Roses, like a turret; her garments white" (Ben Jonson, C.H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, eds., vol. VII (Oxford, 1941), p. 211, ll. 56-59. All quotations from the works of Jonson will be from this edition).
36. Cf. Wilfred Mark Webb, The Heritage of Dress (London, 1907), pp. 182-183, and Lionel Cust, Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots (London, 1903), pls. IX and X (frontispiece). Since Monticelso, who has power over Vittoria's behaviour at the moment (IV.ii), has been particularly offended by her rich style of living (cf. III.ii.75-80 and 123-125), it is not unreasonable to assume that he would chasten this counterfeit princess by enforcing a change of dress, especially in a play that is highly conscious of clothing imagery.

37. Perhaps she wears some coarse garment such as the Bridewell whore's costume - a blue gown, "base to the eye" - prescribed for Dekker's committed prostitutes in The Honest Whore, Part Two (The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. II (Cambridge, 1955), V.ii.265-338).
38. The bed could have been thrust out or discovered. Cf. Reynolds, op.cit., p. 66. On bed scenes, see Richard Hosley, "The Staging of Desdemona's Bed", SQ, XIV (1963), pp. 57-65.
39. See above, note 35.
40. The suggestion is made by Professor Brown, op.cit., p. 123.
41. Ibid. Descriptions and illustrations of knights of these orders are given by William Segar, Honor Military, and Ciuill (London, 1602; B.M. 9917.i.5), chaps. 9, 14-18 and 20 (pp. 65-98; no illustration of the Knight of Rhodes). The irony of their presence at this immoral wedding is splendidly intensified by a consideration of Segar's chapter on "The office and dutie of euery Knight and Gentleman" (p. 60), which repeatedly admonishes the knight to keep honest and honourable company, to avoid intemperate and perverse persons, and "to maintaine & defend the Christian faith".
42. Marcello owed Francisco a double allegiance, because he was of Francisco's household, and because Francisco had stood as his surety in the trial. Further, the court had ordered Marcello to remain in Rome. It is true that Monticelso, as Pope, excommunicates the lovers and banishes "all that are theirs in Rome" (IV.iii.72). But this sentence is delivered after word is received that Vittoria, Brachiano and Giovanni have fled, and it is reasonable to suppose that the whole group has fled at the same time (cf. IV.ii.219-222). Webster neither condemns nor justifies Marcello explicitly.
43. Here and in the following speech heading I have retained the quarto's reading in favour of Lucas' alternations. The inconsistencies in speech headings and entry directions throughout the play make it impossible to assign Carlo and Pedro as clear disguises of Lodovico and Gasparo. Quite possibly Webster thought in terms of an indeterminate group of conspirators.
44. The dress of the Capuchins is described in Morse, op.cit., "Monastic Orders: Capuchins", p. 117.
45. Segar's description of the initiation of Knights of the Bath (Honor, pp. 69-73) contains several striking similarities - the offer of self and

service (to God), the removal of the hood of the garment (reminiscent if the conspirators are already in Capuchin's dress), and the embrace between those who vow their service and their commander (the King).

46. Cf. Thomas Cooper, The Mystery of Witch-craft (London, 1617; B.M. 716.b.20(1)), pp. 88-92. On the devil disguised as a black Moor, see below, p. 103 n. 63.
47. The subject is discussed in detail in Eleanor Prosser, Hamlet and Revenge (Stanford, California and London, 1967), Appendix B, "The Convention of Immortal Vengeance, 1585-1642", pp. 261-275.
48. For contemporary illustrations of barriers, cf. Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, 1300 to 1600, Vol. II, 1576 to 1600, Pt. 1 (London, 1963), pl. XX and Vol. II, Pt. 2 (1972), Pl. XXX.
49. The tapestry, designed by François Quesnel, now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, is discussed in Frances A. Yates, The Valois Tapestries, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. XXIII (London, 1959), pp. 91-93.
50. There is no stage direction to indicate whether any characters other than the contestants are onstage during the combat. The 'others' who enter with Brachiano and Flamineo (sig. 14^v) may include all others who are onstage during the rest of the scene. (Brachiano has told the prospective Capuchins that they will have "private standings" (V.i.54), which could be a convenient way of explaining their absence from the stage during the combat.) However, torch-bearers and heralds or trumpeters would give pageantry to an action which depends upon visual effect, and which must be a major contrast to the following chaos of Brachiano's entry. Possibly only those characters with some function (e.g., torch-bearers) are onstage, not the ambassadors as audience, but for too many characters to enter later with Brachiano would clumsily retard his outburst. Whatever the arrangement, the unity of spirit between the theatre audience and those who must be imagined as the play-world's spectators of the barriers would not be altered.
51. John Marston makes use of lights to accompany combats in The Wonder of Women, or The Tragedie of Sophonisba (London, 1606; B.M. C.34.d.33), which, however, is a Blackfriars play:

"Enter at one dore the Prologue: too Pages
with torches: A/drubaI and Iugurth too Pages
with lights: ...At the other dore too Pages
with targets and Iauelines, too Pages with
lights,..."

(Sig. A3)

"Euter [sic] two Pages with targets and Iauelins
 two Pages with torches. Ma(sini)ffa arm'd a
 cape a pee. A(druball arm'd."

(Sig. B3)

52. As this is a scene in which costume is noted, it is just possible that Webster intends a pun on 'habit' meaning a garment (O.E.D., I.1.d. "A garment; a gown or robe.")
53. How closely tournaments were associated with the admired concept of Renaissance manhood can be seen in the figure of the popular Prince Henry, for whose Barriers of 1610 Jonson wrote the speeches (Herford and Simpson, Jonson, VII, pp. 321-336). Prince Henry at his martial games is shown in repeated engravings, in half armour, with his pike raised, and plumed helmet on the ground. The subject, engraved by Simon Van de Passe and William Hole, also appeared in Michael Drayton's Polyolbion (1612). Cf. Arthur M. Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, Part II: The Reign of James I (Cambridge, 1955), pls. 152 and 199, and p. 405. Giovanni, that precocious model of manhood, begs to be given a pike (II.i.112-129), and Lucas (Works, I, p. 217) suggests a parallel between Webster's young prince and Prince Henry.
54. Cf. Segar, Honor, pp. 185, 193 (misnumbered 204), and 194.
55. In one of Henry Peacham's emblems, an unadorned helmet is depicted, and the verses tell us that this "warlick Helme"
 "No featherie creast, or dreaſſing doth deſire,
 Which at the Tilts, the vulgar moſt admire."
Minerva Britanna (London [1612]; B.M. C.38.f.28), p. 78 (sig. M3). For illustrations of plumed helmets and their appearance in tournaments, cf. Hind, op.cit., II, pls. 152 and 199, and Morse, op.cit., pp. 93 and 95.
56. Honor, p. 185.
57. On the ambiguities within English triumphs, see Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford, 1969), pp. 348-349. The combination of compliment, moral suasion and warning is frequently evident in the triumphs studied by David M. Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642 (London, 1971), e.g., pp. 129-130. Frances A. Yates, "Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XX (1957), pp. 4-25, discusses the political and philosophical significance of Elizabethan tournaments.

58. James Hurt (art. cit., p. 44) notes that the assassination is played out as a devilish perversion of the extreme unction. The ceremony is particularly sinister, as it is a perversion of the very sacrament performed to fortify the soul against assaults of the devil. Cf. E.O. James, Sacrifice and Sacrament (London, 1962), p. 278.
59. O.E.D.: "Knot: II.11.b. The tie or bond of wedlock; the marriage or wedding knot".
60. O.E.D.: "Knot: I.1 ...Also in allusions to the knot in a halter for hanging."
61. R.W. Dent, John Webster's Borrowing (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p. 161. The relevant passage is in Thomas Coryat, Crudities (London, 1611; B.M. C.32.e.9), p. 255 (sig. V). D.C. Gunby, Webster: The White Devil (London, 1971), p. 52, asserts that the ghost's cassock is not ecclesiastical but military.
62. Brachiano implies that Francisco is a dog (V.iii. 95-96), and the dog is one common disguise of the devil, as well as of familiar spirits. Cf. Christina Hole, A Mirror of Witchcraft (London, 1957), pp. 58 and 66-68. Brachiano's delirious thought runs from disguises of Francisco (as dog-fox and dog) to a disguise of the devil. For a good discussion of Brachiano's chain of thoughts (not, however, suggesting a connection between Francisco and the devil), see Dent, op.cit., pp. 148-149.
63. G.K. Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners", Shakespeare Survey, 17 (1964), p. 52.
64. Ibid., p. 51. Cf. The Duchess of Malfi, III.ii. 332-333 (in Lucas, Works, II):
 " 'twould make the very Turks and Moors
 Turn Christians,..."
65. On the ars moriendi tradition and its survival, cf. Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars moriendi, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 156 (New York, 1942). The tradition is elsewhere related to the drama, cf., e.g., Beach Langston, "Marlowe's Faustus and the Ars Moriendi Tradition", in A Tribute to George Coffin Taylor ([Chapel Hill,] North Carolina, 1952), pp. 148-167, and Kathrine Koller, "Falstaff and the Art of Dying", MLN, LX (1945), pp. 383-386. For 16th century versions of the old theme, cf. "The Death of a Christian" (1518), in Campbell Dodgson, Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts (London, 1905), vol. I, p. 433 #30; and cf. Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Death", The Art Bulletin, LIV (1972), pp. 158-186, esp. "The Death of Moriens" (1591), fig. 2, p. 159.

66. See above, note 35.
67. Figure 4 comes from The Bagford Ballads, [A collection of ballads and fragments, formed by John Bagford, and commonly known as the Bagford Ballads], vol. I, number 33 (B.M. C.40.m.9/33). The full title is "Queen Eleanor's Confession: / Shewing, how King Henry, with the Earl Martial, in Fryars Habits, came to see / her, instead of two Fryars from France, which she sent for. To a pleasant New Tune" [Printed for C. Bates in Pye-corner].
68. On domestic chapels, see Shakespeare's England, II, p. 62. Ford makes use of an altar and candles in his highly visualized scene of worship, coronation and death which ends The Broken Heart: "An Altar couered with white. / Two lights of Virgin wax, ..." (London, 1633; B.M. C.12.g.3 (2)), sig. K2^v, V. iii. The burning of a perfume onstage seems to have been quite common, e.g., in Barnabe Barnes' The Devils Charter (London, 1607; B.M. C.34.c.3), sig. G. In Women Beware Women, poisoned perfume is burned upon an altar and later kills its victim. Cf. The Works of Thomas Middleton, ed. A.H. Bullen, vol. VI (London, 1885), V.i., stage direction foll. 112, and ll. 171-172.
69. On the ceremony of exorcism, see Montague Summers, The History of Witchcraft and Demonology (London, 1926), pp. 208 ff.
70. Hereward T. Price, "The Function of Imagery in Webster", PMLA, LXX (1955), p. 728.
71. Cf. The Duchess of Malfi, V.v. 1-4, and The Devil's Law-Case, III.iii. (also in Lucas, Works, II; the stage direction is in the quarto, The Devils Law-case (London, 1623; B.M. 644.f.71), sig. F^v). The comparison is made by Brown, op.cit., p. 169.
72. Reynolds (op.cit., p. 114 n. 3) believes that the locking of one stage door may have been a convention for the locking of all stage doors.
73. On attitudes concerning despair, cf. Susan Snyder, "The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition", Studies in the Renaissance, XII (1965), pp. 18-59.
74. In figure 6 the sinners are witches. Because of the play's pervasive imagery of witchcraft and perversion, this illustration is perhaps not inappropriate. For other illustrations of devils piercing sinners, cf., e.g., The crafte to lyue well and to dye well ([Translated, from the French, by Andrew Chertsey] London, 1505; B.M. C.132.h.40), folio lxxxii (sig. Eell), and L'Art & science de bien vivre & bien mourir ([Rouen, 1500?;] B.M. C.55.c.4), folio 67 (numbered by hand).

75. O.E.D.: "Cunning: 3. Possessing magical knowledge or skill."
76. Concerning the problem of the number of murderers, see below, p.109 n.109.
77. The quarto speech heading for this cry is 'CON.' (sig. M). Lucas gives it to Gasparo (V.vi.172).
78. Crudities, p. 261 (sig. V4).
79. Cf. Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 578, 584-586 and 594. The first four plates cited show the Countess of Somerset, soon to be involved in the Overbury scandal. Pl. 594 is c. 1610, and pl. 578 is probably based on a portrait which predates Webster's play (cf. *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 300 and 296).
80. In The Maske of Flowers (London, 1614; B.M. 161.a.57), performed by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn, Spring enters, "attired like a Nymph,...an vpper-body of cloth of siluer floride, naked necke, and breaſt, decked with Pearls" (sig. B). Henry Prunières, in Le Ballet de Cour en France (Paris, 1914), mentions an entertainment of 1617 in which a naiad "toute nue" was seen, at closer range, to be played "par un page de la musique" (p. 181).
81. That Webster was particularly conscious of man as a player can be seen in "An excellent Actor":
 "All men have beene of his [i.e., the Actor's] occupation: and indeed, what hee doth fainedly that doe others essentially: this day one plaies a Monarch, the next a private person. Heere one Acts a Tyrant, on the morrow an Exile: A Parasite this man to-night, t[o]-morow a Precisian, and so of divers others."
 Lucas, Works, IV, p. 43, ll. 19-23.
82. He tempts Brachiano and Vittoria to a fall, twice; Vittoria to murder and perjury; Camillo to be a fool and relinquish his independence; Cornelia to deny motherhood; and Marcello to offer a challenge within the family which he, Marcello, strives to protect. Similarities between Flamineo and the Vice will be found in Bernard Spivack's description of the Vice in Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil: Vice as leader (pp. 145-146); as intriguer and seducer (p. 152); manipulating his victim (p. 152); using deceit (p. 155); and as humourist and homilist (p. 135). Flamineo's jests and advice are often associated with his evil (cf. I.ii; II.i; III.i.30-59; and III.iii).
83. See above, pp. 17-22 passim.
84. On the 'presenter' figure, cf. Mehl, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-12.

85. J.L. Styan, "The Actor at the Foot of Shakespeare's Platform", Shakespeare Survey, 12 (1959), pp. 56-63, discusses a spatial use of the stage platform that could be very effectively exploited in the placement of Flamineo.
86. As an aside on the character of the Conjuror, it is worth mentioning that, for all his protestations, he would not escape severe judgement from his contemporaries. Cf., e.g., the opinion that 'white' or helpful witches are the servants of Satan and even more damnable than evil witches, expressed by Cooper, *op.cit.*, pp. 213-224 and by William Perkins, A Discovrse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft (Cambridge, 1608; B.M. 1607/788(1)), pp. 173-180. Thus Flamineo is not only acting in a murder scene, but also in a forbidden, demonic show. Presumably the Conjuror wears some recognizable garment which clearly identifies him as a man of magical powers. Irving Ribner, in his edition of Cyril Tourneur's The Atheist's Tragedy (The Revels Plays (London, 1964), p. 52), states that the "rug gown", made of "a sort of coarse frieze...was regarded as the usual dress of students, magicians, astrologers, etc., when engaged in their speculations." Probably Webster's Conjuror would require some more outlandish garment.
87. Cf. Spivack (*op.cit.*, p. 155): "In the arsenal of [the Vice's] deceit the chief weapon is dissimulation in the form of moral, abetted often by physical, disguise."
88. E.g., the blood relationship and punishment manifested in the characters of the Duchess of Malfi and her brothers, and, to some extent, in Jolenta, Romelio, and Leonora (The Devil's Law-Case).
89. Reynolds (*op.cit.*, pp. 139 and 141) believes that the horse must be fetched - i.e., it is probably brought forward from the discovery space by the dumb show actors. An illustration of a stalking horse, c. 1635, is shown in figure 9.
90. In an interesting article on some aspects of staging Webster's plays, Peter Thomson notes the parallel between Cornelia's attack on Zanche and Flamineo's equally sudden entrance-attack-exit in the murder of Marcello. Cf. "Webster and the Actor", in John Webster, ed. Brian Morris, Mermaid Critical Commentaries (London, 1970), pp. 38-39.
91. The size of feathers worn in hats increased during the reign of James. Cf. Shakespeare's England, vol. II, p. 109. Sly, in Webster's Induction to The Malcontent (Lucas, Works, III), jests about the feather in his hat, saying "my hat's the handle to this fanne", ll. 33-34.

92. Lucas (Works, II, p. 136) calls it a "word with hateful associations to Elizabethan ears." The Intelligencers in Monticelso's black book are of first interest to Francisco; "some of them", Monticelso says wryly, "You'd take for honest men" (IV.i.49-50).
93. Mary Queen of Scots is portrayed with a crucifix on a black ribbon around her neck, in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 433, 435, 437 and 438, as is Arabella Stuart, pl. 603. (Plate 437 was painted as late as c. 1610, cf. Strong, vol. I, p. 215). In some portraits of Mary, a larger cross supplements the neck crucifix, attached to a chain at her side, below the waist, and from it hangs a rosary (pls. 435 and 437). In plate 438 she holds a crucifix as well. It seems unlikely that the more cumbersome crosses would be preferred to the neck crucifix for a stage performance.
94. Having abused religion, Flamineo now cynically seeks its protection. Perhaps he is referring to the abuse of law and protection which church sanctuary often allowed the evildoer in the Middle Ages and later. Cf. J.J. Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages, trans. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 4th edn. (London, 1950), pp. 77-79.
95. Professor Brown (op.cit., p. 83), quotes Westward Ho, I.ii, and S. Guazzo, Civil Conversation, trans. G. Pettie (ed., 1925), III,48. See above, note 30. Maria Lactans was a popular Renaissance image of the merciful Virgin interceding for mankind (cf. Meiss, op.cit., fig. 158), and hence a fitting complement to the pietà soon suggested (V.ii; see below, p. 72).
96. The play contains mention of several violent breaks or severances: cf. Antonelli, I.i.45-50; Vittoria, IV.ii.122-124; and the divorce which severs Brachiano from Isabella, II.i.
97. Flamineo draws attention to Brachiano's attempt at salvation:
 "See, see, how firmly hee doth fixe his eye
 Upon the Crucifix."
 (V.iii.131-132)
98. The pietà as a visual image would have been largely destroyed in England after the Reformation, but even at Webster's time it must have been known, both from the Roman Catholic inheritance and from some acquaintance with Continental art. The motif of the Virgin supporting the head and shoulders of her dead son appears in the very popular Meditationes Vitae Christi, by the pseudo-Bonaventura, translated into English before 1410. Cf. Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ, ed. A Monk of Parkminster, The Orchard Books, X (London, 1926), p. 243. On one

aspect of the popular image, see Dieter Grossmann, "Imago Pietatis", in Stabat Mater, Exhibition Catalogue (Salzburg, 1970), pp. 34-48.

99. Cf. Lucas, Works, I, p. 252.
100. Presumably Cornelia wears a dagger hanging from her girdle, not an uncommon habit for women. Cf. Francis M. Kelly & Randolph Schwabe, A Short History of Costume & Armour, Chiefly in England, 1066-1800 (London, 1931), vol. II: 1485-1800, p. 7 (although of a somewhat earlier date, before 1525). Cf. the Countess of Salisbury, in Edward III: "Here by my side doth hang my wedding-knives", II.ii.172, in James Winny, ed., Three Elizabethan Plays (London, 1959). Winny glosses 'wedding-knives' as "a pair of daggers in a single sheath, possibly given as a wedding-present or so called because the daggers were themselves 'wedded'" (p. 210).
101. Day-beds, probably introduced in the late 16th century, were simply long couches (cf. Shakespeare's England, II, p. 125). A couch would allow space for the mourners. Probably Brachiano's bed is more elaborate with the hangings and valances necessary to a duke's bed chamber (ibid., p. 126). On Brachiano's death scene, see above, pp. 45-53.
102. In Cyril Tourneur's The Atheists Tragedie (London, 1611; B.M. C.34.e.10), Languabeau Snuffe disguises himself as a ghost, in "a sheete, a haire, and a beard" (sig. H4^v). In A Warning for Faire Women, Tragedie's ghost is described as being "Lapt in some fowle sheete, or a leather pelch" (sig. A2^v). On ghosts in the drama and Elizabethan attitudes to them, cf. Prosser, op.cit., Chap. IV, "Enter Ghost", pp. 97-117, and Appendix A, "The Relevance of Religious Tests to the Stage Ghost, 1560-1610", pp. 255-260.
103. E.g., in Dekker and Webster's Northward Ho (Dekker, ed. Bowers, vol. II), Maybery enters 'booted', and bids Bellamont, "Let your man giue you the bootes presently", for they are off to Ware (IV.i.s.d. foll. l. 207, and l. 213). There is much play given to boots as a preparation for travel in Thomas Heywood's A Woman Killed With Kindness, The Revels Plays, ed. R.W. Van Fossen (London, 1961), sc. xi. 51-77; and in Richard II, V.ii.77-87.
104. See above, note 44.
105. Dent (op.cit., pp. 161-162) sees the lily as a symbol of the Annunciation, and therefore of life, juxtaposed with the symbol of death. In either interpretation, the composite effect is an ominous memento mori. I believe that the visual patterning of the deaths of Marcello and Brachiano is intentional,

and diminishes the futility which Gunnar Boklund sees in Marcello's death. Cf. The Sources of "The White Devil", Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, XVII (Uppsala, 1957), p. 170.

106. On the 'heavens' and descents, cf. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, III, pp. 76-77; and on the regions under the stage, cf. op.cit., II, p. 528 n. 3, and III, p. 30. Hamlet, questioning the Ghost, asks whether it brings "airs from heaven or blasts from hell" (Hamlet, I.iv.41), and refers to the Ghost as "this fellow in the cellerage" (I.v.151) and an "old mole" who works "i' th' earth" (l. 162).
107. Details of rope dancers are given in Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. VI (Oxford, 1968) and vol. VII (1968): Payment was made for rope dancers at the Fortune during Lent, 1624/5 (VI, p. 159), and again in 1634 (p. 164). At the Red Bull, somewhat later, 1648/9, John Pudding was dancing on the ropes (pp. 114 and 231). In 1615/16, Queen Anne was entertained on the ropes at Greenwich, VII, p. 17. The proposal for activities at His Majesty's Amphitheatre (?1620) includes dancing on the ropes and a wide selection of other entertainments (VI, pp. 293-294). A late illustration of a rope dancer (c. 1690) is reproduced in Wickham, op.cit., II, 2, pl. XI.
108. The engraving comes from Adrian van de Venne, Tafereel van de Belacchende Werelt (The Hague, 1635; B.M. Cup. 403.n.35), p. 69. Wickham reproduces this illustration, and comments that it shows a "vaulting horse of the sort demanded by Webster." (Op.cit., vol.II, pt. 2, p. 249 and pl. XXXI).
109. The exact identity of the conspirators is a matter for debate. In the 1612 quarto, entrances and exits are not always marked systematically, and speech headings are notoriously lax. Pedro and Carlo could be the disguise names of Lodovico and Gasparo (cf. Lucas, Works, I, p. 285), since Pedro and Carlo are not given entries with the other conspirators in Act V, scenes i and iii, while at the same time their names are used as speech headings, 'CAR.' at V.i.61 and 'PED.' at l. 63 (sig. I). However, Webster seems to have been thinking in terms of a group of conspirators, without being interested in the extras as individuals, and for the final assassination, the quarto entry of four characters - "Enter Lod. Ga(p. Pedro, Carlo." (sig. I4^v) - seems desirable. Professor J.R. Brown remarks that "more than two conspirators are necessary to kill Flamineo, Vittoria, and Zanche in the last scene, especially since Flamineo is armed with two loaded pistols..." (White Devil, p. 126). Furthermore, Flamineo appears to be wearing his sword (ll. 177-178), and Vittoria and Zanche hold pistols which the conspirators do not

know to be empty. The three characters must be overwhelmed quickly, as Zanche does not here try the doors as she was able to do when Flamineo threatened the two women (cf. ll. 55-56). For the assassins to outnumber their victims would add to the sense of theatrical grandeur achieved by Flamineo, Vittoria, and, to a lesser degree, Zanche, while reinforcing the impression that the false churchmen are somewhat cowardly or base.

110. A detailed description of the sword dance is given in E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, (Oxford, 1903), vol. I, pp. 190-192 and 203-207.
111. For evidence of posts supporting the 'heavens', see Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, II, pp. 544-545; III, pp. 75-76 and 108. Reynolds (op.cit., p. 14 and pp. 92-93), suggests that other, movable posts may have been used. Perhaps Flamineo is tied with the waist cord of coarse rope that is part of the Capuchin's outfit (cf. Morse, op.cit., p. 117).
112. By a combination of word and image, the assassins become ignoble and elevate their victim into one who suffers (whether as true saint or heretic) without the possibility of striking back. The whole scene shows the conspirators as cowards (cf. ll. 193-195; 210-214, and 233-235). Visual representations of saints and martyrs tied to posts and tortured in a variety of ways (chiefly, however, by fire) can be found in abundance in John Foxes' popular Actes and Monuments, which had recently been for "[t]he sixth time newly imprinted" (London, 1610; B.M. 478.i.1-3). "A Table of the X first Persecutions of the Primitiue Church...", in vol. I, between pp. 26 and 27, includes some eleven examples of individuals and groups tied to a wooden post or tree - it is the greatest single common factor in the many scenes of torture. The title page also shows all martyrs tied to the stake, in fire, blowing cornets. However, tied to the post, Flamineo may awaken other associations in his audience. Chambers (Elizabethan Stage, vol. II, p. 545 and vol. III, p. 76) cites instances of pickpockets being bound to the stage post when they were caught during a play.
113. 'Witch' is often on his tongue: III.i.38-41; III.iii.84-86; and V.i.147-151. He is an actor in a magician's show (II.ii.second dumb show); and he has handled a toad (V.iv.82). On associations of the toad with witchcraft, cf. H.R. Trevor-Roper, The European Witch-Craze of the 16th and 17th Centuries, A Pelican Book (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1969), p. 16.
114. On witches raising thunderstorms with the help of the devil, see Hole, op.cit., chap. VII, "The Weather-Witch", with contemporary accounts. Flamineo's demand brands him as one of the devil's party. Cf. "What Diuill art thou, that counterfeitst heavens

thunder?" (The Duchess of Malfi, III.v.116). On this question from the Duchess, Dent (op.cit., p. 225) quotes Plutarch, "God indeed hateth and punisheth those who will seeme to imitate thunder,..." (from Plutarch's Morals, trans. Philemon Holland, 1603, p. 295).

115. Cf. Shakespeare's England, II, p. 254.
116. I believe Flamineo to be unrepentant, despite his comment that
 "'Tis well yet there's some goodnesse in my death,
 My life was a blacke charnell"
 (V.vi.269-270).
 He is playing a good death as thoroughly as he has ever played a rôle; he is conscious of his and his sister's performances in a way that Vittoria is not. "Farewell glorious villaines" (l. 272) shows no decline in his own strength and glory.
117. Op.cit., p. 167.
118. Perhaps Marcello is merely dressed as Francisco's retainer, but there is much effect to be gained in a contrast between him in light armour, and Camillo rather foppishly clad, when they receive their joint commission; and between Marcello as a soldier and as a courtier (V.i.192). For examples of half-armour, see Kelly & Schwabe, op.cit., vol. II, pp. 77-80 and pl.-XXXII.
119. See above, note 35.
120. On black-suited Melancholy, cf. Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady (East Lansing [Mich.], 1951), p. 75. Black hangings on the stage to give an atmosphere of tragedy are mentioned in A Warning For Faire Women, sig. A3, and in Northward Ho, IV. i.44-53. In Thomas Heywood's The Rape of Lucrece (London, 1608; B.M. C.34.h.44), a stage direction before the heroine's death provides for "A Table and Chaire Couered with blacke" (V.i.; sig. H).
121. The Moor's black face may also semi-consciously link Francisco with the Morality and folk-tradition devil. Cf. R.J.E. Tiddy, The Mummers' Play (Oxford, 1923), p. 113. Disguise is a typical device of the Morality Vice (cf. Spivack, op.cit., p. 155).
122. She probably wears the night-gown of her last scene. A relevant discussion of ghosts is to be found in J. Dover Wilson, What Happens In 'Hamlet' (Cambridge, 1951), p. 57. There he contrasts the old-fashioned, costumed ghost with the ghost of Hamlet's father, dressed "as he lived" (in his night-gown).
123. Francisco's view of the Ghost's appearance is

- Burtonian. Cf. Elizabeth M. Brennan, ed., The White Devil, The New Mermaids (London, 1966), p. 76. Thomas B. Stroup, Microcosmos (Lexington [Kentucky], 1965), describes Brachiano's Ghost as a "projection of the struggle within Flamineo's own soul" (p. 75). The ghosts are at the same time real appearances and projections of their questioners.
124. On the subject of seal rings, see A.B. Tonnochy, "English Armorial Signets", Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd s., vol. X (1945-1947), pp. 39-48, pls. XII-XIX. Esp. interesting is pl. XII, figs. c and d.
125. Webster portrays the details of a papal election accurately. For his probable dependence upon Jerome Bignon's A Briefe, But An Effectuall Treatise of the Election of Popes (1605), cf. Dent, op. cit., pp. 130-133, and Brown, op. cit., pp. xxxii-xxxiii, and Appendix III, pp. 194-196 which gives extracts from Bignon.
126. Cf. Zanche's reference to herself as an 'Ethiop' (V.iii.271). For a general discussion of black characters on the stage, cf. Eldred Jones, Othello's Countrymen (London, 1965).
127. Hal H. Smith, "Some Principles of Elizabethan Stage Costume", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, xxv (1962), pp. 248-249, pl. 37 a-c.
128. On Flamineo's jest, cf. Brown, op. cit., p. 156, and Brennan, op. cit., p. 120.
129. Cf. Titus Andronicus, IV.ii.87-91.
130. Martin W. Sampson, ed., "The White Devil" and "The Duchess of Malfy", Belles Lettres Series (Boston, 1904), p. 204.
131. Cf., e.g., Boklund, op.cit., pp. 178-180. I disagree with his belief in the "survival of Francisco, unpunished and unpenitent" (p. 178) as the overriding triumph at the play's conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DUCHESS OF MALFI

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The text of The Duchess of Malfi is quoted from The Complete Works of John Webster, ed. F.L. Lucas (London, 1927), vol. II (hereinafter, Lucas, Works, II). The stage directions are quoted from the first edition:

THE / TRAGEDY / OF THE DVTCHESSE / Of Malfy. / As it was Presented priuatly, at the Black- / Friers; and publicuely at the Globe, By the / Kings Maieſties Seruants. / The perfect and exact Coppy, with diuerſe / things Printed, that the length of the Play would / not beare in the Preſentment. / VVritten by John Webster. / //

LONDON: / Printed by NICHOLAS OKES, for IOHN / WATERSON, and are to be ſold at the / ſigne of the Crowne, in Paules / Church-yard, 1623. / [B.M. 644.f.72. The words 'for' and 'at' in the final lines are partly obscured.]

THE DUCHESS OF MALFI

For Webster, an important circumstance distinguishes The White Devil from The Duchess of Malfi. The earlier play was performed in a public theatre, probably the Red Bull, which was a theatre "so open and blacke...that it wanted...a full and understanding Auditory".¹ The later play, performed between 1612 and 1614,² "was Presented priuatly, at the Black-Friers; and publiquely at the Globe".³ That Webster understood the unique characteristics of the indoor, 'private' theatres is clear from his Induction to the 1604 performance of The Malcontent, an Induction which serves to prepare a Blackfriars play for performance in a 'public' theatre, the Globe.⁴

The more intimate and sophisticated indoor theatre is suited to a gentler and more colloquial stage utterance, rather than to the stronger rhetoric and heavy flourishes of the outdoor theatre. This softening, domesticating tendency can be seen in The Duchess of Malfi when compared with the earlier play, but with no decrease in the use of formalized spectacle.⁵ One popular feature of the private theatres to which Webster responded is the use of music. Music was employed in the public theatres for practical and dramatic purposes, but in the Blackfriars theatre, it was an essential part of many performances, and especially was heard between each of the five acts of a play.⁶ Webster had already used music in The White Devil - music to accompany the dumb show murders (II.ii.36-37), and a song to create an atmosphere of pathos and madness around Marcello's corpse (V.iv; sig. L). In The Duchess of Malfi, music pervades the play, not only in song and dance, but in imagery as well.

Private theatre plays tended to be clearly divided into acts,⁷ and in The Duchess of Malfi, act divisions are distinct, and by no means arbitrary. Each act displays a careful structural unity: the first is a prologue followed by the ceremony which irrevocably leads to all succeeding action; the second is encompassed by a sense of physical journeys; the third by spiritual journeys; the fourth by an imprisoned cessation of movement; and the fifth by

chaotic movement in the dark (spiritually and actually).

It must, of course, be remembered that the play was also performed at the Globe. Some alterations and possibly omissions must have been made, but the exploited potential of the private theatre remains in all the fabric of the play.⁸

In The Duchess of Malfi, the theme of a journey, verbally and visually insisted upon, is pervasive. The play's movement portrays both the journey of life in the Morality play sense, and a journey impelled by action - action that is noble, restless, ambitious, hidden. This theme acquires vitality through Webster's insistence upon the physical presence of his characters - insistence upon the body, the actor as actor, the body's and soul's covering. We are made physically sensitive to the characters, to their movement and restriction, their fulfilment and their physical decline.

An essential element in life's journey is revealed in a perceptive comment made by Bosola early in the first act. The Cardinal cynically wishes that Bosola could become honest, and Bosola replies:

With all your divinity, do but direct me the way to it - I
 have knowne many travell farre for it, and yet returne
 as arrant
 knaves, as they went forth; because they carried
 themselves
 alwayes along with them;...

(I.i.42-45)

One carries oneself along; it is impossible to escape the self, just as it is impossible to escape the body, or the world. In the end, therefore, each character alone, must prove himself - the essence of his being - no matter how hard he may seek to escape. It is at this final reckoning, near the fire of death (III.v.161-164), that one's worth is known, and that the metal of those "three faire Meddalls, / Cast in one figure, of so different temper" (I.i.192-193) - the Duchess, the Cardinal and Duke Ferdinand - will be tested. Everyman must travel, for to remain static is to be lifeless - "The figure cut in Allablaster" (I.i.520), the rusted soul that has immoderately slept (I.i.79-80). Throughout the play, life is

an active principle, associated with physical action, warmth, and blood that stirs.

The journey from birth to the grave is represented, as in The White Devil, by major events, sacraments and obstacles that mark all existence - "marriage, childbirth, disaster, parting, and death".⁹ Action is a preparation and training for the tests and trials to come (I.i.144-147); thus, as in The White Devil barriers, action may be a game, but ultimately it must be "in earnest", a change for which Ferdinand longs (I.i.93-94). Action which begins as a game (running at the ring) ends "in earnest" with murder. For both these contests, Ferdinand offers the prize. He gives the jewel to Antonio (I.i.90-93), and the coffin, cords and bell to the Duchess (IV.ii.164-166).

I. Ceremonies of marriage and death.

[Secret] weddings, may more properly be said to be executed, then celebrated.

(I.i.358-359)

The relentless movement of the story of the Duchess and Antonio is summed up in this early threat from her brother Ferdinand. In a series of brilliant ceremonies, Webster stages this movement: wedding (I.i); marriage bed (III.ii); banishment (III.iv); and Masque of Execution (IV.ii). In each of these scenes, marriage and death are yoked. A sword comes to the marriage bed, first figuratively (I.i.571-573), then in fact (III.ii.77-80); the power of the sword is given formally to her enemy who sacrifices her wedding ring to his revenge (III.iv. dumb show and 39-43); and at last she is given masque entertainment suited to marriage, which leads instead to her bed of death.

In preparation for the first ceremony - the wooing and wedding scene - the play's world is introduced by a type of prologue which, like the ceremonies, makes use of theatrical convention and pageantry. The term 'prologue' is not unsuitable, since a feeling of incipient action is created. By means of presenter, pantomime and dialogue, Webster displays the glittering court, and not until the

general exit, at line 234, does the action really begin.

The locality of the opening scene is important. Like many later scenes, it is both a specific setting and a more general representative reality. Specifically, it is the presence chamber in the Duchess' palace at Amalfi, and as such, represents her power, position and control. It will reappear in Act II, scene i and Act IV, when her own position has altered painfully. In the circular nature of her story, this presence chamber is important as her first and last abode. More generally, the presence chamber represents the Court in abstract. Thus, while Antonio describes the ideal French court (4-23), the present scene acts as a parallel. The court is the proper sphere in which to view the brothers, surrounded by "their flattering Panders" (53). It is their area of power, ultimately lost by both of them: Ferdinand, helplessly imprisoned by his brother, thinks he is on an open field of battle (V.v.64-65); and the Cardinal, having imprisoned himself unwittingly, offers to give his "Dukedome, for rescew" (27).

Rich tapestries would provide the simplest stage representation of the splendour befitting the court's formal apartment. These curtains, resembling the hangings in Jacobean rooms, could be either the curtains closing the front of the discovery space, or those which serve as the walls of the open space.¹⁰ Perhaps the specific identity of the chamber is represented by a chair of state for the Duchess, or three such thrones. The thrones (common emblematic properties in the theatre)¹¹ could be discovered or placed on the stage before the performance begins.

The three related characters - the Cardinal, Duke Ferdinand, and the Duchess - are all introduced to us before their first major scene allows them clearly to display themselves. This introduction is achieved largely by means of verbal portraits, given by the cynical Bosola, perhaps in the malcontent's black costume (50-55), and more fully by the upright Antonio in the gold chain of his office as Steward to the Duchess.¹² The court figures

perform a lengthy mime (153-214) while Antonio, as presenter to Delio and to the audience, exposes them in his able observation. The theatricality of the device of presenter and silent characters who seem to be part of a picture is exploited, making the audience keenly conscious of levels of reality - of the surface pageant and of the hypocrisy which lies beneath the rich garments.

The transition from pantomime to independent action with neither an observing nor a commenting presenter is skilfully manipulated. As Antonio, completing his portrait of the Duchess, speaks of "the time to come" (214), Cariola interrupts with a message:

You must attend my Lady, in the gallery,
Some halfe an houre hence.

ANT. I shall.

FERD. Sister, I have a suit to you:

DUCH. To me, Sir?

(215-219)

Cariola's brief message marks an effective alteration in the position of Antonio, from distanced observer of his court to the steward and man who must act at another's bidding, from penetrating critic to actor. The Duchess, too, is briefly drawn into the action, before the Ferdinand-Bosola meeting transforms the stage into a place of spying and secret agents (244-317). There follows the first intimate scene between the Duchess and her brothers, which is a prelude to her marriage, although the brothers are forbidding, not condoning it. Their conversation is presented through the particular placement of three characters which Webster so often finds effective - two characters in agreement forcing their thoughts upon an unprepared third.¹³ Professor J.R. Brown suggests that the transition from the Ferdinand-Bosola meeting to the entry of the Duchess and the Cardinal may involve an exit for Ferdinand.¹⁴ It seems to me possible that Ferdinand remains onstage, and at his cry of 'Away!' (314) he begins to shuffle Bosola unceremoniously off the stage, treating him now truly as his 'creature' (313). This brusque action would suggest the Duke's nervousness and desire to keep their relationship hidden. Perhaps, looking back towards one of the tiring-house doors, Ferdinand can be imagined to see persons

approaching before the audience can see them. Ferdinand's sudden intrusion into the conversation between his brother and sister need not appear awkward. By immediately taking his cue from the Cardinal, Ferdinand introduces into the conversation that note of a rehearsed speech on which the Duchess later remarks:

I thinke this speech betweene you both was studied,
It came so roundly off.

(367-368)

The Duchess is witty and not quite honest. "I'll never marry" (334), she says, and adds no qualifying phrase. The rank lustfulness and hypocrisy against which the brothers warn her is both an exposure of their own natures, and a prophecy:

FERD. Your darkest actions: nay, your privat'st
thoughts,
Will come to light.

CARD. You may flatter your selfe,
And take your owne choice: privately be married
Under the E[a]lves of night...

The marriage night
Is the entrance into some prison.

(349-353; 360-361)

None heeds the warning. All dark actions will come to light, and will come through her brightness, but will bring also her eclipse. The marriage leads to the prison of Act IV.

a) Wooing and marriage.

Each brother leaves the Duchess with a warning.

The Cardinal's is a verbal maxim: "Wisdom begins at the end: remember it" (366); the Duke's is a visual device:

This was my Fathers poyniard: doe you see,
I'll'd be loth to see't looke rusty, 'cause 'twas his[.]

(370-371)

Both these devices look to the future, and while they are purportedly cautionary, are in fact threatening. It is interesting that, at the moment of death, the brothers are touched by their own warnings: the Cardinal sees a new truth "at the end" (cf. V.v.72-74), and Ferdinand is cut down by Bosola's sword in vengeance for the Duchess.

With "farewell, lusty Widowe" (381), Ferdinand exits, leaving the Duchess alone.¹⁵ At once, with quiet, immovable strength, she turns from her absent brothers and chooses her own guidance:

Shall this move me? if all my royall kindred
Lay in my way unto this marriage:
I'll'd make them my low foote-steps:...

(382-384)

There is pathos in her strength, for she is defenseless against a reportedly corrupt and visibly armed family. Whatever the ultimate opinion may be concerning widows who remarry beneath their station,¹⁶ Webster has not portrayed his Duchess as completely innocent. She is of her world, thoughtlessly willing to rise by the fall of others. Her very physical image of the footsteps suggests her willingness to trample over and disrupt the respected Chain of Being. Ironically it is she, not Antonio, who is careless of Degree (cf. II.i.121-134).

The wooing scene takes place in the gallery (cf. 215). The location changes in our imagination, not in reality. If there was, indeed, a throne in the presence scene, the discovery space curtain might close upon it as Cariola hides; however, it would not be at all inappropriate for a throne, symbol of the Duchess' princely birth, to remain visible throughout the wooing scene. Antonio enters, wearing his chain of office and, probably, the jewel given by Ferdinand.¹⁷ The correct relationship between mistress and steward is established.

DUCH. I sent for you, Sit downe:
Take Pen and Incke, and write: are you ready?
ANT. Yes[.]

(406-408)

He is seated at his simple desk,¹⁸ instantly ready to perform his task. She stands, elevated above him both visually and socially. The pen and ink, and the writing desk are associated with orderliness and formal accounts, and as a prelude to the wooing, this brief passage constitutes the sense of an official contract:

After [these] triumphs, and this large expence [she continues]
It's fit (like thrifty husbands) we enquire
What's laid up for to-morrow[.]

(412-414)

She seems to be following Ferdinand's advice to

give ore these chargeable Revels;
A Vizor, and a Masque are whispering roomes
That were nev'r built for goodnesse:...

(372-374)

But she does not follow all his advice, and his eventual retaliation for her marriage is diabolically apt, when he 'honours' her with a vizor (on the disguised Bosola) and the Masque of Madmen (IV.ii). Presumably, also, a 'vizor' is part of the Cardinal's armour in the dumb show (III.iv), when he takes her marriage ring from her finger.

The device of the ring, while charming and dramatically effective, is like Ferdinand's poniard in beginning a chain of symbolic associations. The Duchess is spontaneous, youthful, and shyly nervous, and requires some aid to break through Antonio's reserve. As she draws near to see his bloodshot eye, and nearer to offer the ring from her finger, a physical intimacy is achieved.

DUCH. One of your eyes is blood-shot, use my Ring to't,
They say 'tis very soveraigne, 'twas my wedding Ring,
And I did vow never to part with it,
But to my second husband.

(463-466)

The fulfilment of her vow does not prove the common superstition true; the ring does not improve his sight, but strikes him blind, for "a sawcy, and ambitious divell" (471) dances between him and true sight. Blindness encompasses both of them. Her self-imposed blind wilfulness is expressed in her conceit of herself as blind Fortune (565-568).

As the Duchess places the ring upon his finger, Antonio kneels. Morally, he is "an upright treasurer" (421) and "a compleat man" (500). Now she attempts to raise him physically and socially, to her 'upright' level, saying:

Sir,
This goodly roofoe of yours, is too low built,
I cannot stand upright in't, nor discourse,
Without I raise it higher: raise your selfe,
Or if you please, my hand to helpe you: so.

(478-482)

With her hand she raises him to her height. After the ritual of marriage she again offers him her hand, but

now it is she who is blind and he who must lead the way (565-568). The ring upon his finger is the symbol of a new relationship between them. The ring of her embrace symbolizes their new defiance of the rest of their world. To Antonio's cautious concern about her brothers, she answers:

Do not thinke of them,
All discord, without this circumference, [she puts her
Is onely to be pittied, and not fear'd[.] arms about him.]

(536-538)

The marriage sacrament is given a full (stage) ceremony, with witness, vows and kiss, creating the formal sponsalia de presenti to which the Duchess refers (548).¹⁹ By this ceremony, she attempts to give their altered relationship a concrete reality. Ominously, in language as in stage imagery, this sacrament presages the ritual of her death. The whole ceremony is bathed in an atmosphere of secrecy and forboding, with Cariola suddenly appearing from her hiding place (544-546); with the ominous kiss that signs Antonio's quietus (531-532) and which will be repeated in the cold kiss that separates the lovers forever (III.v.103-105); and in the image of the fateful Gordian knot which binds the marriage (549-550). In this scene, for the sake of chastity she supplies, verbally, the sword that could cut the knot (571-573). Ironically, when Ferdinand stands armed with his poniard beside her marriage bed, he hesitates and does not fulfil the omen by stabbing her. Instead, the marriage knot, represented here by the ring, brings death in the form of another knot and ring - the executioners' cords (IV.ii.210-211).

The wooing scene began with the Duchess making her will, preparing to proclaim the gifts which would be bequeathed at her death. Instead she makes Antonio a gift of herself. Only death will, eventually, allow her to fulfil her bequest when, however, it is not Antonio but her women to whom she leaves her body (IV.ii.235-236). Antonio, himself, has advised her to make such a gift:

I'd have you first provide for a good husband,
Give him all.

DUCH. All?

ANT. Yes, your excellent selfe.

DUCH. In a winding sheete?

ANT. In a cople.

(I.i.439-444)

Antonio's witticism relates the grave and the marriage bed in an unexpected way. The marriage leads not only to a couple of sheets (and the coupling of the Duchess and her steward) but to a couple of winding sheets.

b) The bedchamber scene.

The ceremony in Act I concludes with the lovers leaving the stage to complete the formality of marriage in the marriage bed. In the second act, the fruit of this secret bed is brought to ripeness amid threatening disaster. However, the threat remains strangely paralyzed, and it is not until Act III, after further fruitfulness, that the bedchamber and the danger at last come together. Perhaps the most intimate scene in the play, Act III, scene ii is nonetheless a ceremonial of Love and Death which directly links the marriage sacrament with the sacrificial murder of the Duchess.

The bed is the central property and visual focal point, whether it is thrust out or discovered.²⁰ With this single property, locality is indicated and a complex theme is symbolized (as in The White Devil, IV.ii). As a symbol, the bed is ambivalent. For the Duchess and Antonio, it is the place of family fruitfulness and love, and of Virtue's reward (cf. I.i.504-506 and 567-568). But in the eyes of the rest of her family and of the common people (III.i.29-30), it is a bed of shame. When Ferdinand hears of the fruit of that bed, when his imagination threatens to present her to his mind's eye "in the shamefull act of sinne" (II.v.55), he longs to make of the bed a flaming funeral pyre, dipping "the sheetes they lie in, in pitch or sulphure" (II.v.90), igniting the lovers in a fiery death that reflects his fiery passion.

The scene opens with the gaiety and intimacy which contrast so painfully with the mirthless suspicious world of the brothers. Cariola completes the cast of the Act I marriage scene (that prelude to the bedchamber),

bringing her mistress' casket and glass, two objects suggestive of life's vanities. But the symbolism of these objects is ambiguous, multiple. The casket, received by the Duchess, put down (perhaps on the bed where she sits) and not mentioned again, may in part symbolize Antonio, who has promised to be "the constant Sanctuary" of her good name (I.i.527-528), and whom she has called "the treasury of all [her] secrets" (I.i.575). When Ferdinand's visit has disrupted their peace, the Duchess bids Antonio flee to Ancona where she will send him her treasure and jewels (211-213), possibly indicating the casket. As Bosola cunningly wins her confidence, she makes him her agent, saying:

You shall take charge of all my coyne, and jewels,
And follow [Antonio], for he retires himselfe
To Ancona.

(346-348)

Perhaps the casket, as part of her treasure, actually changes hands here, showing how much she and Antonio are falling into their enemies' power, and partly by their own blind actions.

The looking glass, the second hand property in this scene, gives Antonio the opportunity for his little trick. Engrossed in her reflection, the Duchess does not hear her husband and her maid as they steal from the room to hide, probably behind the arras.²¹ The simple alteration that age and worry have wrought in her presages the gross transformation that her brothers will bring to her life. Gaily she determines that the Court shall imitate her aging:

Doth not the colour of my haire 'gin to change?
When I waxe gray, I shall have all the Court
Powder their haire, with Arras, to be like me[.]

(66-68)

It is a delightful fulfilment of Antonio's earlier advice:

Let all sweet Ladies broake their flattrring Glasses,
And dresse themselves in her.

(I.i.208-209)

Thus, in her one little vanity, the Duchess actually remains more true than the flattering glass - it is the rest of the Court who will deceive, powdering their hair; she

will not deceive and flatter by hiding the grey. Perhaps Webster is taking advantage here of the contradictory symbolism conventionally attached to the looking glass, for the mirror was sometimes an emblematic attribute of Pride and Vainglory, sometimes of Wisdom and of Prudence.²² This paradoxical symbol enhances the ambiguity which surrounds the Duchess; in her case the ambiguity is not that of pride and wisdom, but of innocence and wilful irresponsibility.

Ferdinand's sudden entry is dramatic and ironic. Alone upon the stage, the Duchess prattles on with quiet confidence until, surprised by her husband's silence, she asks if he has lost his tongue (76). Expecting to see the silent object of her love, she turns and finds the equally silent prospect of her death - her brother with his dagger threateningly raised. Without hesitation she rises above the vanity represented by the glass which, perhaps, she still holds:

'Tis welcome: [she says of Ferdinand's poniard]
For know whether I am doomb'd to live, or die,
I can doe both like a Prince.

(77-79)

Facing this first test she proves herself to be the "essentiall thing" (85) - a prince.

The exact moment of Ferdinand's entry is not indicated in the quarto of 1623. Perhaps, after the exit of Antonio and Cariola (65), he is seen briefly on the terrace, "That Gallery" which "gave him entrance" (173). He would then have sufficient time to descend by the offstage stairs, and to enter the lower stage silently before line seventy-six.²³ His brief appearance above would increase the atmosphere of chilling and inevitable disaster which runs as an undercurrent through her peaceful words to Antonio:

You have cause to love me, I entred you into my heart
Before you would vouchsafe to call for the keyes.

(69-70)

The speech is like an ominous cue for Ferdinand's entry with the false key. His entry with the dagger; his rhetorical concern for abstract virtue; his long moral tale of Reputation, Love, and Death; and his insistent

farewells, twice declaring: "I will never see you more" (159; cf. 165) - these factors give to Ferdinand's behaviour, naturalistic in its fearful horror, a strongly symbolic significance. He is an emblem of death. But in playing his symbolic rôle he fails, and exposes his own moral emptiness. On the surface he is a seeming symbol of family revenge, exhorting her to die like a prince. His tale of Reputation is applicable because, strictly speaking, her reputation is not safe, for

The common-rable, do directly say
She is a Strumpet.

(III.i.29-30)

But it is only in appearance that she is a strumpet, and in essence she is that virtue which he seeks (III.ii.81-85). He refuses to hear the answer to his question:

what hideous thing
Is it, that doth ecclipze [virtue]?

(81-82),

the hideous thing being himself, as his own words imply, for he has determined to eclipse the Duchess (II.v.102). His refusal to hear her answer (III.ii.87) culminates in his refusal to see her (virtue, the light) ever again. As he retreats from truth, he creates a visionary world of his own, which can be brought into concrete existence only through a theatrical staging, as in the scenes of her death. The Duchess, after her brother's departure, describes him as "this apparition" (166). He has the unreality of a ghost, an actor, a picture. His appearance here with the dagger hovers over the play like a visual emblem; just as she, laughing in bed with her lover, is a visual emblem of lechery in Ferdinand's fevered mind (II.v.52-55).

The poison of Ferdinand's suspicion remains after his exit. Antonio, re-entering from his hiding place, levels a pistol at Cariola (167-172). Visually, he is a repetition of the threatening and cowardly Ferdinand - cowardly because Antonio, too, turns his weapon against an unarmed woman without hearing first her defence. In Antonio, too, there is a repetition of Ferdinand's paralysis. His over-tardy boast only draws attention to his previous inactivity:

I would this terrible thing would come againe,
That (standing on my Guard) I might relate
My warrantable love:...

(174-176)

Ferdinand's threatening storm is soon realized in the chaos of rapid exits and entries, and the noise, as of some disaster in nature or war:

ANT. How now? who knocks? more Earthquakes?

DUTCH. I stand

As if a Myne, beneath my feete, were ready
To be blowne up.

CAR. 'Tis Bosola:

DTUCH. Away!

(185-190)

Cariola spies Ferdinand's intelligencer, perhaps through the wicket²⁴ of the door by which Ferdinand exited; and as Antonio rushes out by the other door, Bosola enters. The bed, remaining the visual focal point through the ensuing scene of Antonio's disgrace, the Officers' calumny and Bosola's discovery, is a potent symbol. It represents that hidden relationship which the lovers can express only in double entendres. Searching for safety, the innocent victims employ the masquerading habits of their world. The Duchess' feigned pilgrimage to Loretto perverts religious practises to her own use, just as Julia's voyage of devotion has disguised her lust (II.iv.1-7).

c) The ritual banishment.

Webster portrays the result and punishment of this flight in the stylized convention of the dumb show at Loretto. By using this theatrical device, the playwright is able to telescope two ceremonies - the Cardinal's investiture as soldier, and the banishment of the Duchess' family. Further, this ritualization (prelude to the ritualized death in Act IV) lends a chilling reality to the power that opposes the heroine, and gives to her story a more permanent and universal significance - ritual renders the characters larger than their individual selves.

The shrine at Loretto, like the bed, is an ambivalent symbol. The Duchess is using a spiritual sanctuary for her personal purposes, as a shield of the sanctuary of love

and reputation. Antonio has vowed to "remaine the constant Sanctuary / Of [her] good name" (I.i.527-528); and her good name is to be protected by the "Princely progresse" of her feigned pilgrimage (III.ii.357). But the safety of all suppliants at religious sanctuaries is sacred.²⁵ Thus when her brother casts the family, unprotected, from the shrine, his (reportedly) unjust banishment seems particularly damnable. Brother and sister both undergo a transformation and play a new rôle (soldier and pilgrim). The Cardinal's acquisition of military power, yoked with the Duchess' loss of retainers and lands, makes his new official position seem personally threatening to her and her family.

In the scene which prepares for the dumb show, Ferdinand and the Cardinal exit on separate journeys, to separate ceremonies. "You are for Loretto?" Ferdinand asks. "I shall not be at your Ceremony" (III.iii.80-81). Instead he calls for "an hundreth and fifty of our horse" (90), to meet him at the fort-bridge. The threat is gaining power - a soldier's weapons and an armed troop will oppose the solitary victims at the completion of the banishment (III.v.109-110). The Duke is not seen again until he puts his ceremony into performance. In the entertainment which he provides for her death, Ferdinand complements his brother's ceremonial pronouncement of banishment.

Webster does not invent Loretto as the destination for the pilgrimage,²⁶ but he does choose to make it a focal point for this major double scene. By its nature, the dumb show draws attention to appearance. The shrine becomes a backdrop, on which the Pilgrims, as waiting audience, comment. They "have not seen a goodlier Shrine then this", fit setting for the "noble Ceremony" they expect (III.iv. 1; 7). The "Shrine of our Lady of Loretto" (sig. H^v) was a popular centre for pilgrimages. Pictorial representations of the shrine almost invariably include the (black) Madonna and Child which was its main imago. Often they show also the model of a building, representing the Holy House of Mary at Nazareth, which was believed to have been miraculously transported to Loretto in the thirteenth

century²⁷ (see figure 13). There is no means of proving that the Blackfriars theatre attempted any authentic reconstruction of the shrine. However, Loretto was sufficiently popular for its main features to be familiar, at least in second hand descriptions, to many in Webster's audience. As there had to be some property representing the shrine, and as the stage direction specifically mentions Our Lady, it is probable that a Virgin and Child image would have been presented, possibly upon an altar. This holy image of Mother and Child would be poignantly appropriate. At the shrine, the Duchess is seen as a mother, shown for the first time with her children; and with her children she is banished from this sanctuary over which the Madonna and Child preside:

...Antonio, the Duche~~s~~^se, and
their Children, (having pre~~s~~^sented them~~sel~~^{ves} at the Shrine)
are (by a forme of Bani~~sh~~^{sh}ment in dumbe~~-~~⁻shew,...)
bani~~sh~~^{sh}ed:...

(sig. H^v)

The flying house from Nazareth (which may conceivably be portrayed in the stage shrine) may be meant to evoke vague memories of an earlier threat from Ferdinand, when he wishes he were a tempest, that he might "tosse her pallace 'bout her eares" (II.v.26). The threat, and the miraculous event hallowed at the shrine, will be evoked in an architectural image with which the Duchess meets her death, telling her killers:

Pull, and pull strongly, for your able strength,
Must pull downe heaven upon me:...

(IV.ii.237-238)

For her, heaven is a physical structure, "heaven gates" having lower arches than have "Princes pallaces" (239-240).

Onto the stage with its shrine and Pilgrims sweeps a stately procession. It is the 'progress' of a spiritual prince with his retinue of churchmen. Secular authority is given to the scene because we know that the Emperor has ordered the investiture as soldier (III.iii.2-4). When the Duchess and her family enter, their "Princely progress" and "usuall traine" (III.ii.357-358) have shrunk and are vanquished by her brother prince. Probably she and her family, like the scene's two observers, wear pilgrims' garments (see figure 14),²⁸ thus reminding the audience that this is a "faigned Pilgrimage" (III.ii.366), and at



Figure 13. The Madonna of Loretto. Italian, c. 1495. As described in W.L. Schreiber, Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts, vol. II (Leipzig, 1926), p. 142 no. 1102. Reproduced by kind permission of the Warburg Institute.



Figure 14. Pilgrims. Woodcut, by Hans Burgkmaier, 1508. Reproduced from John Grand-Carteret, L'Histoire, La Vie, Les Moeurs et La Curiosité, vol. II (Paris, 1927), p. 205 fig. 184.

the same time accentuating the unjust banishment from a sanctuary.

The Cardinal's transformation from spiritual man to physical man (complemented later by Ferdinand's change from rational being to brute) is portrayed (as in the medieval theatre) by a change of clothing.²⁹ His change is officially, not personally, inspired. "Must we turne Souldier then?" he had asked Malateste, who replied:

The Emperour,
Hearing your worth that way, (ere you attain'd
This reverend garment,) joynes you in commission
With... [Pescara and Lanoy].

(III.iii.1-6)

But, although inspired from without, the transformation reflects the Cardinal's inner being, as the Emperor's information reveals. Rumours of the Cardinal's physical prowess and pleasures had reached Delio:

they say [the Cardinal]'s a brave fellow,
Will play his five thousand crownes, at Tennis, Daunce,
Court Ladies, and one that hath fought single Combats.

(I.i.154-156)

Cross, hat, robes and ring - symbols of his spiritual rôle - are taken from him; but he is not, as Antonio and the Duchess will be, left stripped to his essential self. His new physical rôle is placed upon him by the donning of the sword, helmet, shield and spurs. The cross, symbol of Christ's suffering, and of spiritual salvation, is replaced by the sword, capable of inflicting suffering and of attaining physical salvation. The sword is an extension of the weapon flourished by Ferdinand. The Cardinal's sword, given by the Emperor and sanctioned by the Pope, becomes an instrument of the Duchess' banishment. The cross which he puts from him becomes her cross, as she becomes, increasingly, a victim of injustice and a Christian sacrifice before the shrine. In taking the sword, the Cardinal has accepted his own ultimate destruction. As his life draws to its final test, he sees, in the fishpond, "a thing, arm'd with a Rake / That seems to strike at [him]" (V.v.5-7). It is his own reflection, an armed devil, turning back upon himself.³⁰ Bosola and Antonio have long been aware of the Cardinal's

devilish nature (I.i.46-48; 188-190); Ferdinand, administering the death wound, madly suspects it (V.v.68-70). Even Bosola in the final scene, sword in hand and arm raised to strike, is but a reflection of the Cardinal, the thing in the fishpond; for Bosola has been created by the Cardinal, given power of the sword and opportunity in the locked doors; given sanction to perform his vengeance as the Pope has sanctioned the Cardinal.

The hat, replaced by the helmet, recalls the Duchess' word play concerning Antonio's hat (II.i.121-133). In each case the hat represents a rôle. Antonio, his hat politely doffed, keeps up the pretense of being only a subject of the Duchess; and it is the resigning of the hat alone by which the Second Pilgrim characterizes the Cardinal's divestiture (III.iv.3-4). The removal of the scarlet robes reveals the courtly warrior beneath, and suggests that the Cardinal has been a venial man always, for his spiritual robes have been merely a covering. The shield is the shield of dissimulation, behind which the Cardinal constantly hides (I.i.235-238; V.ii.106-108). As the hat reveals Antonio, so the robes recall the Duchess, who tried, unsuccessfully, to hide her pregnancy in the loose-bodied gown (II.i.163-166), and who seems, to the Cardinal, to hide in the "riding hood" of religion (III.iii.72-73).

The ring becomes the most significant of the divested objects, because of the parallel action in the second ritual of the dumb show. Having relinquished the ring which wed him to the church, the Cardinal then rips the wedding ring from his sister's finger. To leave no doubt about this gesture, Webster makes the Pilgrims explain it after the ceremony:

What was it, with such violence he tooke
Of[f] from her finger?

2.PIL. 'Twas her wedding ring,
Which he vow'd shortly he would sacrifice
To his revenge.

(III.iv.39-43)

The double ritual at the shrine is charged with those paradoxes of appearance and reality that suffuse the play's world. The installation closely resembles the honourable entry into knighthood, in which the candidate

is ceremoniously given his armour and spurs.³¹ But in the Pilgrims' choric utterances after the ceremony, this knight's first vow is exposed as black injustice. Because the two observers genuinely are pilgrims, representing sincere religion in the face of pretended pilgrimages, and because they are impartial, they claim our attention as trustworthy spokesmen. They see the Cardinal, not as an agent carrying out the Pope's orders, but as a powerful manipulator, using religion as his sanction, much as he has seen his sister use it as her "riding hood". The Second Pilgrim explains that the Pope has seized the Duchess' lands because of her 'loosenesse' (33-35). The First Pilgrim asks him:

But by what justice?

2. PILG. Sure I thinke by none,
Only her brothers instigation.

(36-38)

Thus, the Cardinal is making of his sister a sacrifice on the altar of revenge, symbolized by this altar at Loretto which he, by his perversion of religion, has defamed. When the Duchess and her family reach the shrine as suppliants, it has been robbed of its spiritual protector and is guarded by a warlike general.

The intimate scene of the banished family which follows, contrasts painfully with the Cardinal's strength in the dumb show. The Everyman pilgrimage is nearing its end with a sense of things falling away: with her retinue diminished and her lands gone, their thoughts turn towards tears and death. To them Bosola enters in haste, bearing Ferdinand's splendidly politic letter. The letter, asking for Antonio's head and heart (III.v.37; 44), urges forward the dismemberment of Antonio which was begun by the Duchess, suspecting the loss of his tongue (III.ii.76); continued in the loss of his chain of office (in III.ii he loses the office; presumably in III.iv he appears without the insignia); and to be completed in the trick of the hand and wax bodies (IV.i). The violent theft of the wedding ring, sundering that ring which bound them together in each other's arms, is now realized visually as the family is separated, and Antonio and the eldest son

"flye towards Millaine" (III.v.70).

The Duchess and Antonio are becoming transformed into lifeless things. She tells him that his speech

Came from a dying father: yourkisse is colder
Then that I have seene an holy Anchorite
Give to a dead mans skull.

ANT. My heart is turnde to a heavy lumpe of lead,
With which I sound my danger: fare you well. Exit.

DUCH. My Laurell is all withered. [with son.]

(103-108; sig. H4)

Ironically, Antonio who loved her with body and soul (III.ii.248) has become like her first husband, covered with the lead of his tomb. She will soon have cause to be an alabaster weeper at her second husband's monument (the wax body). The laurel of victory is withered, perhaps suggesting the image of a funeral wreath.

Bosola, re-entering with "a troope of armed men" (109), has completed his transformation into a seeming devil: "What Divell art thou, that counterfeits heavens thunder?" (116) asks the Duchess. She calls his face, like his actions, 'counterfeit' (142). Probably she refers not only to hypocrisy, but also to a face mask, for certainly his soldiers are vizarded (sig. H2^V). The silent, faceless, but physically threatening guard look forward to the silent, hooded executioners. The Duchess is "arm'd 'gainst misery" (167), her lonely courage contrasting with the physical advantage of her armed escort.

d) The masque of death.

The whole of the fourth act takes place in the Duchess' palace-prison at Amalfi. The realistic setting is important, showing the circular nature of her story.³² But the stage locality is also theatrical and supernatural. Theatrically, the stage is a setting for a play devised by Ferdinand, with actors, presenters, properties and action supplied by him. Even Bosola's multiple rôle is determined by the Duke, and conflicts slightly with his own inclinations. Composed of marriage masque and execution, Ferdinand's entertainment is the sinister but logical fulfilment of his early warning that secret marriages

may more properly be said
To be executed, then celibrated.

(I.i.358-359)

Supernaturally, the stage setting for this act is, like a Morality play scene, the allegoric battleground on which the human soul fights the last fight. The physical prison is but an extension of the body as the soul's prison. Here Webster makes use (in a way adapted to his sophisticated drama) of several Morality play conventions. The Duchess, like the Everyman hero, has been stripped of support: lands, family, retainers; she is presented with a grievous trial; and is prepared for death by the Contemptus mundi of the Old Man.

These three dimensions of stage locality - realistic, theatrical and supernatural - are simultaneously important in the stylized ceremony of her death. The ritual begins with the presentation of a hand and ring. Ferdinand, abiding by his vow never to see his sister again, comes in the dark to sacrifice Antonio's hand (or rather, the Duchess' sanity) to his revenge. Ferdinand's action, like his brother's vow of revenge, includes a marriage ring. Like the dumb show at Loretto with the Pilgrims' comments, the hand scene involves both verbal description and stage action. The repetition provided by the Pilgrims' words adds a judgement upon the visual action; the repetition provided by Ferdinand's action makes concrete the verbal prelude, but with a horrifying difference. Bosola is the presenter:

Your elder brother the Lord Ferdinand
Is come to visite you:...

. . .

And prays you (gently) neither Torch, nor Taper
Shine in your Chamber: he will kiss your hand:
And reconcile himself: but, for his vowe,
He dares not see you.

(IV.i.25-32)

A considerable degree of darkness is necessary during the giving of the false hand. When the Duchess orders: "Take hence the lights" (34), the servants must carry their torches offstage, leaving the Duchess and Ferdinand (and Cariola) in the relative darkness that the roofed Blackfriars, able to exclude natural light, could thus create.

It is difficult to visualize how the Globe theatre managed the hand scene. Perhaps we may imagine Ferdinand enveloped in a large riding cloak (the Duchess fears he is not well after his 'travell', l. 62) which can be used to mask much of the action from the audience. Although there is no stage direction to the effect, Bosola probably moves offstage with the lights. Acting openly as Ferdinand's agent, he could hurry the servants away with naturalness, foreshadowing his removal of the light (of life) when he effects her eclipse.

Ferdinand's trick with the dead man's hand is not merely a macabre surprise to intensify the horror of this torture chamber, for the hand and ring are motifs recurring throughout the play, from the giving of the hand and ring in marriage, to this severing of their united hands and the giving of the ring of death (the cord). The trick is no sooner revealed than the second spectacle of Antonio's apparently dead body is shown. By piling the horrors together, without respite, Ferdinand reduces the Duchess to an excess of hysterical despair in which she longs to bleed (132); ironically she desires the purge which Ferdinand has threatened (II.v.35-36).

The second scene of Act IV is a complex ritual, in which Webster has combined several ceremonies: a wedding masque from which the bridal guest is led to the bed of death; an execution concluding the last night of a condemned prisoner; and a Psychomachia in which the soul is freed from the flesh. The Protean symbolic rôle played by Bosola unites these three ceremonies or conventions. The Old Man is a broad and pervasive symbol. Dr. Bradbrook describes him as a symbol of Time and the decay of the temporal.³³ And certainly, like Time with his scythe, Bosola as the Old Man is a herald of death, presenting the cord and coffin, and introducing the Executioners. It would be suitable for Bosola's disguise to suggest a timeless non-particularity. He is not one but several generalized personifications. As he is not recognized by the Duchess, perhaps he is vizarded as he was (probably) in Act III, scene v. Age may be suggested by a long grey wig and beard. Probably his own costume is conveniently

hidden beneath a long gown, a garment associated with age and with men of unworldliness and sobriety.³⁴ As he plays a bellman, he may wear a costume similar to that shown on the titlepage of Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light (1608), which shows the bellman in a long gown, with his bell, and also a lantern - a property used elsewhere by Bosola (see figure 15).

The marriage masque, and Bosola's rôle in it, has received detailed critical examination. Webster's exploitation of the masque convention is shown by Inga-Stina Ekeblad to be consistent, employing all the main features, such as the presenter, dance, revels, "taking out" of members of the audience by masquers, presentation of gifts to a guest, and a song.³⁵ I will not reiterate her able discussion.

The Duchess, as chief guest, begins the scene as an audience. This change calms and distances her after the frightful curses of the preceding scene. From her audience position she is eventually "taken out" to act her final scene, thus her death becomes the climax of a skilfully organized play-within-the-play. Perhaps the Duchess sits on her chair of state, with Cariola on the ground at her side, for the prison is her own palace, and Bosola calls it her "last presence Chamber" (170). Such a staging would have the advantage of recalling the first act's presence chamber before the disastrous marriage; and of enforcing the irony of her situation now with the empty title of 'Duchess', a prisoner in her own land. The Duchess' question, "This is a prison?" (13), suggests a strangeness in familiarity. If the chair of state were on a raised dais, she would be physically above the masquers (therefore easily a visual focus), and forced to come down from her noble height when being humbled before death.

Paradoxically, the masque does lead to a type of fulfilment of the marriage. In death, she believes that she goes to her lover, expecting

to meete such excellent company
In th'other world.

(217-218)

The subject matter of this masque is death, and

LANTHORNE and Candle-light.

Or
The Bell-mans second Nights walke.

In which

Hee brings to light, a Broode of more strange Villanies,
then euer were till this yeare discovered.

--Decet nouisse malum, fecisse, nefandum.



LONDON

Printed for *John Busbie*, and are to be sold at his shop in
Fleet-street, in Saint Dunstons Church-yard.

1608.

Figure 15. The London bellman. Titlepage to Thomas Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light (London, 1608). Reproduced from Thomas Dekker, ed. E.D. Pendry, The Stratford-upon-Avon Library 4 (London, 1967), p. 171.

more specifically, execution. In The White Devil, Vittoria and Flamineo, by their own words, make their death resemble an execution.³⁶ In The Duchess of Malfi, Webster creates a formal procedure which, in many points, resembles the formalities of an official execution. The Duchess' lodging is termed a prison (ii.13); her killers are named executioners (211); and Bosola calls himself

the common Bell-man,
That usually is sent to condemn'd persons
The night before they suffer[.]

(173-175)

From 1605, such a bellman passed outside the cells of condemned Newgate prisoners, and with reminders of mortality attempted to prepare the criminal's soul for approaching death.³⁷ Thus, the marriage epithalamium of Bosola's masque, in which he bids the 'bride' to "Strew [her] haire, with powders sweete" (192), is also the bellman's dirge. The completion of his recitation, attended with strokes of his bell, marks a decisive moment in time:

'Tis now full tide, 'tweene night, and day,
End your groane, and come away.

(196-197)

The prisoner's last night is ending, and the morning of execution approaches. Bosola ceases to be the bellman and is elevated to a position of command. "What death?" asks the Duchess, and he replies:

Strangling, here are your Executioners.

(210-211)

The Executioners are impassive instruments of 'justice', performing a duty. The only comments they make before strangling the Duchess are curt, impersonal indications of preparedness:

EXEC. We are ready.

DUCH. Dispose my breath, how please you, but my body
Bestow upon my women, will you? EXEC. Yes.

(234-236)

As they are overtly called Executioners they are probably appropriately dressed, their heads hooded in black.³⁸ That the Duchess' behaviour shows certain features which would be expected at the execution of a noble victim can

be detected by a comparison with, for example, the much-discussed death of the Earl of Essex in 1601. Her beautiful passage beginning "What would it pleasure me, to have my throate cut / With diamonds" (222 ff.) is, in effect, her last speech from the scaffold, rhetorically stylized. She is permitted leisure to speak, with no attempt made to hurry on the death. Like Essex, she forgives her executioners, recognizing them as impersonal agents of death:

BOS. here are your Executioners.
 DUCH. I forgive them:
 The apoplexie, cathar, or cough o'th'loongs,
 Would do as much as they do.

(211-214)

Perhaps, when Bosola presents them, they kneel to inspire this forgiveness, as in the death of Essex:

the executioner on his knees presented himselfe,
 asking him forgiveness: to whom the Earle sayd,
 "I forgive thee; thou art welcome unto me; thou
 art the minister of justice." 39

Like Essex, she welcomes death (229-231) and turns her thoughts to heaven (237-241). Both victims kneel humbly without any urging from their killers, and apostrophize the unseen. The Duchess says,

heaven gates are not so highly arch'd
 As Princes pallaces - they that enter there
 Must go upon their knees: Come violent death,
 Serve for Mandragora, to make me sleepe

(239-242);

while Essex,

presenting himselfe before the blocke, kneeling
 downe...with eyes fixed on heaven...beganne his
 prayer in effect following: "O God,...send thy⁴⁰
 blessed angels, which may receive my soule,..."

The Duchess and Essex determine the tempo of their execution, giving the order for the death stroke.

The justice of the execution, like the justice of the banishment, is only questioned after the action is completed. Bosola, during the ritual, does not use the word 'murder'. He veils the obvious intention in euphemisms of sickness (119-120); last gift (164-166); tombs (passim); and execution (211). When the formality of death is (apparently) completed, Bosola thrusts the ugly word in

his master's face:

Murther shriekes out:
The Element of water moistens the Earth,
But blood flies upwards, and bedewes the Heavens.

(278-280)

Ferdinand, tortured by the sight of her dead body, rips away the pretense of a just execution:

By what authority did'st thou execute
This bloody sentence? BOS. By yours -
FERD. Mine? was I her Judge?
Did any ceremoniall forme of Law,
Doombe her to not-Being? did a compleat Jury
Deliver her conviction up i'th Court?

(320-325)

This theme of formal justice continues through the final act of retribution.⁴¹ Bosola attempts to arm himself with the sword of Justice (V.ii.379-380). But Justice has been so perverted to serve the ends of evil (as he elsewhere realizes, cf. IV.ii.329-330, and V.v.52-54) that in his hands it becomes undirected violence.

In this masque of execution, Bosola plays the rôle of a mortifier. The rôle is consistent with the masque's subject, for the Newgate bellman's duty is to bring the condemned prisoner to a consideration of sin and earthly vanity. The criminal, like the masque guest, is both audience and actor, for he is "led out", after hearing the bellman's song, to die. But Bosola's rôle as mortifier is more pervasive than that of the bellman (who would not present the coffin and cords or direct the execution). It is this aspect of the Old Man-Tombmaker-Bellman that involves the third (but not independent) convention of the scene, making of the masque a Morality Play, and more specifically a Summons of Death.⁴² With his memento mori and symbolic properties, this Herald of Death exposes the decay inherent in life. "Who am I?" asks the Duchess.

BOS. Thou art a box of worme-seede, at best, but a
of greene mummy: what's this flesh? a little
phantasticall puffed-paste:...

(122-125)

Bosola's rôle is powerfully ambivalent. On the one hand he is a devil, ritually preparing her body as a sacrifice

at the brothers' impious altar of revenge, and giving the command for murder. On the other hand he is a true priest, ritually preparing her soul for salvation. The intentions of Ferdinand and his servant diverge. Ferdinand wishes to bring his sister to despair (IV.i.140), and in Act IV, scene i he seems to have succeeded. Cursing the stars, cursing the very world. "To its first Chaos" (119), she is plunged deep in despair, that deadliest sin which is a denial of faith in God's goodness.⁴³ A dark prison enfolds her soul as well as her body. Bosola, explaining the purpose of his behaviour, does not exactly repeat his master's words. "To bring her to despaire" (i.140) becomes, in Bosola's words, "'Twas to bring you / By degrees to mortification" (ii.178-179). Although dressed as the Old Man, Bosola's rôle resembles that of the Dance of Death skeletons, who lead their victims from seeming health to death:⁴⁴

BOS. I am come to make thy tombe.

DUCH. Hah, my tombe?

Thou speak'st, as if I lay upon my death bed,
Gasping for breath: do'st thou perceive me sicke?

BOS. Yes, and the more dangerously since thy
sickness is

insensible.

(115-120)

This Summons of Death involves that other prevalent medieval theme - the Psychomachia. A battle for the salvation or damnation of the Duchess' soul is fought in Act IV, as a battle is fought for Brachiano's soul in The White Devil (V.iii). But, although the Duchess believes confidently in a Christian hereafter, we are made (by the mixture of conventions in this act) less concerned with her narrowly Christian salvation than with that grandeur and integrity of selfhood which is so obvious in Webster's other great heroic characters. Her proud words - "Am not I, thy Duchesse?" (ii.132), and "I am Duchesse of Malfy still" (139) - are ironic, for her title has been stripped of all its power. But she is Duchess of Malfi still, true to herself, a prince and able to die like one (cf. III.ii. 78-79).

Like the Ghost of Brachiano, who forewarns Flamineo with the skull and earth (White Devil, V.iv.129-130),

Bosola presents and draws attention to the coffin and cords, reminding her of death in life, for these objects represent her 'insensible' sickness. Preparing her body for its bed of sickness, he bids her don her shroud (183).

Webster is not, like the medieval writer, concerned primarily to remind his audience of Death. He uses the Morality theme to make of her a martyr. Her death by strangulation necessarily recalls the Madman's song when the choir, "want[ing] breath", will die like swans (73-76). In medieval animal symbolism, the swan represents Patience or Christian Resignation, because it sings with its dying breath like a martyr. The wolf, in similar symbolism, represents the devil, stealing the sheep of Christ.⁴⁵ Ferdinand is soon to become the wolf in his mad lycanthropia (V.ii). The altar of the Cardinal's revenge, on which she is sacrificed, is located at Loretto, sacred to the Madonna and Child; when she is dying, Bosola imagines her offering the Madonna's gift of misericordia (373-375).

In her courage, the Duchess achieves a personal glory. Turning to her killers, she says:

Pull, and pull strongly, for your able strength,
Must pull downe heaven upon me:
Yet stay, heaven gates are not so highly arch'd
As Princes pallaces - they that enter there
Must go upon their knees:...

(237-241)

Her architectural image of heaven suggests a picture of the blind Samson who, in pulling down the theatre at Gaza, pulls death upon his enemies as well as upon himself;⁴⁶ thus her death fulfils Ferdinand's earlier threats to "tosse her pallace 'bout her eares" (II.v.26), and to "fix her in a generall eclipse" (II.v.102). The fifth act completes the crash and eclipse. As she kneels, a visual recollection of the first act marriage, her image is poignant. There she had told the kneeling Antonio:

Sir,
This goodly roofe of yours, is too low built,
I cannot stand upright in't, nor discourse,
Without I raise it higher:...

(I.1.478-481)

In the succeeding tragedy she fails to raise him, and must herself kneel down beneath the low arches of "heaven gates".

But she is brought low in order to rise to heaven.

II. Art and life. .

The Duchess, kneeling, is the climax of an interwoven sequence of images from art to life to monuments to death. In her first appearance in the play, she is not shown in naturalistic dialogue, but as a miming figure. Antonio's verbal portrait, although heartfelt, begins and ends with a work of art. After describing Ferdinand and the Cardinal, he continues:

But for their sister, (the right noble Duchesse)
You never fix'd you[r] eye on three faire Meddalls,
Cast in one figure, of so different temper:...

(I.1.191-193)

Admirably expressing the interrelationship and dissimilarity between the Duchess and her brothers, the image of the medals is also suited to the ensuing action. For the Renaissance, such medals, bearing the head of a victor or prince, celebrate some exalted occasion of honour or triumph, not infrequently a wedding.⁴⁷ It is perhaps not fanciful to recall that one of the favourite Renaissance motifs on the reverse of the portrait medals is that of the Three Graces (see figure 16).⁴⁸ Of these three entwined figures, one moves in an opposite direction from the other two. In the case of the brothers and their sister, entwined by the ties of blood, the contrasted movement is one of moral direction - two move towards evil, one towards virtue. Like coins, which medals resemble, they may be of imperfect composition. Yoking honour and debasement, the medals look forward to the gold coins that Bosola receives from Ferdinand. The Duchess, Antonio tells us, stains the past and lights the future. But the past, stained, has arisen in Bosola. His past actions have included murder, and it is strongly hinted (I.1.70-72) that this murder was performed in the service of her brother, the Cardinal. Shortly, Bosola's service is to be renewed, pledged to the future with a gift of coins which, like the three medals, are of different 'tempers' depending upon their use, for they may be devils or angels:



Figure 16. Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni, c. 1486, with the Three Graces on the reverse. Reproduced from Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, 2nd edn. reprinted (London, 1968), pls. 12-13.

BOS. Take your Divels
Which Hell calls Angels: these curs'd gifts would make
You a corrupter, me an impudent traitor[.]

(285-287; and cf. 295-297)

When Delio complains that his friend's description of the Duchess is over-long, Antonio replies, "I'll case the picture up" (212). He is completing the work of art, putting a picture frame about her. But she is not a work of art. As a woman in love she appears before the audience, stripped of all formality. To her cautious lover she cries:

This is flesh, and blood, (Sir,)
'Tis not the figure cut in Allablaster [sic]
Kneeles at my husbands tombe:... 49

(I.i.519-521)

She is not a cold, artificial creation (ominously associated with death, see figure 17); she chooses warm life, the passions of the blood. Her body and her blood act as powerful images in the mind and sight of Ferdinand.

As disaster begins to overtake Antonio and the Duchess, Bosola foretells the change which will be enforced upon them, transforming them into lifeless works of art. Poets, he says, will honour "this trophee of a man" (Antonio; III.ii.335), and praise the Duchess in her grave (337) for having rewarded a man of merit. She takes comfort from his thoughts, but Bosola's words are only another version of the transformation of Antonio that will be hidden in the equivocation of Ferdinand's letter. The Duke wants Antonio's "head in a busines" (III.v.37), and would "rather have his heart, then his mony" (44). This dismemberment is given visual fulfilment in the presentation of the dead man's hand. Unwittingly, Antonio, in his stoic departure from his wife, accepts a dismemberment of his family:

Since we must part,
Heaven hath a hand in't: but no otherwise,
Then as some curious Artist takes in sunder
A Clocke, or Watch, when it is out of frame
To bring't in better order.

(III.v.74-78)

Ferdinand, the "curious Artist", does not re-unite that which he sunders.



Figure 17. Kneeling tomb weepers (cf. The Duchess of Malfi, I.i.520-521). Monument of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, Westminster Abbey. Photograph by courtesy of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), Crown Copyright.

In the bedchamber scene, the casket which Cariola gives the Duchess is itself an object of art and a receptacle for precious objects. While it lies upon the bed, Ferdinand enters with his threats. Sorrowfully she asks:

Why should onely I,
Of all the other Princes of the World
Be cas'de-up, like a holy Relique?

(III.ii.160-162)

Relics, being the material remains of saints, foretell both death and martyrdom. Relics are "cased up" in reliquaries, which may take the form of a casket.⁵⁰

Ferdinand, with his threats, has done that which Antonio and the Duchess have done in their innocence. Antonio "cased up" the picture of the Duchess (I.i.212); and the Duchess enclosed them both within the circle of her arms (I.i.537-538). The protective circumference of her embrace is here recalled in Ferdinand's warning that if she wishes her husband - her 'Leacher' - to live on in her 'Embracements' (III.ii.117-118), she should build

Such a roome for him, as our Anchorites
To holier use enhabite: Let not the Sunne
Shine on him, till he's dead:...

(119-121)

The prison in Act IV is both a fulfilment and a travesty of this paradoxical desire to imprison and to preserve.

In that prison, the Duchess is described in terms of a work of art. To her question, "who do I looke like now?" Cariola answers:

Like to your picture in the gallery,
A deale of life in shew, but none in practise:
Or rather like some reverend monument
Whose ruines are even pittied.

(IV.ii.32-36)

Like the wax figures, her monument precedes her death; the ruined monument foreshadows the ruined churchyard where the Echo speaks for her from beyond the grave (V.iii). There is a persistent emphasis upon monuments in this play. Antonio and Ferdinand both feel a tomblike lead folded over their heart. Ferdinand tells his sister that she has

ta'ne that massiy sheete of lead
That hid [her] husbands bones, and foulded it
About [his] heart.

(III.ii.131-133);

and Antonio feels that his "heart is turnde to a heavy lumpe of lead" (III.v.106).

In Act IV, Ferdinand presents his ceremony of death, beginning with the gift of the dead man's hand. As the torchbearers rush forward, revealing the hideous property, a further spectacle follows at once:

DUTCH. Hah? lights: oh horrible!

FERD. Let her have lights enough. Exit. [Re-enter Servants with lights.]

DUTCH. What witch-craft doth he practise, that he hath left
A dead-mans hand here? --- Here is di/couer'd, (behind a
Trauers;) the artificiall figures of Antonio,
and his children; appearing as if they were dead.

(1.63-66; sig. I^v)

To the audience, as to the Duchess, the wax figures are veritable corpses. And yet, this presentation is highly stylized. Even while the bodies are believed to be real they become works of art, because part of a tableau. The curtain drawn to reveal them in the discovery space resembles the curtain drawn to display a painted portrait, such as that of Brachiano in The White Devil's first dumb show (II.ii). The Duchess, despite all the heated horror of her despair, does not rush into the picture plane to embrace "that liveles truncke" (79), but remains distanced, seeing it as a 'property' (76). She recognizes the theatricality of her situation, saying:

I account this world a tedious Theatre,
For I doe play a part in't 'gainst my will.

(99-100)

That the tableau is a ritual to lead her to despair (cf. 139-140), and does not pretend to be a naturalistic scene, can be detected in Bosola's rôle and words as he opens the curtain:

Looke you: here's the peece, from which 'twas ta'ne;
[Ferdinand] doth present you this sad spectacle].

(67-68; italics added)

The Duchess' half-conscious insight into the purpose of this ceremony can only be appreciated by the audience when they learn that the bodies are of wax. This sight of the bodies (or, probably she speaks only of Antonio's body), says the Duchess,

wastes me more,
 Then were't my picture, fashion'd out of wax,
 Stucke with a magicall needle, and then buried
 In some fowle dung-hill:...

(73-76)

In these words, and in her suspicion of her brother's witchcraft (65-66), the Duchess comes ironically close to the truth, for Ferdinand does attempt to 'waste' her with figures fashioned of wax.

As the Duchess exits, cursing creation into its first Chaos (115-119), Ferdinand steps onstage in quiet contrast, to revel in his "cruell lie" (163).

Excellent; as I would wish: she's plagu'd in Art.
 These presentations are but fram'd in wax,
 By the curious Master in the Qualitie,
Vincentio Lauriola,...

(134-137)

The artificiality of presentation has prepared for this laconic diabolism and the detailed interest in the artistic creations. To Webster's audience, such wax bodies were familiar sights of a very specific nature, for they were, usually, funerary objects. Wax effigies of the great and noble, reclining on the coffin lid and dressed in the garments of life, were borne through the streets of London, and took up their place as curiosities in Westminster Abbey (see figure 18).⁵¹ Thus, Ferdinand's trick involves an object of art which would, at once, awaken certain associations for the audience. The wax figures are ominous - they are representatives of the dead, both in Ferdinand's deception, and in their usual, non-theatrical existence. They are Antonio's monument, prematurely displayed and mourned; and he will be laid out as they presage (V.v.47-50). For the sake of visibility, it is probable that the bodies in the discovery space would be laid, not on the stage, but upon a day-bed or other raised property, perhaps even upon a coffin. (A coffin is necessary to the play's furnishings in the next scene, sig. K^v.) It would not seem altogether strange to a Jacobean audience to see the memorial precede the death of Antonio. Wealthy citizens and gentry sometimes left nothing to the devotion and artistic tastes of their descendants, but instead sat in church for years beneath their own tomb, awaiting only its

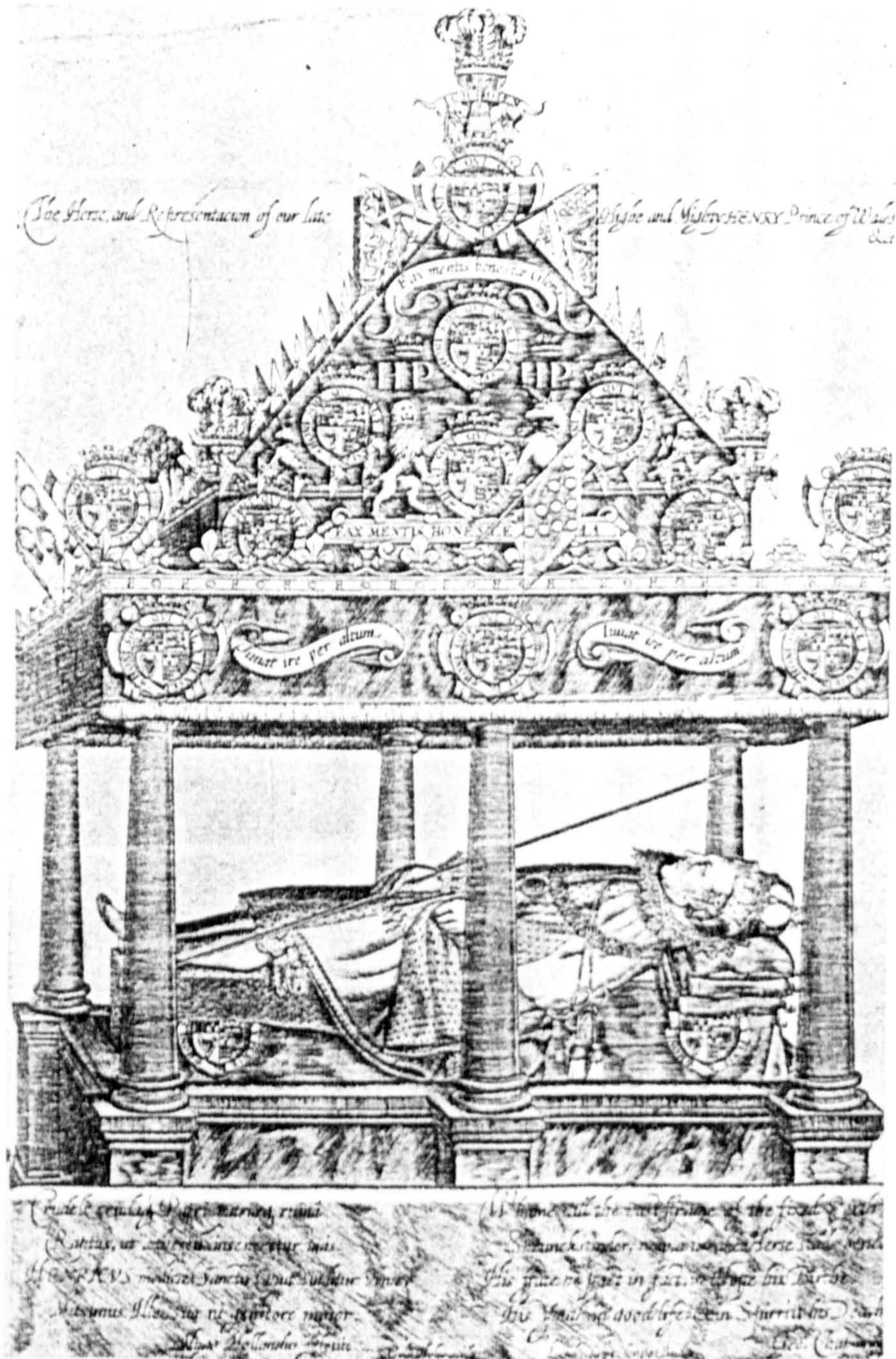


Figure 18. Prince Henry's hearse, with a figure (possibly wax) representing the dead prince, which was drawn through the streets of London in 1612 (see below, p. 191 n.51). Reproduced from Arthur M. Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, Pt. II (Cambridge, 1955), pl. 200.

final inscription.⁵² Antonio's wax figure, formally laid out and displayed, contrasts with his eventual death scene when, levelled in the rushes without ceremony, he is gone "In a mynut" (V.iv.53), slain "In a mist" (V.v.118), by "Such a mistake, as [is] often seene / In a play" (119-120). His real death has a pathos which is denied in the stylization of Ferdinand's trick.

Even in tombs there is vanity. "[D]o we grow phantastically in our death-bed?" (IV.ii.151) asks the Duchess, and Bosola confirms that we do:

Princes images on their tombes
Do not lie, as they were wont, seeming to pray
Up to heaven: but with their hands under their cheekes,
(As if they died of the tooth-ache)...

(153-156)

It is a delightful image, revealing Webster's quick eye (see figure 19). Elizabethan and Jacobean tombs are highly theatrical, a great many of the large ones having the effect of a theatrical tableau, with the effigy, kneeling family, and even scenic representations of events, framed in a niche, often between columns.⁵³ The portrait of Sir Henry Unton (c. 1596), which records his whole life as a form of journey, passing as over a stage or along a pageant route, portrays his tomb - with his effigy in the 'toothache' pose, his wife as a kneeling weeper, and the whole within an architectural tomb alcove.⁵⁴ The idea of a tomb as a work of art to be displayed is given a comic dimension during the Duchess' death scene when one of the Madmen speaks of

a snuffling knave, that while he shewes the
tombes, will have his hand in a wench's placket.

(IV.ii.102-103)

The vanity of tombs casts doubt upon their value. They, like life, are pompous and hypocritical. Bosola, as satirist, shows that both tomb sculpture and face painting seek to hide the truth (which in each case is decay; cf. IV.ii.153-159 and II.i.22-41). The death-in-life which Bosola describes to the Duchess - "Thou art a box of worme-seede" (IV.ii.123-131) - is complemented by his picture of the tomb, which continues the vanity of life into death. When the Duchess kneels to die, she transcends



Figure 19. The 'toothache' pose in tomb effigies (cf. The Duchess of Malfi, IV.ii.153-159). Tomb of Sir Philip and Sir Thomas Hoby, Bisham, Berkshire. Photograph by courtesy of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), National Monuments Record, Crown Copyright.

both the hypocrisy and the lifelessness that can belong to art. She accepts crude slaughter by the cord, not death beautified with diamonds, cassia or pearls (221-224). She kneels like the alabaster figure, but she can suffer where it cannot, and she can, therefore, be enobled.⁵⁵ Kneeling, she becomes her own monument, worthy of Delio's final platitude:

"Integrity of life, is fames best friend,
Which noblely (beyond Death) shall crowne the end.

(V.v.145-146)

After her death, the art-life theme is continued. Lying before her murderers she resembles the wax bodies presented by her brother, for she is pale (cf. IV.ii.370). In all his earlier impassioned plans for torture, Ferdinand had always envisaged her blood: he longs to rip up her heart and make of it a sponge (II.v.20-22); to 'purge' her blood (35-36); to hew her into pieces (41-42). "'Tis not your whores milke, that shall quench my wild-fire," he cries, "But your whores blood" (63-64). But her blood is not spilt, and her pale body, appearing as it did in life, drives him mad.

In Act V, Webster again, and touchingly, reveals the vanity of monuments. As Antonio and Delio walk through the cloisters of a ruined abbey, Antonio descants upon the broken, time-worn remains where

some men lye Enterr'd
Lov'd the Church so well, and gave so largely to't,
They thought it should have canopide their Bones
Till Doombes-day: But all things have their end:
Churches, and Citties (which have diseases like to men)
Must have like death that we have.

(V.iii.15-20)

It is a fitting remark to be made in the Blackfriars theatre, built within the precinct of the old Dominican priory. That church, which had had its death some seventy-five years earlier when it was surrendered to the Crown,⁵⁶ had its tombs too. Piers the Plowman's Creed, written about 1394, mentions, when describing a settlement of Black Friars, the profusion of tombs of knights in marble surcoats and armour of alabaster.⁵⁷ It is probable that the passage refers to the London priory in which the theatre was later to be situated.⁵⁸ The exact identification

is not important. What matters is that the theatre audience is seated near a cloister and church which, as a friars' house, has had its spiritual death; and where, in all probability, were tombs - of alabaster and of lead. Like the prison in Act IV, the ruined abbey of the Echo scene is a setting of more than one dimension. As a real, physical locality, it is described in detail by Delio, demanding gestures by which he indicates part of the stage. The Cardinal's window (1) is, presumably, a window on the balcony level of the tiring-house façade.⁵⁹ The fortification (1) and the cloister wall (3-4) are perhaps imagined to be at opposite sides of the stage, the actors being nearest "This fortification". Near the cloister wall is the grave from which the Echo speaks (4-5; sig. M3^V). Whether the boy playing the Duchess gives the effect by hiding within a portable grave or on a partly lowered trap, or whether the grave is only imagined and he speaks from offstage, is matter for conjecture. Perhaps the face of the Duchess really is seen momentarily, "folded in sorrow" (57), achieved by some sudden flash of light.⁶⁰ As an atmospheric and supernatural setting, the stage, in this scene, is an evocation of universal decay and the triumph of Time - a setting which parallels and complements the memento mori which the Old Man creates in Act IV. Webster's lovely rendering of the theatrical convention of the Echo⁶¹ is important in maintaining the immediacy of the dead Duchess, hovering over the final act. The tortured spirit and strangled body have been refined into a thing of ethereal beauty - a lyrical voice and a face folded in sorrow. This graceful indication of her presence beyond the grave contrasts with Bosola's belief in the general state of man:

We are onely like dead wals, or vaulted graves,
That ruin'd, yeildes no eccho:...

(V.v.121-122)

However, Webster does not present the Echo as a positive manifestation of achieved immortality. It is a convention, atmospherically and ominously useful. Men and monuments decay. For Webster, the only permanent significance lies in the way life (and especially its last, great, moment) is

played out. The Duchess, like Flamineo, Vittoria and Brachiano, is one who lives and dies greatly. The splendid paradox of life is that she dies a truly living creature, at last awake, rising above the coldness of vain art; and yet her story survives in a play which constantly draws attention to itself as a work of art.

III. a) Gifts.

A motif which runs through the play, frequently making use of small stage properties, is that of the gift. The giving of a token (including gestural tokens, such as the offer of one's hand) frequently establishes a relationship: the Duchess' ring given to Antonio symbolizes the marriage; the gold coins given to Bosola establish him as Ferdinand's servant and spy. Significantly, in this play the gifts are often given with secrecy or deception. When the hidden events represented by these tokens come to light, the gifts become fetters: the wedding ring becomes a noose; the Cardinal's poisoned book shows him his poisoned soul (cf. V.ii.300-305 and v.1-4); and the golden angels (the coins) do act as devils, taking Bosola to hell (cf. I.i.285-288 and IV.ii.368-369). Usually an object of worth (gold or a jewel), the gift may be either the reward of genuine merit, or the stimulus of evil and grasping ambition.

The first gift, a jewel, is given by Ferdinand to Antonio for genuine merit:

FERD. Who tooke the Ring oftneest?

SIL. Antoni[o] Bologna (my Lord.)

FERD. Our Sister Duchesse' great Master of her household?

Give him the Jewell:...

(I.i.90-93)

The juxtaposition of Antonio, the Duchess, and the jewel is not merely fortuitous. This exchange has the nature of a prelude. Running at the Ring is noble action, certainly, but it is only a game. Ferdinand asks:

when shall we leave this sportive-action,
and fall to action indeed?

(93-94)

Antonio echoes the thought of the tournament as a preparation:

out of brave Horse-man-ship,
arise the first Sparkes of growing resolution, that
raise the minde
to noble action.

(145-147)

As the play moves to action indeed, Antonio receives a second gift, the wedding ring. The language suggests that he has gained a treasure, for he is made lord of "a wealthy Mine" (493), and promises to "remaine the constant Sanctuary / Of [her] good name" (527-528). When the Duchess urges him to lead his

Fortune by the hand,
Unto [his] marriage bed

(567-568),

her 'conceit' (566) is a personification of blind Fortune, but overtones of the other sense of the word - a 'fortune' as a treasure - are probably intended.⁶² Antonio recognizes the dangerous attraction which this treasure holds for him, offering such a rise in his status, for he sees "a sawcy, and ambitious divell" dancing in the ring (471-472). Fearful of his own ambition, he kneels before her, and she offers a second gift:

raise your selfe,
Or if you please, my hand to helpe you: so.

(481-482)

The hand, with the ring, will be given to symbolize marriage in the ceremony that follows.

Antonio is "an upright treasurer" (421) and a noble horseman. His steward's chain of office and the jewel given by Ferdinand (probably worn on his costume or hand) are outward signs of his merit. He tells the Duchess:

Were there nor heaven, nor hell,
I should be honest: I have long serv'd vertue,
And nev'r tane wages of her.
DUCH. Now she paies it-...

(503-506)

The language of wages and payment connects this virtuous man and his gift with the potential Vice, Bosola, and the gift of gold. Bosola, who

Would be as leacherous, covetous, or proud,
Bloody, or envious, as any man,
If he had meanes to be so

(27-29),

is shown receiving means - the gift of gold gives him wealth, an official position in the Duchess' household, and recognition by Ferdinand. The names of Antonio and Bosola are linked together, as the two brothers propose to hire a spy. In a scene of whispering closeness, the Cardinal recommends Bosola as an intelligencer. Ferdinand disagrees:

Antonio, the great Master of her household
Had beene farre fitter:

CARD. You are deceiv'd in him,

His nature is too honest for such businesse,

He comes: I'll leave you: [Exit. Enter Bosola.]

(239-243)

Ferdinand employs theatrical suddenness to calculatedly good effect as he offers the coins:

There's gold.

BOS. So:

What follows? (Never rained such showres as these
Without thunderbolts i'th taile of them;) whose
throat must I cut?

(263-266)

Surely the duke allows the bright coins to fall, perhaps from a pouch, into Bosola's too-ready hands - a veritable shower. Ferdinand's gift recalls another gift - the jewel which he gave to Antonio. Both gifts are given for horsemanship, the one being for performance in the tilt-yard, the other for future performance in the post of "the Provisor-ship o'th' horse" (291). Antonio's reward is for noble and skilful action openly performed; Bosola's token is for the hidden activities of "a very quaint invisible Divell, in flesh" (280).

The mounting excitement which betrays Bosola's readiness to cut a throat is exposed by Ferdinand in an active (and appropriately equestrian) image:

Your inclination to shed blood rides post
Before my occasion to use you:...

(267-268)

Ferdinand suggests that Bosola may "arrive / At a higher place" by his new rôle (283-284), but Bosola rightly sees that the new position will take him to hell (285-288).

Bosola and Antonio are, by their symbolic gifts, united with another person. Bosola is Ferdinand's 'creature' (313); Antonio and the Duchess are one (569).

But they must hide the new rôle in old garments, Bosola retaining the malcontent's black suit (Ferdinand's words, "Keepe your old garbe of melencholly" (303), need not be purely figurative);⁶³ and Antonio keeping the steward's chain (he still has it at III.ii.265-266).

Even the upright Delio offers a questionable gift of gold to the lustful Julia when he comes to Rome as Antonio's champion (II.iv.82). This little action, by recalling the parallel gift from Ferdinand to Bosola, contributes to that web of intrigue and spreading corruption that marks the play's society, suggesting that Delio too can be a man of his world. Whether his motives are good or ill is never explained, and Webster does not develop the relationship further. The scene is itself finely staged, particularly if the Cardinal, when he 'with-draw[s]' (56), is meant to conceal himself behind the arras so that the audience is aware of his listening presence. Julia's words skilfully echo the speeches which have preceded Delio's entry. She finds a bird, a lute-string, and physic more desirable than Delio's gold; and in just these terms she and the Cardinal have expressed the nature of their sexual relationship. Julia is the bird whom the Cardinal has taken from her "mellancholly pearch" (39) and has given her game at which to fly (40-41). The hawking imagery succinctly reveals the Cardinal's hunting instincts, and Julia's position. She has some freedom, but is still his creature, and when she later tries to outwit him she dies.

In Act II, scene i, Bosola has brought a present to give to the Duchess, and he admits to the audience that the present is a trick to unmask her 'disguise'. The Duchess,

(contrary to our Italian fashion,)
Weares a loose-bodied Gowne - there's somewhat in't,
I have a tricke, may chance discover it
(A pretty one) - I have bought some Apricocks,
The first our Spring yeelds.

(69-73)

The apricots are a fit gift from Bosola. The Cardinal and Ferdinand, as Bosola knows, are like plum trees, "rich, and ore-laden with / Fruite" (I.i.51-52).

Their fruitfulness, however, is the rotten growth of decay. Bosola, making himself a parasite, has taken their fruit, the gold coins. The apricots have been ripened "in horse-doung" (II.i.150), for the gardener has altered the tempo of nature, for profit (148-150). Similarly Bosola, whose "corruption / Grew out of horse-doung" (I.i.312-313), will, for profit with the brothers, interfere with the natural progress of the Duchess' pregnancy.⁶⁴

Through his choice of trick, Bosola fully reveals himself - cunning, coarse, ready to pervert nature. But the gift also exposes the ambiguity in the Duchess' position. Virtuous in thought and deed, she has wilfully interfered with a natural order. To her, grafting is "a bettring of nature" (II.i.160). The child grafted upon Antonio will be higher than his father in birth. However, grafting is an art (159), and shares with the play's visual and verbal works of art (the tomb weeper; the metamorphosed lovers, III.i.32-39; the wax bodies) a perversion of the natural, which is ominous. As the Duchess greedily eats, with her great belly hidden in the loose gown, she whose "very Sleepes" are in heaven (I.i.206-207), now becomes, in Bosola's words, an image of Greed and Lust (II.i.162-166). He begins the next scene still harping on her "most vulturous eating of the Apricocks" which he sees as proof of her pregnancy (ii.1-3), and shortly after this remark he associates fruit with lust in a long verbal emblem of the orange tree (13-19). Appropriately, when this hypocrite praises her husband during the disruption of the next act, his welcome words 'taste' of comfort to her (III.i.342).

After the strangulation of the Duchess, Bosola is stirred by a mixture of regret and the denial of reward from Ferdinand. Looking at her apparently dead body, he vows that he would not do the deed again "For all the wealth of Europe" (IV.i.365-367). Miraculously she seems to survive, and he longs to give her sustenance:

who's there?
Some cordiall drinke! Alas! I dare not call:
So, pittie would destroy pittie:...

(IV.i.371-373)

Ferdinand, now Bosola's enemy, has already banished pity

from himself:

There is a kind of pitty in mine eie,
I'll give it to my hand-kercher; and now 'tis here,
I'll bequeath this to her Bastard.

CARD. What to do?

FERD. Why, to make soft lint for his mother['s]
wounds,

When I have hewed her to peeces.

(II.v.37-42)

Recollection of Antonio's handkerchief, with blood drowning his initials (II.iii.61-62), adds ominous horror to Ferdinand's histrionic threat. Perhaps a handkerchief is the object with which Bosola covers the Duchess' face after these omens have been fulfilled by her death (IV.ii.281).⁶⁵

In Act IV, scene i, Ferdinand, with a pretense of reconciliation, offers 'his' hand to his sister. Instead he leaves a dead man's hand and ring which she believes to be Antonio's - the hand and ring given as tokens in their marriage ceremony. Ferdinand's handshake is the perversion of a sacred gesture - a vow of pardon and seal of peace (cf. IV.i.51).

Bosola presents the hand-giving scene - fittingly, for both Ferdinand and the Duchess have offered him their hand. In Act III, scene i, Ferdinand and his spy meet at night, and when Bosola speaks with unvarnished truth to the Duke, the latter replies:

Give me thy hand, I thanke thee:
I never gave Pention but to flatterers,
Till I entertained thee:...

(113-115)

The simple gesture suggests an increase in Bosola's power and Ferdinand's trust. Bosola has provided his master with a false key into the Duchess' bedchamber (III.i.95-98). In the next scene, after the key has been used and the Duchess seeks to flee, Bosola gains her trust. To his suggestion of a feigned pilgrimage she replies:

Sir, your direction
Shall lead me, by the hand.

(III.ii.359-360)

Bosola recognizes the symbolic significance of a hand in raising a man. Poets, he says, will sing her praises because she has raised Antonio "by that curious engine,

[her] white hand)" (336).

Death comes to the Duchess in the guise of a gift from her brothers:

BOS. Here is a present from your Princely
brothers

And may it arrive wel-come, for it brings
Last benefit, last sorrow.

A Coffin,
Cords, and
a Bell.

(IV.ii.164-166; sig. K^v)

Like previous gifts, the Coffin, Cords and Bell establish a relationship. She is her brothers' creature, physically in their power. But gradually, as she heeds the Old Man's contempt for this life, she interprets the gifts in a way not intended by the brothers. Awake at last, she sees death as the best gift her brothers can give her (229-231). The cord-ring completes the wedding masque. The coffin is her second marriage bed. The bell, dismal contrast to the music of the spheres that seemed to sound at her wedding (I.i.551-554), tolls her passing to those heavenly spheres. For her death as for her marriage she prepares her will (cf. IV.ii.203), truly bequeathing her body (235-236) as she once gaily jested (I.i.440-443).

In the subplot of Julia and the Cardinal, gifts also expose relationships. Antonio's land, "ravish'd from his throate / By the Cardinals entreaty" (V.i.48-49), is given to Julia, "As Salary for [the Cardinal's] Lust" (58). She responds to this gift by betraying the Cardinal. As salary for her own lust, she hides Bosola where he will hear her draw out the Cardinal's secrets (V.ii.209-238). The Cardinal presents her with a poisoned book (probably the bible) to kiss (300-305). Before she dies, she forgives her old lover for "This equall peece of Justice" (308). The gift of land goes to her cuckold (357-359). The poisoned book returns to plague the Cardinal; or, rather, the book as a symbol of his lust and murder presents him with a picture of himself and his damnation, when he enters "with a Booke" (V.v; sig. N2), feeling the tediousness of his guilty conscience (4).

Webster has shown the potency of gifts, which bind characters together for good or evil. Like works of art and ceremonies, gifts and tokens seem to give a permanence to human events. The unforeseen consequences of these

gifts cannot be avoided. But these tokens are only outward signs of deeper gifts - Bosola gives his soul for gold, becoming a devil; the Duchess and Antonio give themselves to each other in a loyalty that, for the Duchess at least, extends beyond death. The dying Duchess seems to offer Bosola a gift which he ultimately does not win. Feeling himself in a "sencible Hell", he sees his victim momentarily reviving:

her Eye opes,
And heaven in it seemes to ope, (that late was shut)
To take me up to mer[c]ly.

(IV.ii.373-375)

Like the gold, it offers to raise him, with the Virgin's gift of misericordia. Banished from the Virgin's shrine at Loretto, the Duchess has completed her sacrifice.

b) Swords.

One small property - the sword or dagger - acquires multiple significance in the play, appearing as both a real property and an emblem. It first appears as the poniard which Ferdinand flourishes before his sister in Act I:

You are my sister,
This was my Fathers poyniard: doe you see,
I'll'd be loth to see't looke rusty, 'cause 'twas his[.]
(I.i.369-371)

Ferdinand's gesture is exceedingly threatening, so early in the play, in a scene which purports merely to give advice at the brothers' departure. Like the Duchess who "staines the time past: lights the time to come" (214), the dagger occupies a special relationship with the past (the dead father) and the future (its potential action). Seemingly it is an attribute of justice, and, belonging to their father, it is a protector of family reputation. 'Rusty' recalls Antonio's comment that

too immoderate sleepe be truly sayd
To be an inward rust unto the soule
(79-80),

associating rust with ignoble sloth. Ferdinand does not wish to be inactive, but to "fall to action indeed" (94). However, the portrait of his life which, in this first

scene, we receive from both virtuous and vicious spokesmen (Antonio and Bosola) does not promise that he will fall to noble action (cf. 50-55; 169-186; and 268-317). Perhaps Ferdinand intends a quibble: the redness of rust may be meant to suggest blood to the Duchess. Ferdinand would be loath to see her blood upon the dagger because it belonged to their father.

Already, before Ferdinand flourishes the dagger, he has made his compact with Bosola. Receiving the shower of gold coins, Bosola had asked:

whose throat must I cut?
FERD. Your inclination to shed blood rides post
Before my 'ocçasion' to use you:...

(266-268)

Thoughts of murder arise in Bosola before the Duke's desire to use him, not in opposition to Ferdinand's inclinations. In the end, the Duchess' throat is not cut but strangled, and it is Ferdinand's blood that is ultimately shed by Bosola's sword.

Before the marriage is over in Act I, a figurative weapon gaily yet ominously hangs over the Duchess. Ironically, she introduces it to the wedding bed. She says to Antonio,

if you please
(Like the old tale, in Alexander and Lodowicke)
Lay a naked sword betweene us, keepe us chast[.]

(571-573)

When the birth of the child brings danger, Antonio sends Delio to Rome with the words, "My life lies in your service" (II.ii.74). The trusted champion, preparing to depart, comforts Antonio:

(for my faith) lay this unto your brest,
Old friends (like old swords) still are trusted best.

(86-87)

The words are more ominous than the two men realize. The loyal friend departs, leaving Antonio and the Duchess defenceless in the disrupted atmosphere of Amalfi. The Officers, potential protectors of their Duchess, have been locked away, unable to aid with their weapons (58-62).

Ferdinand, on receiving news of his sister's apparent harlotry, allows the poniard to rust, and 'sleeps' (cf.

II.v.99-100) for a space of years (between Acts II and III). When the third act begins, he seems still to sleep, but dangerously, "as Dormise do in Winter" (i.25). It is an apt analogy, for Ferdinand had advised Bosola to act "like a pollitique dormouse" (I.i.307), a creature whom Bosola defines as one who will

Feed in a Lords dish, halfe asleepe, not seeming
To listen to any talke: and yet these Rogues
Have cut his throat in a dreame:...

(309-311)

The image of sleep is intensified by Ferdinand's brief entry in Act III, only to say that he is going "instantly to bed" (i.43-45). He goes, not to his bed, but to his sister's. Entering the bedchamber silently with the poniard, Ferdinand represents both death and (false) justice. The sword is a common attribute of Justice in pageants and painted allegories, where Truth is often represented carrying a book.⁶⁶ The two brothers seem to be perversions of these virtues, Ferdinand with the sword of Justice which he abuses, and the Cardinal later with a book (V.v.1-4) after he has just abused Truth by feigning the story of the apparition (V.ii.89-100). But instead of scourging the dagger's rust with her blood, Ferdinand gives his sister the weapon, saying, "Die then, quickle" (III.ii.80; sig. F4). With this action he ceases to resemble a personification of Justice, and begins to resemble Despair who, in Morality plays and in visual emblems, frequently offers weapons with which the chosen victim may kill himself.⁶⁷ Certainly in his later actions Ferdinand takes elaborate steps to bring her to despair (cf. IV.i.140). After Ferdinand's exit, Webster draws attention to the dagger's exchange; when the Duchess "shewes the poniard" (sig. G^V), Antonio advises her to use it against her brother, and "fasten the keene edge, in his rancke gall" (184). This advice is not followed; instead they flee to Loretto, where the Cardinal acquires a soldier's sword (III.iv).

Ferdinand abandons straightforward revenge with the dagger for the fourth act's high theatricals. When faced with the stark reality of his crime - her dead body - he cries to his 'creature':

what an excellent
 Honest man might'st thou have bin
 If thou hadst borne her to some Sanctuary!
 Or (bold in a good cause) oppos'd thy selfe
 With thy advanced sword above thy head,
 Betweene her Innocence, and my Revenge!

(IV.ii.292-297)

(The Duchess has already been denied sanctuary at Loretto.) This emblematic figure with the sword (foreshadowing Ferdinand's own final appearance, V.v.66-70) is played out by Bosola. Urged on by visions of the Duchess, Bosola arms himself figuratively to join Antonio

in a most just revenge.
 The weakest Arme is strong enough, that strikes
 With the sword of Justice:...

(V.ii.378-380)

Ironically, when he actually invokes his sword of Justice - "Fall right my sword" (V.iv.50) - he stabs Antonio by mistake, the man he sought to save. Bosola has perverted Justice; like the Cardinal he has taken

from Justice her most equall ballance,
 And left her naught but her sword

(V.v.53-54)

when he played the rôle of chief executioner without the sanction of "any ceremoniall forme of Law" (IV.ii.323).

Despite the fatal mistake, Bosola fulfils his (and the Duchess') revenge. He appears before the Cardinal like Nemesis:

CARD. How tedious is a guilty conscience!
 When I looke into the Fish-ponds, in my Garden,
 Me thinkes I see a thing, arm'd with a Rake
 That seemes to strike at me:

[Enter Bosola & Servant bearing Antonio's
 body.]

Now? art thou come? Thou look'st ghastly:

. . .

BOS. I am come to kill thee.

(V.v.4-12)

The 'thing' is a reflection of himself and his guilty conscience;⁶⁸ in armour he had 'struck' at the sanctity of marriage at Loretto. But the thing is also a devil of his own making - Bosola, who enters at once with the sword. Bosola's vengeful act is attended by symbols of the Cardinal's crimes. "I have confinde your flight",

the murderer tells his victim (22), continuing,
 I'll suffer your retreyt to Julias Chamber,
 But no further.

(23-24)

Probably the open discovery space represents Julia's chamber, and perhaps her body is visible within it, for Bosola has come this night to bear her away (cf. V.ii. 353-355). A second body certainly presides over the revenge. The Cardinal asks:

What cause hast thou [i.e., Bosola]

To pursue my life?

BOS. Looke there:

CARD. Antonio?

BOS. Slaine by my hand unwittingly.

(47-51)

The Cardinal has contributed evil to his family, the identity of which he is so proud - "The royall blood of Arragon, and Castile" (II.v.31) - and evil returns upon him through his own family. The mad Ferdinand rushes onto an imaginary field of battle, once again flourishing his weapon:

Yeeld, yeeld: I give you the honour of Armes,

Shake my Sword over you - will you yeilde?

CARD. Helpe me, I am your brother.

FERD. The divell?

My brother fight upon the adverse party? He wounds the
Cardinall, and (in
the (cuffle) giues Bosola
his death wound.

(V.v.66-71; sig. N3)

Ferdinand fulfils his early strange vow:

I could kill her [i.e., the Duchess] now,

In you, or in my selfe, for I do thinke

It is some sinne in us, Heaven doth revenge

By her.

(II.v.82-85)

Fittingly, the Cardinal had then responded, "Are you starke mad?" (86). At last Ferdinand dies by the sword of his 'creature' - the murder which his gift of gold has purchased.

IV. Clarity and Chaos.

By employing a series of related dichotomies, Webster exposes the opposition of two forces in the play's society

- the open, clear force of "simple vertue" (I.1.513) and the dark, tortuous force of destruction. Light and darkness, sanity and madness, (in)sight and blindness, harmony and discord, sincerity and disguise are all manifestations of a conflict between clarity and deception. It is a complex duality, for it does not divide the good from the evil. Innocent characters are forced into ways of deception and self-deception; evil characters labour to bring truth to the light. Ultimately, clarity and sincerity are ideals in the service of self-knowledge, but they are attained only with great and tragic expense. Darkness and deception prove destructive, both to those who exploit them and those who are victimized by them.

Webster's staging exploits these dichotomies. The theme is introduced in Act I with images of light. In Antonio's opinion, the Duchess "staines the time past: lights the time to come" (214). Ferdinand warns his sister against hypocrisy:

Your darkest actions: nay, your privat'st thoughts,
Will come to light.

(349-350)

Ignoring the wishes and threats of her brother, she creates an emblematic picture of her own wilful blindness:

I now am blinde.

ANT. What's your conceit in this?

DUCH. I would have you leade your Fortune by the hand,
Unto your marriage bed[.]

(565-568)

In the second act, the lovers have progressed further into the wilderness (cf. I.1.404), and their need for deception has grown. The natural processes of life and love cannot be stopped, but the Duchess tries to hide her pregnancy in a 'disguise' - the farthingale (II.1.163) and the "loose-bodied Gowne" (70) which is not normal wear in her society.

As the apricots hasten the event which she would conceal, the Duchess cries:

Lights to my chamber: O, good Antonio,
I feare I am undone.

DEL. Lights there, lights!

Exit Duchesse

(175-177; sig. D3^v)

Rushing into darkness and unwonted deception, she needs the aid of lights to see her way. With the exit of the Duchess and the torches, darkness and fearful night seem to envelope the stage. The wild fantasy of the Officers - the Switzer with a pistol in his codpiece (ii.37-49) - while providing a comic moment, with coarse jests from Bosola, is not gratuitous. Their confusion represents the general atmosphere, where all things are indistinct and the truth is difficult to see.

In the darkness, sound becomes intensified. Bosola, entering with his lantern, symbol of night, exclaims:

Sure I did heare a woman shreike: list, hah!

. . .

List againe -
It may be 'twas the mellencholly bird,
(Best friend of silence, and of solitarines)
The Owle, that schream'd so: hah? Antonio?

(iii.1-9)

Close upon him comes Antonio, also pursuing the noise to the lodgings of the Duchess. Startled by meeting with Bosola, he asks this 'Moale', who calls himself a friend:

heard you not

A noyce even now?
BOS. From whence?
ANT. From the Duchesse lodging.
BOS. Not I: did you?
ANT. I did: or else I dream'd.
BOS. Let's walke towards it.
ANT. No: It may be, 'twas
But the rising of the winde[.]

(iii.15-23)

There is something unearthly about the shriek. The frequent questions and sharp broken lines create an atmosphere of tense fear.

Fear and darkness together conspire against Antonio. Like the blind mole, Bosola is at home in the darkness. He recognizes Antonio at once, and shining his lantern in the steward's face, momentarily blinds him.

[Enter Antonio]

ANT. I heard some noyse: [who's] there? what art thou? speake.
BOS. Antonio? Put not your face; nor body
To such a forc'd expression of feare -
I am Bosola; your friend.
ANT. Bosola?
(This Moale do's undermine me)...

(10-15)

For the second time Antonio is seen in a close physical relationship that damages his vision. Bereft of the light of the Duchess, and of the light of his abstract philosophy, Antonio is lost (II.i.178 and 195), and plays the fool (II.ii.72). The blood from his nose that drowns two letters in his handkerchief represents blind superstition which drowns his reason (II.iii.58-63), for although he pretends to treat the omen as mere chance, he dwells upon the subject, clearly distressed. (The audience would recall that in the preceding scene Delio has warned against superstitions, including "Bleeding at nose", ii.80-84.) The dark lantern expresses Bosola's preparedness in this dark atmosphere. It is a friend which shows him the child's nativity (iii.70-72), the proof which he requires, and thus the Duchess' secret is brought to the light, as her brother had warned (I.i.349-350). But Bosola's light is a "false-friend" (II.iii.71),⁶⁹ and as such it contrasts with the true light of the Duchess (which he will help to extinguish), and, like the false lights used by City tradesmen, of which we have heard in the first act (I.i.497-499), distorts the truth. More clear-sighted than Antonio, Bosola nevertheless misunderstands Antonio's rôle. "This precise fellow," he thinks of Antonio, "Is the Dutchesse Bawde" (II.iii.81-82), and he wishes it were possible to discover the child's father (87). Later, after the birth of two further children, Bosola admits to Ferdinand:

'Tis rumour'd she hath had three bastards, but
By whom, we may go read i'th'Starres.

(III.i.72-73)

The stars have given him their message, for he sees that Antonio is "Lord of the ascendant, chiefe man / with the Duchesse" (II.i.99-100), but he lacks the spectacles to read the truth (III.i.76).

The paper on which is written the child's nativity gives a concrete, undeniable existence to the child. With Bosola's discovery, light, although partial, returns to the scene. Night gives way to the anticipation of morning -

Old Castruchio

I'th morning poasts to Rome; by him I'll send

A Letter, that shall make her brothers Galls
Ore-flowe their Livours - ...

(II.iii.88-91)

When the Duchess' private thoughts and deeds come to light - when Ferdinand learns of her 'sin' - his reaction is fitting. He intends to "fix her in a generall ecclipse" (II.v.102). But the Cardinal finds Ferdinand's reaction excessive; it is "intemperate noyce" (67), and he urges the duke to put himself "In tune" (80). The development of sound, from the "soft Musique" (I.i.554) of the lovers' affections to the final disruption in the "hideous noyse" of "the wild consort / Of Mad-men" (IV.ii.1-3) is painfully logical. The harmony of the lovers requires deception to remain secret. The secret bursts forth in the shriek of labour, which in turn occasions Ferdinand's intemperate noise. Bosola believed that the Duchess' cry might be a screech owl; and, indeed, to her brother she seems transformed into the ominous owl (III.ii.106), her 'music' more hideous than the howling of a wolf (105-106). Unconsciously he points towards his own music, for his noise becomes, metaphorically, that of a wolf during his lycanthropia (V.ii); and for calling her children 'Cubbs' (IV.i.40) and 'Bastards' (42), he is warned that he will "howle in hell" (47). The madmen's music is the creation of Ferdinand's own mind, the formal playing out of his howl of rage. The music of the bellman which brings her "to mortification" (IV.ii.178ff.) completes the process of humiliation begun in the "very sollemne Musique" which accompanies her banishment (III.iv; sig: H^v). But specious harmony is as dangerous as a discordant howl. The Duchess succumbs to Bosola's "excellent Musicke" (III.ii.315) when he flatters Antonio, and she gives him the information which stimulates action from the brothers.

Throughout her death scenes, darkness and noise are used by Webster (and by Ferdinand, the play-within-the-play director) to create a fearful atmosphere. Torches are taken away from the stage at a command from Ferdinand transmitted by Bosola (IV.i.25-34). The darkness into which Ferdinand thus forces his sister presages the eclipse

which he has threatened. "This darkenes suites you well" (36), Ferdinand tells her, and adds that she has lived "too much i'th' light" (50), with a quibble upon 'light', meaning 'wanton'. He does not yet realize that darkness suits him, permitting him to stage his macabre scene with the hand. The murder, that "deed of darkenesse" (IV.ii.361), condemns him to the darkness of madness, hunting "by Owle-light" (ii.360). At the conclusion of the hand-giving scene, Ferdinand rushes offstage into the darkness, ordering "lights enough" for his sister (i.64). His cruelty during the remainder of the act gradually awakens her to the light of clear vision, until she advises Bosola to

Tell my brothers,
That I perceive death (now I am well awake)
Best guift is, they can give, or I can take[.]
(IV.ii.229-231)

She began in the light and likened to a light (I.i.214); she returns to her palace to die, with an actual and supernatural removal of the light (IV.i.34 and her eclipse).⁷⁰

With madness and noise Ferdinand thinks to aggravate the madness which he attributes to his sister (cf. IV.i.151-157). Noise, however, distracts the Duchess from her own tragedy:

nothing but noyce, and folly
Can keepe me in my right wits, whereas reason
And silence, make me starke mad:....
(ii.6-8)

By her own choice (8-12), not by Ferdinand's force, she becomes an audience. The supreme dignity of her silence in prison is hinted at by Bosola:

her silence,
(Me thinkes) expresseth more, then if she spake.
(IV.i.10-11)

At the moment of her death, this dignity is realized. With self-imposed silence she accepts her end, and will not be tedious (IV.ii.233), while Cariola - "that noyse" (201) - protests loudly against her slaughter (252-267). After death, the Duchess' influence is most strongly felt in a voice and a light - the Echo from her grave (V.iii; sig. M3^V) and the aureole of light in which her face

appears, either by some device of stage lighting or in Antonio's imagination merely (55-57).⁷¹ The Echo is a splendidly appropriate symbol. Her voice, which was so sweet to Antonio (I.i.194-198), is now the voice of his fate, speaking with sad ethereal beauty. The Duchess was Antonio's fate; he did not sue. His blind Fortune was an unlooked-for reward (I.i.504-506; 567-568). But the Echo is also part of the play's misty, whispering world of half-truths:

flatterers,...(like ecchoes) still report
What they heare (though most imperfect),...

(V.ii.262-263)

The Echo goes unheeded. "O flye your fate", it warns (V.iii.45), but Antonio refuses.

The superb lines with which Ferdinand seeks to escape from his murdered sister establish a strangely beautiful calm after the screaming and scratching of Cariola's death:

Cover her face: Mine eyes dazell: she di'd yong.

(IV.ii.281)

He has eclipsed her life, and has removed the light of virtue, so that in the final act, all the characters (and much of the action) seem to be trapped in the dark, or in a mist. Bosola twice overhears his own death discussed (V.iv.33-43), misses his enemies, and kills Antonio by mistake (50-51). Light comes, in the hands of Antonio's Servant, only a few lines too late (58). Significantly, the Servant has gone off for "a darke Lanthorne" (47), not only a conventional symbol for night and darkness on the stage, but also specifically associated with Bosola (cf. II.iii.71), who does act at precisely this moment. However, this mole is no longer at home in the dark, having decided to join his lot with virtue and justice, and hence his action contradicts his intentions.

The most obvious example of spiritual and intellectual darkness in the final act is Ferdinand's madness. It is the appropriate retribution for the mad masque which he staged in Act IV. Although he has eclipsed his sister's life, he fails in personal terms to eclipse her light. Her face, with its light of innocence and truth, dazzles

him, and blinds his reason. As once he vowed never to see her again, he now tries to escape the sight of his instrument of murder, saying to Bosola, "Leave me" (IV. ii.336); "Never looke upon me more" (343); and

Get thee into some unknowne part o'th'world
That I may never see thee.

(352-353)

Ferdinand's imagined transformation into a wolf, like his brother's transformation into a soldier, provides a highly theatrical scene. The foolish Doctor acts as a presenter, describing the Duke's lycanthropia and announcing his entry (V.ii.6-28). While Ferdinand and the Doctor act (each is playing a rôle, although Ferdinand's^{is}/involuntary) the other characters form an impotent chorus, watching. The scene is set by the Doctor, but the gallery in which the Duke takes the air (2-3) cannot be the terrace level that admits Pescara and the courtiers during the Cardinal's death (V.v.26ff.).⁷² We must simply imagine the stage platform to be a gallery in the sense of a long Jacobean hall, the air being admitted through the windows down one long side - imagined at the downstage end of the platform.⁷³

Ferdinand, while mad, is haunted by his own shadow. 'Shadow' has, for Webster and the Jacobean, the second meaning of an image or^a/painting.⁷⁴ This haunting shadow is like an alter ego, showing him a dark image of himself. "I will throttle it", he cries, throwing himself upon the ground (V.ii.37-40). He has become a beast, not a man who walks upright. As he lies upon the stage, he thinks of his next journey, further downwards:

When I goe to Hell, I meane to
carry a bribe: for looke you good gifts ever-more
make way,
for the worst persons.

(40-42)

The bribe recalls his gift to Bosola of the angel-devil coins. Pescara urges the prostrate man to "Rise, good my Lord" (43). The Cardinal's brusque order, "Force him up" (50), is more realistic. Ferdinand, a beast, will not raise himself voluntarily. Force can raise him physically

but not spiritually.

The Doctor's business with the gown (or gowns),⁷⁵ the proposed battle in which they will pelt each other with urinals filled with rosewater (69-71), and the beating which Ferdinand gives the Doctor (78-81), are intentionally comic, robbing his madness of any possible grandeur. But this absurd confrontation is not merely theatrical folly. Garments represent hypocrisy or external protection. When they are taken off, the inner man is shown. The comic removal of the gown recalls the removal of the Cardinal's spiritual garments at Loretto, and (with the Doctor's discomfiture) foreshadows the ultimate 'dis-robing' of the Cardinal, when he loses his outer greatness and proves himself to be a nothingness (v.56-58 and 96-98).

V. Journeys.

Complementing the symbolic journey of life theme are naturalistic journeys. A movement forward in space and time, and the related matter of physical action, become elements of plot and thematic motifs. Return and departure, reunion and separation, are paired motifs exploited with great ironical effect. The first act begins as on a threshold between past and future. Antonio has returned to Amalfi; Bosola's service in the galleys is over; the Duchess "staines the time past: lights the time to come" (214). Antonio's homecoming from banishment (453) and the warm welcome which Delio accords him, contrast at first with Bosola's failure to gain reward for the service which banished him (36), or even to receive a hearing from the man he haunts (30). During the act, both Antonio and Bosola acquire a new position, the one as the Duchess' husband, the other as Provisor of the Horse; thus the first act provides a crucial step forward for them, a step which unleashes future action, all of which stems from a confrontation of these rôles (the secret husband being shadowed by the spy).

The play opens with a welcome return home:

DEL. You are wel-come to your Country (deere Antonio)
You have bin long in France,...

Balancing the return in this scene is departure. Ferdinand and the Cardinal are about to part from the Duchess (318), but without explaining their journey. Silvio's departure to Milan is the cause for a dignified exit from the presence chamber.

FERD. Good Lord Silvio
Do us commend to all our noble friends
At the League[r].

SIL. Sir, I shall.

[DUCH.] You are for Millaine?

SIL. I am:

DUCH. Bring the Carroches: we'll bring you down to
the Haven.

[Exeunt, except Card. & Ferd.]⁷⁶

(228-234)

While providing a stately means of clearing the stage, this farewell also sets a standard of controlled courtly behaviour with which future departures and flights may be compared.

In the second act, movement and journeying are pervasive and accelerated. Speeding forward with an inevitability unleashed by the hidden marriage, the movement is inexorably towards Rome and towards the discovery of the secret. In the first three scenes, Bosola determines the speed of movement. For a moment, as the act begins, all is static. Expounding the characters of courtier and painted lady (1-45), he seems to have arrested his immediate audience and the play's action. "[O]bserve my / meditation now" (45-46), he orders, trapping Castruchio and the Old Lady while he exposes man's deformity. Then suddenly action is unleashed: Castruchio's wife, Julia, has gone to Rome; the old courtier and the Old Lady are advised to take advantage of her absence, to couple and set off for Lucca (63-64). In Bosola's crudity, these two deformed specimens of aged humanity become foils to Antonio and the Duchess, who have also coupled in secret. Bosola's cynical suggestion that they flee to Lucca is later offered seriously by Cariola to the Duchess (III. ii.362). Bosola's trick with the apricots necessitates journeys: Delio must hurry to Rome for Antonio's sake (II.ii.73-74), and Castruchio must carry Bosola's message there (II.iii.88-90). At last, the location itself

changes to Rome (II.iv), reaching there before the weary Castruchio has arrived (cf. 58-59), and the act is concluded with the revelation of that message to the brothers (II.v).

Throughout the second act, the relentless forward movement of Bosola's intelligence is opposed by Antonio, whose activities are all directed against movement and discovery: the Duchess is kept hidden from physicians (II.i.190-194); the court gates are shut up (ii.26-28); the officers are locked in their chambers (ii.58-60); the keys are collected (ii.60-62); and Bosola is refused entry to her lodgings (iii.65-67). The private world of the Duchess and Antonio, symbolized by the woman's protective embrace, is given concrete representation in the locked court.

When Bosola has discovered the Duchess' secret, and plans to let it travel forth from the locked court to her brothers, he sweeps from the stage with a self-satisfied platitude:

Though Lust doe masque in ne['e]r so strange disguise,
She's oft found witty, but is never wise.

(II.iii.92-93)

He intends his maxim to refer to the Duchess, but the scene shifts at once to Rome, revealing Lust in the love scene played by Julia and the Cardinal. (Ironically, Castruchio posts towards the scene of his own wife's lust.) Scene iv, interposing between the discovery and the revelation of the child's birth, skilfully increases tension. Speed and movement are accentuated. Julia, too, has just sped to Rome. The Cardinal asks her:

What tricke didst thou invent to come to Rome,
Without thy husband?

JUL. Why, (my Lord) I told him
I came to visit an old Anchorite
Heare, for devotion.

CARD. Thou art a witty false one[.]

(II.iv.2-7)

The lustful Julia's deceitful journey looks forward to the Duchess' feigned pilgrimage; the Cardinal's delight in her wit exposes the hypocrisy of his later condemnation of the Duchess (III.iii.72-73).

Finally, in scene v, the letter reaches its destination.

Ferdinand enters with the concrete evidence in his hand, and the stage disrupts with his hysteria. Movement and arrest, creating the tempo of the Bosola-Antonio struggle earlier in the act, are now expressed in the moods of Ferdinand and his brother. The verbal excess and the agitation of the Duke contrast with the Cardinal's immovable calm. Ferdinand aptly describes his own condition as a 'palsey' (72). The ranging, pacing movement that this scene suggests seems to burst involuntarily from him, a 'rupture' (74) of rage, like the uncontrollable shaking of a palsy. His effectual motion is arrested: he will sleep (99); he will not stir (100). 'Palsy' recalls Antonio's original description of the Duchess:

She throwes upon a man so sweet a looke,
That it were able raise one to a Galliard
That lay in a dead palsey;...

(I.i.199-201)

Ironically, she cannot cure Ferdinand's palsy; instead, from his sickness arises the masque dance from which Bosola, like a Dance of Death figure, brings her to death in the midst of health (her 'insensible' sickness, IV.ii.115-120).

Act II is united by physical movement. The third act parallels the former, including a journey to a new locality, and much stage action. Dramatically, too, the movement parallels that of Act II, from stasis and fruitfulness (III.i.5-25) to Bosola's discovery (ii.317), and closes with the threat of more danger to come (v.109ff.). However, the actual journeys of the third act become absorbed in a sense of spiritual pilgrimage - feigned and real - and of religious perversion and sacrifice.

The period of time intervening between the two acts has brought not death but further life (in the birth of two more children). The insistent direction towards Rome and disaster is reversed by a peaceful return to Amalfi.

[Enter Antonio and Delio.]

ANT. Our noble friend (my most beloved Delio)
Oh, you have bin a stranger long at Court,
Came you along with the Lord Ferdinand?
DEL. I did Sir,...

(III.i.1-4)

This remembrance of Act I - the same two characters alone upon the stage; a return; trust and friendship - has an ironical difference. Delio brings, not the wisdom and health of France, but the insanity and disease of Ferdinand. As in Act I, Antonio and Delio adopt the position of observers, their discussion being a prologue to the entry of Ferdinand and the Duchess, which Delio formally announces (43-44).

This act's journeys are both a necessity of plot and an implacable flight and pursuit. The rapid and repeated exits and entrances of Antonio and Bosola in scene ii (189-219) inspire a sense of uncertainty and danger. As Bosola gains the Duchess' confidence he is included in her journeys. She bids him follow Antonio to Ancona, where she means shortly to join them (ii.346-351). But Bosola suggests a different route:

I would wish your Grace, to faigne a Pilgrimage
To our Lady of Loretto, (scarce seaven leagues
From faire Ancona)-...

. . . .

DUCH. Sir, your direction
Shall lead me, by the hand.

(353-360)

Symbolically he leads her by the hand on that specious pilgrimage, as Antonio had led her to their marriage bed. Cariola fears "this jesting with religion, / This faigned Pilgrimage" (365-366), but the Duchess is impetuous and blind (as in Act I):

Thou [i.e., Cariola] art a superstitious foole,
Prepare us instantly for our departure[.]

(367-368)

Cariola's fear is justified, for the pilgrimage provides a superb justification for the impious brothers:

CARD. Doth she make religion her riding hood
To keepe her from the sun, and tempest?
FERD. That: that damnes her:...

(iii.72-74)

Even in his image, the Cardinal portrays her as journeying.

After the dumb show at Loretto comes, for the Duchess, the final journey. She asks Bosola, leader of her armed escort, to what prison she must go.

BOS. To none:
DUCH. Wh[*i*]ther then?
BOS. To your Pallace.

(III.v.123-125)

She returns home to Amalfi, where she began. This circular nature of her story helps to expose that element of responsibility for individual action which is a prevalent feature in all Webster's plays. Her wilfulness, her blindness, her disruption of degree, have led from the marriage to the prison. Thus Act IV involves once again a return, but it is a return without Antonio, power, safety or love. In her last scene, references to heaven extend the stage locality outward to the next world. The last journey of her soul is completed when she makes her exit through one of death's "ten thousand severall doores" (IV.ii.225-226). To Bosola, after the murder, heaven seems to be where she is (373-374), while he is in a "sencible Hell" (369).

The play's main journey ends in the Duchess' prison. When she is dead, the moral centre for the other characters is gone. Her light is extinguished and they are in the dark. Thus the final act moves to a new location (Milan) where, as Clifford Leech remarks,⁷⁷ none of the characters is at home, where all are lost, moving without any sure sense of direction. But despite the misdirection and the events seemingly governed by chance, there is, in this act of multiple deaths, also an ironical sense of journeys logically completed. The first scene, recalling the opening of Acts I and III, presents Antonio and Delio in intimate conversation. A return is desired, but this time it is the pathetic hope of a return to favour, safety and the Duchess - pathetic, because the audience has information which Antonio lacks. Although, like the Duchess, Antonio is virtuous, he has a hand in his own fall. Having contracted the secret marriage, he must also accept its necessary deceptions, pretending to be the steward when he is the husband, then losing that ambiguous stewardship through the "Noble Lie" (III.ii.215-217). At the time of the feigned pilgrimage, the First Pilgrim clearly points the moral:

Alasse Antonio,
 If that a man be thrust into a well,
 No matter who sets hand to't, his owne weight
 Will bring him sooner to th'bottom:...

(III.iv.44-47)

When the play opens, Antonio is returning home to Amalfi. As he lies dying, he describes himself as "Very neere [his] home" (V.iv.59). He makes no spiritual journey to heaven as the Duchess confidently expects to do. Instead, 'home' is simply the earth, death is the end of everything. However, he dies, like his wife, with integrity and sincerity. He asks for no explanations of the disaster (80-81), and recognizes, without self-pity, the vanity of human endeavour (75-80). Gradually he, too, has been robbed of everything he possesses - title, lands, family (and, symbolically, heart, head, and hand, III.v.37; 43-44; and IV.i.65-67). He had gone to try his final fortune in his "owne shape" (V.i.69-76) - in other words, not in any disguise⁷⁸ - and as he dies he claims to be his essential, undisguised self, being

A most wretched thing,
That onely have thy benefit in death,
To appeare my selfe.

(V.iv.55-57)

For the last scene and its deaths, the stage is a locked room, as it is for The White Devil's final scene, and, as in the earlier play, a forced entry bursts in upon this enclosed action. In The Duchess of Malfi, this locked room is particularly apt. It provides a perfect retribution for both the brothers - for Ferdinand, because, being locked away from help, it is an extension of the palace-prison which he has provided for his sister; and for the Cardinal, because death comes as a result of his own clever attempts to deceive. In trying to lock away all evidence of his crimes - the body of Julia and the dangerous information which mad Ferdinand might reveal - the Cardinal provides a ludicrous refinement to his final moments. The courtiers have been warned that he might

crie out for helpe,
And faigne [him] selfe in danger

(iv.18-19),

but that they are not to enter on any account. Consequently, when he does cry out for help in earnest, they listen, presumably from the terrace level, and laugh at his clever 'counterfeyting' (v.28). Bosola has allowed

the Cardinal to "retreyt to Julias Chamber" (23) - probably the discovery space - which explains why the listeners cannot see the action. This retreat is a return to his lust and crime. Those who have fawned upon him are now physically above him (on the terrace level), while he is forced low, to pray for life and to scuffle "i'th' rushes" (52-61, and cf. 111-112). The courtiers form an audience, making the Cardinal's impassioned fear seem an act - indeed a comic act - which continues to be ludicrous when Ferdinand enters as to a battlefield (64ff.). If Ferdinand's misconception here reminds the theatre audience of that earlier mentioned battle with the urinals (ii.70-71), the brothers' deaths will be further diminished in tragic mood. Ferdinand's surprising entry with the sword recalls his entry to his sister's locked bedchamber. There, Bosola had provided the false key; here, Bosola, by means of the Cardinal's master key (cf. ii.361-363), is able to enter the locked chamber and effect the death of his masters.

Probably the Cardinal wears his spiritual robes again in this act. No further mention of war is made, and Pescara, his fellow soldier, is present and seemingly unoccupied. Further, the Cardinal has "falne in some disgrace / With the Emperour" (V.ii.218-219) who required his military service. More important, Webster has first described him as "a mellancholly Churchman" (I.i.158-159), and gives him no other appellation than 'Cardinall'. His great robes fail him. Like his sister and her husband he is reduced to his essential self, but his "Greatnes [is] onely outward" (v.56). At his soul's core is hysterical fear. He robs himself first of protectors, then offers his dukedom "for rescew" (27). Ferdinand, rushing in to complete the slaughter, speaks with mad truth, for he fails to recognize his fallen, powerless brother:

CARD. Helpe me, I am your brother.

FERD. The divell?

My brother fight upon the adverse party?

There flies your ransome.

(68-71)

The Cardinal is worth nothing, not even ransom money. He acquires no grandeur in death, and his body does not

become a property to inspire or terrify others, as do the bodies of Antonio (artificial and real) and the Duchess. He has become "a little point, a kind of nothing" (98). Long before he had warned his sister that "Wisdom begins at the end" (I.i.366). At the end he recognizes his own nothingness, and his final words pass judgment upon his existence:

And now, I pray, let me
Be layd by, and never thought of.

(112-113)

Finally, in contrast to the Cardinal, Bosola dies with the flourish of a splendid actor, and acts as spokesman for the characters who have been swallowed by this chaos. The courtiers who break through the locked door, too late, form an audience to whom he justifies himself as

an Actor in the maine of all,
Much 'gainst mine owne good nature,...

(106-107)

His flamboyant, actor's ending, glorying to die "In so good a quarrell" (124), exalts him above the whining malcontent that he was in the first act (cf. I.i.56-62). His last words complete his early image of the traveller of life who must take himself along (I.i.42-45). Dying, he still carries himself along - murderer and spy - and at last he realizes that truth:

Let worthy mindes nere stagger in distrust
To suffer death, or shame, for what is just -
Mine is another voyage.

(127-129)

The character of Bosola is a complex one. He has, like Flamineo, some of the Vice's characteristics - he is satirist, presenter and tempter. Far more than Flamineo, he plays overtly symbolic rôles, but at the same time he is a more natural, human character. Evil is not of the texture of his being to the same extent as it is with the earlier hero-villain. His change of heart is more convincing than is Flamineo's (cf. White Devil, V.iv.107-109), and his final actions are an understandable mixture of viciousness, lack of reward, and remorse. He does "carry himself along": we know that his first journey, before

the play begins, is as a galley slave condemned for murder (I.i.70-74), and it is that self, with its human changes, which he carries on his final voyage. Bosola is one more example of Webster's journey motif contributing greatly to the unity and inevitability of the play's story.

In this play, as in The White Devil, Webster makes use of rituals and sacraments, taking his characters, by means of major ceremonies, through the crucial stages of their story. A perversion of sacraments and conventions again occurs: Brachiano's divorce can be compared with the more elaborate rituals of banishment and preparation for death in which the brothers take away the Duchess' wedding ring, and later present the dead hand and ring with which (she believes) she and Antonio celebrated their marriage. Again the Everyman test strips the characters to their essential being so that they must face their death unaided, to die greatly or weakly; and in the case of the Duchess, the theme of an execution, more briefly employed in The White Devil's final scene, expresses the injustice of her death while allowing her to die with the dignity of a noble victim. Certain motifs which Webster favours recur - dramatic staging within a 'locked' room, the giving of rings and hands, and the use of a dumb show to express a critical action and to give a ritualized formality to that action. Structurally, The Duchess of Malfi displays an orderly shape and logic that is not apparent in the earlier play. Finally, the appeal outward, from particular scene or image to conventional emblems, book illustrations, works of visual art, and earlier dramatic traditions is particularly interesting in relation to the Duchess herself, contributing as it does to the essential dichotomy of her character. She is both a warmly living individual, and a more universalized Duchess and victim of evil; she is also, as Cariola says, one in whom there reigns, in an intricate mixture, "the spirit of greatness, [and] of woman" (I.i.576).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. The White Devil, "To the Reader", Lucas, Works, I, p. 107.
2. Cf. Lucas, Works, II, pp. 3-5 and Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, vol. III, pp. 510-511.
3. Duchess of Malfi (1623), titlepage, sig. A2.
4. In Lucas, Works, III, pp. 301-304, esp. ll. 1-3; 38-40; and 77-80. Webster had written for the private theatre audiences earlier, when collaborating with Dekker on Westward Ho (1604) and Northward Ho (1605) for the Children of Pauls. Cf. Chambers, op.cit., vol. III, pp. 295-296.
5. Cf. John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, ed. John Russell Brown, The Revels Plays (London, 1964), pp. xxii-xxiii.
6. Cf. Induction to The Malcontent, ll. 77-80; Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. VI, pp. 32-33; and Irwin Smith, Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse (London, 1964), pp. 223-225, although Smith's examples come mainly from plays given by the Children's company.
7. Cf. Smith, op.cit., pp. 223-228.
8. The first quarto claims to include "diuerſe things Printed, that the length of the Play would not beure in the Presentment" (titlepage, sig. A2). Presumably the reference is to scenes not played in either theatre.
9. Cf. Nigel Alexander, "Intelligence in The Duchess of Malfi", John Webster, Mermaid Critical Commentaries, ed. Brian Morris (London, 1970), p. 109.
10. On the probable existence and use of a curtained structure for discovered scenes, see Irwin Smith, op.cit., pp. 342-343 and William A. Armstrong, The Elizabethan Private Theatres: Facts and Problems, The Society for Theatre Research, Pamphlet Series, no. 6 (London, 1958), pp. 6-9. The great popularity of hangings in contemporary houses is documented in W.G. Thomson, A History of Tapestry, rev. edn. (London, 1930), chaps. XII and XIII.
11. Cf. Wickham, Early English Stages, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 220 and Chambers, op.cit., vol. III, p. 108.
12. Cf. III.ii.265-266. Many contemporary portraits show their subjects wearing the gold chains of office and chivalric orders. See, e.g., Morse, Elizabethan Pageantry, pp. 37, 48, 61, 76, 82 and 89; and Hind, Engraving in England, Pt. II, esp. pls. 55-69.

13. Cf., e.g., White Devil, II.i.21-98 and Devil's Law-Case, I.ii.74-190.
14. Brown, Duchess of Malfi, pp. 25-26.
15. Perhaps Cariola is onstage during the Duchess' soliloquy, as an unobtrusive attendant. Lucas makes her enter with the Duchess and the Cardinal, after l. 317; but she certainly seems de trop during the brothers' warning speeches, in which threats and the family create the central themes. She could conveniently enter when the Duchess calls, at l. 390.
16. Frank W. Wadsworth questions the notion that Webster or his audience condemned the Duchess for remarriage or the disruption of degree. Cf. "Webster's Duchess of Malfi in the Light of Some Contemporary Ideas on Marriage and Remarriage", Philological Quarterly, XXXV (1956), pp. 394-407.
17. Frenchmen were said to "weare rings of Diamonds, and abroad Jewels in their hats, placed upon the roote of their feathers". Cf. Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary (1617), vol. IV (ed. Glasgow, 1908), p. 250. Antonio has just returned from France, and affects a French style of dress (I.i.2-3).
18. Lucas gives the stage direction: "[The Duchess draws the traverse revealing Antonio]" (beside ll. 406-409). The Duchess' words sound more like an entry for Antonio: "I sent for you, Sit downe" (l. 406). Perhaps he carries on his chair and desk, which could be a simple, single piece of furniture; or, if a chair and table have been placed onstage before the play begins, he may enter with a legless, portable writing desk, since he is presenting himself in his official Steward's guise. On chair tables, see M. Jourdain, English Decoration & Furniture Of The Early Renaissance, 1500-1650 (London, 1924), p. 233; fig. 383 illustrates an early seventeenth century legless desk. Sir Thomas Overbury, in an engraving by Renold Elstrack, is seated at just such a portable desk. Cf. Hind, op.cit., Pt. II, pl. 103(a).
19. On the nature and significance of church and secular marriage ceremonies, Ernest Schanzer makes some interesting comments with regard to Claudio in Measure for Measure. Cf. The Problem Plays of Shakespeare (London, 1963), pp. 75-79.
20. There is no specific stage direction indicating the presence of the bed, but there seems to me no doubt that it is the central property. The false key provides entry into her 'Bed-chamber' (III.i.96-98); we are told that all the characters are going to bed (III.i.43-45 and III.ii. passim); and Antonio will "get no lodging here, to-night" (III.ii.2), to which he answers, "I must lye here" (8). The use of beds

as properties on the contemporary stage was a common convention, cf. Chambers, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 113-114.

21. If the discovery space is open, revealing the bed, Antonio and Cariola may hide behind the rear hangings, which would represent wall hangings, although perhaps functioning as walls between stage area and tiring-house. If Antonio and Cariola actually exit ('Exeunt', sig. F4), the dramatic address which Ferdinand makes to the concealed lover would be enfeebled. Cf. ll. 107-112 and 156-157.
22. Cf. Samuel C. Chew, The Virtues Reconciled, The Alexander Lectures (Toronto, 1947), p. 14.
23. Cf. Elizabeth M. Brennan, ed., John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, The New Mermaids (London, 1964), p. 109, note to III.ii.146. According to Irwin Smith (*op.cit.*, p. 407), about nine lines of dialogue are required to cover the passage of a character up or down the concealed stairs.
24. On the existence of a wicket or grille in a stage door at the Blackfriars, cf. Armstrong, *op.cit.*, p. 6 and Irwin Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 325-328.
25. Cf. Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life, pp. 77-78.
26. Loretto is provided in the sources, from Bandello to Belleforest and Painter. Cf. Dent, John Webster's Borrowing, p. 216, and Gunnar Boklund, "The Duchess of Malfi": Sources, Themes, Characters (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 6 and 12.
27. Fynes Moryson describes the shrine of Loretto in detail, and explains that the chapel "is the very house" in which Mary made her miraculous journey from Nazareth. Cf. An Itinerary, vol. I (ed. Glasgow, 1907), pp. 214-217. Loretto was certainly famous in England. Thomas Gainsford, in The True and Wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck (London, 1618; B.M. 10815.b.18), says that, in the days of Henry VII, "the Lady of Walsingham [was] the most famous Shrine of our Country, as that of Loretto is at this hower for Italy" (pp. 19-20). According to Jusserand (*op.cit.*, pp. 197-198), the chapel at Walsingham was said to be a copy of the holy house at Loretto; the former, however, was destroyed during the Reformation. The sacred house of Loretto shown in our figure 13 includes votive offerings, representing limbs. It is intriguing, although doubtless fanciful, to see, in these votive limbs, the germ of the brothers' later punishments - the hand supposedly cut from Antonio's body (IV.i.65-67) and the verbal dismemberment effected in the letter (III.v.37-44).
28. The objects representing a pilgrim were easy to

- imitate and recognize. Richard II vows that he will give up the trappings of his royal life for those of a pilgrim - "a set of beads", "an almsman's gown", "a dish of wood", "a palmer's staff", and "a pair of carved saints" (Richard II, III.iii.147-152).
29. See T.W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude (Leicester, 1958), chap. IV: "Changes of Costume", pp. 73-92. Charles R. Forker suggests a link between this scene and Lust's Dominion. Cf. "A Possible Source for the Ceremony of the Cardinal's Arming in The Duchess of Malfi", Anglia, LXXXVII (1969), pp. 398-403.
30. R.K.R. Thornton argues that the "thing, arm'd with a Rake" comes from allegorical representations of the simoniacal churchman, and is an emblem of the Cardinal's adherence to worldly values. Cf. 'The Cardinal's Rake in The Duchess of Malfi', Notes & Queries, CCXIV (1969), pp. 295-296. On the stage, the figure of a devil or vice with a rake was fairly pervasive. In Thomas Preston's Cambyses King of Persia (c. 1584), the Vice, Ambidexter, enters in comical armour, with "a rake on his shoulder" (Tudor Facsimile Texts, ed. John S. Farmer [London], 1910, sig. A4^v). Dr. Elizabeth M. Brennan (op.cit., p. xiii) remarks that the figure with the rake recalls "the devils of the mystery plays who, armed with pitchforks, herded the bad souls into hell".
31. Two points in the elaborate ceremonial investiture of a knight bear important parallels: "the investiture with armour, spurs, and sword", and "the fixing of the helmet". Cf. Edgar Prestage, ed., Chivalry (London, 1928), p. 24.
32. Lucas (Works, II, p. 177) thinks the prison must be near Milan, since her grave is supposed to be in Milan (V.iii); but I believe we are to accept Bosola's assertion that she is being taken to her palace (III. v.125). The unlikely later move to Milan need not trouble us in a play that is not always concerned with exact details (cf. the 'dead' children in IV.i. and the Duchess' dying thoughts for their health, IV.ii.207-209). For the thematic merit of the move to Milan beginning in the fifth act, cf. Clifford Leech, "The Function of Locality in the Plays of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries", The Elizabethan Theatre [I], ed. David Galloway (Toronto, 1969), pp. 111-112.
33. Muriel C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy (Cambridge, 1935; reprinted 1969), p. 207.
34. Moryson (op.cit., vol. IV, p. 234) says that "[t]he graver sort of Citizens weare gownes". Morse (op.cit., p. 113), under the heading 'Gown', claims that they were worn by "sedate and elderly men of all classes".
35. Inga-Stina Ekeblad (Mrs. I.-S. Ewbank), 'The "Impure Art" of John Webster', RES, n.s. IX (1958), pp. 253-267.

36. E.g., White Devil, V.vi.193-195 and 210-214.
37. Cf. Lucas, Works, II, pp. 185-186.
38. In a ballad entitled Devol's La(t Farewel, a woodcut shows the protagonist hanging at Tyburn, while the executioners in attendance (designated by axes, despite the hanging) have their heads hidden in sack-like garments tied at the neck, with a large hat on top. Cf. The Bagford Ballads, vol. I, number 47.
39. "The Earl of Essex's Apprehension, Arraignment, and Execution", in John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, new edn. (London, 1823), vol. III, pp. 544-550. The quoted passage is on p. 549.
40. Ibid., p. 549.
41. Ralph Berry speaks of the thematic relationship between Ferdinand and the law, and sees him as "the judge [who] explicitly renounces his right to judge, and goes mad". Cf. The Art of John Webster (Oxford, 1972), pp. 44-45.
42. On this medieval theme in the drama, see Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, pp. 63-67, and W. Roy Mackenzie, The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory (Boston and London, 1914), Chap. VII, pp. 202-210.
43. See above, p. 104, n. 73.
44. See, for example, an Elizabethan broadside, The Daunce and Song of Death (1569?), reproduced in Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley, Calif., 1936), p. 292; and Hans Holbein, The Dance of Death, trans. and ed. Henry Green, The Holbein-Society's Fac-simile Reprints, vol. I (Manchester and London, 1869). Miss Ekeblad notes the dance and Dance of Death elements in this scene. Cf. art. cit., pp. 259-260 and 262-263. The Dance of Death skeleton, like the Newgate bellman, sometimes announces his final message with a bell. Cf. the ballad, Death's Dance, in The Roxburghe Ballads, ed. Charles Hindley (London, 1873), vol. I, p. 365, where the woodcut shows a skeleton with an arrow ringing a bell, while a man lies in a canopied bed.
45. Cf. E.P. Evans, Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture (London, 1896), pp. 150-151 and 153. Interestingly, the wolf is a symbol applied to lewd women; Ferdinand seems to inherit the curses he lays upon his sister.
46. Judges 16: 29-30.
47. Cf., e.g., Edward Hawkins, Medallic Illustrations of

- the History of Great Britain and Ireland, ed. Augustus W. Franks and Herbert A. Grueber (London, 1885), vol. I, pp. 157-158 nos. 136-137 (celebrating the marriage of James I) and pp. 201-204 nos. 32-36 (commemorating the marriage of James' daughter, Elizabeth, 1613).
48. On the symbolism and Renaissance popularity of the entwined Graces, see Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, 2nd edn. (1967; rpt. London, 1968), esp. pp. 36-80. The Three Graces motif was popular in English masques; cf., e.g., Samuel Daniel, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses (The True Description of a Royall Masque), London, 1604; B.M. C.21.c.69), and Ben Jonson, Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly (1611; Herford, Simpson and Simpson, op.cit., vol. VII, pp. 357-371), in both of which the Graces have singing rôles.
49. Lucas (Works, II, p. 140) compares her figure in alabaster with The Merchant of Venice, I.i.83-84:
 "Why should a man, whose blood is warm within,
 Sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster?"
 But Webster has given the image a specific twist by making the funerary figure her own, fashioned while she is still living, part of the theatrical scene at her first husband's tomb.
50. Cf. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd edn. (London, 1974), 'Reliquary', p. 1172, and on caskets generally, cf. John Gloag, A Short Dictionary of Furniture, rev. edn. (London, 1969), 'Casket', pp. 189-190.
51. Cf. W.H. St. John Hope, "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England", Archaeologia, LX, ii (1907), pp. 517-570. Hope speaks of the custom, which continued more than a century after the death of Henry VIII, "of representing the dead sovereign outside the coffin by a counterfeit presentment in carved wood or modelled wax" (p. 541). Wax was an important and costly element in royal funerals, in part for making the 'persona' or image; cf. R.P. Howgrave-Graham, "The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies: New Light on Portraiture in Westminster Abbey", Archaeologia, XCVIII (1961), pp. 159-169, esp. 162. In 1612, the image of Prince Henry (which, however, may have been of wood) was drawn through the streets of London, lying on the coffin lid as in our figure 18, and dressed as when he lived; cf. Nichols, The Progresses...of James I, vol. II, pp. 494 n. 1 and 501 ff. Webster's debt to Sidney and other sources has received attention (cf. Lucas, Works, II, p. 178; Dent, op.cit., p. 216; and Boklund, op.cit., pp. 45 and 51-52). But Webster's usage is specifically his own, making of the bodies static funerary objects in a tomb-like alcove.

52. Cf. the tomb of Lady Carey, 1617/18, that was made for her by Nicholas Stone during her lifetime, reproduced in Margaret Whinney, Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964), pl. 16 and see p. 26. John Weaver, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments (London, 1631; B.M. 578.i.5), has a chapter (V) on the reasons why men build their tombs during their lifetime, one reason being "to please themselves, in the beholding of their dead countenance in marble" (p. 18).
53. Cf., e.g., the numerous niche tableau tombs reproduced in Eric Mercer, English Art, 1553-1625 (Oxford, 1962), pls. 78, 79, 83(a), 84 and 85. George R. Kernodle discusses tombs and their relation to the Elizabethan stage in From Art to Theatre (Chicago, 1944), chap. II, esp. pp. 53-58.
54. The anonymous portrait with its tomb is reproduced in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pl. 627.
55. Cf. Antonio on the nobility of suffering, V.iii.70-72.
56. Cf. Irwin Smith, op.cit., p. 27.
57. Cf. Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, ed. Walter W. Skeat, Early English Text Society (London, 1867), pp. 7-8, ll. 181-185:
 "Tombs opon tabernacles . tyld opon lofte,
 Housed in hirnes . harde set abouten,
 Of armede alabaustre . clad for þe nones,
 [Made vpon marbel . in many maner wyse,
 Knyghtes in her conisantes . clad for þe nones]".
 The text and a modern rendering are given in Irwin Smith, op.cit., pp. 548-549.
58. Cf. Irwin Smith, op.cit., pp. 52-53.
59. The existence of windows on the upper level of the stage is discussed in W.J. Lawrence, "Windows on the Pre-Restoration Stage", The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies, 2nd s. (Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1913), pp. 23-54, and specifically at the Blackfriars theatre, in Irwin Smith, op.cit., p. 401. On the physical details of this scene's setting, see William A. Armstrong, "Actors and Theatres", Shakespeare Survey, 17 (1964), p. 200.
60. In The Second Maiden's Tragedy (1611; The Malone Society Reprints), a stage direction reads "the Toombstone flies open, and a great light appears in the midst of the Toombe; His Lady as went owt, standing iust before hym" (IV.iv. p. 61). Professor Brown (op.cit., p. xxxv) suggests that Webster may have devised his Echo scene after seeing this play performed. Chambers (op.cit., vol. III, pp. 109-110) cites stage directions "which suggest that the Jacobeans had made considerable progress in the art of stage pyrotechnics". Perhaps V.iii.55-57 makes use of some such potential.

61. On the echo as a conventional device, cf. Brown, *op.cit.*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
62. O.E.D.: "Fortune. 1. Chance, hap, or luck...; 6. Position as determined by wealth". Both meanings are supported by quotations from Shakespeare.
63. Cf. Babb, Elizabethan Malady, p. 75 and p. 78 n. 21.
64. Cecil W. Davies draws attention to a connection between the horse dung, Bosola's provisorship and Antonio's horsemanship. Cf. "The Structure of The Duchess of Malfi: An Approach", English, XII (Autumn, 1958), pp. 89-90.
65. A handkerchief would be a simple covering, and might easily have been tucked into Bosola's sleeve, or even worn by the Duchess. On the titlepage of Robert Armin's The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke (London, 1609; B.M. C.34.c.1) a woodcut shows Armin in a gown with various articles hanging from the girdle, one being a handkerchief.
66. The personifications in Middleton's The Triumphs of Honour and Industry (1617) include "Justice furnished with her sword and balance" (cf. Bullen, Middleton, vol. VII (1886), p. 305). Webster, in Monuments of Honor (Lucas, Works, III), also includes the figure of Justice, but takes her attributes for granted: "Justice with her properties" (l. 335). In Dekker's Britannia's Honor (1628), "Justice holds a Sword" (cf. Bowers, Dekker, vol. IV (1961), p. 87). Chew (*op.cit.*, pp. 96-98) asserts that the Elizabethans and Jacobeans paid more attention to the sword as the attribute of Justice than to the scales. The book is only one of the many symbols of Truth. In Queen Elizabeth's pageant entry into London, 1558/9, appeared the figure of "Trueth, who helde a booke in her hande" (cf. Nichols, Progresses and Processions of Elizabeth, vol. I, p. 50). In Peacham's Minerva Britanna, Veritas holds a book and the verses explain that "Her booke [signifies] the strength she holds by historie" (p. 134, sig. VI). A book could also be a symbol of Religion (cf. Dekker, *ed. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 87), which would also accord well with the perversions of this murderous churchman. Chew reproduces emblematic illustrations of Justice with sword and scale (c. 1600), *op.cit.*, pl. 14, and of Truth with the book (1637), pl. 10.
67. On the dramatic and visual representations of Despair, see Chew, *op.cit.*, pp. 110-116. Cf., also, George Wither, Abvses Stript, and Whipt (London, 1613; B.M. 1076.c.1), sig. G5v:

"this is that
 We call Deſpaire, with ghastly looks he ſtands,
 And poiſons, ropes, or pain-yards fills his hands,
 Still ready to do hurt; one ſtep no more,
 Reaches from hence vnto damnations dore[.]"

Cited in part in Chew, *ibid.*, p. 114, from the 1622 edition.

68. See above, p. 189 n. 30.
69. Bosola's words are, of course, ambiguous. He does not mean that the light is false to him, but that it is a friend because it can be false to others, hiding its light. It is presumably a dark lantern like that fetched by the Servant at V.iv.47 - in other words a lantern with a movable cover to obscure the light. The 1708 quarto, The Unfortunate Duche^B of Malfy, or, the Unnatural Brothers (London; B.M. 644.i.71) provides Bosola with the dark lantern and Antonio with a candle for this entry (II.iii; sig. D3^V).
70. The light motif, with the removal of actual stage lights and the irrevocable extinction of life, can be compared with Othello, V.ii.7-13. J.L. Styan, speaking of Desdemona's death, comments that this use of the taper makes of her bed a sacrificial altar. Cf. Shakespeare's Stagecraft (Cambridge, 1967), p. 33.
71. See above, p. 192 n. 60. The Duchess may actually appear later as a ghost (V.ii.380-381), or Bosola may be right in thinking the vision is nothing but his melancholy. Cf. Isabella's ghost and Francisco's melancholy in The White Devil (IV.i.103-116).
72. If the terrace were used, problems would arise in the rest of the scene, for presumably the Cardinal and Bosola are on the same level with Ferdinand, but they must surely be below during the poisoning of Julia, while Bosola hides behind the arras. Further, it would seem perverse to use the less visible balcony for a scene in which the stage business requires Ferdinand to throw himself on the ground and throttle his shadow.
73. Cf., e.g., the galleries in Arundel House, shown in the companion portraits of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and his wife, painted by Daniel Mytens (c. 1618), and reproduced in Oliver Millar, The Age of Charles I, pls. 1 and 2. The gallery shown behind the Countess is on the ground floor.
74. Isabella went nightly to visit Brachiano's "picture, and to feed her eyes and lippes / On the dead shadow" (White Devil, II.ii.27-28). Cf. Monuments of Honor, ll. 9-11.
75. The 1708 quarto allows for four cloaks which are taken off, one by one (sig. I2^V). The purpose of the original action may be in part a preparation for the battle which he proposes (ll. 70-71), rather akin to rolling up one's sleeves.

76. Very few exits are marked in the quarto, but this exchange is clearly dialogue preparing for an exit.
77. Art. cit., p. 112.
78. Cf. John Ford, The Broken Heart, ed. Morris, II.iii. 75-76: Penthea tells Orgilus, who has taken off his scholar's disguise, to "put on / [His] borrowed shape". The stage direction to Act III, scene 1 gives an entry for Orgilus "in his owne shape" (sig. E2 in the 1633 quarto).

CHAPTER THREE: APPIUS AND VIRGINIA

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The text of Appius and Virginia is quoted from The Complete Works of John Webster, ed. F.L. Lucas (London, 1927), vol. III (hereinafter Lucas, Works, III). The stage directions are quoted from the first edition:
 APPIUS / AND / VIRGINIA. / A / TRAGEDY. // BY / JOHN WEBSTER. // [printer's device] // Printed in the Year 1654. / [B.M. 644.f.74.]

APPIUS AND VIRGINIA

After Webster's two Italian tragedies, we come to the Roman play, Appius and Virginia - the last of the works which I will be discussing before turning to the tragedies of Ford. After the complexities, the lush staging, the dynamic ambiguities of The White Devil and The Duchess of Malfi, Appius and Virginia seems, in action and staging, much more simple, direct, austere. The first published edition of this play did not appear until 1654, thus allowing perhaps thirty years for playhouse adulteration. The dates which have been postulated for the play's first performance range widely - over Webster's whole career - from 1603 to 1635, although recent critical opinion tends to place the work late in the playwright's canon, around 1624.¹ If the play is a late work, it may show Webster's movement towards a greater clarity in the distribution of vice and virtue, from The White Devil where known guilt appears virtuous in the trial; to The Duchess of Malfi where the virtuous Duchess is ambiguously likened to her corrupt world (for example, when jesting with religion); to The Devils' Law-Case where innocence and wickedness are fairly clearly differentiated, but somewhat ignored in the final unsatisfactory pairing off; to Appius and Virginia with its complete and consistent contrast. But whether Webster had a full, or indeed any, hand in this tragedy has been questioned,² despite the (admittedly late) quarto attribution. While absolute proof of authorship cannot be based purely upon internal evidence, I will discuss, in this chapter's final section, the probability, from the point of view of dramaturgy, that the playwright of at least parts of Appius and Virginia was Webster.

I. a) Locality and 'place'.

Rupert Brooke, discussing the characteristics of Appius and Virginia, mentions "the vagueness of locality" in the play.³ The remark is misleading, and betrays an inability to visualize or appreciate the unified

construction of the tragedy. Two poles of existence, city and camp, are quickly established (I.i.134ff.). They are exposed in contrasting scenes; but, further, a consciousness of the absent locality continually intrudes upon the present visible setting by means of verbal scene painting or analogies. In terms of theatrical construction, there is a hurried movement to and from the camp - of Virginius, messengers, letters. This movement is sometimes symbolic, as when Virginius brings blood (representing disharmony and the injustice inflicted upon him) into the Senate House (cf. I.ii.39-45), and back from the city to his soldiers (IV.ii; sig. H). Metaphorically, the playwright creates a physical interdependence between the two extremes. Mother Rome and her stewards (the Senators) are begged to

help with [their] able arms
To prop a sinking camp - ...
(I.iv.57-58)

But Rome is

growne a most unnaturall mother,
To those who have held [her] by the golden locks
From sinking into ruine....
(II.ii.49-51)

These vivid pictures of outstretched arms and a pitiful decline give a keen sense of mutual dependence. It is important to the interpretation of the story that from the beginning of the play, the balance between place and place - between Rome and her army - has been upset. Only by accepting the great significance given to the city, the camp, and the united concept of Rome, can the tragedy be appreciated with its wider meaning, and not only as the personal story of Appius and Virginia. In the person of Virginius the particular and general stories are united. He is the champion of virtue against injustice - of his daughter's virginity against Appius' lust; of his soldiers' protective 'discipline' against the senators' criminal neglect. Disease spreads figuratively between the camp and the city, and this disease erupts in Virginius himself, in a breathless 'distraction' (II.ii.174-182) and a trembling fever (V.i.76-104). When the actor plays Virginius as if possessed by a fury

(125-126), he is symbolizing the evil of Rome absorbed by its champion, and only to be purged with the blood of Appius.

This dramatically and symbolically potent structure of camp and city is Webster's addition to his sources; in the latter, the camp is of minimal significance until after the death of Virginia.⁴ The play's world is concentric: Rome, with its luxury, ease and surfeit, is at the centre, and the camp is

the iron wall
That rings this Pomp in from invasive steel...
(I.iv.70-71)

But this outer encircling foe is less dangerous than the internal disease:

I'll wish our foes
No greater plague than to have [the mutinous soldiers']
company[.]
(II.ii.170-171)

There is a second outer locality, beyond the iron wall, and that is the grim emptiness of banishment. The private citizen is offered the choice of public duty or banishment. Appius must decide

either to accept
The place propos'd you, or be banished Rome
Immediately:...
(I.i.27-29)

The choice draws from Appius a cry which runs with anguish through Webster's plays: "Or banisht Rome!" (38). The horror of banishment emphasizes the central and engrossing importance of Rome to her citizens. However, the theme of banishment is satirized, for Appius at once reveals his 'cunning' - he longs for the "place propos'd". Aside to his servant he whispers:

I must be one of the Decemviri,
Or banish't Rome? Banisht! laugh, my trusty Marcus,
I am inforc't to my ambition.
(52-54)

In the dissembled moral seriousness of his acceptance, Appius makes metaphoric use of the theme of banishment:

I must inhabit now a place unknowne,
You see't compels me leave you. Fare you well.
l. COZEN. To banishment, my Lord?

APPIUS. Banisht from all my kindred and my friends,
Yea banisht from my selfe; for I accept
This honourable calling.

(84-93)

A neatly paradoxical situation is thus created: a high 'place' in Rome resembles banishment from Rome. The irony of Appius' hypocrisy becomes evident when he and Virginius are held up to this interpretation of duty. Virginius, not the Decemvir, is constantly "given up / To a long travell" (I.i.87-88), banished from his friends' pleasures, and despised in the city. Appius, in contrast, seeks the gratification of his pleasures, using the tools of his official office - the Lictors - to track down Virginia.

Presumably Brooke's statement about vague locality concerns individual scenes that take place somewhere in private houses, open places, and court chambers. But once one notices the integral thematic relevance of 'place' in its double meaning of physical locality and social or political position, one finds a more specific localization in many of the scenes. The settings represent aspects of Roman life that have been abused or are in danger, and together they compose that physically united entity that is the play's world.

The first scene takes place (quite naturally) on neutral ground, where the public and private worlds meet, and the public triumphs. This unidentified place is simply 'Rome', offering the threat of banishment from the state. Only at the end of the scene, after Appius has accepted his eminent place, does the setting shrink to represent the City, not the 'State' or 'Empire'. At once, as he assumes his official rôle, Appius identifies himself with the city, and sets up the camp as a contrast, almost a foe. Minutius is ordered to hasten to the camp:

to appease the minde
Of the intemperate souldier.

(139-140)

Appius completes the scene with a significant couplet:

The gods goe with you, and be still at hand
To adde a triumph to your bold command.

(145-146)

A Roman triumph celebrated the conquest of a foe, and bore in its train prisoners who had once been honoured amongst the vanquished. Such a triumph Cleopatra feared, and Bajazeth and Zabina suffered.⁵ Virginius and Virginia, in slaves' habits at the trial, are the spoils of Appius' triumph, to gain which he has starved and impoverished the

camp nearly to death (I.iii.50-53; II.iii.94-95; and II.ii.4-6 and 32-47). Clodius likens the victory over Virginia to a battle when he advises Appius, if their plan fails, to

siege her Virgin Tower
With t[w]o prevailing engines, feare and power.
(I.iii.59-60)

The second scene moves to a private house - presumably that of Virginius, since Virginia's chamber is at hand (I.ii.34), but Numitorius is clearly the host:

Noble Icilius welcome - teach your selfe
A bolder freedome here,...

(1-2)

No specific, identifying properties are necessary: welcome, freedom, and a private love affair are here, in contrast with public duty in scene i. But the outer world threatens an intrusion. With vivid verbal painting Icilius portrays the disquieting scene of Virginius' entry into the city, surrounded by "troopes of artisans" (28). Carefully Virginia is closeted away in her chamber, while the two men rush off

To' th Senate house, and there enquire how neare
The body moves of this our threatned fear.

(48-49)

Obviously the Senate House (I.iv) and court room (IV.i) are specific locations (although possibly both using the same properties) as well as representations of the civic, legislative, judicial powers of Rome, just as the camp represents its military power. In the Senate and trial scenes, localizing stage properties gain a symbolic significance which is central to two related themes: the dichotomy of 'place' or rôle, and the individual who fills it; and the turning of Fortune's Wheel, the (rise and) Fall of Princes. The Bench and the Judgement seat become symbols of the position of ruler and judge, and by extension, of Justice itself. A corrupt man may sit in the seat of justice, but it is to the seat itself that Virginius (I.iv.50) and the dissembling Clodius (III.ii.180-181) appeal their case. In particular, the use of the word 'Bench' to represent the Senators sitting upon it (I.iv.112) shows how much

these scenes are created in terms of the contemporary Jacobean world, familiar through such titles as the Court of King's Bench, or the Benchers. The abuse of Justice thus symbolized is both ironical and frightening. Virginius adds to the contemporary relevance by introducing the "great star-chamber" (I.iv.9), a favourite source of Elizabethan and Jacobean irony. The star chamber to which he refers, of course, is the open sky which canopies his poor soldiers' "cold field-beds" (10). But for Webster's audience, the Star Chamber would at once suggest the court (sitting beneath its star-studded roof as, probably, the actors are playing beneath the star-painted 'heavens' over the stage) which dealt with "such offences as riots, slanders, and libels, or even criticisms on magistrates or great officers".⁶ Threatened riot, the slander of Virginia, and the criticism of Appius are foreshadowed, and grow from this first abused judgement seat, when Appius, as the city's voice, will not give justice to the starving soldiers.

Besides the official Senate and court localities, other scenes make effective use of a stage seat or chair. The eminent place becomes an attribute of Appius. When he chooses and offers other seats, he does so with calculated condescension. In Act II, scene iii, Appius appears to have usurped Justice for his personal realm. No longer is he the city's voice from the chair (as in I.iv.35). The scene is set within his own house, where petitioners await, and where Icilius, offered "a second Chaire" (46), is given a show of respect that ill conceals injustice. Again, in Act III, scene ii, Appius calls for "Stooles for my noble friends" (168), making an impromptu court in the Forum, and acting out a pre-determined play of specious justice.

The camp scenes (II.ii and IV.ii) are, as clearly as the Senate, Court and Prison, specifically located. Verbal pictures of the miserable camp are made poignant by pictures of life outside that setting - evocations of the general's banquets (II.ii.34-37); of city life (45-47 and 62-64); and of Appius' feasts (IV.ii.16). The camp is not a vague military setting, but (again in verbal

painting) a place of cold, wet trenches (II.ii.32-34) where dead animals lie in stinking ditches (IV.ii.33-38) and where ravens and crows feed upon the dead (II.ii.81-83). Perhaps the Hut is an open tent booth or discovery space filled with innumerable poor sleeping sacks (IV.ii.1-7), which would contrast with the "soft pillowes" attributed to the city fathers (I.iv.114).

The two Forum scenes (III.ii and V.i) are perfectly justifiable locations. The former does not, as Arthur M. Clark complains, change illogically to a court chamber at line 168.⁷ The casual treatment of justice; the refusal, first to try the case, then to delay the trial; and the carefully rehearsed rôles played by Appius and his pander, all make this scene a travesty of justice, and a parody of the formal Senate and court scenes. The second of these Forum scenes requires an open space in which the armies can come together. Space itself becomes dramatically charged as the two generals, Virginius and Icilius, backed by their troops, oppose each other on the stage in battle array. Their military language (V.i.62-71) must be visually supported by pikes (cf. II.ii.134-135), swords (cf. II.ii.9) and armour to give a genuine impression of danger:

We wil not trust our General 'twixt the Armies,
But upon terms of hostage.

(V.i.65-66)

This opposition is the playwright's addition, for in the sources of the story, the city and camp forces are united in a single accord of hatred for the Decemviri.⁸ The two generals present a contrast of the old Roman values against the personal motives of youthful love (110-130). The contrast is also physical, the actor of Virginius wearing a white wig (cf. IV.i.48-49), and the two men address each other with appropriate epithets - "Old man" (V.i.110), "Young man" (118). From the opposing armies, Minutius and Numitorius are chosen as hostages, and the stage direction reads: they "meet, embrace, salute the Generals" (sig. H3^V). The potentially dangerous space between the two armies becomes instead the united front for their march on the Senate.

The prison scene, following immediately upon the exit of the armies, is given an enhanced atmosphere of desolation and emptiness because of this contrast with the previously crowded stage. No additional properties are required to transform the scene into the "loathsome dungeon" (V.ii.34). The audience has already been warned that Appius is 'committed' (V.i.1), and the prison scene opens with Appius and Clodius appearing "fettered and gyved" (sig. I). Probably, as Lucas suggests,⁹ the prisoners are discovered, and the discovery space represents the cell. The wicket or barred window, sometimes hypothesized as being a feature of one stage door,¹⁰ could give the impression of a prison grille if Virginius and the others later enter by that door (sig. I^V). In the preceding scene, the attention of the audience is dispersed over the stage platform. Space charged with significance extends towards us, to the front of the stage; and the armies (surely the complement of available actors) would somewhat obscure the stage doors. With the orderly exit of the armies (which must take some time to effect) our eye naturally follows the retreating soldiers to the façade and the doors that close upon them. With the discovery of the prisoners, our attention remains focussed at the rear of the stage and the façade, as a wall, becomes potent again.

The playwright makes the audience dramatically aware of the space dividing the visual field onstage from the mentally visualized offstage world of the play. Superficially, distance between the city and the camp is manipulated. The audience is made aware of the speed and consequent weariness with which Virginius, the living link between the two, must travel (I.ii.26-41; I.iv.155-163). Conflicting messengers hasten to the camp to urge and to prevent his journey to Rome and the trial (III.ii.385-388 and III.iii.1-5). To his friends, the camp seems desperately far away, leaving them weak and defenceless (III.i.125-126); but tension and uncertainty are given to this distance because Appius fears that the army (and Virginius) are not quite far enough off for comfort (III.iii.1-5).

Of greater dramatic interest than this rather elastic distance between the extremes of the play's world, is the effective use of the stage façade as an uneasy boundary between the visible scene and a near, but unseen, locality. At its simplest, most conventional level this form of construction can be found in Act I, scene ii when Icilius, playing the rôle of the classical nuntius, describes Virginius' arrival in Rome with "troopes of artisans" who "Follow his panting horse...with a strang, / Confused noyse" (28-30). The distance between the stage and this verbalized scene is not neutral, for Numitorius and Icilius, fearing its portent, rush off to join it at the Senate House. A similar descriptive process attains greater dramatic tension in Act IV, scene ii. The scene has shifted from the trial (and death of Virginia) to the camp. In contrast to the mutiny in Act II, the conduct of the soldiers now is orderly, and they are drawn up under their new leader, the representative and totally unindividualized "worthy Roman" (64). The "first mutinous Souldier" (sig. H) rushes on to describe (as Icilius had done) Virginius' arrival "in a strange shape of distraction" (71). A huge crowd - half Rome's people, it seems - "dog his frighted steps" (74). The audience is conscious of the fearsome scene drawing nearer. Minutius prepares for "this novel" (79) by ranging his men in warlike fashion before the façade, ordering them to

Wall in this portent
With men and harnesse, be it ne're so dreadful.

(80-81)

An offstage noise of extras warns of Virginius' imminent entrance:

Hee's entred, by the clamour of the camp,
That entertaines him with these ecchoing showts.

(82-83)

At last he bursts onstage, a frightful spectacle indeed, stained in blood and waving still his knife. The "ring of steele" (80) surrounds Virginius as the mutineers had encircled him (II.ii.99-100), but now the soldiers are breathlessly paralyzed, partly perhaps from the tenacious affection that, according to Minutius, soldiers exhibit (IV.ii.84-85); but partly because Virginius is such a

strange, unreal sight. His appearance bespeaks violence, yet he fears no weapon, offers no resistance, and longs for death.

Again, in the prison scene, the stage façade is a vital boundary. At first, when Appius and Clodius are alone, and isolated even further by their accusations against each other, the prison seems solid and solitary. But, with the entry of Virginius and the soldiers, the dungeon does not seem deep or strong enough:

VIRG. Souldiers, keep a strong guard whilst we survey
Our sentenc'd prisoners. And from this deep dungeon
Keep off that great concourse, whose violent hands
Would ruine this stone building and drag hence
This impious Judg, peice-meal to tear his limbs
Before the Law convince him.

(V.ii.41-46)

The audience and characters are made aware of a huge mob, just offstage, threatening to break through and enter, bringing bloodthirsty vengeance instead of legal punishment. But the Law and the violent multitude both, in fact, demand the same result - retribution. When Virginius, now acting as judge, begins to soften before this example of "Uncertain fate" (66) which he sees in Appius' fall, Icilius leaves to fetch the virgin's body, as a reminder that strict justice is demanded. While, onstage, Numitorius and Minutius attempt to convince Virginius by rational argument of the action required by his new 'place' (81-85), an offstage shout goes up (sig. I2) from the mob beyond the "strong guard", signalling the approach of Icilius and his burden. The populace, as the succeeding action reveals, has acted now as a support to the decision of the Law. At the same time, this shout increases the tension and excitement that accompany the entry of the bleeding body.

Thus we can see that place, as setting and as symbolic position, provides verbal and stage support for certain themes; and the setting of individual scenes within a larger world is organized with attention to dramatic effect.

b) 'State' and staging.

For Act IV, scene i, and probably for Act I, scene iv also, a judgement seat for Appius and benches for the Senators are required. The state or throne is a conveniently inclusive symbol of royal, civic and judicial power. The state, on raised steps, with overhanging canopy and side curtains, is the seat of the king in parliament and is portrayed in innumerable illustrations of the monarch.¹¹ The chair of state is a symbol of city power, the Lord Mayor being described as an alderman who has "passed the chair".¹² Judges at sessions sat upon raised and canopied benches;¹³ and Philemon Holland, translating Livy, mentions among the symbols of the Roman consul, "the yvorie chaire of estate, called Sella curulis".¹⁴ Appius, combining in his person a Roman Lord Mayor and judge, also aspires to the absolute power of a tyrant, likening his position to that of the gods (I.i.120-122 and V.ii.140-141). The various meanings of an official chair can easily be represented in the stage state, while it, in turn, resembles the theatre's heavenly throne, thus suggesting the even greater height towards which Appius' ambition soars.¹⁵

The importance of the seat as a symbol of power exists independently of the individual who sits in it. An amusing example of this situation is to be found in Thomas Milles' The Catalogve of Honor (1610) (see figure 20). Here, an existing illustration of Elizabeth, enthroned, has been transformed into James by a change of heads and minor heraldic details. The state and even the occupant's hands and robe require no alteration.¹⁶ The elevated throne is a potentially ambivalent symbol - of human exaltation, and also of dangerous ambition. The man on the earthly throne is merely mortal, capable of a fall, and hence the state is a convenient image in the Wheel of Fortune theme.¹⁷ In Holbein's Totentanz (1538), Death surprises Pope and Emperor as they sit upon their raised and canopied state.¹⁸ Webster, in his Lord Mayor's pageant of 1624, Monuments of Honor, calls for elevated and canopied seats as visual settings of honour for royal

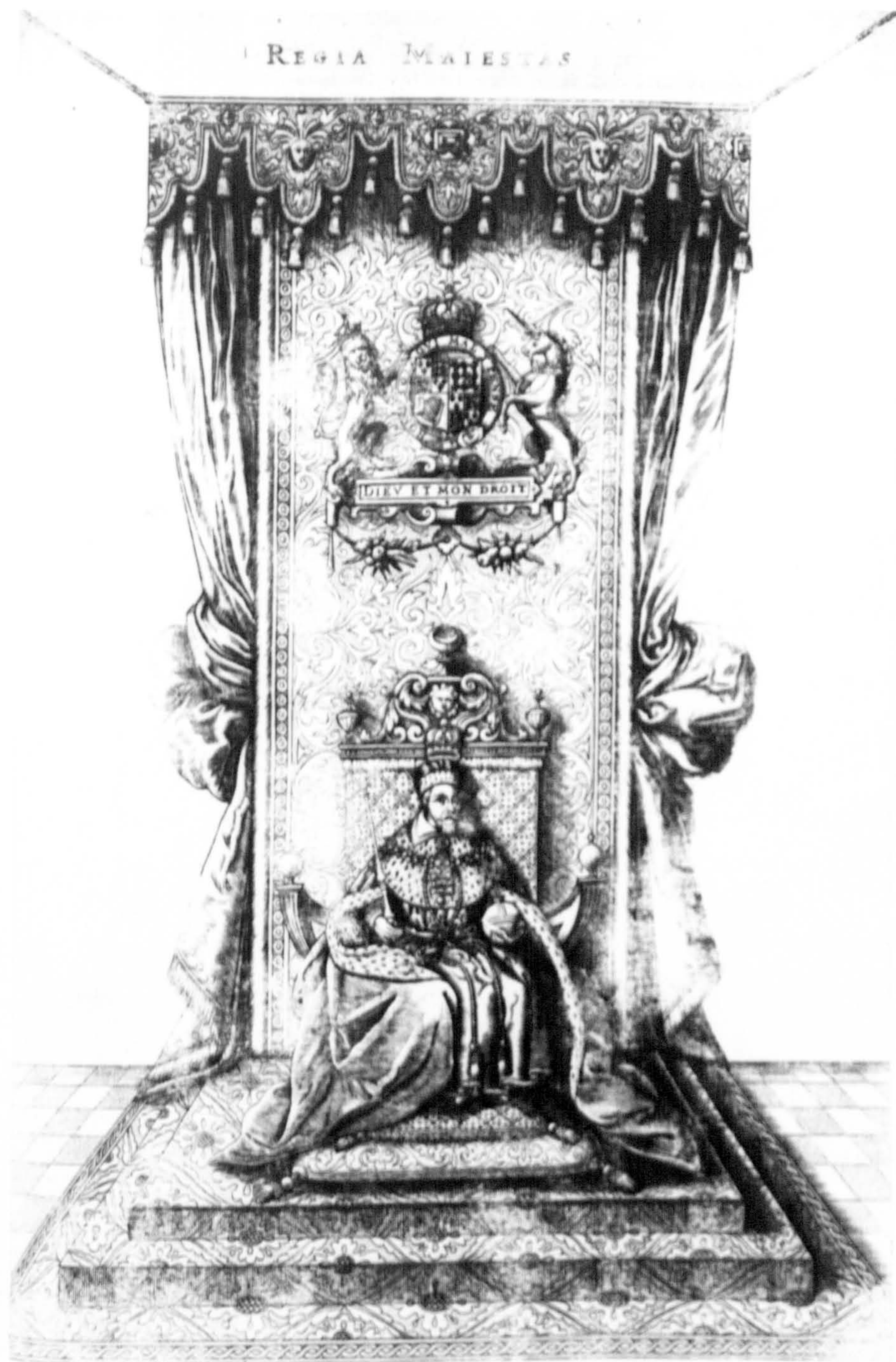


Figure 20. The James version of the Regia Maiestas. The throne, with its steps and canopy, is the permanent symbol of royal power on which the occupant is only temporary - the head alone distinguishes James from his predecessor. The raised seat, which would be imitated by the stage state, resembles other official chairs - those of a judge and a Lord Mayor. From Thomas Milles, The Catalogue of Honor (London, 1610; B.M. G. 7256), p. 61. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

and emblematic personages.¹⁹

Possibly the state is visible onstage when the play begins. Act I, scene i involves a brief ceremonial assumption of power. Robes and chair together form two symbols of Lord Mayor and Decemvir alike, and the robes are formally presented to Appius in this scene:

Worthy Appius,
The gods conduct you hither: Lictors, His robes!
(I.i.94-95)

Perhaps 'hither' draws him towards the eminent seat. Certainly, on his acceptance he says:

 this reverend seat
Receives me as a pupill

(102-103);

and the Second Cozen may be referring to a visible seat when he asks:

 Who shall dare t'oppose
Himselfe against our Family, when yonder
Shall sit your power, and frowne?

(35-37)

Although in succeeding scenes (I.iv and IV.i), the official seats of Appius and the Senators are located indoors - in the Senate House and in a contemporary courtroom with its judgement bar, the emblematic presence of the seat in scene i would not disturb a Jacobean audience (cf. fig. 21). The state, for example, features in the out-of-doors pageantry accompanying James' ascension to power.²⁰ Further, in the various sources of the Roman story available to Webster - Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Holland's Livy, Painter - the judgement seat is in the open forum.²¹ Possibly, also, the state may be onstage in Act II, scene iii when the petitioners and Icilius present themselves and their papers before the judge. Appius calls only for a second chair (46), his own being already onstage. Again, in Act III, scene ii, one might assume that the Forum Tribunal seat is visible for the appeal (as in Dionysius and Livy),²² and that the stools are added for his friends, while he ascends the state. Because the chair becomes a symbol of Appius and his abuse of Justice, the repeated use of the stage state would be effective.



Figure 21. "The Entrance of Queen Elizabeth", from George Carleton's A Thankfvll Remembrance of Gods Mercy, 3rd edn. (London, 1627; B.M. 807.c.22), p. 1. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

The possible staging of a number of scenes leads me to postulate the use of a convenient stage property. The state, as can be seen in figure 20, resembles an open tent. Now, a tent would be a likely stage property for the two camp scenes (II.ii and IV.ii), and a possible structure for part of the shops in the Forum (III.ii and perhaps V.i). If the booth were placed in front of the middle stage door or discovery space opening, and if the chair and steps of the state were not actually attached to the canopy and curtains, the state could be removed at the back of the pavilion tent after closing the curtains at the front, and the tent could then be set again from behind with other properties. A stage property such as The Temple in the multiple stage setting for the Valenciennes Mystery play (1547) could, with the addition of curtains, easily create both a state (with its canopy on poles) and, partially closed, a tent (see figure 22). Such a partially closed tent could, in Act II, scene ii, reveal military furnishings within - a coffer and some armour on a table perhaps, as in the miniature of Sir Anthony Mildmay (1605), reproduced in figure 23. Tents as part of a military scene are a very common feature in visual emblems, especially emblems of a pseudo-classical nature, and are found repeatedly in Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes (1586) and also in Henry Peacham's Minerva Britanna (1612).²³ That tents were typical stage properties for army scenes is abundantly clear in Julius Caesar, Troilus and Cressida, and II Tamburlaine.²⁴ Stage tents were large enough for interior scenes (cf. Julius Caesar, IV.iii), and were used for non-military scenes. The Divils Charter²⁵ opens with two tents into which characters enter, the one furnished with a table and money bags, the other with "a great quantity of rich Plate" (sig. A2). It is possible that, in Act I, scene iv and Act IV, scene i, the benches for the Senators as well as the seat for Appius may be set up within the tent which, when opened, becomes only part of the stage location, the other, mobile, characters being on the open stage platform. A tent used for council purposes, which may approximate the mood of the Senate's meeting before which Virginius appears

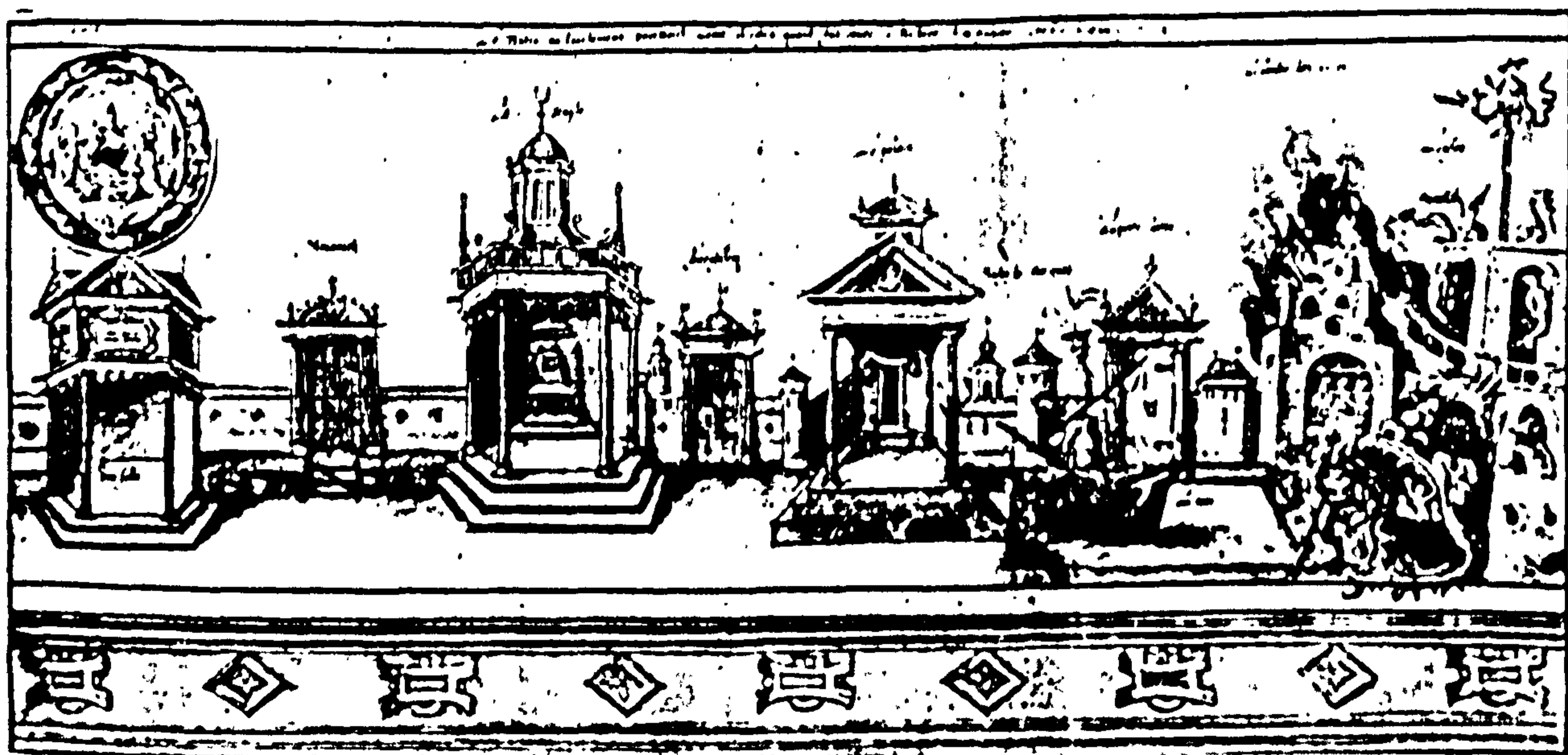


Figure 22. The Valenciennes Mystery play (1547), with The Temple shown third from the left. After a miniature by Hubert Cailleau and Jacques de Moëlle, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reproduced from A.M. Nagler, Sources of Theatrical History (New York, 1952), p. 48.



Figure 23. Sir Anthony Mildmay, by Nicholas Hilliard (c. 1605) reproduced from Eric Mercer, English Art, 1553-1625, The Oxford History of English Art (Oxford, 1962), pl. 70.

in Act I, is shown in figure 24. The addition of wares near the mouth of the tent could convert it into a shop for Act III, scene ii; or, if the judgement seat is required in this Forum scene, additional lean-to structures could be provided. Finally, but perhaps less convincingly, the tent might simulate the prison cell. That the Jacobean looked upon the tent as a convenient and comprehensive item can readily be detected from George Carleton's A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy (3rd edition, 1627) from which our figure 21 comes. Amongst the fine illustrations, besides two canopied thrones, complete tents feature as a bedchamber; as an army tent for Tyrone's submission; and as a field tent which is at the same time a king's state and a council chamber, in the scene entitled "Stucley encouraged by Pope and King of Spayne rayseth rebellion" (see figure 25).²⁶

The idea of a stage booth for setting and staging certain scenes on the Elizabethan stage has been formulated by Professor W.A. Armstrong and George R. Kernodle.²⁷ Attractive as the idea is in Appius and Virginia (combining a symbolic and a practical structure), there is nothing to preclude the possibility of the use of a discovery space.

II. Recurrent motifs.

a) Blood.

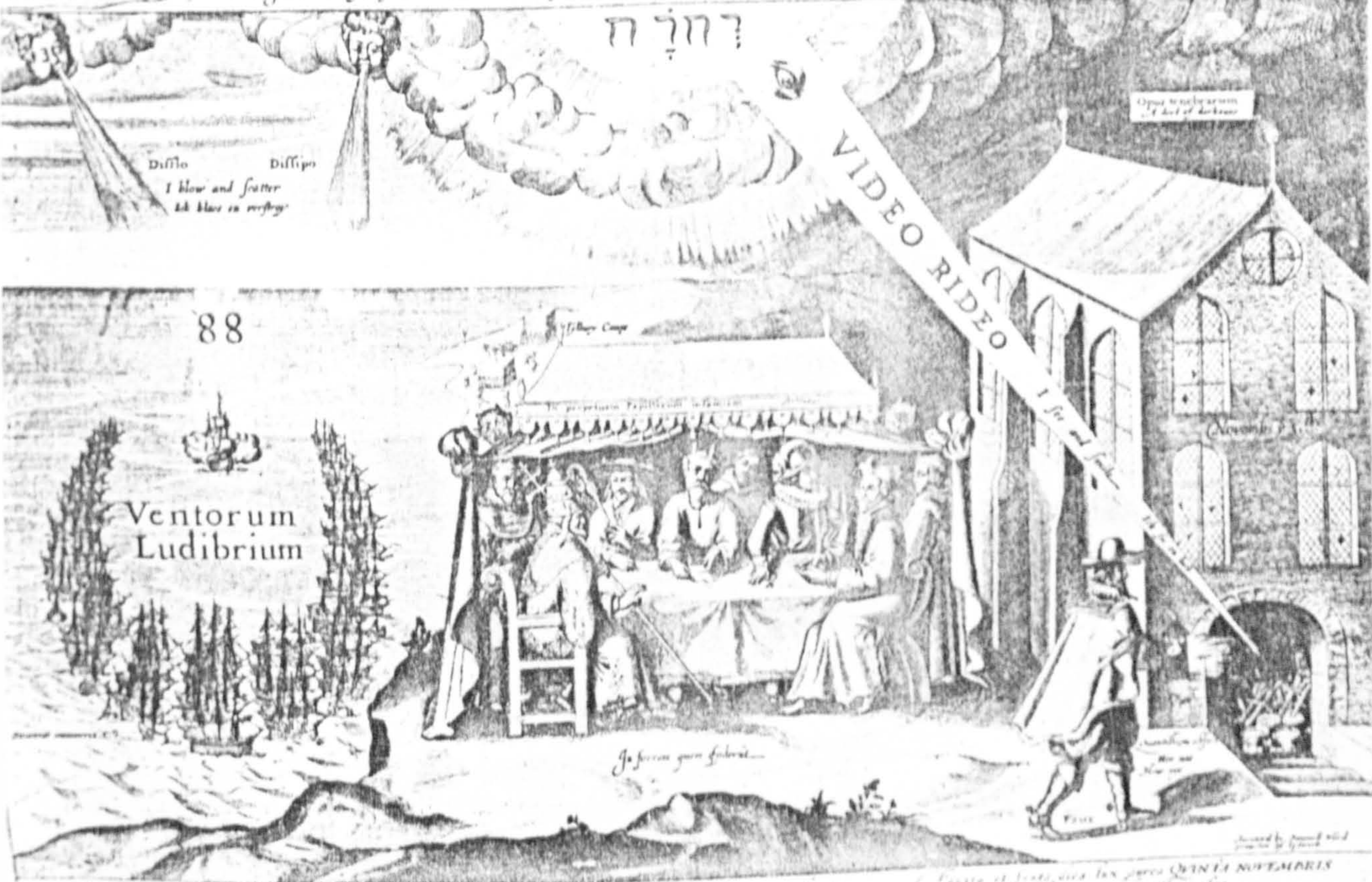
A cycle of blood begins with Virginius' bloodied spurs as he hastens towards justice that does not exist:

ICILIUS. never did you see
'Mongst quailles or cocks in fight a bloodier Heele,
Then that [Virginius] strikes with.

(I.ii.39-41)

We are told that Virginius does not pause to alter his appearance as an "orespent horseman" before he attends the Senate (cf. I.ii.41-45). Thus, he enters in scene iv, soiled and weary, and bloodied at least in our imagination. The Senators in their scarlet robes, suggesting contemporary English aldermen and judges, seem however to be a travesty of good government and justice, and provoke

1588 DEO IN BRITANNIAE HUIUS VICTORI IN MEMORIAM CLASSIS INVINCIBILIS SUBVERSAE SUBMERSAE | PRODITIONIS NEFANDAE DETECTAE DISSECTAE 1605.
To God, In memory of his double deliveraunce from y^e invincible Navye and y^e unmatcheable pow^r der Treason



OCTOGESIMUS OCTAVUS singularis Annus
 Claudi P...
 Ventorum Ludibrium
 In...
 Quarta et Sexta, dies lun... QUINTE NOVEMBERIS
 ...

Figure 24. "To God, in memory of his double deliveraunce" (1621). Anonymous engraving. Reproduced from Hind, op.cit., pt. II, pl. 247.

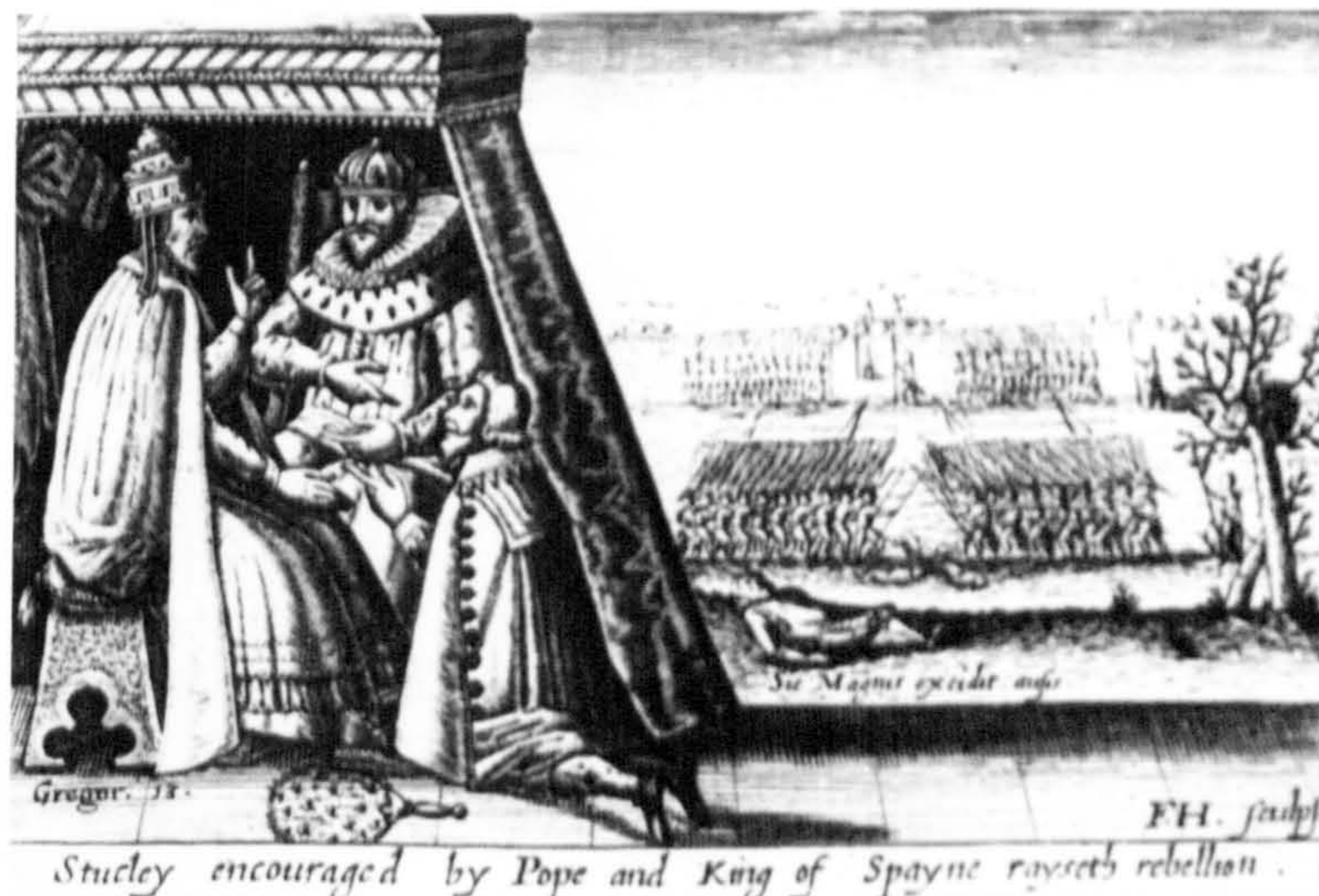


Figure 25. "Stucley encouraged by Pope and King of Spayne rayseth rebellion", from Carleton's A Thankfvll Remembrance of Gods Mercy (1627), p. 37. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

Virinius' threat:

let the forrain fires
 Climb o're these buildings; let the sword and
slaughter
 Chase the gown'd Senate through the streets of Rome,
 To double dye their robes in Scarlet; let
 The enemy's stript arm have his crimson'd brawns
 Up to the elbowes in your traiterous bloud[.]

(72-77)

It is an exceedingly vivid picture. Fire, like some flaming fiend 'climbs' over the city buildings; weapons gain animation; and slaughter, like a skeleton in a Dance of Death woodcut, surprises the Senators in their normal haunts and garb. Does not the word 'gown'd' conjure up a picture of tangling robes that trip the city fathers as they run? Two violent stage actions fulfil Virinius' threat. Appius, at last divested of his scarlet gown, is literally dyed in his own blood as he stabs himself. Whether or not the blood of the two onstage killings was simulated by some bladder apparatus (apparently not uncommon on the contemporary stage)²⁸ is unimportant. The audience, seeing an actor stab himself, would supply the blood in their imagination and recall the foreshadowing. The enemy's arms, crimsoned "Up to the elbowes", are ironically made concrete in Virinius himself. Fleeing from Rome after the murder of Virginia, he enters the camp with his knife, that and his arms (trint up to the elbowes all bloody;...

(IV.ii; sig. H)

Appearing thus in the midst of the "populous Assembly / Of souldiers" (86-87), he is an emblem of perverted justice. As in The Duchess of Malfi (V.v.52-54), Justice is robbed of her balance and left with only her weapon. Virinius, to keep his daughter "chaste and free" (IV.ii. 142), has been forced by the lustful Judge to kill her. The scarlet injustice of the judges' robes stains his arms. He is not an emblem of private suffering, but of Roman honour massacred by corrupt justice and crying for vengeance. The soldiers quickly identify themselves with his cause, and recognize his bloody arms as Appius' instrument:

VIRG. Then lustful Appius, he that swaves the Land,
Slew poor Virginia by this fathers hand.

. . . .

1. SOLD. Appius is the Parricide.
2. SOLD. Virginus guiltless of his daughters death.

(155-163)

The larger significance of the sacrifice of Virginia is clear in Virginus' words to his soldiers after they have accepted his cause and chosen him to be their general:

Be't my pride
That I have bred a daughter whose chast blood
Was spilt for you, and for Romes lasting good.

(205-207)

That blood becomes the symbol which the soldiers follow.
Virginus tells his men:

see still I wear
Her crimson colours, and these withered armes
Are dy'd in her heart-blood.

(130-132)

This transference of the blood-smear'd arms into the military colours, the ensign followed by a company of soldiers, is prepared for by a brief ceremony preceding Virginus' entry. The general, Minutius, informs the assembled soldiers who previously "beneath Virginus' Colours marcht", (60) that the command has been stripped from Virginus and given to "this worthy Roman" (64). Henceforth the Roman is their leader:

Know his Colours,
And prove his faithful Souldiers.

(64-65)

Virginus' banner is removed and the new one held before the men, as the Roman accepts the honour. But when Virginus has won the army's support, a second change of command is enacted:

2. SOLD. Let's make Virginus General.
- OMNES. A General, a General, lets make Virginus General.
- M[INU]T. It shall be so. Virginus take my Charge[.]

(177-179)

Perhaps Minutius hands over a rod or baton as symbol of his command. The change of colours is completed, and the soldiers exit, following their general's blood-stained arms. As they march towards Rome to kill Appius, they threaten to complete the prediction spoken ironically by

Virginius at the conclusion of the mutiny. At that time, for the sake of "generall safety" (II.ii.250), Virginius had disguised the true nature of his reception by the Senators. The Senate, he tells the soldiers, will support the army with great stores and honour, and he concludes:

'Twould make a man fight up to'th' neck in blood,
To think how nobly he shall be received
When he returnes to'th' City.

(242-244)

The rich irony now threatens to prove true. They would fight indeed, but "up to'th' neck in blood" against the Senators. When the two forces, those "for the leaguer" (V.i.68) and for the city, meet, Virginius wears still the crimson colours. Instead of fighting, however, the generals of these two armies agree to join in a common force; Icilius, nonetheless, will not seal the union "with that bloody hand" (174). At last, the course of law, not military combat, vanquishes Appius. The corrupt judge is discovered in prison, and Virginius himself sets a guard at the entrances, to keep out the blood-thirsty mob who wish to tear Appius limb from limb (V.ii.43-46). As Virginius views the fallen Decemvir, he becomes forgiving, and Icilius must spur on the old man's forgotten revenge by bringing onstage Virginia's blood-stained body. He holds her forth and cries:

See
Her wounds still bleeding at the horrid presence
Of yon stern Murderer, till she find revenge[.]

(99-101)

Only when Appius' blood is spilt will Virginia's wounds cease to bleed:

Shall her soul
(Whose essence some suppose lives in the blood)
Still labour without rest?

(103-105)

Virginius, offering justice instead of vindictiveness, presents a sword to the fallen villain, and one to the pander. In self-conscious words, speaking of himself in the third person, the father points the justice of his judgment:

You made Virginus
 Sluce his own blood lodg'd in his daughters brest,
 Which your own hands shall act upon your selves.

(117-119)

Virginus' "ugly face of blood" (IV.ii.117) that had borne witness to his daughter's death, returns now upon the true murderers. Icilius, pointing at the prisoners, says:

See these Monsters,
 Whose fronts the fair Virginias innocent blood
 Hath visarded with such black ugliness,
 That they are loathsome to all good mens souls.

(V.ii.47-50)

The bringing on of the body is an effective piece of stage business: the lover holds his dead bride; the sorrowing father bends over her to pour his soul into her wounds (110-111); and the lustful judge and his pander huddle together, fettered and gyved. It also completes, with its clear retribution, the cycle of blood. When Appius is "double dyed" in scarlet, her blood, shed for Rome, will be dry and her soul at rest. Rome is free (184).

b) The body and disease.

Related to the figurative and physical presentation of blood is an awareness of the condition of the living body. The Second Cozen introduces the theme when encouraging Appius to accept the offered office of Decemvir:

Who shall dare t'oppose
 Himselfe against our Family, when yonder
 Shall sit your power, and frowne?

(I.i.35-37)

The description is like an emblem - the 'state' and a frowning countenance become the essence of Power (and Appius). This physical manifestation of power and of its abuse continues through the play: Appius, in the judge's chair, "frown[s] away [Virginus'] Witness" (IV.i.185); "tempests waite upon [the] frowne" of Marcus Clodius (II.iii.30), who derives his power from Appius, his master; and Virginus begs the Senators on their honourable benches:

Cast not your nobler beams, you reverend Judges,
 On such a putrified dunghil [i.e., the Orator].

(IV.i.160-161)

The evil in which Virginius is forced to take a part becomes manifest in his own body, in the "just palsie" (V.i.91-94), and the "burning Feaver" which shakes him so that he speaks as one possessed (76-78). But already, before his family tragedy occurs, the general evil - the breakdown of Roman honour and discipline - is expressed in his body. As he faces his mutinous soldiers, breath and speech fail Virginius. "See Gentlemen," Minutius tells the men,

what strange distraction
Your falling off from duty hath begot
In this most noble souldier:...

(II.ii.180-182)

Disease threatens to spread more widely through the state. Early in the play Virginius warned the Senate that

The rottenness of this misgovern'd State
Must grow to some Disease, incurable
Save with a sack or slaughter.

(I.iv.81-83)

The First Soldier, in a magnificent prayer, bred in the nightmare of hunger and filth, wishes this disease back through the web of interdependence to its point of origin, the head of the Empire:

Come you birds of death,
And fill your greedy cropes with humane flesh;
Then to the City flie, disgorge it there
Before the Senate, and from thence arise
A plague to choake all Rome! OMNES. And all the
Suburbs!

(II.ii.83-87)

The ironical, anticlimactic cry from all the mutineers sets the disease spreading downwards once again, from the head to its dependent surroundings. The mutiny is a manifestation of the very disease the soldiers wish on Rome, for - choking or starving - death comes through a collapse of the old order and values, a disruption of the correct relationship between city and camp.

Appius, at the head of this diseased state, at first seems outwardly to be a god (cf. III.i.57-58). In prison, robbed of his eminence, he appears a monster. Virginius, amazed by the enormous alteration in the judge's fate, recalls Appius' great physical power:

but yesterday his breath
Aw'd Rome, and his least torved frown was death[.]

(V.ii.66-67)

This image is in keeping with Icilius' description of the Decemvir at the height of his power:

that Gyant,
The high Colossus that bestrides us all[.]

(III.i.83-84)

But the debasement of this giant is the fulfilment of a potential monstrosity that is introduced in the first act when Appius says:

Had I as many hands
As had Briarius, I'de extend them all
To catch this office [i.e., the office of Decemvir]....

(I.i.66-68)

This vital image becomes palpable when the many-handed monster reaches out his arms - Clodius and the Lictors - to catch Virginia. Ironically, when the monster himself is caught, he uses an image of a similar form of monstrosity in crying out against the fickle Romans:

The world is chang'd now. All damnations
Seize on the Hydra-headed multitude,
That only gape for innovation!
O who would trust a people?

(V.ii.1-4)

Of course, he has not trusted the people. He has trusted to his own cunning, the long, secret reach of his ever-ready hands. It is Virginius whose words and appearance have reached the many heads of the people. Twice he appears as a strange and novel 'portent' (I.ii.28-33 and IV.ii.71-83), arousing the shouts of the multitude. The gaping heads, easily roused by these sights, are, however brought under control by his words, and they find in him a supporter and a worthy cause which displace their general anarchy.

The simple 'property' of a man's arm is used effectively at several points. Virginius performs the death stroke upon his daughter, then when he reaches the safety of the camp, and the new-found honour of a general's command, he "Offers to kill himself" (sig. H2^V) with "The self same hand that dar'd to save from shame" his child (IV.ii.187-188). After this dramatic attempted action

(I.iv.22-23), and thus are asleep to justice.

As in Webster's other tragedies, banquetting, gluttony and sloth are ills associated with lust, and together represent a general moral disease. Thus the soldiers' starvation and Virginia's suffering are related consequences of the rottenness in Rome. Ironically, the soldiers attribute to their champion, Virginius, that excess and lust of which he is innocent, but beneath which he will suffer the most. His white hair (the actor would wear a white wig and beard), symbol of his service in the wars (IV.i.48-50), becomes to them a symbol of vice: "his locks", says the First Soldier, are "Turned white with riot and incontinence" (II.ii.93-94). Instead, it is Appius' lust, as Icilius knows, for which the Campaines, and the City smarts.
All Rome fares worse for [his] incontinence.

(II.iii.94-95)

When Virginius desperately pleads for supplies for the army, he represents the soldiers - "fair Rome's sons" - as starving and cold (I.iv.59), while the Senators "Grow fat with laziness and resty ease" (115). The soldiers, when first encountered in Act II, scene ii, are obsessed with their own starvation, but their minds dwell upon a vision of gluttony, of the General who,

to mock our hunger
Feeds us with scent of the most curious fare
That makes his tables crack -...

(35-37)

The speech represents the natural complaint of a man who feels abused and lays the blame on the nearest apparent cause. It leads to a much more sinister accusation, rooted in the living fabric of the play's world:

O Rome th'art growne a most unnaturall mother,

. . . .

Romulus

Was fed by a she wolfe, but now our wolves
Instead of feeding us devoure our flesh,
Carouse our blood, yet are not drunk with it,
For three parts of't is water.

(49-55)

A multitude of the play's motifs are here contained. The division between city and camp has become extreme.

The society as a living body has grown unnatural: in the full and potent contemporary meaning of the word 'nature', Rome sins against family and what is physically and morally right. As a mother, Rome (here chiefly meaning the Senators) brings evil to her sons (cf. I.iv. 55-61) just as Virginius later brings (perforce) tragedy to his daughter; and yet it is because he holds still the Roman values that he performs the death stroke.

"Old man" Icilius tells him after the murder,

thou hast shewed thy self a noble Roman,
But an unnatural Father;...

(V.i.110-111)

The blood metaphorically drunk by the Roman wolves must be repaid by blood, just as Virginia's wounds cry out for avenging blood. The motif of starvation and gluttony is given a macabre power in the Soldier's image of cannibalism. The water that composes their blood looks forward to the soldiers' next scene, with its very unsavoury water. Here again (IV.ii) they are harping on food, now supported by the stage picture as the two soldiers ferret through their knapsack and examine their ancient crust and maggotty cheese. Sardonicly the First Soldier asks for water from

yon green ditch, a place which none can pass
But he must stop his nose - thou know'st it well -
There where the two dead dogs lye.

(33-35)

The offstage ditch towards which he directs his companion's attention recalls a ditch conjured up with vivid irony by Virginius as he quelled the mutiny:

These are obedient souldiers, civil men:
You shal command these, if your Lordship please,
To fil a ditch up with their slaughtered bodies,
That with more ease you may assault some Town.

(II.ii.137-140)

The soldiers' feast of 'dainties' (IV.ii.43) - a bitterly comic interlude between the trial and Virginius' appearance before the army - is strictly relevant. After the formality, the civic wealth and the legal power displayed in the costumes, placement and behaviour of the city fathers, the two poorly-clothed soldiers clutching at their food provide not only a visual contrast but also a

direct consequence of Rome's injustice. "Feeds Appius thus," asks the First Soldier, "is this a City feast?" (16).

At the end of the first act, Numitorius has proposed a feast - an honourable and fitting ceremony to celebrate the 'solemnities' of Virginia's betrothal (151-152). But already the rottenness of Rome is beginning to disrupt harmony. Virginius cannot remain for his daughter's celebration, but must haste to the camp which he fears "may grow mutinous" (159). The mutinous discord grows from enforced starvation. When Numitorius is next seen, calling for lights, chairs, a table, and receiving guests, he is not fulfilling the expectation of a banquet, but is sheltering a secret conference that warns of danger to the betrothed couple (III.i). The warnings in that later scene, and the mood of fear, offer an overt threat that recalls Numitorius' early ominous yoking of wedding and funeral:

VIRGINIA. My wedding garments will outweare this
praise.

NUMITOR. Thus Ladies still foretell the funerall
Of their Lords kindnesse.

(I.ii.22-24)

III. Costume.

The garments and accoutrements of the characters provide an omnipresent support for two themes: the conflict between abstract rôle and the particular man who fills it; and the turn of Fortune's wheel. As vice climbs upwards, it is clothed in proud and costly robes, while virtue speeds downwards, clothed first in "dust and sweat" (I.ii.27) and then in a slave's habit (IV.i). The reversal of the wheel brings vice to prison, divested of its scarlet robes (but dyed in blood), where virtue stands clad as a general, and crowned with the golden wreath of a consul (V.ii). The simple division of virtue and vice in Appius and Virginia allows the garment contrast to operate without ambiguity but with powerful irony. The significance of costume is enhanced by obvious parallels

with contemporary England - Senators are aldermen, the Orator is a lawyer, the Lictors are catchpoles.

The degree of historical accuracy of costume which the play attempts can only be surmised. The subject of 'classical' dress upon the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage, especially in Shakespeare's Roman plays, has received some detailed discussion.²⁹ Peacham's drawing of Titus Andronicus (figure 11) is one of the most useful contemporary proofs that, for certain characters, a serious reconstruction of classical dress was attempted, while contemporary costume could mingle with Renaissance classical in a single play without distressing the audience. The costume of Titus, particularly, resembles the general Renaissance picture of "A Roman", which in turn was used with very slight variations to represent a Greek or Trojan.³⁰ A large number of contemporary English illustrations of classical dress can be found in titlepage engravings, where notable Ancients stand within the niches of a classical arch. There is an obvious similarity between these titlepage arches and the constructed arches of street pageants;³¹ the engraved Romans appear both sculptural (as they would be on a permanent triumphal arch) and theatrical (as they would be on the temporary pageant arches). The mingling of mythical, historical and contemporary figures in the street pageants (as, for example, in the yearly Lord Mayor's Show) would have accustomed Webster's audience to a mixed mode of costuming. It might be objected that the allegory of the pageants allows for the meeting of various historical periods, while the story of Appius and Virginia does not. But the Elizabethan and Jacobean mind, accustomed to finding an allegoric or symbolic level in endless areas of life - architecture, painting, literature, politics³² - was equipped (as the literal modern mind is not) to make the automatic associations between present and distant or representational, and thus to make past ages and myths entirely its own. In Shakespeare's Roman plays, in Poetaster, in Heywood's Rape of Lucrece, and in Appius and Virginia, there is no antiquarian sense of a step backwards in time or away from the current scene.

In Webster's classical tragedy, a sense of Rome is frequently evoked in verbal reminders: Janus' temple (I.iv.78); the Senate House; "They say there is Elizium and Hel" (V.ii.154); consul, plebeian, senator, lictor. The reminders are fairly nominal, and the parallels between Rome and London, between Tribunal and English Court of Justice, are much deeper. The significance of this parallelism, in terms of costume, is that many of the characters are dressed in the garments of their Jacobean counterparts. Icilius is a courtier with a hat (II.iii.41-43); the Advocate wears a "Lawyers Gown" (IV.i.30) and "night-cap" (121); the Senators wear chains of office (I.iv.55). I think it would be unwise, however, to assume that no classical garments were worn, and here the Peacham drawing is most instructive. In seeking models for classical costumes, the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre would have found ample examples of military garb: Romans in such illustrations as John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine (see figure 26) are commonly soldiers. Now, Virginius, while not a character foreign to a contemporary audience, is more noticeably than some of the other characters, a Roman. Or rather, he is occasionally made to speak or behave in accordance with principles which the play's audience would accept as classical. Indeed, the playwright appears, on occasion, to be reminding us of Virginius' Roman philosophy. Virginius has an intense belief in duty, discipline, and honour, which is given a Roman bias: "if you be Romans", he says to the Senators (I.iv.55); "If you be Romans", he repeats to the fallen villains (V.ii.120) - if they are Romans, the correct behaviour must follow. Warned of Virginius' flight from Rome, Minutius fears that the old soldier must be "degenerate / From the ancient vertues he was wont to boast" (IV.ii.46-47). This Roman bias may seem only superficially applied, and the Roman epithet is given to other characters as well, but the extreme measure which his sense of values forces him to take - the sacrifice of his daughter - is that which distinguishes him as a Roman, despite the unnaturalness of the act (cf. V.i.110-111).



Figure 26. The contemporary concept of a classical Roman costume, on the titlepage to John Speed's The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine (London, 1611-1612; B.M. G. 7884). Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

It seems to me possible, therefore, that Virginius is given a Roman costume, or its theatrical approximation. Little change would be necessary to transform the Jacobean cuirass, generally constructed of plate and usually fashioned in imitation of the civilian doublet, into the Roman equivalent. The latter, of metal links or scales, was, in Renaissance versions, modelled in imitation of the torso shape. But all that would be really necessary would be the substitution of a skirt or 'bases' of leather tabs in place of the Jacobean breeches. A baldric was sometimes worn by contemporary military men, and was a popular accessory for the Renaissance Roman.³³ Perhaps, at least in Act II, scene ii and Act V, scene i, Virginius has the burgonet and target which are mentioned in his reminiscence (IV.i.325-327). The Jacobean burgonet, being an open-faced helmet, resembles contemporary versions of classical helmets, in contrast to the beavered close helmet that Brachiano wears. The target, a light round shield, would be similar to the parma, the small round Roman buckler.³⁴

The play opens with a confrontation of the public and private elements of the city. Two senators, supported by Lictors, meet the worthy plebeian, his relatives and servant. The Senators are splendid in scarlet gowns, lined and trimmed with fur, and draped with a gold chain, the dress of a London alderman (see figure 27).³⁵ It seems extremely unlikely that when Virginius refers to "the gown'd Senate" in their scarlet robes (I.iv.74-75), he is alluding to the latus clavus in the Roman senator's tunica.³⁶ He says scarlet, not purple, and the authentic senator's tunic would hardly be ornamented with "Furs and Metall" (I.iv.55). Possibly some adaptations are made, to give a theatrical sense of differentness, of ancient Rome. Scarlet robes and fur would be doubly suitable for Appius, who is not only a Roman 'alderman', but also the chief magistrate, thus wearing the official gown of an English judge.

The Lictors, as officers attending upon the Senators and, later, upon Appius as chief magistrate, fulfil their Roman duties, clearing a path through a crowd that is



Figure 27. London civic costume painted by Lucas de Heere in the 1570s. Reproduced from Chotzen and Draak, Beschrijving der Britsche Eilanden door Lucas de Heere, L VIII.

probably imagined to exist just offstage (I.i.29); arresting Virginia (III.ii); and binding the Nurse and Icilius at the trial (IV.i.183 and 278). But to the Elizabethan and Jacobean mind, the Lictor and his contemporary counterpart, the sheriff's or sergeant's officer (or catchpole), appeared virtually synonymous. In Painter's version of the story of Appius and Virginia, the Senators exclaim:

Is it not a shame to see in the Forum a
greater number of your catchpoules and
Sergeantes, then of other sober and wise
Citizens? 37

The comic banter of the Lictors in Act III, scene ii would certainly be interchangeable with that of English catchpoles, with its jest about "the French Rhoume" (20; i.e., the pox) and the 'counter' (25; the name of two London prisons). In fact, their dialogue compares closely with the conversation of Monopoly and a sheriff's officer in Westward Ho, Act III, scene ii - a scene in which Webster may have had some hand.³⁸

The simple parallel between lictors and sergeant's officers means that either classical or contemporary dress would provide a possible costume. A sixteenth century costume sketch portrays the Lictor in a short white tunic with a cloak over one shoulder.³⁹ This simple costume would, certainly, add a theatrical interest which no exactly contemporary garment could give. On the other hand, there is nothing in the text to necessitate the wearing of an authentic or pseudo-classical costume.

The symbols and weapons of the Roman Lictor were the fascēs. Rods of elm or birch tied into a bundle from which an axe projected were carried on the Lictor's left shoulder as a symbol of the magisterial authority which the Lictors supported, both ceremonially and physically. This symbol of the Roman officers was well known to the play's contemporaries. In Painter's novello, Icilius bids Appius:

cal together thy Sergeantes, and cause the
rodde and axes, to be made prest and ready. 40

Early Revels Accounts for the 1570's include "poles for lictors" and "rodde for lictos [sic] Bondells in y^e

playe".⁴¹ Thomas Lodge's The Wovnds of Ciuill War calls for an entry of Lictors "with their Rods and Axes".⁴² In Sejanus occurs the order, "The court is vp, Lictors, resume the fascos" (III.i.470). However, the archaeologically correct words do not necessarily prove that the supporting properties were classically authentic. In another Jonson play, Poetaster, Lupus has the revealing lines:

Come,
 your fascos, LICTORS: The halfe pikes, and the
halberds[.]
 (IV.iv.37-38)⁴³

There is no internal evidence in Appius and Virginia to suggest that the bundle of rods with the axe was used. Perhaps Webster's Lictors carry the catchpole's mace, frequently mentioned in contemporary accounts;⁴⁴ it would be a convenient contemporary symbol suggestive of brutality and abused power.

As the central figure in the opening scene, Appius, the modest plebeian, may wear a tunic or short toga rather than doublet and hose, to give a definitely Roman flavour to the play's beginning. In the Titus Andronicus drawing, it is the most important figures - Titus, Tamora and Aaron - who wear a close approximation of classical dress. Coriolanus, too, may have worn a toga on the stage.⁴⁵ Although Appius' inner garments are soon covered by the robes, the initial impression of him - as modest and Roman - is important for the audience.

The brief ceremony in which Appius is given the robes of office represents, as do the costume changes in the Morality plays, and the Cardinal's costume change in The Duchess of Malfi (III.iv), a significant alteration in the character. In accepting the new robes and their rôle, Appius undertakes, at least in outward pretense, "to be the Mirroure of the times for / Wisdome and for Policie" (15-16). He becomes both the civic representative of justice, and also a personification of Justice itself. He defines the ideal character which his new robes demand:

Justice should have
 No kindred, friends, nor foes, nor hate, nor love -

As free from passion as the gods above.

(120-122)

The change is sanctioned by the gods (95) and invests him with godliness (122). But Marcus Clodius, briefly becoming a presenter for the audience, shatters the formal picture and forces us to be aware of the underlying deceit:

[aside] Excellent, excellent Lapwing!
There's other stufte closed in that subtle brest.

(127-128)

His words neatly expose the honourable robes as a false covering. A very different 'stufte' - the fundamental cloth of which anything is made⁴⁶ - represents the true, inner nature of the man. But Appius, in his cunning, establishes a different, but still physical, contrast between the present appearance (the rich robes) and the future reality: his new duties, he claims, will bring to him

pale cheeks, and sunk eyes,
A head with watching dizied, and a haire
Turn'd white in youth,...

(111-113)

This picture of age and weariness, which Appius does not come to assume, is soon visualized in the white hairs of Virginius, the man who truly "tend[s the] State" (cf. 114).

The importance of the gown as a symbol of civic and legal authority gives to the play's opening scene its ceremonial aspect. The gown, like the chair of state, represents a permanent rôle, while the wearer is mortal. A nineteenth century publication, drawing upon past traditions of London ceremonials, reveals this independent symbolism of the garment. On the death or resignation of an alderman, "the vacant gown is offered to the senior alderman".⁴⁷ The voice of authority, lodged in the Senators, passes with the robes to Appius; Minutius, who lately held the power of banishment over Appius, now takes orders from him.

The Decemvir ornaments himself with the robes and place that satisfy his ambition, representing the alteration with mock humility: "this reverend seat", he says,

rather gives
Ornament to the person, then our person
The least of grace to it.

(102-105)

In the succeeding scene, where private love contrasts with public glory, a verbal echo recalls the assumption of the robes. Ambition is not a gown desired by Icilius, who vows to

take much care
To adorne [his character] with the fairest ornaments
Of unambitious vertue:...

(I.ii.9-11)

Virginia is applauded for her sincerity:

her port
Being simple vertue, beautifies the court
(16-17),

and contrasts with the false 'show' that gives an appearance of beauty to some court personages (15-16). Like the Duchess of Malfi (DM, I.i.208-209), Virginia is held as an example - Icilius' "honorable patterne" (12). Like the Decemvir, she has been set up as a mirror (or model); but unlike him, her outer appearance is of a piece with the stuff of which her inner self is made.

The Roman woman's stola, a long tunic girdled up under the breast, is the basis of a costume frequently portrayed on titlepages and in book illustrations in the early seventeenth century (see figure 28). The soft flowing lines of the garment, contrasting with the stiff, sharply-defined contours of contemporary female dress, provide (with adaptations) the accepted costume for emblematic figures such as Religio, Pax and Nobilitas, Roma and Londinium.⁴⁸ The emblematic propensities of such a garment would be appropriate, for although Virginia is a particularized character and is not reduced to an abstraction, she does represent virginity and "simple vertue", without any of the ambiguities that surround the virtue of the Duchess of Malfi. Tamora, in Peacham's drawing, wears a flowing pseudo-classical costume. A white stola would attractively evoke Virginia's simple innocence; but she is not poor yet (I.ii), and perhaps she wears jewels befitting a young lady of good family, for her costume must provide a marked contrast with the slave's habit of Act IV, scene 1, when the Orator complains, with an ironical echo of Othello (V.ii.350-351), that she has thus cheated his client of

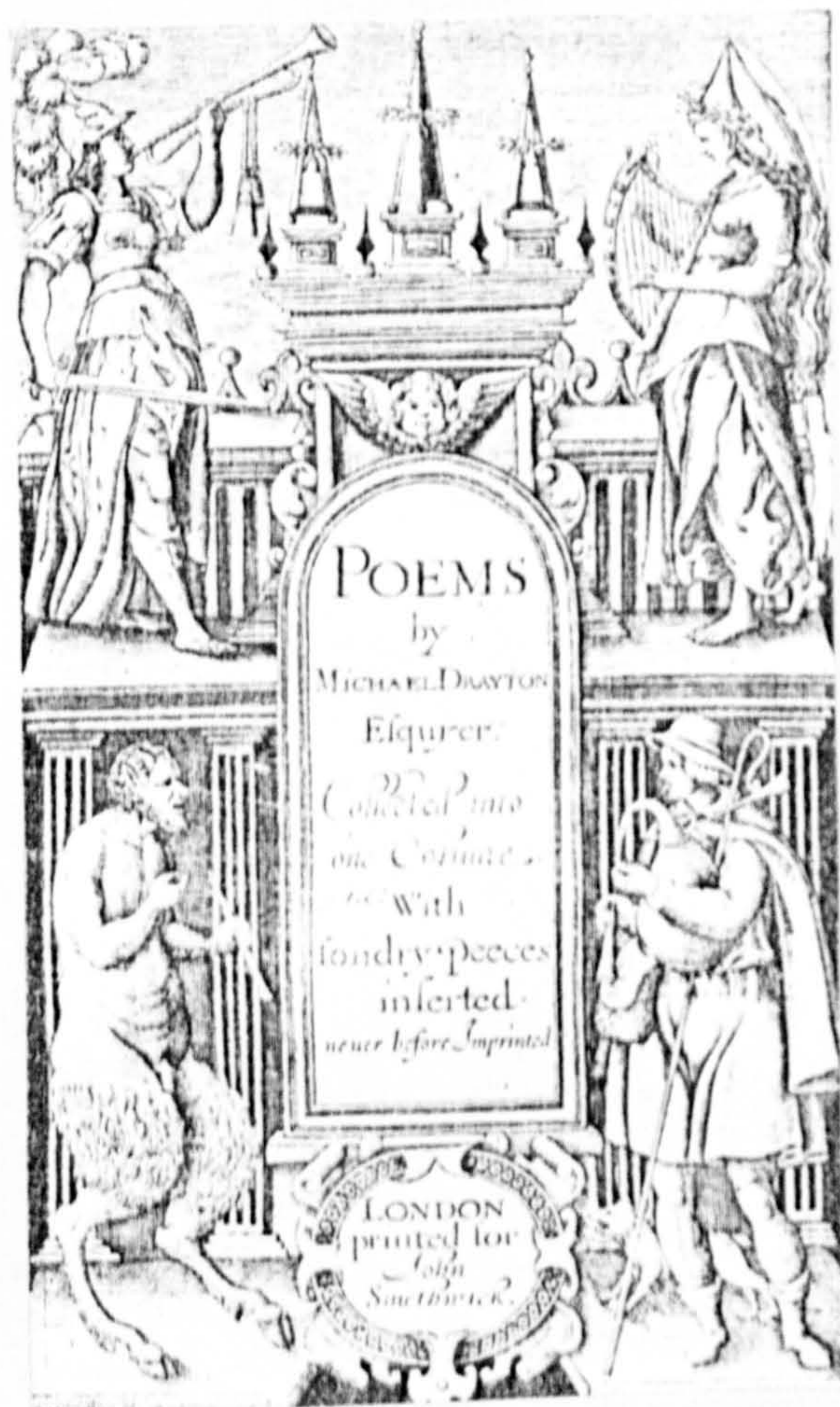


Figure 28. Female classical garments, here worn by allegorical figures, Fame (left) and Music (right). The titlepage to Michael Drayton's Poems (1619), reproduced from Hind, op. cit., pt. II, pl. 206(b).

The Aparrel and the Jewels that she wore,
More worth then all her Tribe,...

(229-230)

The admiration that Icilius expresses for Virginia's genuine beauty draws forth an ominous and very Websterian prediction:

VIRGINIA. It is a flattery (my Lord)
You breath upon me,...

. . . .

My wedding garments will outwear this praise.
NUMITOR. Thus Ladies still foretell the funerall
Of their Lords kindnesse.

(I.ii.18-24)

Appius' new robes (and new power) will prevent her from wearing her wedding garments. But her virtue will 'outweare' garments, and life itself; and Icilius' love will continue beyond her death.

The fourth scene of the first act presents the confrontation between city (the well-fed Senators) and camp (the weary soldier). Visually this conflict is strengthened by the solid mass of scarlet, gold and furs which greets the solitary fighting man. Webster draws attention to outward appearance by preparing for this scene in the message reported by Icilius at rather surprising length in Act I, scene ii. Icilius describes the arrival of Virginius from the camp, "Disguis'd in dust and sweat" (27); in the "forme / Of orespent horseman" (41-42); his spurs covered with his horse's blood (37-41); and informs us that the soldier has gone thus to the Senate house, without "change of raiment" (43-45). When Virginius appears before the Senate, we see on him the wounds (I.iv.111-113)⁴⁹ that are honourable symbols of his rôle as the city's protector (69-71). But his clothing (presumably half-armour) is torn and soiled (cf. 13) - a dishonourable symbol of the city's forgetfulness of her army. The rich garments that confront Virginius while his army's "provant apparell's torne to rags" (13), clearly taunt him. His soldiers' 'bloods' have, he claims, provided the Senators with wealth (cf. 19-20), a fact which makes apt his complaint against "base moth-eaten peace" (111).

After his impassioned plea for supplies fails, the

embattered soldier, left alone upon a recently crowded stage, vows to help his men:

I'll sell my smal possessions
Even to my skin, to help you - Plate and Jewels
All shall be yours.

(118-120)

The plate and jewels recall the furs and metal which have been so much in evidence with the Senate. Ironically, only a few lines later after his friends have entered to him, he identifies the source of his wealth:

Daughter rise.
And, brother, I am only rich in her,
And in your love, link't with the honour'd friendship
Of th[e]se fair Romane Lords.

(125-128)

His jewel, Virginia, is eventually sacrificed by him; and ultimately this sacrifice is seen to be for his soldiers' (and Rome's) sake (cf. IV.ii.206-207). Although his friends and family here show him the respect which was not accorded by the Senate (as Virginia kneels before her father), ironically, Numitorius and Valerius would still be wearing the senatorial scarlet of the earlier part of the scene; and Icilius, although a "store of vertues" (132), is "a Cities child" (133), whom Virginius somewhat sourly hopes may grow

to know a souldier
And rate him to his merit.

(133-134)

Costume is of dramatic and symbolic importance in the trial. Virginius and Virginia enter dressed as slaves (IV.i; sig. F4). Numitorius, a very average citizen, is shocked by his brother's self-imposed transformation:

O Virginius.
Why do you wear this habit? it ill fits
Your noble person, or this reverend place.
VIRG. Thats true, old man, but it well fits the case
Thats now in question. If with form and shew
They prove her slaved, all freedome I'le forgoe.

(13-18)

This speech exposes the playwright's strong interest in the significance of costume. Virginius is not, as Lucas suggests, merely following the custom of Roman defendants, by appearing "unkempt and dressed in mean clothes

(sordidatus) in order to excite compassion".⁵⁰ He is making a carefully staged symbolic point. His mean appearance seems disrespectful to "this reverend place"; but the correct function and order of the reverend place is about to be abused by the gowned judge. Virginius expects injustice, before the trial begins (cf. 5-7). And in one sense, Virginia and her father are slaves - "slaves...to a tyrants will", as Icilius foresaw (III.ii. 397). Virginia also sees the symbolic congruity of her slave's costume:

NUMIT.⁵¹ Your habit shewes you strangely.
 VIRGINIA. O 'tis fit,
 It sutes both time and cause. Pray pardon it[.]

(61-63)

The "time and cause" have enslaved Roman virtue.

The sacrifice of Virginia points to the fine paradox in their slave's habit. Only their bodies can be enslaved; their souls attain freedom through the choice of suffering. Virginia presents her father with the alternative to Lust's enslavement:

O my dear Lord and father, once you gave me
 A noble freedom, do not see it lost
 Without a forfeit; take the life you gave me
 And sacrifice it rather to the gods
 Then to a villains Lust.

(31-35)

Although she is given no dying speeches, Virginia attains nobility through her desire to determine her own fate; and during her father's touching farewell, the boy actor must convey an awareness of Virginius' intention. The dead virgin transcends the slave's habit. "And see proud Appius see", Virginius tells the judge after the killing:

Although not justly, I have made her free.

(344-345)

This symbolism of slavery gains perfect retribution in the prison scene of Act V. Appius, fettered and gyved, sorrows that he, "a great man", should have trusted "unto a temporizing slave" (V.ii.30-31), and Clodius returns the taunt:

Slave! Good. Which of us two in our
 Dejection is basest?

(32-33)

Physically, they are both brought low, but, since the unjust judge has more upon his conscience, "which is the most slave?" (37). Appius, like Virginia, accepts the determination of his own end, and gains a freedom and a glory in death that his life never showed. Clodius, whispering and grovelling, proves himself truly a "timorous slave" (179), fit only for "the common Hangman" (180).

The slave's habit may have been some recognizable theatrical property. Bajazeth and Zabina, when gracing Tamburlaine's triumph, are called slaves, and are presumably given appropriate garments. Anippe warns her slave, Zabina, to behave herself: "Or els I sweare to have you whipt stark nak'd" (I Tamburlaine, IV.ii.74). Unfortunately, most classical slaves in art are represented "stark nak'd", which does not help to inform us in the matter of costumes. Webster's audience must recognize the representative costume as something very different from the soiled and ragged condition of Virginius' former 'disguise' (cf. I.ii.27) in which he faced the Senate. Obviously he now wears no armour - only the knife somewhere concealed. (The sources, with lengthy naturalism, have Virginius take his daughter aside in the Forum where he snatches a knife from a butcher).⁵² In Coriolanus (a play whose influence is noticeable at various points in Appius and Virginia), the protagonist presents himself before the Roman people dressed "in a gown of humility",⁵³ which could in some way resemble the lowly garment of a slave. Perhaps some physical marking had become conventional. In Lodge's The Wovnds of Ciuill War, Cinna's slave is recognized by a scar on his forehead "Wherewith [Cinna] marketh still his barbarous swaines" (sig. C4^v). Possibly one or both of Webster's slaves wears a rope or chain to bind their arms, but slack enough to allow for the fatal stab. Slaves - captives accompanying a triumph - are manacled in Lodge's play (sig. E^v).⁵⁴

In the touching isolation that sets father and child apart at the trial, Virginius paints a verbal picture of her childhood when he wore the proud armour of his profession - not stained with blood and dust as in Act I,

scene iv, but "of glittering steel" (IV.i.328), "the bright mettal" polished to a mirror finish in which Virginia's smile is reflected (329-330). Thus the two slaves look back to an earlier, more silver age, when decorum was still maintained, before the threatening upheaval became imprinted on his habit. A sense of accelerating decline, which has brought them to this mock slavery, is contained in his lovely couplet:

O my Virginia,
When we begun to be, begun our woes,
Increasing still, as dying life still growes.

(334-336)

The sad weariness and sense of inevitability proclaim his decision. Poignantly, the words echo his earlier 'farewell' to his daughter, during the betrothal (which itself is related to the theme of clothing):

Here I give up a fathers interest,
But not a fathers love - that I wil ever
Wear next my heart, for it was born with her
And growes still with my age.

(I.iv.140-143)

At that time Virginia assured her friends:

I am my fathers daughter, and by him
I must be swaid in all things.

(149-150)

It is this very living nearness of father and child that makes her death at his hand so tragically appropriate. He 'wears' her love, both in reality (near his heart) and in show (sharing the slave's dress and wearing her crimson colours as an incentive to revenge, IV.ii.130-132), in contrast to Appius and his duplicity. Numitorius, bemoaning the false seeming of Appius, has used an image that takes up Clodius' reference to the "other stuffe" in that villainous breast (I.i.128):

O were thy heart but of the self same piece
Thy tongue is, Appius; how blest were Rome!

(III.ii.383-384)

Now, seated as the chief magistrate, Appius wears a 'disguise'; but in contrast to Virginius, Appius is ignoble and the disguise noble: "I bend low to thy Gown", says Icilius to the judge, "but not to thee" (IV.i.287).

The "spruce Orator" opposes, against the unsupported

slave, the verbiage and costume of the legal world. His "Lawyers Gown" (30) and "night-cap" (121) are the garments of a Jacobean advocate - a black gown, white ruff and white coif or skull-cap.⁵⁵ Webster makes this gown a symbol of abused Law when Virginius cries:

I never fear'd in a besieged Town
Mines or great Engines like yon Lawyers Gown.

(IV.1.29-30)

In the final scene, Minutius performs, as he has done in the opening scene, at a type of investiture, this time creating Icilius and Virginius consuls. He presents to each a wreath of "golden bayes" (V.ii.191), thus superceding the earlier ceremony in which he gave 'worthy' Appius the Decemvir's robes. The "life of the Decemviri" has expired in Appius (183-184), and that earlier, better age before the play began, suggested in Virginius' recollection at the trial (IV.1.323-330) is restored.

IV. Structural development.

Act I establishes, with the help of costume, judgement seat, and location, the state of Rome - corruption breeding at the head, with the private individual and the soldiers' spokesman pitted against the man who is both personally corrupt and the representative of the city's disease. Act II, scene ii moves to the "sinking camp" (cf. I.iv.58). The six mutinous soldiers, with angry gestures, defiant but undirected movement, and noise, give to the stage an impression of a large aggressive crowd, to whom Minutius, their general, cries:

Why doe you swarme in troopes thus? to your quarter!
Is our command growne idle? to your trench!

(14-15)

Presumably the trench here, and in Coriolanus, is imagined to be offstage, although it could be some form of portable property, like Henslowe's two "mose banckes".⁵⁶ The drums, trumpets and colours of battle probably accompany the mutineers (suggesting the imminence of internal war), for the First Soldier defies Minutius to

Sound all the Drums and Trumpets in the camp,
To drowne my utterance, yet above them all
I'le rear our just complaint.

(24-26)

The presence of martial instruments would contrast with the preceding scene (an interlude between Senate and camp) in which Musicians, sent from the lustful Appius, serenade Virginia with the soft songs of sensuality and peace. For Virginius, when he stood alone against the Senators, the drums of war were sadly lacking:

Then would I had my Drums here, they might rattle,
And rowse you to attendance.

(I.iv.25-26)

But now, as he enters to his soldiers, he stands alone again as in that earlier scene. (Minutius is a sensitive, but ineffectual, observer.) Minutius warns Virginius to retire:

we are begirt
With Enemies more daring, and more fierce,
Then is the common foe.
VIRG. My Troopes, my Lord?

(II.ii.99-102)

Virginius could not move the complacent Senators. To his mutinous soldiers, his stern confidence, his refusal to flee and the familiar voice of authority act as an overpowering command. In turn each soldier denies his rebellion, and returns to order, making, as Minutius sees it, "A strange Conversion" (133). In the necessary lie with which Virginius seeks to quiet the dissatisfied soldiers, he shows his typical concern for respect and degree. As soon as he entered into the Senate house, he says,

they all stood bare,
And each man offer'd me his seat:...

(237-238)

This necessary lie leads logically and ominously back to Rome, where the bared head and the proffered seat recur in Appius' reception of Icilius. The scene (II.iii) takes place within the Decemvir's house. Appius is not now seen as one among the councillors, but as the single voice of judgement. The Petitioners and Clodius create a brief prelude to the entry of Icilius. The judge's

seat (whether visible or imagined) becomes a simple symbol of impersonal and impartial justice:

when my Lord ascends the Judgement-seate,
You shall find gracious comfort.

(16-17)

With these words Clodius continues Appius' own early intimation that the seat itself confers the power and grace upon the occupant (II.i.102-105). The irony of Clodius' responsible position is obvious to the audience: he is the go-between, linking the individual and the judge; he has been seen as a go-between, linking that lustful judge and the innocent Virginia (II.i). In the earlier scene, it is Appius who is the petitioner, sending gifts and music by the hands of Clodius, while now the Petitioners send their papers by him. In pandering Virginia, Clodius speaks of Appius as "he I plead for" (II.i.70), and the legal terminology, so appropriate in a play of abused justice, is taken up by Virginia as she spurns Clodius as "thou Advocate of lust" (II.i.79). The imputations of lust - a consuming fire and disease (cf. V.ii.122) - undermine the physical strength of the judge which has been used to symbolize his moral righteousness: "My Lords hand is the prop of Innocence", says Clodius (II.iii.7), and the Second Petitioner affirms that his case

leans upon the Justice of the Judge,
Your noble Lord, the very stay of Rome.

(12-13)

To this group Icilius enters 'troubled' (Sig. D2). Like other Websterian stage directions describing behaviour - the varied expressions of distraction ascribed to Brachiano and Cornelia - this stage direction presumably suggests to the actor some conventional form of movement, gesture and facial appearance that indicates dismay.⁵⁷ Icilius' distress here economically reveals that he is aware of Appius' offers of lust. After the respectful petitioners, Icilius is abrupt and rude:

Where's your Lord?

CLODIUS. [aside] Icilius! faire Virginia's late
betroth'd!

ICILIUS. Your eares, I hope, you have not forfeited,
That you returne no answer. Where's your Lord?

(18-21)

Appius' entry is a brief proud pageant of his rôle, announced and attended:

CLODIUS. Here's my Lord.

Enter Appius with Lictors afore him.

APPIUS. Be gone, this place is only spar'd for us,
And you Icilius.

(33-35; sig. D2^v)

Appius intentionally emphasizes the great condescension of his private interview with Icilius, by displaying and then dismissing the train which surrounds his pomp. He had already determined to be private (and, therefore, with no need for his Lictors) before he entered (cf. Clodius, 31-33). The Lictors represent the power to enforce justice: their weapons are inherently corrective, not threatening. However, the Lictors are already beginning to absorb some of the corruption that has been revealed in their master, partly by being his adjuncts, partly through a metaphoric association: the pander has already reminded Appius that

Promises and threats

Are statesmens Lictors to arrest such pleasures
As they would bring within their strict commands[.]

(I.iii.35-37)

As the stage empties of all except the two adversaries for Virginia's love, Appius retains an imperial bearing:

We have suffering ears,
A heart the softest downe may penetrate.
Proceed.

(37-39)

Waiving courtesy, he bids Icilius put on his hat (41-44). Icilius, like Antonio (DM, II.i.121-134), upholds his 'duty' and remains uncovered. Following so close upon Virginius' fabricated account of his reception by the Senate, Icilius' 'duty' ironically underlines the upheaval of values - respect is offered to the appearance of greatness. Appius calls for a chair to be placed for Icilius, thus completing the show of respect which Virginius pretended to have received from the Senators. The respect accorded Icilius is partly an indication of Appius' cunning: he dissembles - not, like Virginius, for the sake of "generall safety" (II.ii.249-250) - but to lull the suspicions of Virginia's friends.

Icilius, having soon thrown off his seeming respect, draws his sword:

Sit still, or by the powerful Gods of Rome
I'll nail thee to the Chair.

(103-104)

The audacious and novel threat of nailing Appius to the chair (repeated when Icilius recounts the scene), is both dramatically effective and retributively appropriate - the 'Dive' judge (101) nailed to the chair from which he offers false justice.

In the confrontation that follows, Icilius resembles Virginius in the Senate House. Icilius has the physical advantage of his drawn sword; Virginius has command of the army; but neither is a match for cunning. The passion of Icilius and Virginius pours forth in words, while Appius remains tersely laconic. Appius wisely allows Icilius to "say on" (111) until the 'boy' (96) is exhausted, and prepared to listen:

APP. Now have you done?

ICIL. I have spoke my thoughts.

APP. Then will thy fury give me leave to speak?

ICIL. I pray say on.

(134-137)

The resumption of civilities is probably not meant to be particularly convincing. Icilius has achieved his purpose to be heard ("But suffer me, / I'll offend nothing but thine ears", ll. 104-105), while Appius has preserved his skin and maintained his actor's rôle of the just judge. They separate, knowing the deadly danger that each represents for the other (cf. II.iii.165-168 and III.i.106-109). Appius' soliloquy is a forthright statement of his proposed path:

Go to thy death, [Icilius,] thy life is doom'd and cast.

Appius be circumspect, and be not rash

In blood as th'art in lust: Be murderous stil,
But when thou strik'st, with unseen weapons kill.

(165-168)

The ironically logical conclusion to this scene of petitioners before the judge is Clodius' changed plan to win Virginia for Appius, not by gifts or force, but by the Law. He will appear before Judge Appius to prove that Virginia is his (Clodius') slave:

I'll produce
 Firme proofs, notes probable, sound Witnesses;
 Then having with your Lictors summonsd her,
 I'll bring the cause before your Judgement-Seat,
 Where, upon my infallid evidence,
 You may pronounce the sentence on my side[.]

(209-214)

Against such perverted power, Icilius' sword appears pathetically feeble. Appius' dependence upon Clodius is expressed in a jingling rhyme:

Thou [i.e., Clodius] art born
 To mount me high above Icilius' scorn.

(231-232)

Dissembled virtue has mounted him to the eminent place of Decemvir, up the raised steps of the judgement seat. Genuine vice mounts him above his rival and within reach of his desires. This singleness in Clodius, who is seemingly born only to further Appius' lechery, makes him a much more straight-forwardly black character than is Flaminceo or Bosola. But like the former two characters, he is of interest because he has "a copius brain" (216), and because he relishes his actor's skill. He and his master make an intriguing pair, for despite Appius' cunning and skilful hypocrisy, he is quite lost without his secretary's help.

The gross injustice of Clodius' 'legal' plot takes effect with swift inevitability. The next scene (III.i) begins in the private, unprotected world of Appius' victims. Preparations for visitors are ordered, recalling the proposed feast in honour of Virginia's betrothal. The Nurse informs the Clown that

My Lord hath strangers to-night: you must make
 ready the Parlour - a table and lights; nay when, I say?

(10-11)

The verbal stage direction is repeated as the Clown promises to "fetch the table and some lights / presently" (16-17), and at once the host, Numitorius, enters calling for

Some lights to usher in these Gentlemen -
 Clear all the roomes without there. Sit, pray sit.
 None interrupt our conference. Enter Virginia.
 .Ha, [who's] that?

(18-21; sig. E)

The expectation of entertainment leads instead to a conference. Numitorius, gasping nervously at the sound of

his own niece's entry, contributes to an atmosphere of danger and fear, while the repeated mention of lights and their eventual appearance onstage add the suggestion of nighttime which here becomes a frightening darkness. The meeting is distinctly termed a 'conference' (20) and a 'Council' (26), and contemporary councils are usually illustrated seated at a table as, for example in the painting of the famous meeting of the English and Hispano-Flemish delegates at the Somerset House Conference in 1604.⁵⁸ Such a seated conference arrangement would give a certain formality and urgency to this group of citizens who must eventually pit themselves against the power of Appius. The businesslike nature of their meeting - "Our business" (25); "Take your place" (26); "now proceed" (27) - parallels the other councils (the Senate and Tribunal scenes), but the present huddled secrecy contrasts with the open, secure pomp over which Appius presides.

Numitorius and Icilius are opposites, and their individual characters are competently exposed in this scene - the one cautious, the other excitable and rash. At first Numitorius appears incredulous about the judge's hypocrisy:

Can I think
 Lord Appius will do wrong, who is all Justice,
 The most austere and upright Censurer
 That ever sate upon the awful Bench?

(33-36)

Time is telescoped, as if a long period has passed in which the judge has proved his truth. However, Numitorius seems rather to fear the power of Lord Appius than to trust his justice implicitly. Valerius urges Icilius to choose a lesser adversary (39-41), and Numitorius accepts this 'wisdom', adding:

Know you the danger - what it is to scandal
 One of his place and sway?

(43-44)

But Icilius yearns for retribution, and is careless of the unequal fight. With excitement he draws the picture (56) of "this god / Rome so adores" (57-58), and of that turbulent scene in which he took Appius "by the throat"

(90) and "threatned death" (91) until the judge
 durst not squeake,
 Nor move an eye, not draw a breath too loud,
 Nor stir a fingar.

(94-96)

He emphasizes, not his rival's wounded pride, but Appius' great fear. There is an attractive, youthful pride in his own action, and a pretended indifference - "I... call'd him lascivious Judge, / (A thousand things which I have now forgot)" (100-102) - which again exposes the pathetic imbalance of the adversaries. The arm that "bears all the strength of Rome" (41), that kills with "unseen weapons" (II.iii.168), cannot be crushed by this boyish bluster. The scene ends with an exit into the threatening darkness, emphasized again by Numitorius calling for "Lights without there" (133). Icilius, so conscious of the danger, but accepting the advice of Numitorius, leads Virginia home to her vulnerable lodging (despite his belief that she "Should lodg in secret with some private friend", where no enemies "Can hunt her out", ll. 117 and 119).

The immediately succeeding scene brings daylight, but not safety:

Enter Clodius, with foure Lictors.
 CLODIUS. Lictors bestow your selves in some close shops,
 About the Forum, till you have the sight
 Of faire Virginia, for I understand
 This present morning shee'l come forth to buy
 Some necessaries at the Sempsters shops:
 How ere accompanied be it your care
 To sease her at our action.

(III.ii.1-7; sig. E2^v)

The bloodhounds (cf. III.i.118) are upon the track.

It would be possible to stage this scene without any onstage properties, for the Lictors exit at line 26, keeping their watch in some imagined offstage shops, entering again at line 84 to make the arrest. However, as shops seem to have been a fairly common form of stage property, and as Virginia is coming forth to buy, some indication of the shops in the Forum may be given to the stage.⁵⁹ The great advantage of including a vendor's stall, either by adding wares to the pavilion-tent structure already hypothesized or in the form of a lean-to

booth, can be appreciated after the entry of Appius. At line 168 Appius calls, "Stooles for my noble friends. - I pray you sit". Arthur N. Clark finds Appius' order disturbing, for it seems to assume a nonsensical scene change, from street to chamber, without any exit of the characters.⁶⁰ Such a criticism is insensitive to the flexibility of the Jacobean stage, and to the nature of this scene. The stools (not chairs) and the hearing represent a very makeshift affair, not a formal presentation of Clodius' case before the enthroned judge. Appius pointedly defers all business in the dispute until a later time (163-165), and pretends now to behave informally, offering friendship to Numitorius and Icilius. A court chamber is not a desirable locality here. If some form of shop is visible, the characters can be imagined sitting at its threshold - partly within, partly without - where many transactions commonly took place. An illustration which shows how easily a tent or lean-to construction could simulate an authentic indoor-outdoor setting is the so-called Marriage Feast at Bermondsey, painted by Joris Hoefnagel (working in England), c. 1570 (see figure 29). Furthermore, in Painter's version of the story, the tribunal seat is imagined as being in the open Forum near the shops, for when Virginius later stands beside the butcher's stall, he can look up at Appius in the judgement seat, and speak to him.⁶¹

After the Lictors exit, Virginia enters at once, probably by another stage door, but the inevitable arrest is delayed by the Clown's comic interlude. The Clown's amorous propensities stimulate a sexual interest which, while crude, is harmless enough. Virginia, amused and witty, remains free and distanced, for the Nurse is the object of the match. Suddenly their light banter is interrupted by Clodius and the four armed bloodhounds. "Uncivill sir," Virginia cries to Clodius:

What makes you thus familiar and thus bold?
Unhand me villaine.

(103-105)

The previous sexual innuendoes take on a frightening reality as this "cursed pander for anothers lust" (130)

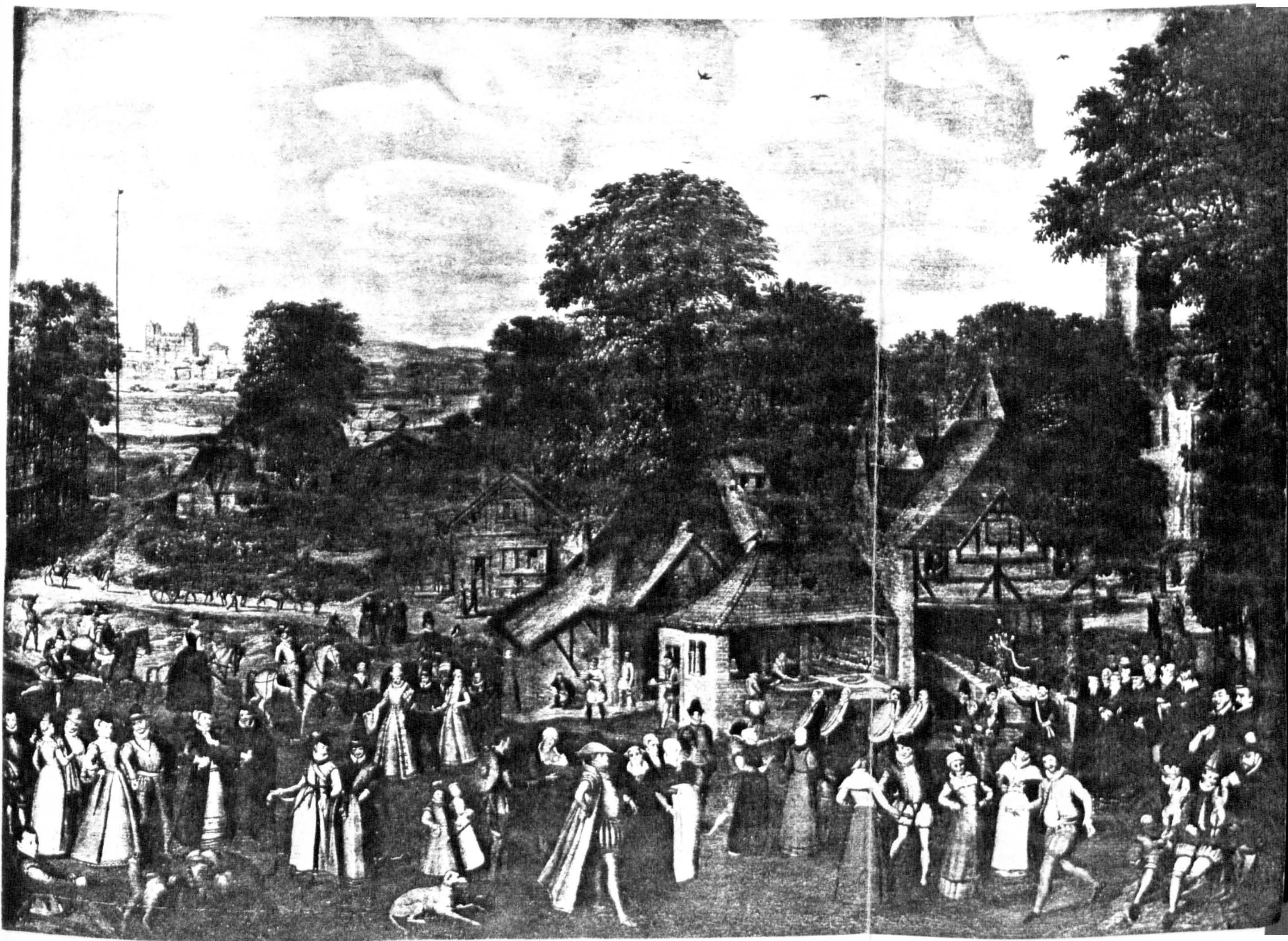


Figure 29. Joris Hoefnagel's painting, called A Marriage Feast at Bermondsey (c. 1570). The overhanging roof and open-fronted buildings could easily be adapted as stage booth shops for the Forum scenes. The room at the right, its table set and outer wall removed, shows how easily the observer can accommodate a mingling of external and internal scenes. (Coll. Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House). Reproduced from The Burlington Magazine vol. XXXI (1917), p. 88.

'hands' Virginia, his coarse action foreshadowing the anticipated sexual 'handling' by Appius. The distraught Nurse helplessly watches the "pulling / and haling" (122-123). The following entries to this tense scene are well timed. First Icilius and Numitorius rush on-stage. "How now, Gentlemen", says Icilius,

What's the offence of faire Virginia? -
 You bend your weapons on us?
 LICTOR. Sir stand back,
 We fear a rescue.
 ICILIUS. There's no need of feare,
 Where there's no cause of rescue:...

(137-143)

Then comes Appius, with an effective verbal echo which emphasizes his Janus-like dealing:

CLODI. Sir, we doe not come to fight,
 wee'le deale Enter Appius.
 By course of Law. My Lord we fear a rescue.
 APPIUS. A rescue? never fear't, here's none
 in presence
 But civill men.

(155-158; sig. E4)

Icilius will offer no violence if there is no cause. Appius pretends that there is no cause for a rescue, no injustice, none but "civill men" present. But Clodius is 'uncivill', and the audience knows that the word is justified. Concealed within Appius' seemingly impartial observation is a cunning promise. There will be no rescue; Virginia is caught.

In the succeeding action, Appius skilfully manipulates 'place' or setting. By offering a seat to Numitorius and Icilius he repeats the offer of false respect which he had given the younger man in Act II, scene iii. So confident and competent is he, that he treats his deadly enemies as friends and renders them ineffectual. Clodius remains standing, apparently distinguished by Appius from the "noble friends" (168). But despite the Decemvir's denials, the setting does become a temporary court or council chamber, and his lowly stool becomes his judgement seat, and thus the scene becomes a parody of Act I, scene iv and of Act IV, scene i.

The scene employs a favourite Websterian device of the pre-ordained 'play' in which self-conscious actors

(Appius and Clodius) assume rôles and manipulate the other characters who have become unwitting actors in this 'play'. The unhealthy relationship between Clodius and Appius (pander and master) and the unnatural dependence of the master upon the servant add to the relish of their acted relationship:

CLODIUS. May it please your Lordship -
 APP. Why uncivill sir!
 Have I not beg'd forbearance of my best
 And dearest friends, and must you trouble me?

(169-172)

Clodius is cast in Virginius' rôle of the suitor whom the judge will not hear.

APPIUS. We have no leasure now to heare you sir.
 CLODIUS. Hast now no leasure to heare just complaints?
 Resigne thy place O Appius, that some other
 May doe me Justice then.

(178-181)

His speech is a variation on Virginius' plea to be heard in the Senate House (I.iv.45-51), and Appius' reaction foreshadows the treatment of Virginius and his witnesses in the trial scene (IV.i). The seemingly-righteous indignation with which he silences Clodius is a frank abuse of his power, as Icilius knows when he says, "Good my Lord hear him" (186). Appius suggests bribery instead of a legal trial, whispering aside to Icilius and Virginia:

You were better
 Disburse some trifle then to undergo
 The question of her freedome.

(231-233)

To this suggestion Icilius responds with honourable disgust:

O my Lord!
 She were not worth a handfull of a bribe,
 If she did need a bribe.

(234-236)

Appius' answer is with a shrug of injured haughtiness:

Nay, take your course,
 I onely give you my opinion,
 I aske no fee for't.

(237-239)

The legal witticism contrasts coarsely with the young man's indignation.

This act in which Clodius and Appius play out their "vile Imposture" (188) is given admirable touches of

unheeded foreboding for the principal actors. Appius pretends to break free from his impudent servant:

I here casheire you; never shalt thou shrowde
Thy villanies under our noble rooffe,
Nor scape the whip, or the fell hangmans hook
By warrant of our favour.

(366-369)

Later, when the two men are prisoners, Clodius is too cowardly to act as his own hangman, and is dragged off-stage and given

(as he deserves)

Unto the common Hangman

(V.ii.179-180)

whose hook will drag him to the Gemonian Steps.⁶² Perhaps a recrimination spoken by Appius in prison is meant to recall, with a difference, "the fell hangmans hook", for his later image is strongly visual:

I hal'd thee after when I cl[o]mb my State[.]

(V.ii.23)

Climbing or falling, Clodius (because a parasite) must be dragged and haled. He can neither rise nor die by his own merits. But, significantly, the dependence is reciprocal. Appius only pretends to cashier his "Advocate of lust" (cf. II.i.79). Shrouding and encouraging Clodius' villainies, Appius creates the conditions for his own downfall.

Throughout Act III, scene ii, there is an extremely skilful audacity in Appius' ability to stress the imposture, cunning, and impudence of his own servant while retaining for himself an appearance of injured innocence; and in Clodius' comparable capacity of demanding justice and bewailing the court jugglery which he and Appius have themselves organized. Appius and Clodius succeed, not because they convince Icilius and Numitorius of Appius' honesty, but because Appius' seeming justice is temporarily too strongly supported by his "eminent place". Numitorius, Virginia and Icilius in turn beg for time, but the trial is set for the morrow.

ICIL. My Lord, the distance 'twixt the Camp and us
Cannot be measured in so short a time.
Let us have four dayes respit.

(324-326)

When the hearing has ended, two messengers are sent to the distant camp. First the friends of Virginia are left alone upon the stage:

ICIL. Post to the campe Sertorius, thou hast heard
Th'effect of all, relate it to Virginus.
I pray thee use thy ablest horsemanship,
For it concerns us near. SERTO. I goe my Lord.

(385-388)

As soon as they exit, Appius and Clodius reappear with a servant whom Appius addresses:

Here, bear this packet to Minutius,
And privately deliver't - make as much speed
As if thy father were deceas'd i'th' Camp,
And that thou went'st to take th'Administration
Of what he left thee. Fly. SERV. I go my Lord.

(III.iii.1-5)

Lucas locates this latter brief scene in The House of Appius. A change in location from Act III, scene ii is quite unnecessary and, if it involves a delaying removal of properties, undesirable. Appius, the hunter, can easily be imagined to lurk offstage and reappear when his victims have dispersed. The two parallel orders should follow swiftly upon each other, decreasing the likelihood of 'rescue' for Virginia. It is revealing that Icilius spurs on Sertorius by appealing to able horsemanship (a noble accomplishment, according to Webster's Antonio, DM, I.i.141-147), while Appius hurries his servant with thoughts of preferment (although empty - "As if...").

When the trial scene begins, after a brief interlude between the Clown and two Serving-men, Virginus has already arrived from the camp. There is no indication to show whether the properties for the court scene are discovered or brought onstage, although the former may seem more desirable. No doubt the stage is set as in many theatrical trials. The six Senators and Oppius presumably sit on a raised bench or benches (as in Act I, scene iv), while Appius "ascends the Judgement-seate" (cf. II.iii.16). The amount of ceremony and pageantry that could be given to the procession and tableau of a trial is revealed in detail in the opening stage direction to Henry VIII, Act II, scene iv. The various legal, royal and ecclesiastical symbols which are transported

and displayed in that trial may easily have been included in the trial properties in Appius and Virginia (sword, mace, seal and so forth).⁶³ The nine members of Virginia's party are clustered together, probably nearer the front of the stage with the Lictors behind them or near the judges, and the seated but raised judges visible on their higher level towards or at the back of the stage. A simple stage judgement bar, mentioned twice in rather general references to the coming trial (II,iii.224, and III.iv.58), probably stands at right angles to the tiring-house façade, separating the accused from Clodius and his Orator. (A recognizable judgement bar would be an easily portable stage property, as figure 30 reveals). With the judges seated in dignified immobility; the Lictors standing firmly with their weapons, ready to lay hands wherever bid; the witnesses pushing towards the bar; Virginius and the Orator defying each other in a central position (VIRG. "Now Sir I stand you"; ORAT. "Then have at you Sir", ll. 84-85); and Clodius fluttering with his papers at his advocate's elbow (97-100), the stage presents a marvellously vital throng which, despite the Roman rôles and names, would closely resemble the contemporary courtrooms which must have been familiar to an exceptionally large portion of Jacobean society.⁶⁴ From this bustling, lively scene, Virginius' supporters are one by one hustled into custody. First the Nurse is 'silenced' by the Lictors, who presumably move her away from the central dispute and the bar, for Virginius cries:

O injustice!

You frown away my Witness;...

(184-185)

Then Icilius, desperately waving his papers - 'proofs' - that no one will study, is taken by the Lictors (278). Perhaps they force him down upon his knees as they clap fetters upon him (cf. 289), which would add irony to his respectful reverence, offered to the abstract rôle of judge, not to the corrupt individual:

proud Judg, I let thee see
I bend low to thy Gown, but not to thee.

(286-287)



Figure 30. A simple judgement bar which could easily be used during the trial scene, IV.i. The basic bar would probably have altered little during the years which separate the play's conception from the engraving. Anonymous engraving of John Lilburne during his trial at the Guildhall (1649). Reproduced from Margery Corbett and Michael Norton, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, pt. III (Cambridge, 1964), pl. 187(b).

At last Virginius prepares for the final separation:

Farewel my sweet Virginia, never, never
 Shall I taste fruit of the most blessed hope
 I had in thee.

(321-323)

After the bustle, the legal chatter and the seizures, the old soldier's reminiscence of his daughter's "pretty infancy" (324) causes a lyrical hush, focussing the attention of the stage and theatre spectators upon the father and child. The farewell which he anticipates contrasts with the return which he recalls - "when first / Returning from the Wars" (324-325). Even in his memories he is the soldier, and these references to the wars and his wounds reminds the audience of the length of his service to Rome which now goes unrewarded. The official voice from the judgement seat intrudes upon this very personal memory:

APP. This tediousness doth much offend the Court.
 Silence: attend her Sentence.

VIRG. Hold, without Sentence I'll resign her freely,
 Since you will prove her to be none of mine.

APP. See, see, how evidently Truth appears.
 Receive her Clodius.

VIRG. Thus I surrender her into the Court Kills her.
 Of all the Gods.

(337-344; sig. G4)

The death, so sudden and startling, provides a fine theatrical moment. The gowned judge, who has claimed a god-like absence of passion (cf. I.i.120-122), sits at the top of Fortune's wheel in his "eminent place", above the 'slave' Virginius at the bar. At the same time, that judge is a devil (cf. II.iii.101 and III.i.57-58) whose violent lust mounts as he impatiently urges the pander forth to receive the victim. As Clodius victoriously reaches out his arms, Virginius stabs his virgin daughter and makes her free (345). Disappointed expectation seems to freeze Appius momentarily, until the stage bursts with a cry of horror:

OMNES. O horrid act!

APP. Lay hand upon the Murderer.

VIRG. Oh for a ring of pikes to circle me.

(348-350)

As in the mutiny scene, Virginius stands "begirt / With

Enemies" (cf. II.ii.99-100) - the armed Lictors, the Senators (no doubt brought to their feet in horror), the judge-devil, and his pander. Even his friends are naturally horrified (as confirmed by Icilius' later accusation, V.i.110-117). Clutching the knife, Virginius dashes past the armed Lictors with his usual speed.

APP. Some pursue the villain,
Others take up the body. Madness and rage
Are still th' Attendants of old dotting age.

(354-356)

The madness and rage are unconscious representations of Appius' own lecherous dotage. His double order provides an effective clearing of the twenty or so characters that remain onstage. The Lictors rush off in pursuit while other characters solemnly bear away the dead girl. The Senators and Appius in their scarlet gowns give a processional air to the exit. The robes of those who carry her are "double dyed" as Virginius threatened (I.iv.74-75), but dyed, ironically, with the virgin's blood. Retribution for this unjust trial comes in the splendidly appropriate scene which completes the play and the themes it has raised.

V. De Casibus Illustrium Virorum.

The prison, although it has not the multitude of symbolic and literal dimensions found in The Duchess of Malfi, Act IV, is an excellently appropriate setting. It is not only a cell, but a "deep dungeon" (V.ii.42). Appius has climbed the judgement seat and plummeted to the deep prison.

The story of the impious judge is an exemplum. Appius introduces the concept in the first scene:

he that must steer at th'
head of an Empire, ought to be the Mirrour of the
times for
Wisdome and for Policie

(I.i.14-16);

and in the final scene he points the moral:

Fortune hath lift thee [i.e., Virginius]
to my Chair,
And thrown me headlong to thy pleading-bar.
If in mine eminence I was stern to thee;

Shunning my rigor, likewise shun my fall.

(V.ii.56-59)

Two themes - the Mirror for Magistrates, and the Fall of Princes - recurrent in didactic literature and inherited from the Middle Ages are thus invoked, and throughout the play are supported by references to the appropriate physical movement.⁶⁵ When Appius falls from judgement seat to dungeon, he changes the scarlet gown for fetters, and alters from a seeming god to a monster; at the same time, Virginius moves from plaintiff at the bar, and pursued murderer, to general in command of two armies, and from a slave's habit to the consul's wreath of bays. Appius is kept carefully off the stage between the trial of Virginia and his imprisonment. His intervening behaviour, described at length in the sources of the story, is omitted, and this dramatic tightening emphasizes the Wheel of Fortune theme.⁶⁶ As readers of the play, we must not ignore the startling visual contrast that his two final stage appearances present. In a late fifteenth century manuscript of Boccaccio's De Casibus there is an illustration which, with a double scene reminiscent of the medieval stage's multiple settings, shows (and thus parallels) the deaths of Appius and of Virginia (see figure 31). This simple but strong moralizing in visual terms is employed by Webster in his visualizations of Appius and Virginius, in order to reveal both the fitness of the retribution and the danger of heedless pride and ambition. This complete revolution of Fortune's wheel is at last recognized by Appius as a just retribution and not as an action of blind chance (53-61), while to Virginius, the uncertainty of the wheel's turn is a cause for reflection, not for vengeful gloating (66-69).

The upward and downward movement of the wheel is experienced also by Clodius. Appius reminds him that

Thou shared'st a fortune with me in my Greatness,
I hal'd thee after when I cl[o]mb my State,
And shrink'st thou at my ruine?

(22-24)

The fall of the pander who devised the plan whereby Appius sped to his own ruin recalls words uttered earlier by the



Figure 31. The deaths of Virginia (left) and Appius (right), from Boccaccio's De Casibus (trans. Laurent de Premierfait), late fifteenth century. British Museum MS Additional 35321, folio 89^v. Reproduced from Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley, Calif., 1936), facing p. 224.

lustful judge. At the completion of their contrived scene in which Virginia has been proclaimed Clodius' slave, Appius rather unexpectedly philosophizes:

Should I miscarry in this desperate plot,
This of my fate in after times be spoken,
I'll break that with my weight on which I am broken.

(III.iii.30-32)

When he speaks the lines, no doubt he means to break Icilius and Virginius if the plot fails. But the effective wheel which (like Fortune's wheel) has mounted him high, is Clodius, fanning his lust and evil: "Thou art born", says the judge to his pander, "To mount me high above Icilius' scorn" (II.iii.231-232). He and the wheel break together.

Clodius' behaviour towards Appius in prison - with his taunting accusations - is ironically apt. The pander himself has warned Appius of desertion when greatness passes. In the first scene, Clodius looks sneeringly at the parasitical Cozens who rush to applaud Appius' rise, and says,

Were you now
In prison, or arraign'd before the Senate
For some suspect of treason, all these swallowes
Would flie your stormy winter, not one sing[.]

(I.i.46-49)

But at last, he fulfils the warning himself:

I loved your Greatness,
And would have trac'd you in the golden path
Of sweet promotion; but this your decline
Sowrs all these hoped sweets.

(V.ii.25-28)

The "golden path" is a simple but potent image, suggesting riches, golden chains of office, and the path of the sun to which Clodius has likened his master, watching the (other) parasites warm themselves at Appius' 'sun-shine' (I.i.46). The path of this false sun has led to the dark (V.ii.34) dungeon. Appropriately, Appius has predicted his servant's desertion, but without recognizing the warning. During the self-confident act which master and pander perform in the Forum (III.ii), Appius, with pretended virtue, points an accusing finger at Clodius:

Observe you this Camelion, my Lords [he tells Numitorius
and Icilius],
Ile make him change his colour presently.

(306-307)

The hidden meaning, appreciated fully by Appius and Clodius in their collusion, obscures a further interpretation which is laid bare in the prison.

Clodius' generalization on the undependability of kindred and friends is belied when Virginius appears at the trial, addressing his true friends thus:

Thanks to my noble friends - it now appears
That you have rather lov'd me then my fortune,
For that's near shipwrackt:...

(IV.i.1-3)

His friends do not "flie [his] stormy winter".

Because Clodius proceeds downhill with Appius, his behaviour at the bottom provides an effective foil to the fallen judge. Appius, in his final moments, rises morally to an acceptance of his individual responsibility:

Judges are term'd
The Gods on earth; and such as are corrupt
Read me in this my ruine.

(V.ii.140-142)

In his death there is a pride and a hint of that glorying independence felt by Flamineo, Lodovico and Bosola, when they will be their own examples, and examples to future times:⁶⁷

Think not Lords,
But he that had the spirit to oppose the Gods,
Dares likewise suffer what their powers inflict.

. . . .

This the sum of all,
Appius that sin'd, by Appius' hand shall
fall.

Kils him(elf

(125-127; 143-144; sig. I2^v)

The neatly balanced moral, emphasized by the rhyme and the third person subject, is nonetheless true to the character of Appius, whose pride inspires his one moment of greatness. He is fallen and corrupt, but a fallen "god on earth", not a "temporizing slave" (31) like his servant. The devil-judge's arm which had borne "all the strength of Rome" (III.i.41) and should have been "the prop of Innocence" (II.iii.7) is given a sword to 'act'

upon himself the retributive justice (V.ii.119). Clodius cannot take action, but is acted upon, dragged even further downward, given to a base hangman (179-180) and, the audience may assume, tossed down the Gemonian Steps.

Appius began his power with thoughts of a triumph (I.i.145-146); and by 'conquering' Virginius and his soldiers (I.iii.50-55), he sought to gain Virginia as his prize. Now in death he graces the 'triumph' of Virginia whose own death comes to be seen as a sacrifice for the general good (cf. IV.ii.205-207), uniting at last the camp and the city. Virginius speaks the play's final lines:

Souldiers and noble Romans,
To grace her death, whose life hath freed great Rome,
March with her [corse] to her sad Funeral Tomb, Exeunt.
Flourish.

(V.ii.195-197; sig. I3)

With a trumpet flourish the solemn funeral procession exits, soldiers and citizen army united to bear away their virgin sacrifice and her purged murderer, leaving Rome, pronounced 'room', free. The pun extends not only to the cell as a room, but also to the theatre as a walled space, which is now 'free' of the characters and their story.

VI. The authorship of the play in relation to Webster's dramaturgy.

The authorship of Appius and Virginia has aroused considerable critical interest. The play's first quarto, not published until 1654, attributes the play to Webster. A late attribution must not be accorded implicit faith; similarly, a twentieth century reattribution without documentary proof, and the reassigning of scenes or parts of scenes on the strength of a few words, must be viewed with caution. The critical battle, beginning with Rupert Brooke in 1913, variously champions the authorship of (a) Webster, (b) Heywood, (c) Webster and Heywood, and (d) Heywood revised by Webster. Despite some interesting investigations of versification and metre by Brooke,

Arthur M. Clark, H.D. Gray and H.D. Sykes,⁶⁸ this early portion of the critical battle is often affected by the critics' lack of sympathy for, or understanding of, the potential of the non-naturalistic Elizabethan stage. The attributions are based ultimately on impressions and naïve value judgements - if the play seems admirable, it was written by Webster; if silly and feeble, it belongs to the hapless Heywood; if internally inconsistent, it is a revised muddle. But internal disagreement is not in itself proof of multiple authorship in plays written and published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so many of which are notorious for an exuberant lack of attention to petty details: if Ferdinand presents his sister with a plurality of Antonio's dead children as the text affirms (DM, IV.1; sig. I^v), then it seems odd that the Duchess later believes two of her children to be living (IV.ii.207-209); Antonio's son succeeds to her dukedom (V.v.132-138) despite Ferdinand's earlier mention of the young "Duke of Malfy" that "She had by her first husband" (III.iii.82-83). The late publication of Appius and Virginia, Webster's inveterate borrowing, and the absence of any other play by Webster in the classical exemplum genre, make specific attribution of scenes unconvincing.

More recently, Sanford Sternlicht has approached the subject of authorship through a study of Appius and Virginia's imagery correlated with the imagery of Webster's two major tragedies and The Devil's Law-Case. He concludes that although Webster undoubtedly created parts of the play he was probably not the sole author.⁶⁹ Sternlicht's findings are valuable, but by examining only the language of the play he does not consider the overall structure, the physical presence of characters and properties and the movement of plot and action, which also are basic elements of the fabric of stage drama. In a brief article in Notes & Queries, Inga-Stina Ekeblad, taking storm imagery as her starting point, points to the interweaving patterns in Appius and Virginia, and finds evidence of Webster in the interrelationship of images and plot-movement.⁷⁰

Rupert Brooke suggests that the 1654 edition has fathered the play upon Webster, for the simple reason that he was

a popular playwright, instead of the neglected Heywood. But he does not explain why it should be given to an apparently inappropriate author: "The more closely Appius and Virginia is looked at, the less it shows of the Webster we know."⁷¹ "The Webster we know" is more significant than Brooke admits: except in Appius and Virginia, we do not know the Webster of a classical Roman play. Peter Haworth, while agreeing with Brooke that the play is "in all probability not Webster's work", however thinks that it "was not attributed to him without reason", for it is concerned with a Websterian obsession - "the contrast between hypocrisy and sincerity".⁷² Clark would hardly have agreed. For him the play is pure Heywood, false to the note of Webster.⁷³

For the Heywood champions, The Rape of Lucrece has a fatal attraction. Obviously the stories of Lucretia and Virginia are similar: virtue and vice are clearly opposed; virtue is destroyed in order to save honour; and virtue ultimately triumphs over vice, involving a fall from greatness. In theatrical terms, both plays are Roman, and therefore likely to be treated with some of the directness and simplicity seen to befit the classical mode. And yet, even this superficial comparison with The Rape of Lucrece is repeatedly given a qualifier. Appius and Virginia, says Brooke, "is exactly like Heywood when he is writing solemnly, ... Only it is rather more mature".⁷⁴ Clark finds our tragedy "A play almost exactly similar" to The Rape of Lucrece; but having satisfied himself that the former play is Heywood's, he goes on to say of it: "But there is a certain dryness, insipidity, or frigidity unusual in Heywood".⁷⁵ The simplicity of plot is a clear sign of Heywood, and proof against Webster; from this proof Clark proceeds to explain an apparent cut and revision where Webster has simplified the plot.⁷⁶ One cannot have it all ways at once.

More serious attention will be paid below to some of the authorship arguments based upon staging and characterization.⁷⁷ Above and in the discussion that follows, I am not concerned to prove the fragmented attributions to be right or wrong. Without further documentation I firmly

believe such decisions to be impossible. What I do wish to show is that too many of these apparently critical arguments are, besides being untrustworthy, unfair to Appius and Virginia as a play. In my discussion above, I have treated the play as a single artistic construction, because any study of visual and thematic structure must be concerned with the play in its entirety, as it would be played - or as nearly as extant versions allow us to judge it. This study of Appius and Virginia seems to reveal a controlling plan, a careful structural development, and recurring thematic motifs supported by stage imagery. The investigation unveils also certain elements which are compatible with Webster's other plays, and these will be cited below in disagreement with Clark's general impression that Appius and Virginia is entirely false to the spirit of Webster. Neither the evidence of organizational unity, nor the existence of Websterian elements, constitutes proof that Webster is the single author. But the play, in which Webster clearly had some hand, is seen as a coherent artistic whole, and not a hotchpotch of absurdities.

The play shows both thematic and structural organization. The exemplum - the rise and fall of illustrious vice - is supported throughout by stage and verbal images. Structurally, the play moves through a series of ceremonies: from the ceremony of election (I.i), to that of the trial with its execution (IV.i); from the donning of the Decemvir's robes to the wearing of fetters; and from the ceremonial cashiering of the mutineers (II.ii. 134-142), to the cashiering of Virginius through the ceremonial transfer of command to the Roman soldier (IV.ii. 59-65), followed by the elevation of Virginius, first to general under the crimson 'colours' of Virginia's blood (IV.ii.130-131 and 178-183), then to consul, with Icilius (V.ii). Minutius is present at each of the ceremonies, either as the chief director on behalf of Rome or as commentator. His final bestowal of the wreath of bays cancels the original investiture of Appius in the Decemvir's robes. The ceremonies and images of place are straightforward and not unusual; the continued and careful use of

them is admirable, and the repetition of ritualized ceremonies is a Websterian characteristic.

This evident organization, with its interplay of verbal and visual motifs (such as the cycle of blood) resembles the careful, organic and highly visualized construction of Webster's two Italian tragedies. Appius and Virginia does not display the multiple dimensions that give intense and equivocal strength to such scenes as the death of Brachiano or the imprisonment of the Duchess. The greater clarity of presentation suits the greater clarity of the Roman story and themes. Within this more classical structure, numerous Websterian elements can be detected. As in The Duchess of Malfi, the play's world is given a living, interdependent form - Mother Rome and her soldier sons reaching their arms towards each other (I.iv.57-59, and II.ii.49-51); unnatural Rome turned to a devouring wolf, feeding on those who support her (II.ii.51-55); disease spreading outward from the centre of government (I.iv.81-83) and being manifested in the distraction and fever suffered by Virginius. The disease motif is present in both of Webster's other tragedies: it spreads from the centre of society in The Duchess of Malfi; while moral disease in Brachiano is manifested physically in the distraction and fever occasioned by the poison. As in The Duchess of Malfi, there is much weary movement from place to place in Appius and Virginia - between the camp and the city; but in neither play does this movement present the possibility of escape from the disease at the head. Virginia, the "ceremonious chappell", is not permitted to remain free from the "thronging presence" (I.ii.13-14); like the Duchess she appreciates simple virtue, but must become part of her larger, corrupt world. For the Duchess, the secret wedding and the flight to Loretto lead inexorably back to the prison, as the Cardinal had predicted (DM, I.i.360-361). For Appius, the step up to the elevated seat, accompanied by the pretense of banishment from the self, leads downwards to the dungeon where he is, as his hypocrisy predicted, separated from kindred and friends. The alternative to involvement in

this closely-knit world is banishment. The suggested banishment draws from Appius a cry as apparently heartfelt as that which springs from Lodovico (WD, I.i.1) or the Duchess (DM, III.v.1). The hypocrisy of Appius' cry is very skilfully taken up, first in the whispered enjoyment of his cunning (A&V, I.i.53-54), and then in his finely dissembled speech on the personal 'banishment' which a statesman's life enforces (84-93).

Certain Websterian preoccupations are apparent. The trial occupies a central position, and the whole question of Justice (and its perversion) and the use of legal terminology are constantly evident in the play. The similarities in the main trial scene, especially in the satiric portrait of the Orator, and the trials and advocates in The White Devil and The Devil's Law-Case are fairly widely remarked.⁷⁸ The trial and Virginius' appeal to the Senate transform the stage into a grand pageant scene in which costume adds brilliance to the spectacle, and force to the themes. The scarlet of justice and of bloody injustice, the wealth of furs and gold, are ranked against the battered, blood-stained soldier, and later against the two weak slaves. Similarly in The White Devil arraignment, the scarlet of Monticelso contrasts with the whiteness of the seeming-holy whore, a colour contrast supported by the red and white of her cheeks and the disputed purity of his mother's blood (III.ii.54-58). The abuse of justice, in both The Duchess of Malfi and Appius and Virginia, leads to the death of the heroine. These deaths are given the nature of a perverted execution - by the use of language, Executioners, and cords in the former play; by means of the trial setting and the declaration that Virginius was simply the instrument of the judge's murder in the latter.

Splendour of garments and a physical attendance at a ceremony silently cause the audience to question the honour of great men who attend upon greater - Appius' Senators (I.iv and IV.i) and the Ambassadors (WD, III.ii; IV.iii and V.i). Costume is used symbolically in each of Webster's plays: Francisco's black Christian disguise; Bosola's emblematic Old Man's habit; and the slave

costumes worn by Virginius and Virginia. In each case there is more than a mere change of costume: a multiplicity of meanings is contained in the visual object - Francisco is at once black (evil) revenger and white (virtuous) Moor; Bosola is the devil intelligencer bought with Ferdinand's gold, an executioner, and a priest offering salvation; Virginia and Virginius are slaves to tyrannous injustice, and physical lust, but free souls. The ironical divergence between the official robes and the man who wears them always interests Webster - in Monticelso, the great Duke Ferdinand, the Cardinal, and Appius. Transformation of character is effected through ceremonial costume changes - the Cardinal's investiture as a soldier (DM, III.iv); Monticelso's papal election (WD, IV.iii); and Appius' acceptance of the Decemvirate (I.i).

The apt visualization of Appius' fall is very Websterian - he who had brought slaves to the bar, attempting to enslave Virginia to his lust, is divested of scarlet Justice, fettered and gyved with "a temporizing slave" (V.ii.31) and stained with the scarlet of his own blood (here, the colour of justice, because of lawful punishment, not of personal vengeance). As Virginius had remarked to Icilius (seized at Appius' command): "Fetters grace one being worn for speaking truth" (IV.i.289). Appius wears his fetters for speaking lies, and they give him no grace as he and Clodius wrangle in the cell.

The theme of hypocrisy triumphing is obviously central to Webster's dramatic creations. The opening scene of Appius and Virginia is constructed with that duality of dimensions so noticeable in The White Devil (I.ii.1-3) and The Duchess of Malfi (I.i.1-317) - the open, formal, surface pageant and the hidden, shadowy, secretive world. Until line 39, the play remains on a plane of open formality, with contrasting public and private views clearly stated. The upright citizen requests the parasitical cousins (characters familiar from Webster's other plays) to draw to the back of the stage, and then:

Marcus!

MARCUS CL. Sir.

APPIUS. How dost thou like my cunning?

(39-41)

The speed and economy of this revelation is as effective as Brachiano's sudden confession to Flamineo (WD, I.ii.3). Suddenly the psychological grouping of characters becomes radically altered. The seeming sincerity of the stage vision has been shattered to reveal a world of asides and close but hidden confidences. The whispers and silent laughter indulged in by Appius and Marcus Clodius create a diabolic impression of evil, and recall Webster's repeated use of silent, evil or twisted laughter (cf. DM, I.i.170-172; III.iii.65-71; and WD, III.iii.80-107). With the return of the Senators (A&V, I.i.71), the audience is given a consciousness of double vision - the formal scene of the Senators and the honourable Appius; and the momentarily hidden relationship of Marcus Clodius and the cunning Appius. Marcus as commentator, and later as director-pander, (I.iii; II.i; and II.iii), and actor (III.ii and IV.i), is a Websterian character resembling Flamineo. While Appius dissembles, Marcus acts as presenter for the audience:⁷⁹

Excellent, excellent Lapwing!
 There's other stuffe closed in that subtle brest.
 He sings and beats his wings far from his nest.

(127-129)

It is an overt statement of a condition which the audience already understands, and it tends to unite and implicate us with the conspiring pair, while allowing Appius to remain distanced and dignified. Clodius' intermediate position between the characters and the audience is similar to that of Flamineo during the exchange of Vittoria's jewel (WD, I.ii.211-218). In these two scenes, the presenters absorb some of the evil, and the actors - Appius, Brachiano and Vittoria - are placed equivocally, appearing more admirable than we know them to be. The similarity between Clodius and Flamineo is strengthened as Appius' dependence upon his secretary grows. Like Brachiano, like Antonio too (DM, II.i.195), Appius is lost and, not knowing how to act, allows someone else to direct him (I.iii). Marcus Clodius, like Flamineo and Delio, must instigate the action. This dependence upon another character creates the close human bond which, sometimes

good, sometimes evil, is frequently found in Webster's plays. Verbally, in Appius and Virginia, the relationship is given a very physical form which is aptly completed in their shared disgrace: Appius has 'hal'd' Clodius upwards after him; and the pander has shadowed his master "in the golden path" (V.ii.23 and 26). In a moment of wounded pride, Appius, like Brachiano, turns against his pander, reviling his 'dog', and from these encounters the two panders recover by their wits (WD, IV.ii and A&V, II.iii.169ff.). As death approaches, Appius, like all Webster's major characters, must stand alone, growing at last to some grandeur through the integrity of independence and the acceptance of responsibility.

The obsessive potency of the body, living and dead, is a recurring motif in Webster's plays. This motif in Appius and Virginia culminates in the presentation of the dead Virginia as a sign of her sacrifice which demands retribution. Rupert Brooke complains that Icilius does not have time to fetch the body and start back with it in the short time before the offstage reaction: "Seven lines after his exit, a shout is heard....Eleven lines later, Icilius enters with the body. If the play stands as it was written, it is difficult to believe that Webster could have committed such absurdities."⁸⁰

Apart from the petty consideration that Brooke cannot count lines (the shout, to make matters worse, goes up only five lines after his exit, and in consequence he enters thirteen lines after the shout, cf. sig. I2), his whole description, with its italicized amazement, is ridiculous. The playwright gives his audience no more leisure to inquire into distances than does Webster in The Duchess of Malfi, when the Duchess' dead body is apparently in her palace at Amalfi in Act IV, scene ii, whereas her tomb is in Milan four days later - a 'discrepancy' which disturbs Lucas, encouraging him to locate Act IV in Milan, a change which significantly weakens the brilliantly ironical appropriateness of her marriage-death chamber.⁸¹ Who, in a theatre audience, will question where Virginia's body was taken after Appius ordered its removal (IV.i.355); or where it is resting

in relation to the prison? What is important here is a dramatic and psychological effect. Brooke includes, in his list of parallels between this play and The Rape of Lucrece, "the bearing of the dead, bleeding bodies of Lucrece, and of Virginia, before the people, and their sympathy and rage".⁸² The idea is similar; the dramatic presentation is not. In Heywood's tragedy, the use of the body as a sign is only stated; neither the villain nor the audience is presented with the chilling sight.⁸³ In Appius and Virginia, the body becomes a dramatically potent emblem which helps to spur on the action. While that body remained chaste it was Virginius' delight.

'Alas', he told his soldiers,

might I have kept her chaste and free,
This life so oft ingag'd for ingrateful Rome,
Lay in her bosom.

(IV.ii.142-144)

The depth of love between father and daughter is bound up in their blood and their physical kinship (I.iv.140-143). Ferdinand, like Virginius, is bound with ties of kinship, and a strong awareness of shared blood and honour, to the woman he kills. Despite the difference in cause, the two men kill because the purity of the woman's body is threatened or tainted.

Damne her [says Ferdinand of his sister], that
body of hers,
While that my blood ran pure in't, was more worth
Then that which thou wouldst comfort, (call'd a
soule)[.]

(DM, IV.i.146-148)

The sight of the dead body works strong reactions in the two 'murderers'. Compare Virginius:

This sight hath stiffned all my operant powers,
Ic'd all my blood, benum'd my motion quite

(A&V, V.ii.108-109);

and Ferdinand:

Let me see her face againe;
Why didst not thou pittie her? what an excellent
Honest man might'st thou have bin
If thou hadst borne her to some Sanctuary!

(DM, IV.ii.291-294)

Francisco is stirred in his revenge by the sight of his dead sister, although she appears as a ghost rather than

a corpse; the dead body of Marcello becomes a potent spectacle to his mother (as Virginia to Virginius), and a sign to Flamineo of his impending fall (as Virginia's bleeding wounds are a sign of the murderer's necessary fall). Bosola, whose changing mood after the murder is in part stimulated by the sight of his victim (cf. DM, IV.ii.276-283), bends over the Duchess as she seems to revive, gently saying:

Upon thy pale lips I will melt my heart
To store them with fresh colour:...

(IV.ii.370-371)

Virginius with a similar thought, although less beautifully expressed, bends over his daughter, vowing:

I'll powre my soul into my daughters belly,
And with a soldiers tears imbalm her wounds.

(V.ii.110-111)

The 'dead' wax figure of Antonio reduces the Duchess to despair; his corpse becomes a property which gives justification to Bosola's revenge upon the Cardinal (DM, IV.i.; V.v.47-51). If the author of the last scene of Appius and Virginia is not Webster, he shares with Webster the ability to make the dead body a potent stage property which, while offering a visual thrill (as do the wax bodies), is related to the recurrent imagery of scarlet justice and injustice.

In The White Devil and The Duchess of Malfi, Webster shows his inheritance of several medieval theatre conventions, and in Appius and Virginia the Morality inheritance is strong, with the use of an exemplum; of Vice attending upon the hero-villain; and of a presenter-director.

The bridal transformed into a funeral is clearly an idea which strongly moves Webster (cf. WD, II.i.66-69 and DM, IV.ii). In the brief scene of Virginia's betrothal (I.ii), she and her uncle light-heartedly introduce the ominous possibility of death (as the Duchess and Antonio sprinkle their wooing scene with images of death); and Icilius later yokes the concepts of bridal and funeral (V.i.111-112).

Regarding internal construction, one can say that certain scenes in this Roman tragedy seem to be intentionally linked. The description of the sweating, weary, white-haired

statesman in the first scene, and the contrast of this imagined figure with "those that sweat in warre" (I.i. 110) is reawakened by Icilius' description of Virginius in the second scene (26-45); and with the later entry of Virginius - white-haired, sweat-stained, weary. Similarly, Virginius' fabricated account of his reception by the Senate records two actions which are ironically performed in the following scene. When he entered the Senate House, "they all stood bare, / And each man offer'd [him] his seat" (II.ii.237-238); and when Icilius meets Appius, elaborate attention is drawn to the ceremony of "standing bare" and to the offer of a seat (II.iii.41-50).

I agree with Clark that, as it stands, there is something strange about Icilius' description of Virginius' arrival from the camp (I.ii.26ff.).⁸⁴ Icilius seems to speak with the authority of an eye witness ("...never did you see / ...a bloodier Heele, / Then that your brother strikes with", ll. 39-41), and he speaks at considerable length. To make the scene play with any semblance of reality, the Servant must do a great deal of whispering and gesturing, while Numitorius and his niece converse in pantomime (between ll. 24 and 25).⁸⁵ While this may seem to offer an embarrassing stage situation, such staging is not impossible, and hardly justifies postulating, with Clark, a meeting between Icilius and Virginius which has been deleted in this version. Ultimately our decisions about cuts in this scene depend, not upon proof, but upon our own value judgements and the actors' presentation. Silence and gesturing may introduce a note of fear and haste which marks the sudden movement from the peaceful, welcoming private home, to the fearful situation in Rome generally. Icilius' message itself - a conventional telescoping of time and action - is dramatically effective, and heightened because it comes from Virginius' future son-in-law, not from any indifferent messenger. The whispered message may be merely an unsophisticated means of arriving at a fine, and imagistically important, speech.

Later in the first act, an apparent scene change has caused some unnecessary critical distress. Appius is requested to be present at the Senate House for the

hearing of the army's petition:

VALERIUS. L[ord] Appius, the Decemvirate intreat
Your voice in this dayes Senate.

. . . .

APPIUS. We will attend the Senate.

Clodius, Be gone.

Enter Spurius, Opius, Valerius, Numitor[ius], &c.

OPIUS. We sent to you to assist us in this counsell
Touching the expeditions of our war.

(I.iii.64-iv.2; sig. B4)

Hazlitt, in his edition of 1857,⁸⁶ creates a new scene with the entry of the Senators, to allow for the change of location to the Senate House, a scene division followed by subsequent editors. No indication of an exit and entrance is given for Appius, and Oppius' words indicate a meeting between the Senators and Appius, not a formal entry of the united Senate. Perhaps the stage directions are merely missing, for clearly an Exit for Valerius has been omitted if the following entry direction is correct. But Valerius is a minor character, while the actions of Appius at this point determine the staging. I am inclined to believe that Appius does not leave the stage, and that his command, "Clodius, Be gone", is a hissed necessity because the entrance of the Senators is imminent. Like Ferdinand's command to Bosola after their private meeting ('Away!', DM, I.i.314), Appius' words remove the secret agent and mark the transformation from sinister frankness to hypocrisy. Arthur M. Clark criticizes the theatrical naïveté that could necessitate such an imagined scene change, with the entry, to Appius, of the very Senators who sent for him.⁸⁷ But it is quite natural to imagine that the Senators, like Appius, are on their way to the Senate House. The Jacobean stage cannot be considered as a single, undifferentiated area. Allardyce Nicoll has drawn attention to the added dimension of space upon the platform stage, whereby movement from side to side, or downstage to upstage, may be of potent significance.⁸⁸ Appius and Clodius, in Act I, scene iii, speak together in confidence and secrecy. The logical position for the actors to take up is near the front of the stage, where their plotted villainy can be shared with the

audience, and the treacherous depths of the Decemvir may be whispered informally. In contrast, the formal pronouncements from the Senators on their benches come from the back of the stage.

Conceivably, then, the movement to the Senate House is thus: Appius and Clodius are conferring in private near the foot of an unlocalized stage. Valerius enters from that formal world which keeps at a distance from the audience. He approaches, makes his announcement, and departs. Appius hastily ushers Clodius away, and, resuming his perfect hypocrisy, walks upstage towards the Senate House. The Senators enter, meet Appius, and together they take their place. A similar movement over the stage (representing an out-of-doors space) to the Senate House (presumably set at the back of the stage) without any clearing of the stage, is necessary in Julius Caesar (III.i).

The meeting between Icilius and Appius in Act II, scene iii, has raised questions about staging which have been used as evidence of revision or feeble construction. It seems to me probable that the whole of this scene - the entry of the Petitioners, the confrontation of Appius and Icilius, and the private conference between the judge and his pander - takes place upon the open stage platform. The two Petitioners are clearly on the front stage, entering from one door while Clodius enters from the other (sig. D2), and conferring in the open lobby. Appius enters "with Lictors afore him" (sig. D2^V), which does not sound like a discovery scene, and hence he must have come from his study (cf. l. 22). Such an entry, with the succeeding meeting taking place in the lobby, agrees with Clodius' command to the Petitioners to withdraw:

L[ord] Appius
Must have this place more private, as a favour
Reserv'd for you, Icilius.

(31-33)

"This place" is the lobby, since Appius would have no need to make his own study "more private". Appius then dismisses his bodyguard (which is what the Lictors seem to Icilius, III.i.118-119); calls for "a second Chaire"

(46) for Icilius (the first chair may have been brought onstage for Appius by a Lictor, or he may sit in his symbolic judgement seat), and their interview begins. Icilius, when later describing the scene, recounts the departure of the other characters, leaving "but we two in the Lobby" (III.i.89). Appius, however, speaks afterwards of his closet. He chides Clodius for sending the 'ruffian' (Icilius) "hither, / Even to my closet" (II.iii.176-177). Dyce and Brooke find this disagreement between a private, closed closet and an open lobby lamentable, and for Brooke it is further evidence that a reviser's hand has been at work.⁸⁹ But these critics both assume that a scene change to the study or closet is supposed by the audience, and thus that Appius' report is correct, Icilius' incorrect. I suggest that the scene does not change, and it is possible (although one cannot insist dogmatically upon the interpretation) that the disagreement is intentional, as an indication of Appius' character. With the anger of injured dignity, Appius lays the blame for his distressing interview on the nearest available victim, and increases Clodius' seeming perfidy by accusing the secretary of sending an armed villain into his private closet: with a sweep of his arm he may indicate the discovery space, tent or façade door, as the closet towards which Icilius invaded. The differences in the two reports of the scene show how much Appius' dignity has been hurt: Icilius, he insists, came

to brave my Greatness,
 Play with my beard, revile me, taunt me, hisse me
 (177-178);

and only then does he add the fact of the actual armed threat. Icilius, in his account, only remembers the threat of death which he offered the Decemvir (III.i.90-92). Appius' pride, here wounded, may account for another discrepancy, in Act V, scene ii, where he speaks of his family: "Then which a nobler hath not place in Rome" (137), although Virginius, during the trial, contrasts his own long established family with the upstart judge: "The

Heralds have not knowne you these eight months" (IV.i. 298).⁹⁰

The passage of time in the play has been variously criticized as naïve or disjointed. Brooke complains of the speed with which Clodius plots for his master in Act I, scene iii. Clodius, having offered to act as pander, is told by Appius that the object of his love is Virginia. At once Clodius assures him:

I have already found
An easie path which you may safely tread,
Yet no man trace you.

(I.iii.46-48)

Brooke considers Clodius' spontaneous plan too elaborate, revealing a dramatic innocence inconceivable in Webster.⁹¹ But how elaborate is the plan? Clodius advises Appius to keep back the army's pay, and

Her father thus kept low, gifts and rewards
Will tempt the maide the sooner; nay haply draw
The father in to plead in your behalfe.

(56-58)

Surely the "copius brain" with which the great judge credits his secretary (II.iii.216) may be permitted the minor brilliant stroke of empoverishing the army; gifts to tempt a maid are an obvious ploy for a willing pander; and "nay haply" successfully implies a mind in action, speaking an afterthought. Examined out of context the plan sounds fairly sudden, but within the stage convention it is adequate. Flamineo, Clodius' fellow pander, trusts to his own copious brain to form and direct impromptu plots:

Shrowd you within this closet, good my Lord [he
tells Brachiano],
Some tricke now must be thought on to devide
My brother in law from his faire bed-fellow[.]

(I.ii.33-35)

That sudden plotting is not beneath Webster's powers, Brooke himself testifies, drawing attention to Romelio's "rather too obvious" aside in The Devil's Law-Case. When Romelio's "various proposals to Jolenta have been ineffectual, he is non-plussed; but only for a second", says Brooke, quoting the following:⁹²

ROM. [aside] This will not doe;
The Devill has on the sudden furnisht mee

With a rare charme, yet a most unnaturall falshood:
No matter so 'twill take.

(III.iii.102-105)

There is very little to choose between the two.

Inconsistencies do occur in the play. Virginius' haste in arriving at the trial does not entirely agree with his friends' fear in Act III, scene ii that the old man cannot reach Rome in time for the proceedings (cf. 324-330). The inconsistency may represent a change in plan⁹³ (which does not necessitate a change of authors), but a change is not the only explanation. Unlike Icilius, Appius is worried that Virginius is too near, and considers it expedient to send instant word to Minutius "To hold Virginius prisoner in the Camp" (III.i.13). Virginius' behaviour is constantly characterized by haste - he has sped to the Senate House in the first act without a change of his dusty raiment; he cannot await his daughter's betrothal festivities, but must post away at once; and after the trial and the killing, he returns to the camp with a frightening surge, heralded by the Soldier who enters, according to the quarto stage direction, "in haste" (sig. H). When Virginius leaves Rome at the end of the first act, saying, "Must see the Camp to-night" (I.iv.157), he startles the civilians, Numitorius and Valerius. It is within this citizens' world that Virginius' attendance at the trial seems impossible; and Icilius' demand for four days' respite may be explained as an understandable request for sufficient time in which to prepare themselves and their defence. But no justification for the time conflict is really necessary. The apparent need for a four day delay is of importance at the time that these lines are spoken (III.ii.324-326), for the sense of distance creates tension and uncertainty during this preliminary assault, accentuating the forlorn impotence of Virginia and her friends against the omnipotent judge. Virginius' subsequent entrance to the trial would probably go unquestioned by a theatre audience during performance.

Again, seeming inconsistencies in the behaviour of a single character have been pointed out as proof of internal

disorder. Virginia, when she is arrested in the Forum, charges Icilius with an incredulity which has "quite undone [her]" (III.ii.144-145). Brooke consequently finds it necessary to postulate a cut earlier version in which the young couple disagreed as to the need for protection of Virginia.⁹⁴ Act III, scene i provides a perfectly adequate explanation: Icilius, bursting with a sense of their danger, the need for action, and the wisdom of hiding his betrothed (113-119), is gradually however convinced by Numitorius, the passive elder who prefers to hold all things in an unobtrusive suspension (121-126), to wait, inactive, and to let her return to her danger-encompassed chamber (cf. 63-79; and 111-113). Virginia informs us that she kept Appius' propositions "secret from Icilius" until they became so frightening that she "told him all" (76-79). Now we may surely assume that she told him in the hopes that he might protect her. No wonder she admonishes the man who has permitted himself to be dissuaded of her danger ('swayed' by his elders, l. 130), and has allowed her to walk openly in the Forum instead of hiding her from the bloodhounds.

The difference in the character of Appius, as presented in Act III, scene ii and in the trial (IV.i), leads H.D. Gray to postulate different authors for the two scenes. In the mock hearing, Appius (according to Gray) is all benignant caution; in the trial, he displays the roughness of Monticelso.⁹⁵ But, in fact, Appius' earlier behaviour foreshadows his later words and actions. His seeming kindness, refusing to hear Clodius, is frank injustice, as Icilius recognizes, bidding Appius hear the Secretary's "vile Imposture" (III.ii.188). Appius treats Clodius exactly as he will treat Virginius and his witnesses: "Hold your prating -" he tells Clodius, ordering the Lictors: "Away with him to prison, clamorous fellow!" (III.ii.192-193); "Hold you your prating, woman", he later tells the Nurse (IV.i.123), and cries: "Command her silence Lictors" (183). He begins the trial scene with the same smooth hypocrisy, for he pretends to doubt the Orator and Clodius, to be 'convinced' gradually by the plaintiff's case, and to offer consolation to Virginius (the latter,

according to the trumped up case, having been deceived by his wife). Appius constantly stops Virginius from speaking when the old soldier tries to answer the Orator's falsehoods. The judge's injustice in the trial deceives no one, but his pretense in the earlier hearing is equally unconvincing. Very early in the hearing, when Appius pretends to favour Icilius and his friends, Icilius despatches the Nurse to fetch Sertorius, whom he later sends to warn Virginius. That he should feel the need of extra supporters at this early stage shows that he does not trust the Law. Appius suggests bribery, and answers Icilius' indignant refusal with a jest (III.ii.230-239). He claims to have suspected his secretary's evil character only belatedly, as in the trial he gradually 'learns' that the fault lies with the Nurse and the wife of Virginius:

we that have such servants,
Are like to Cuccolds that have riotous wives,
We are the last that know it:...

(III.ii.264-266)

In the trial, it is not until line 176 that Appius, having gone through a parody of hearing proofs and witnesses, is 'convinced' in favour of Clodius and becomes actively tyrannous to Virginia's supporters. The real alteration in the nature of Appius' hypocrisy is not between these two scenes, but between Act I, scene i and later. In the opening scene, he appears (to all but Marcus Clodius) to be exactly what his hypocrisy pretends. Thereafter, his lechery and his cunning compete. That he is an actor who enjoys dissembling is evident from his first conversation with Marcus Clodius (I.i.41-70). His hypocrisy gains him popular support, and places Icilius and Virginius at the disadvantage of opposing a seeming god. He knows that great men must be circumspect, not rash (II.iii.192-201), as he warns Clodius; but his pride in his cunning, combined with the urgency of his lust, lead to a complacency and speed which endanger him. The unnecessary interview alone with Icilius (II.iii); the over-speedy resumption of letters to Virginia (III.i.110-113); his 'protection' of Virginia, whom he promises to use "in all kindness as [his] wife" (III.ii.353), the transparency of

which Icilius at once detects ("Now by the Gods you shall not...use her as your wife Sir", ll. 354-356) - these touches make of him a real character rather than an abstraction of hypocrisy. Like the play's locations, Appius' hypocrisy is of several dimensions. There is an offstage world - Rome in general - in which his dissembled virtue is completely accepted until Act V, scene i (cf. III.i.57-58); and there is the onstage world in which he plays his hypocritical rôle with varying success.

The discussion in this section does not prove that Webster is or is not the single author. It does show, I believe, that the play has greater internal consistency, purpose and sophistication than the attribution critics will allow. Almost any play that is only read will offer inconsistencies. Appius and Virginia deserves to be considered in the light of Jacobean theatrical conventions, and with a serious attempt to imagine stage properties; the movement, appearance and confrontation of actors within a limited space; the contrast of successive scenes; and the tempo of action and speech. Appius and Virginia, while not a great play, is not a failure, like The Devil's Law-Case which, in its conclusion, denies the very nature of its characters and the tragic potential of its story, in order to force a neatly-tied 'happy' ending. The Roman tragedy is utterly true to itself.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The dating dispute is summarized in G.E. Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. V (1956), pp. 1245-1247. For more recent opinions, cf. Brennan, ed., The Duchess of Malfi, p. viii (1624-25); J.R. Mulryne, ed., The White Devil, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1970), p. 155 (c. 1624); and D.C. Gunby, John Webster: Three Plays (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972), p. 13 (c. 1627).
2. See below, pp. 264-266 and p. 291 n. 68.
3. Rupert Brooke, John Webster & the Elizabethan Drama (London, 1916), p. 189. Appendix A is an enlargement of his earlier article, "The Authorship of the Late 'Appius and Virginia'", MLR, VIII (1913), pp. 433-453.
4. The sources of Webster's story are in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy (cf. Lucas, Works, III, pp. 131-133), and would have been available to the dramatist in:
 - a) Friderici Sylburgii (Frederick Sylburg), ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΔΙ- / ΚΑΡΝΑΞΕΩΣ ΤΑ ΕΥΡΠΕΚΟ- / ΜΕΝΑ, ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΗ- / ΤΟΡΙΚΑ, ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ. / Dionysii Halicarnassei Scripta Quae Exstant, Omnia, et Historica, et Rhetorica (Frankfurt, 1586; B.M. 585.k.12), Bk. XI, pp. 684-725.
 - b) Philemon Holland, The Romane Historie Written by T. Livivs of Padva, Translated out of Latine into English (London, 1600; B.M. 1306.m.11), pp. 112-128.
 - c) William Painter, The Palace of Pleasure (London, 1566-1575), ed. Joseph Jacobs, 4th edn. (London, 1890; rpt. New York, 1966), vol. I, pp. 35-45.

In the sources, the camp falls into the background after the story of Virginia is begun, and returns to significance only after her death.
5. Cf. I Tamburlaine, IV.ii.85-86, in The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1973), vol. I; and A&C, V.ii.109-110. Cf., also, Julius Caesar, I.i.33-35: The Second Citizen rejoices in Caesar's triumph over a fellow Roman, Pompey, to which Marullus replies,

"Wherefore rejoice? What conquest brings he home?
What tributaries follow him to Rome,
To grace in captive bonds his chariot wheels?"
6. Cf. Shakespeare's England, vol. I, p. 384.
7. Arthur M. Clark, "The Authorship of Appius and Virginia", MLR, XVI (1921), pp. 7-8.
8. In the sources, Virginius and Icilius never stand

alone as they do so dramatically at several points in the play (I.iv; II.ii; II.iii; IV.i). The common people, in the original prose stories, have been raised to rebellious fury before the story of Virginia begins (e.g., Holland's Livy, pp. 112-113 and Sylburg's Dionysius, pp. 684-709 passim); and they take the part of Virginius and Icilius against the impious judge. In Virginius' opposition to the mutineers and later to Icilius (V.i), the playwright has added dramatic situations which reveal the old soldier's intense concern for order and honourable vows.

9. Cf. Works, III, p. 247.
10. See above, p. 188 n. 24.
11. See, e.g., Hind, op.cit., pt. II: the monarch in parliament, pls. 17(a), 108, 154; surrounded by the members of his family, pls. 180, 192; and in more symbolic settings, pls. 3(a), 183(b); and cf. our figures 20 and 21. The canopied seat of a stage king appears in Henry VIII, II.iv, opening stage direction: "The King takes place under the cloth of state; the two Cardinals under him as judges."
12. Cf. Ceremonials to be observed by The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Officers of The City of London (London, 1864), p. xiii. Although this manual is of a late date, it draws upon historical tradition, and makes constant figurative and descriptive use of "the civic chair" as the place of the Lord Mayor.
13. Cf. E.W. Ives, "The Law and the Lawyers", pp. 73-86. P. 81 records the raised benches and canopies in Westminster Hall courts.
14. Holland, Livy, p. 7. (The Decenviri filled the magisterial position of the former consuls.) Despite Icilius' words (V.ii.73), the stage chair is unlikely to have resembled ivory.
15. In the theatre, the heavenly throne probably descended onto the stage, while it is more likely that an earthly 'state' was pushed onstage or revealed. Cf. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, vol. III, pp. 72 and 77. In the 1616 edition of Doctor Faustus, the heavenly throne descends and the Good Angel indicates that it is a symbol of all that Faustus has lost (V.ii; 1898-1908), cf. Bowers, ed., Marlowe, vol. II.
16. Cf. the Elizabethan version, from Robert Glover's Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis, reproduced in Hind, op.cit., pt. II, pl. 113(a). Milles edited and revised Glover's notes. The alteration of the original illustration is noted by Peter Davison, in "Three Variant Engravings", The Scholar Newsletter (Menston, Yorkshire), number 4, Dec. 8, 1972.

17. In visual renderings of Fortune's wheel, where the figures are often kings, the one at the top is sometimes enthroned. See below, figs. 59 and 66.
18. Cf. Hans Holbein, The Dance of Death, ed. Henry Green, sig. C3 and C3^v.
19. Monuments of Honor, in Lucas, Works, III, ll. 95-96 (p. 319) and II. 160-168 (p. 321).
20. James' throne is on the arch called The Pegme of the Dutchmen, reproduced in Hind, op.cit., Pt. II, pl. 3(a).
21. Cf. Sylburg's Dionysius, pp. 710-711; Holland's Livy, p. 119; and Painter, Palace of Pleasure, p. 39.
22. Sylburg, op.cit., pp. 710-711; Holland, op.cit., p. 117.
23. Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes (Leyden, 1586; B.M. C.57.L.2), pp. 37, 45, 76, 112, and 141; and Peacham, Minerva Britanna, pp. 136 and 196.
24. Cf. Julius Caesar, IV.ii and iii (esp. iii.237-244); Troilus and Cressida, I.iii.215-217 and III.iii.38-71; and II. Tamburlaine, IV.i. The evident echo from Julius Caesar (I.ii.135-136) found in Appius and Virginia (III.i.84), shows that the play was known and admired by our author.
25. Barnabe Barnes, The Divils Charter (London, 1607), Prologue, sig. A2.
26. George Carleton, A Thankfvll Remembrance of Gods Mercy, 3rd edn. (London, 1627; B.M. 807.c.22): throne, pp. 1 and 73; tent bedchamber, p. 29; army tent, p. 222; composite tent, council and state, p. 37.
27. Cf. William A. Armstrong, "The Enigmatic Elizabethan Stage", English, XIII (1960), pp. 216-220 and "Actors and Theatres", pp. 201-204, and Kernodle, From Art to Theatre, pp. 84-85. It is possible, of course, that the state remains visible throughout the play. Perhaps Clodius is exploiting a multiple image when he speaks of "the poles" which "bear on them this airy canopy" (I.iii.15-17). The canopy is at once the sky, and the theatre 'heavens' on its pillars; but at the same time, he may gesture towards a visible throne canopy.
28. Cf. William J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 236-241. Lawrence believes (p. 239) that Arden's body, when placed before the murderer, really does bleed. If the effect were possible of realization, it would presumably be employed in the similar situation in Appius and Virginia, V.ii.100-103.

29. Cf., e.g., Thomas Marc Parrott, "Further Observations on Titus Andronicus", SQ, I (1950), pp. 22-29; W.M. Merchant, "Classical Costume in Shakespearian Productions", Shakespeare Survey, 10 (1957), pp. 71-76; and Hal. H. Smith, art. cit., pp. 249-257.
30. For the dress of a Roman, see our figure 26; for the similar garments of Greeks and Trojans, see the titlepage of Chapman's Homer Prince of Poets (1610), reproduced in Hind, op.cit., pt. II, pl. 207 (a).
31. A comparison of Speed's titlepage (our figure 26) with the pageant arches of 1604, illustrated by Stephen Harrison in The Archs of Triumph and reproduced in Hind, op.cit., pt. II, pls. 2, 3(a) and 3(b), suggests the similarity. The subject is discussed by Kernodle, op.cit., p. 44.
32. One example from each area out of the multitudes available is here given as a representative: in architecture, the three-sided lodge built by Sir Thomas Tresham at Rushton, in which numerous architectural elements in threes represent the Trinity (see Ernst Wüsten, Die Architektur des Manierismus in England, Leipzig, 1951, pl. 35); in painting, the so-called Rainbow Portrait of Elizabeth, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pl. 215); in literature, Spenser's The Faerie Queene; and in politics, Webster's Monuments of Honor.
33. Contemporaries in armour and baldric can be seen in Morse, Elizabethan Pageantry, pp. 91 and 93. Di Somi asserts that a skilled producer will be able "to convert pieces of stuff, draperies, and the like" into costumes "after the antique fashion". Leone di Somi, Dialogues on Stage Affairs (c. 1565), trans. in Allardyce Nicoll, The Development of the Theatre, 4th edn. revised (London, 1958), Appendix B, p. 254.
34. The parma is defined by Thomas Elyot in his (Latin) Dictionary of 1538 as "a Targat, which foote men dyd v/e" (A Scholar Press Facsimile, Menston, [Yorkshire], 1970). Cf. Virginius, IV.i.326.
35. William Smith (1575) gives a full description of the London civic leaders on SS. Simon and Jude's Day, the new and old mayors, the aldermen and the sheriffs all in robes of scarlet. Cf. "A breffe description of the Royall Citie of London, capitall citie of this realme of England", quoted in Frederick W. Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants (London, 1843), p. 23.
36. Lucas (Works, III, p. 229) suggests that the allusion is a contemporary Jacobean one. Since Roman youths wore a purple border until they reached manhood

(the toga praetexta), the classical garment is less obviously a symbol of civic and legal power than is the Jacobean scarlet. Thomas Lodge, in The Wovnds of Ciuill War (London, 1594; B.M. C.12.e.16(1)), represents the Roman Capitol as being "pre/t and throngde with scarlet gownes" (sig. B), although later he speaks of the senators "In robes of purple" (sig. H2).

37. Painter, op.cit., p. 41. Jonson calls a Lictor a 'catch-pole', Poetaster, III.iv.16. Cf. Herford and Simpson, op.cit., vol. IV (1932).
38. Cf. Bowers, ed., Dekker, vol. II. H. Dugdale Sykes, Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama (London, 1924), compares the verbal similarity (but not the characters) in these two scenes (p. 129). Frederick Erastus Pierce, The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker, Yale Studies in English, XXXVII (New York, 1909), concludes that Westward Ho, III.ii was probably written by Dekker and Webster together (p. 130).
39. Cf. Cesare Vecellio, Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Tutto il Mondo (1598), ed. M. Ambroise Firmin Didot (Paris, 1859-1863), vol. I, #14. (Numbers 3-19 give examples of classical clothing.) The contemporary equivalent of the Lictor did not wear a uniform. Cf. William Fennor, The Compters Commonwealth (London, 1617; B.M. C.117.b.1), p. 41. Fennor entirely identifies the "Lictores, or Sergeants" of ancient Rome with the contemporary sergeant.
40. Painter, op.cit., p. 37. Similarly, Holland represents Icilius as calling for "both rods and axes to be made readie" (op.cit., p. 118).
41. Cf. Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, Bd. 21, ed. W. Bang (Louvain, 1908), pp. 200 and 240.
42. Lodge, op.cit., sig. A2. Lodge also mentions the rods and axes at the investiture of a dictator (sig. I2^v); and of a consul (sig. F3^v). The latter ceremony includes both a symbolic garment ("the Confulls pall") and the throne, as in Appius and Virginia, I.i.
43. Sejanus and Poetaster are in Herford and Simpson, Jonson, vol. IV.
44. Fennor frequently mentions the sergeants' mace in action (op.cit., e.g., pp. 3 and 43). In The Divils Charter, a devil ascends, dressed "like a Sargeant with a mace vnder his girdle" (sig. A2^v).

45. Coriolanus certainly puts on a symbolic gown of humility to show himself before the people (Coriolanus, II.iii. s.d. foll. l. 37), but whether it is a toga or not depends upon a reading of the corruption (ll. 112-114) - "woolvish tongue" - in the First Folio. See the note to II.iii.120 in the New Variorum Edition, ed. Howard Furness, Jr. (Philadelphia & London, 1928), pp. 256-264. Caesar, on the other hand, appears to have worn a doublet (Julius Caesar, I.ii.262-264).
46. O.E.D.: "Stuff: II.5. Material for making garments; woven material of any kind."
47. Cf. Ceremonials, p. xvii f.n. 14.
48. For contemporary illustrations of the female classical garments, see Hind, *op.cit.*, pt. II, pls. 112(a); 118(c) and (d); 134; 206(b) and 212. Vecellio (*op.cit.*, vol. I, nos. 15, 16 and 18) portrays women in long tunics and stoles.
49. Wounds were easily simulated for visual effects. Cf. Jonson's scornful comment, Every Man in his Humour (1616), Prologue l. 12. Cf. Herford and Simpson, *op.cit.*, vol. III (1927).
50. Cf. Lucas, Works III, p. 242, n. to l. 14. The 'sordidatus' of Livy's description is rendered as "in sordida veste" by Sylburg (Dionysius, p. 716); as "in soiled and simple array" by Holland (Livy, p. 119); and as "in poore and vile apparell" by Painter (Palace of Pleasure, p. 38). But Webster presumably does not mean merely poor apparel, since Virginius and the soldiers have already appeared in tattered clothing. Similarly, in Coriolanus, Shakespeare makes a distinction between the gown of humility (II.iii) and the costume in which Coriolanus later enters, "in mean apparel, disguis'd and muffled", IV.ii.
51. Lucas reassigns this speech to Appius (cf. his remark, Works, III, p. 253), but the quarto speech heading is acceptable: Appius is coming to prove Virginia a slave, and hence her habit is, in his corrupt judgment, appropriate. Numitorius, ever anxious to avoid a conflict with authority (cf. III.i), might well be expected to repeat the sentence, for the repetition shows how shocked the impropriety makes him feel.
52. Cf. Sylburg, *op.cit.*, pp. 716-718; Holland, *op.cit.*, p. 120; and Painter, *op.cit.*, p. 39.
53. Cf. above, n. 45. The prominent rôle of the populace and army, and the imagery of blood and of the human body which are so noticeable in Coriolanus, may have influenced the playwright of Appius and Virginia.

Like Virginius, who draws attention to his war wounds, Coriolanus mentions and shows his scars, II.ii.135-136 and 146-148; and II.iii.50-53. The populace is likened to a hydra in Shakespeare's play, III.i.91-97 and in Webster's, V.ii.1-4. Probably the same general analogies between Rome and London are contained within the earlier play: when the stage direction reads "Enter two Officers, to lay cushions, as it were in the Capitol" (II.ii), Shakespeare may be thinking automatically of the woolsack, a prominent feature in illustrations of the English parliament (cf. Hind, op.cit., pt. II, pls. 108 and 113(b)).

54. Vecellio shows a sixteenth century galley slave wearing fetters on his ankles with chains running to his belt (op.cit., vol. I, #142).
55. Cf. Shakespeare's England, vol. I, p. 397. Webster repeatedly associates lawyers and night-caps. Cf. DLC, II.i.43 and IV.i.73; and DM, II.i.5 and 21.
56. Cf. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert, eds., Henslowe's Diary (Cambridge, 1961), p. 320. The stage direction in Coriolanus reads: "Alarum. The Romans are beat back to their trenches" (I.iv. s.d. foll. l. 29).
57. The case for Elizabethan acting as a taught, formal art is put forward by Alfred Harbage, "Elizabethan Acting", PMLA, LIV (1939), pp. 685-708, and by B.L. Joseph, Elizabethan Acting, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1964), e.g., pp. 8-10. This view has not always been accepted; cf., e.g., Marvin Rosenberg, "Elizabethan Actors: Men or Marionettes?", PMLA, LXIX (1954), pp. 915-927.
58. Reproduced in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pl. 681. Cf. also the arrangement in the engraving entitled "Greate Britaines Noble and Worthy Councell of Warr" (1624), reproduced in Hind, op.cit., pt. II, pl. 250.
59. Cf. Eastward Ho, I.i. s.d. "At the middle dore, Enter Golding Discovering a Gold-smiths shoppe" (Herford, Simpson and Simpson, Jonson, vol. IV). Such a shop could have been the discovery space but Reynolds (Staging of Elizabethan Plays, pp. 78-80) believes that, at the Red Bull at least, a special structure was necessary to represent shops.
60. Clark, art. cit., pp. 7-8. The convention of 'split' scenes is discussed by Chambers, op.cit., vol. III, pp. 86-87.
61. Cf. Painter, op.cit., p. 39.
62. Lucas (Works, III, p. 240) glosses "the fell hangmans hook" as a possible Roman touch, referring "to the hook by which at Rome the bodies of the executed were dragged to the Scalae Gemoniae down which they were hurled".

63. In Henry VIII, II.iv, the objects carried in the processional entry include short silver wands, a purse, the great seal, a Cardinal's hat, silver crosses, a silver mace, two great silver pillars, and a sword and mace.
64. Cf. Ives, art. cit., p. 73. Henry Peacham, in The Compleat Gentleman (1634), ed. G.S. Gordon (Oxford, 1906), exhorts his reader to resort, in term time, "to the Starre-Chamber, and [to] be present at the Pleadings in other publike Courts" in order to enrich one's speech and understanding (chap. VI, p. 53).
65. Speaking of the development from prose exemplum to tragedy, A.P. Rossiter says:
 "The De Casibus ethic made even a thoroughly bad man 'tragic' - in defiance of Aristotle - since he so beautifully illustrated both mutability and morality together."
 Cf. English Drama From Early Times to the Elizabethans (London, 1950), p. 126.
66. In the sources, the death of Appius is given little dramatic tension. After the lengthy telling of intervening events, his death is rather abruptly reported: he kills himself because there seems no hope in Holland (op. cit., p. 128) and Painter (op. cit., p. 44), and is rumoured to have been conveniently killed in Sylburg's Dionysius (p. 726).
67. Cf. Flamineo, WD, V.vi.256-258; Lodovico, WD, V.vi.295-299; and Bosola, DM, V.iv.94-95.
68. The critics' arguments for authorship are summarized by Sanford Sternlicht, John Webster's Imagery and the Webster Canon, Jacobean Drama Studies no. 1 (Salzburg, 1972), pp. 165-169. Dent (John Webster's Borrowing, pp. 61-62), coming late to the argument, adds parallels in A&V to one of Webster's known sources, Diall of Princes. Brooke (op. cit., p. 173) and Sykes (op. cit., p. 109) speak of the A&V quarto edition as being without a publisher's imprint. Lucas (Works, III, p. 134), cannot understand "all this mystery about the publisher of the first Quarto of 1654. It is only necessary to look at a copy", and one will find the name Richard Marriot. Both the mystery and Lucas' surprise can easily be explained by examining the two British Museum copies of the 1654 quarto. B.M. 644.f.74 bears the following titlepage:
 "APPIUS / AND / VIRGINIA. / A / TRAGEDY. // BY
 / JOHN WEBSTER. // [printer's device]//
 Printed in the Year 1654. /"
 The titlepage of B.M. E.234(3) reads:
 "APPIUS / AND / VIRGINIA. / A / TRAGEDY. // BY
 JOHN WEBSTER, // [printer's device] // LONDON,
 Printed for Rich. Marriot, in S. Dunstons /
 Church-Yard Fleet-street 1654. /"

69. Sternlicht, op. cit., chap. VI, pp. 165-193; conclusion pp. 192-193.
70. Inga-Stina Ekeblad (Mrs. I.-S. Ewbank), 'Storm Imagery in "Appius and Virginia"', N&Q, CCI (1956), pp. 5-7.
71. Brooke, op. cit., pp. 161-162, and cf. pp. 173 and 195-197. The dramatists who had remained most popular throughout the seventeenth century - Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Jonson - had all written Roman plays. It is worth recalling that, at least nominally, Webster appreciated a classical austerity of style. In his address "To the Reader" of The White Devil, he complains that it would be futile, before the current ignorant audiences, to present a perfectly constructed tragedy, "observing all the criticall lawes, as height of stile; and gravety of person", and including the Chorus and Nuntius (Lucas, Works, I, p. 107, ll. 16-22).
72. Peter Haworth, English Hymns and Ballads (Oxford, 1927), p. 73.
73. Clark, art. cit., pp. 1-2.
74. Brooke, op. cit., p. 192.
75. Arthur M. Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford, 1931), pp. 48 and 221.
76. Cf. Clark, art. cit., pp. 2-3 and 17.
77. It is not within my province to deal with attribution on the basis of versification and metre.
78. Cf., e.g., Sykes, op. cit., pp. 119-125.
79. The Rape of Lucrece has no similar dramatic structure with a commentator interpreting between the audience and the actors, upsetting the closed picture world of the play.
80. Brooke, op. cit., p. 168.
81. Lucas, Works, II, p. 177.
82. Brooke, op. cit., p. 189.
83. Cf. Thomas Heywood, The Rape of Lucrece, ed. Allan Holaday, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. XXXIV, no. 3 (Urbana, 1950), [V.i] ll. 2511-2538.

84. Clark, art. cit., p. 7. Even if an earlier scene has been deleted, dual authorship is not thereby necessary.
85. Pantomime conversations take place in The White Devil, II.i.283-318, and The Duchess of Malfi, I.i.153-214 and III.iii.43-71, but these pantomimes are given effective presenters and never require silence onstage.
86. Cf. W. Hazlitt, ed., The Dramatic Works of John Webster, Library of Old Authors, vol. III (London, 1857), p. 139.
87. Cf. Clark, art. cit., pp. 7-8, and see above p. 291 n. 60. Cf. a similar change of scenes without clearing the stage in The Duchess of Malfi, I.i, between ll. 381 and 400.
88. Allardyce Nicoll, "Passing Over the Stage", esp. pp. 54-55.
89. Cf. Dyce, op. cit., p. 158, and Brooke, op. cit., p. 202.
90. "Self-conceit, unless it is the playwright's oversight, prompts the inaccuracy of the Decemvir's final speech." Cf. Haworth, op. cit., p. 141.
91. Brooke, op. cit., pp. 169-170.
92. Brooke, op. cit., pp. 110-111. I have quoted the passage from The Devil's Law-Case as it appears in Lucas (Works, III), rather than in Brooke, for the sake of consistency.
93. Cf. H.D. Gray, "Appius and Virginia. By Webster and Heywood", Studies in Philology, XXIV (1927), p. 281.
94. Brooke, op. cit., pp. 201-202. I agree with Lucas on this point (Works, III, p. 238, note to ll. 144-145).
95. Gray, art. cit., p. 281.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE BROKEN HEART

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The text of the play is quoted from John Ford, The Broken Heart, The New Mermaids, ed. Brian Morris (London, 1965) (hereinafter, Morris, BH). The stage directions are quoted from the first edition: THE / BROKEN / HEART. // A Tragedy. // ACTED / By the KINGS Majesties Seruants / at the priuate House in the / BLACK-FRIERS. // Fide Honor. // [printer's device] / LONDON: / Printed by I.B. for HVGH BEESTON, and are to / be / sold at his Shop, neere the Castle in / Corne-hill. 1633. / [B.M. C.12.g.3(2). The Epistle Dedicatorie, sig. A2^v, is signed Iohn Ford.]

THE BROKEN HEART

John Ford fills an equivocal position in the history of seventeenth century drama. The plays of his maturity and sole authorship fall within the reign of Charles I;¹ and because Ford is clearly in sympathy with certain precepts of Caroline Neo-Platonism, he is sometimes displayed as an example and product of a new and different era in society and the theatre.² But Ford's echoes of his Jacobean predecessors and fellows - of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Middleton, Webster - are strong, although used with a difference, and consequently he is seen as a transitional figure, between Jacobean and Caroline, a figure of the so-called 'decadence' of the English drama.³ The feature of such decadence which is of interest to this discussion concerns visual sensationalism: Ford has been accused of making use of Jacobean spectacle that is not organically necessary to his plays. Individual scenes in his dramas have been extravagantly praised as moments of perfection and damned as gratuitous sensationalism.⁴ Both views, by concentrating on the obviously visualized scenes, suggest a fragmentation in the play's mode of presentation, separating individual scenes from the structure and imagery of the whole. In terms of imagistic language, Moody Prior sees an extreme contrast between Webster and Ford: in Webster's plays, he believes, figurative language is essential, while in Ford's dramas it is auxiliary.⁵ Prior's statement is neither completely false, nor a just evaluation of Ford's methods of construction. The real contrast between the two playwrights involves a basic difference of visualization.

The period separating the Italian tragedies of Webster from the tragedies of Ford's maturity is marked by the arrival in England of Charles' French queen, Henrietta Maria, and the increase, at court, of a Neo-Platonic worship of beauty and woman, receiving theatrical expression particularly in the masques of Townshend, Shirley and Montague.⁶ Professor Sensabaugh, after examining the plays and masques performed for the court of Charles I,

draws up a list of rules which, he believes, are the basis of the "new sect" of Platonic love planted in Britain by Henrietta Maria.⁷ And this code he sees as being supported in Ford's plays. Now, it is quite probable that Ford would have found the cult and ideals of the Caroline court agreeable to some of his own attitudes to love and beauty, but his later plays (in thought and imagistic content) do not take their birth from activities at court. As early as 1606 Ford had written Honor Triumphant - a literary triumph in prose and verse which is the dialectical equivalent of the courtly tournaments that had been favourite entertainments throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James. The four 'positions' of Ford's tournament knights, upheld so early in his career, are all in perfect accord with the rules of the new sect apparently implanted years later by the queen of Charles I.⁸

The careers of Webster and Ford are not separated by the temporal gap that divides their major tragedies. Ford, like Webster, wrote his early dramas in collaboration with Dekker; and worked with Webster, Dekker and Rowley on the lost play, The Late Murther of the Sonn upon the Mother (1624). Webster and Ford alone appear as authors of the tragedy in Sir Henry Herbert's licence for the performance.⁹ Thus, in early training and shared experience the two careers touch in the general life of the Jacobean theatre. Besides Ford's silent tributes to Webster embedded in his own plays, he has left one of only three commendatory verses which accompany any of Webster's extant works, the lines entitled: "To the Reader of the Authour, and his Dutchesse of Malfy".¹⁰

Of Ford's tragedies published in 1633 and 1634, the chronology of performance cannot be definitively established. I have chosen to examine The Broken Heart first, because it exhibits, in extreme form, certain features of Ford's style of visualization which, while sharing some aspects with Webster, also differ strikingly from the earlier dramatist's three tragedies. (There is also the simple expedient of dealing with Ford's one Blackfriars

tragedy before three which were performed at the Phoenix.)

Mark Stavig notes Ford's debt, in The Broken Heart, to masques and emblem books.¹¹ Here one might find an essentially Caroline influence on Ford's staging, coming through late developments in the court masque. But direct influence from the masque seems to me difficult to support. Music and dance, certainly, are important theatrical and thematic elements in the play, but they are manifestations of much wider literary, philosophical, and theatrical conventions which, although epitomized in the court masque, were also popular elements of Blackfriars' productions.¹² Except for the 'engine' which traps Ithocles (itself an instrument from the older, popular tradition of revenge),¹³ The Broken Heart requires no elaborate machinery or staging which can in any way suggest the mechanical inventions of the masque. The altar in the final scene, over which Ford takes great descriptive care, is a stock property of the Elizabethan and Jacobean public theatres. Other essential properties are simple and conventional, such as chairs or the scholar's disguise, or the many small hand properties - garland, ring, candles - and every one of them can be found repeatedly in earlier plays, most of them appearing in Webster's three tragedies. In mood, too, there seems to be little significant influence of the masque upon The Broken Heart. Certainly the emphasis upon courtly manners and the religion of love may be found in masques and in Ford's tragedy - but having said so, one has not said very much. This chivalric mood belongs also to the whole area of tournaments, to which Ford owes at least a minor debt. The highly distinguishing feature about the play which sets it so far apart from the masques and from other contemporary plays alike, is the intimate, quiet tone of psychological insight and examination.¹⁴

With the other half of Ford's alleged debt - to emblem books - Stavig comes much closer to the essential nature of Ford's dramaturgy. English emblem books, and the related convention of imprese in pageantry, tournaments, and a wide sweep of the visual arts, stretch back firmly into the popular consciousness of the sixteenth century;

and with this continuing tradition Ford shows marked affinities. The first emblem book published in English was Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes, 1586, and there follows, until well after Ford's productive period, an undiminishing series of original and translated emblem books in English. The width of application of emblems shows how truly popular they were as a means of expressing concepts in a combination of words, riddle, picture and symbol. They satisfied admirably the Elizabethan love of restatement, paradox and puzzle - a love which remained vital through Jacobean and early Caroline days.¹⁵

The Elizabethan, Jacobean and early Caroline theatre as a whole, with its use of dumb shows, presenters, and symbolic properties, obviously employs at times an emblematic mode of presentation. But there is, I believe a definite distinction between the pervasiveness of an emblematic approach in The Broken Heart and the less-crucial application of this mode in other plays. A comparison between Webster - himself highly conscious of the emblematic potential of the stage, as in the appearance of Brachiano's ghost (WD, V.iv) - and Ford may help to reveal Ford's essential nature.

In Webster's and Ford's basic mode of visualization and construction, there exists almost the difference between a 'motion' and a tableau. 'Motion' is an Elizabethan term which describes a puppet, or a play involving puppets.¹⁶ (Bassanes calls Orgilus "a talking motion / Provided for my torment", BH, IV.ii.105-106.) But the word also conveys its more usual modern meaning of movement or action. I apply this word to Webster, not in any derogatory sense, not to suggest that the characters are merely puppets incapable of independent action; I apply it rather because it suggests the consciously theatrical nature of Webster's plays, the sense of the character as actor, the ironically ambiguous worlds of life and the stage; while at the same time it suggests the highly active, moving, ever-changing stage world that his tragedies present to the audience. Webster constantly visualizes his stage creation in terms of its interweaving pattern. Small

properties, costume, spectacle, the actor's body all interact with density from one moment in the play to another, requiring the audience frequently to have a multiplicity of views of a single visual scene. The presenter figure repeatedly reminds the audience of the play's theatricality - of life forever acted out upon the stage of the world, with players as directors and actors, playing before an onstage audience of abused or initiated characters, before an audience of the fates, and before the theatre audience. The stage scene is visual to a marked degree - actors whose bodies, clothing, gestures, groupings, or absence, with the properties they handle and the pageants in which they perform, become an acted picture, a motion. Stage action often refers to other works of art (as in the ars moriendi elements of Brachiano's death; the funerary figures of Antonio's wax body and the kneeling Duchess; the masque-like performance before the Duchess' death), but at the same time it is Protean, never static; it is suddenly transformed, seen from another angle of vision (especially in the use of presenters who comment on the stage picture - Flamineo and Cornelia in the jewel and dream sequence, WD, I.ii; the pilgrims after the dumb show at Loretto, DM, III.iv).

Ford, despite his evident admiration for Webster, visualizes his story and creates his stage scene in an essentially dissimilar fashion. The life which he creates in The Broken Heart, crystallizes into a painted portrait, an emblem, a tableau. By this I do not mean that his play fragments into set scenes of spectacle that are merely auxiliary to the main concerns of the drama. Rather, the final main tableaux are perfect culminations of a story and themes that have, throughout, been presented with a certain frozen inactivity. This statement does not deny the importance of the dance, and of movement or processions over the stage; but even these have a ritualized, unspontaneous quality - the static beauty of a procession on a classical relief. There is a difference between the rituals which are performed in Webster's tragedies, and those in The Broken Heart. In Webster's

rituals - Brachiano's divorce, the diabolic extreme unction, the Duchess' marriage, the Cardinal's transformation into a soldier, and so forth - there is a highly individual, spontaneous, and often perverted element; an evident glorying by the performers in their ability to use conventional ritual for very personal ends. In The Broken Heart's rituals, there is a greater calm, a distancing, a weariness of sorrow. Ford presents to us the stillness, almost the detachment, of formal ritual, not the cunning, throbbing, living action that cleverly protects itself in ritual in Webster's plays. (Even Orgilus' splendid execution of Ithocles gives only a brief moment of exultation before the murderer is detached from the action of personal revenge and becomes the quiet spokesman of a speciously impersonal justice.) The three culminating spectacles - the trapping of Ithocles, the dance, and the coronation-sacrifice - are not extravagantly sensational;¹⁷ they are essentially static, performed with mannered understatement, without fury or passion, and they are carefully related to the themes and imagery of the play. The chilling heaviness of the blood-lettings and the unquestioning acceptance and inevitability of Calantha's death leave an almost intolerable weight of sorrow upon the audience, which is only mitigated by the lyrical beauty of the final song and tableau. Ford's seemingly modern interest in psychological states is not inconsistent with the medieval conventions of emblematic presentation to which he is linked. The tableau stillness helps to express the emotional repression and the inescapable dilemma that freeze many of The Broken Heart's characters.

Ford, in contrast to Webster, does not draw the audience's attention to costume as an element of hypocrisy and rôle-playing throughout the story of his characters, but seems interested in costume only at important, symbolic moments. No strong feeling of a classical setting seems to demand any pseudo-classical costumes. Disguise does not transform Ford's characters

to the same degree that it does Webster's. The duality of identity in Francisco-Mulinassar is handled with intense irony and paradox; Orgilus-Aplotes remains Orgilus in character, and Aplotes gains no independent existence. The conflict of appearance and reality has become quite a different concern for Ford. No man can see into another's heart, not because hypocritical garments or behaviour cloak the soul, but because it seems impossible to move out from one's own locked self and understand another heart. Even between lovers - Penthea and Orgilus - there is a basic misunderstanding of ideals and motives (II.iii). Tecnicus and Armostes - both wise men, the one a prophet, the other a councillor - fall short in their perception of Orgilus (I.iii; III.i; IV.i). Orgilus' dissembling is ambiguous and not theatrical - for there is little shared appreciation with the audience, and we are not always certain whether his intentions are vengeful or pacific. His asides are functional: they are statements to himself, spoken aloud; those of Flamineo are spoken overtly, undisguisedly, across the intentionally hazed boundary of stage and audience. There are consciously theatrical elements in the death of Orgilus, and he and Calantha do provide certain properties and actors for crucial scenes. However, it is the performance of a ritual, rather than of an act, which seems of greatest importance to them. Although here Ford's characters are sometimes conscious of playing a rôle within the larger motions of Fate, they do not see themselves as actors in the truly theatrical sense which is part of the Elizabethan and Jacobean convention of life as a stage, they do not revel in their ability to direct and manipulate. There is nothing in The Broken Heart to compare with the type of play upon reality contained in Vittoria's address to her onstage and theatre audiences:

FRAN. Why you understand lattin
 VIT. I do Sir, but amongst this auditory
 Which come to heare my cause, the halfe or more
 May bee ignorant in't.

(WD, III.ii.15-18)

There is a frozen inevitability about Ford's tragedy, created in atmosphere, in the thematic treatment of time,

by the absence of active villains and Webster's macabre humour. This inevitability, inescapability, is completed logically and superbly in the still pictures which resolve the predestined situation. But for Ford, a picture is but a substitute, not the paradoxical reality that Webster finds in the life-stage dichotomy. As we are constantly reminded, the gods alone can see the reality in the heart of a man;¹⁸ amongst men, words and pictures fail to communicate. "Can you paint a thought?" asks the song which introduces Act III, scene ii, "Can you grasp a sigh?" (1.5). Grief cannot be expressed in words (cf. V.ii.73-74 and V.iii.72-75). Human situations are refined into rituals which only in their completed (and therefore static) state can be grasped by the other characters - there is not a gradual process of self-knowledge;¹⁹ nor are we left with a sense of continuing awareness at the brink of non-existence, for the characters do not really look beyond death with the intense realism that is found in the awareness of a voyage and a mist in Webster's dying characters. The play's final couplet expresses admirably the limitation of human sight which Ford conveys, and the inadequacy of any picture except as an emblem of what is past:

The counsels of the gods are never known,
Till men can call th' effects of them their own.

(V.iii.105-106)

There is some justification from Ford himself for identifying The Broken Heart with the emblematic tradition. The title suggests a pictorial emblem. As Mario Praz remarks, the heart was a particularly popular emblem in the seventeenth century, particularly associated with the cult of the heart of Jesus.²⁰ Two continental emblem books published less than a decade before Ford's play reveal how extensively and with what infinite variety the heart could be used as an emblem. Some thirteen of the eighty-six plates in Johann Mannich's Sacra Emblemata (1624)²¹ display hearts in a great assortment of symbolic states, while in Daniel Cramer's Emblemata Sacra (1624)²² the heart is the central image, appearing in all but five of the fifty emblem pictures. The heart,

usually burning or pierced, is also a pictorial representation, during the 1620s and 1630s, in books that are not exclusively concerned with emblems.²³ That Ford's title is meant to suggest an emblem and is not merely a description of a human condition, can, I believe, be seen by a comparison with the prose romance, Vienna, published in 1628.²⁴ The titlepage (see figure 32) shows Vienna and Sir Paris holding between them an arrow-pierced and flaming heart which bears the legend: "Noe Art - / Can Cure / This hart". The emblem with its motto bears a striking resemblance to the concluding lines of Calantha's funeral song, 'fitted' by her, in advance, to accompany her death:

Love only reigns in death; though art
Can find no comfort for a broken heart.

(V.iii.93-94)

There are several points of similarity between Vienna and The Broken Heart, which conceivably indicate an influence one way or the other.²⁵ The Dauphin, like Amyclas the King, is "the true Vine" (sig. C4) whose supplanting is predicted in prophetic verses (sig. C3^V). Sir Paris is reminded of the dangers of a subject presuming to woo a princess - commonplace advice, but as in Ford's treatment of Ithocles, there is considerable imagery of flight and fall, and of Ixion and Phaeton as warnings of vaulting ambition (sig. B^V; Z3). The line, "lowe shrubbs wither euer at the Cedars roote" (sig. B^V), resembles Nearchus' taunt at the presumptuous Ithocles, "low mushrooms never rival cedars" (IV.i.98). Ford's Penthea, in her madness, sees "A straying heart...every drop / Of blood...turned to an amethyst" (IV.ii.129-130). It is an image belonging to the type that is given concrete emblematic existence in the jewel presented by a suitor to Vienna - a bleeding heart, the drops fashioned "Of Ruby rich", and accompanied by an explanatory couplet (sig. K2-K2^V). In the romance, as in the tragedy, Fate and Time are often seen as forces that determine the moment of action. Mainwairinge's lines, such as "now thy sinnes are ripe; Fate throwes thee downe" (sig. P), or



Figure 32. Titlepage to M. Mainwaringe's Vienna
(London [1628]; B.M. C.40.c.2).
Reproduced by kind permission of the
British Museum.

Now Time struck his locke before, and it fitted
not to argue what was done;...

(sig. T),

express a concept which can be compared with Ford's
couplet:

When youth is ripe, and age from time doth part,
The Lifeless Trunk shall wed the Broken Heart.

(V.iii.99-100)

The significant point about these similarities is not
that they offer proof of influence, but that they show
Ford's kinship with a work that makes frequent use of
emblems.

"The Speakers' names, fitted to their Qualities"²⁶
gives a further indication of Ford's emblematic approach.
The Greek-based names with their English interpretation
make of the dramatis personae characters who are also
personifications. Some of Ford's names, like the sym-
bolic appellations frequently encountered in Elizabethan
and Jacobean plays, especially satires,²⁷ represent
behaviour or personality (An Appeaser, Watchful), or type
rôles (Young Prince, Artist). Two important ones reveal
external evaluation of the character as well as an inner
quality - Ithocles is translated as "Honour of loueline((e)",
Calantha as "Flower of Beauty" (sig. A4^v). But a number
of these symbolic names are clearly imposed upon the
characters from without, arbitrarily chosen, in a manner
resembling the arbitrary connection often existing²⁸
between the emblematic picture and the idea it represents.
For example, Glutton and Tavern-haunter, the two courtiers,
are never shown in behaviour that supports their names;
rather, these terms give a conventional, unflattering
image of courtiers. These two men, Lemophil (or Hemophil
as he sometimes appears in the 1633 quarto) and Groneas
provide, in Act I, scene ii, a good satiric comment on
soldiers and on the preferment of merit, but there is little
development of their characters; they end rewarded
(V.iii.48-50), with no apparent irony and with no signs
of change or increased understanding. Perhaps irony is
intended in Calantha's final bestowal of A Kiss into the

temple of the Vestal virgins (V.iii.52-53); but, if so, the irony is extremely subtle, for, except possibly in Act I, scene ii, Philema has not behaved in a fashion which would make A Kiss a particularly appropriate name. (Indeed, even in her scene with the courtiers, I.ii, it is not she but Christalla, whose lip is approached by the soldier-wooer, l. 107.) Again, Ithocles' name - Honour of loveliness - is paradoxical, but whether Ford intends irony or not remains vague. The character that is Ithocles during the play (in itself not always admirable) cannot be separated from the rash and tyrannous youth whose completed actions have created the conditions in which the play opens. In abstract, Noise may seem a suitable quality to describe Crotolon, either as disappointed father or loquacious councillor, but in reality his behaviour is quiet and exemplary.²⁹ In order to give these names a spontaneity and an independence from the author - in other words, to make them symbolic like the names of characters in The Revenger's Tragedy, rather than emblematic - Ford must make them recognizable to a theatre audience who would not all be capable of discovering the derivations from the Greek without the text list. Only occasionally does Ford make an internal allusion to the name of a character, as in the delightful visual pun on Euphranea (Joy). When Prophilus receives her as his betrothed, taking her into his arms (III.iv.66), he says to Orgilus:

You have sealed joy close to my soul. - Euphranea,
Now I may call thee mine.

(82-83)

Ford's characters give imagistic analogues to their desires and passions in conventional verbal emblems. For Ithocles, ambition is

of vipers' breed: it gnaws
A passage through the womb that gave it motion.

(II.ii.1-2)

Bassanes fears "the deformed bear-whelp / Adultery [will] be licked into the act" (II.i.5-6), the licked bear cub being a common pictorial emblem.³⁰ Now, emblems as images are common in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama,³¹

but in The Broken Heart, intellectually appropriate imagery is the rule. Ford's characters do not visualize their state with the intensely imaginative sensibility that marks the thinking of some of Webster's characters, as when Flamineo imagines hell or Isabella performs her painful divorce (WD, V.vi.139-145; II.i.248-252); as when Ferdinand curses his sister or the Duchess longs for death (DM, II.v; IV.i.72-133).

Of all the emblematic material in The Broken Heart, one multiple metaphor - the oracle - is particularly dense in thematic relevance, and acts as a signal, almost a motivator, for the action. As we shall see, this spoken oracle is given its visual accompaniment in several stage pictures, culminating in the final ritualized tableau. Thus picture and motto - stage scene and dialogue - behave in a highly emblematic fashion. The use of an emblematic omen or prophecy is not unusual in the drama. But Ford, especially in his treatment of Time - the ripeness of Time, the inevitability of the tragic situation - gives to this emblem an oracular reality which seems to determine the moment of the catastrophe. Time is, indeed, an extremely important concept in the play. The/ ^{play's} admirable quality of stillness is appropriate because the major action or villainy has been completed before the play begins: the reasons leading to the tragedy exist in memory, not in theatrical action.

Stage imagery and action support the theme of completed and continuing Time. The play opens with a departure and a return; both are false or futile. From Orgilus' failure to depart comes one inceptive action - the meeting with Penthea in the grove, which reawakens her repressed state of suffering and eventually helps to drive her mad. Ithocles' victorious return is not a new beginning (as is the return of Antonio that opens The Duchess of Malfi). His return forces him back to the setting and the effects of his former actions which seem to him almost the responsibility of a different person (II.ii.44-55, and cf. I.i.39-46 and I.ii.33-49). Departure and return, movement and inaction - these opposites are both thematic and dramatic, governing the stage

picture, culminating in tableaux for which the verbal and visual imagery has carefully prepared.

I. Locality.

Ford's use of spectacle, and his careful stage directions for the climactic scenes,³² show that he is able to visualize his drama in action, and to appreciate the significant effect of the visual element upon his audience. From such a dramatist, the scenes not involving some specific ritual or spectacle seem, at first glance, oddly unlocalized, often without the individualizing properties which abound in Webster's plays. Sparta, as the centre of the play's world, has not the physical reality of Rome's eminent senate in Appius and Virginia. Beyond the immediate scene with which the audience is presented, we are not (in any realistic way) concerned. There is no pulsating world just offstage; no emphatic potency of the façade as boundary. The foe is so personified that it becomes a figurative, not an actual force. Laconia, says the king,

Hath in this latter war trod under foot
Messene's pride; Messene bows her neck
To Lacedemon's royalty.

(I.ii.14-16)

The many parallels and contrasts that splendidly unite this and the previous scene further humanize Messene by creating a comparison, which the audience would be unlikely to miss, between this downtrodden land and Penthea. Rome's foe in Appius and Virginia is also described figuratively, but in a very different way. The "invasive steel" of the enemy encircles Rome with a potent, physical threat (A&V, I.iv.69-80). The difference is not merely between a passive and an active foe. It is between one which serves purely as a symbol of Ithocles' equivocal victory (equivocal because it reminds us of the private peace which the opening scene tells us he has broken), and the foe to Rome in whose physical existence we are meant to believe. Despite Ford's 'modern' psychological interest, despite his past, classical, setting, he creates

a romantic, imaginary period and place,³³ giving a timelessness to the play which contrasts with Webster's treatment of setting in his classical tragedy. To Appius and Virginia, by frequent reference to Roman buildings, places, classes and offices, which are fused together with terms appropriate to the London Jacobean equivalents, Webster gives a specific, and at the same time dual setting. In The Broken Heart, Sparta, Athens, and Delphos are used symbolically, not geographically or historically. Sparta is the heart of the play's world, a heart growing feeble in its old king whose health is his country's health (III. i.66-67); a heart eventually broken in Calantha, the rightful heir; but regaining its youth (after Amyclas' abortive attempts to grow young again, I.ii.4-8 and IV. iii.51-56) with new but related blood in Nearchus. The play's vague Laconia inherits some of the philosophical harshness of classical Sparta in its admiration for moderation and quiet, dignified nobility in suffering. The difference between Vittoria's "masculine vertue" (WD, III.ii.140) and Calantha's "masculine spirit" (BH, V.ii.95) is marked: Vittoria's masculinity is expressed in the theatricality and magnitude of her reactions which are never puling or effeminate; while Calantha's spirit is shown in the silent, monumental control which she has over her passions, resisting the "shrieks and outcries" of "mere women" (V.iii.72). Athens is "the nursery / Of Greece for learning, and the fount of knowledge" (V.i.1-2), to which Orgilus pretends to travel. Instead, he conceals himself in Tecnicus' school which, like Athens, is typified by contemplation and learning. But he rejects the philosopher's "oraculous lectures" (I.iii.11), choosing action instead of words (II.iii. 124-126), the decision being symbolized by his abandonment of the disguise, despite the delay before action actually follows. He chooses the oracle of madness that calls for revenge (IV.ii.124-125 and 133), and rejects both the oracle of the gods spoken by Tecnicus (IV.i.149-154) and the philosopher's advice which warns of the self-destructiveness of revenge (III.i.40-44). Thus he leaves Tecnicus' school and 'returns' from Athens

to the court, excusing this return by asserting that
in Athens

a general infection
Threatens a desolation.

(III.iv.41-42)

But as his father fears, Orgilus has brought disease
with him - "Infection of [the] mind" (44). The
young man has in fact taken the infection with him on
his 'journey'. Like Bosola, he knows that a man carries
himself always along as he travels. Orgilus' lines -

Souls sunk in sorrows never are without 'em;
They change fresh airs, but bear their griefs about 'em

(I.i.117-118)

- resemble Bosola's avowal that knaves who have travelled
in search of honesty

returne as arrant
knaves, as they went forth; because they carried
themselves
alwayes along with them;...

(DM, I.i.43-45)

Ironically, when Bassanes seeks herbs to cure Penthea,
he sends to Athens - figuratively infected - and imme-
diately there enters to him Orgilus, the infected man,
lately 'returned' from Athens, who brings the knowledge
of Penthea's death (V.i). Athens thus has an interesting
dual existence in the play, as a symbolic centre of
learning beyond the confines of the stage, and as the
pretended milieu to and from which Orgilus journeys when
he dons his disguise and joins the philosopher's school.
Delphos - a combined form of Delphi (home of Apollo's
oracle) and Delos (island of Apollo's birth)³⁴ - is the
centre of prophecy, the oracle of the gods, of Time, and
of Fate. The scroll with its written oracle has been
received by the king before the play begins,

When last he visited the prophetic temple
At Delphos

(III.i.69-70),

and he has kept it long in silence (70-73). In this
preservation of the oracle, and in the eventual reading
of its riddle, Ford gives a strong sense of the ripeness
of Time: actions may spring from former causes, but the

moment of action seems often dependent upon Fate. When Tecnicus has given his interpretation he is drawn back to the home of the oracle, and disappears from the play, saying:

Tell the king
That henceforth he no more must enquire after
My aged head: Apollo wills it so.
I am for Delphos.

. . . .

My hour is come.

(IV.i.127-130 and 141)

Once the oracle has been made known (albeit in riddles) the prophet has no further place in Sparta; he can no longer advise or warn, for the oracle is inevitable, and it is only a matter of time before it will be fulfilled. As the wise man departs for Delphos, the health of Sparta becomes more troubled, bringing with it a sense of impending disaster:

Oh, Sparta,
Oh, Lacedemon! double named, but one
In fate: when kingdoms reel (mark well my saw)
Their heads must needs be giddy.

. . . .

Oh, Sparta,
Oh, Lacedemon!

(IV.i.124-127 and 142-143)

This departure is followed swiftly by a decline in the king's health (IV.ii.193), and therefore in the health of Sparta. When the ailing king is led onstage, a juxtaposition of words suggests the relationship between the illness in the immediate stage world and the removal from it of the philosopher-prophet:

PROPHILUS. Health unto your Majesty.
Exeunt Prophilus, Hemophil [sic], & Groneas.

AMYCLAS. What! Tecnicus is gone?
ARMOSTES. He is to Delphos[.]

(IV.iii.5-6; sig. H4)

After the departure of the wise Tecnicus, the death of Penthea, and the murder of Ithocles, Bassanes unwittingly draws all three of the symbolic locations into a theatrical relationship. He tells us that, in searching for a cure for his wife's madness, he has sent first to Athens, for,

here in Sparta there's not left amongst us
One wise man to direct; we're all turned madcaps.

(V.i.3-4)

And, he continues,

To Delphos I have sent too. If there can be
A help for nature, we are sure yet.

(7-8)

There is no help for nature. Delphos has made its pronouncement and has withdrawn. Tecnicus, as spokesman both for the knowledge of Athens and the spiritual wisdom of Delphos, can no longer direct Orgilus (who enters at once), for the latter has dismissed the old man's wisdom as the "dotage of a withered brain" (IV.i.154) and has performed the murder under Penthea's mad tutoring (cf. IV.ii.124-125).

Sparta, Athens and Delphos create the larger, symbolic, non-localized settings - settings of the mind, representing ways of living and thinking. In immediate, theatrical terms, there are also three types of setting which interact effectively with the three larger areas. One is the temple altar setting for the final ritual, described in explicit detail in the stage direction, and forming a visual focal point onstage. The altar scene is the culmination of both the tragedy's plot and a series of images and attitudes concerning temples, altars, sacrifices and worship. A second setting is the grove of Act I, scene iii and Act II, scene iii. From the quarto itself, it is impossible to know whether the grove exists as a formal stage setting with tree properties, or whether it is to be imagined by the audience as they view a blank architectural stage. Certainly Ford gives the grove existence as an immediate, if conveyed, locality, carefully drawing the attention of the audience to it, referring to it frequently in the dialogue.

The immediate settings of altar and grove form parallels (although not exclusive ones) with the general geographical-symbolic settings. The altar, both as a setting for religious ritual and as the scene of the oracle's final unfolding, is at least superficially connected with Delphos - or, in other words, Delphos and that which it represents is brought into the immediate

dramatic scene through the temple ritual. The grove is an ironic substitute for Athens, to which Orgilus travels and where he studies. Crotonon unwittingly brings Athens to Sparta in the first scene when he says to his son:

if books and love of knowledge
Inflame you to this travel, here in Sparta
You may as freely study.

(I.i.12-14)

Orgilus does 'study' freely in the grove, spying upon his sister and Penthea (cf. I.iii.33-35), and it is only in the grove that he appears in his disguise. But the grove is also related to the 'plot' - Sparta - to which the neighbouring elm is transplanted. The palace (or, rather, the seat of the king) is the heart of Sparta, and is physically connected to the grove (II.ii.109). It is the uniting centre of all the play's localities: Tecnicus' oratory, linked to the grove (I.iii.135-136), is thus close to the court; Bassanes' house is connected to the court by blood (through Penthea and the court star, Ithocles), and by verbal and actual movement. After the visit of the courtiers (II.i), Bassanes and Penthea set off towards the court (144-145), where they appear in the next scene.

The third type of immediate setting, which embraces most of the scenes, is at once more nebulous and simple. Located in various rooms by Weber and subsequent editors of Ford's play, these scenes are sometimes in the palace, sometimes in Bassanes' house, sometimes we know not (and care not) where.³⁵ These rooms - even 'room' is occasionally misleadingly specific, as in the opening scene - are seldom given the localizing properties which abound in Webster's plays, where they are almost always symbolic as well as naturalistic - beds, a steward's writing desk, a trial table, a council bench. Ford's Amyclas may be given the theatrical royal state, but there is no textual evidence to support it, and none of the verbal play upon the 'eminence' of the raised seat and the raised hierarchical position that is found in Appius and Virginia. Ford places little emphasis upon presumptuous splendour;

there is no mention of the richness of palace (and stage) settings, so common to the contemporary theatre - of arras and lights, of fine carpets or a canopy roof of stars. But the visual setting of Ford's less-localized scenes - and their atmospheric and thematic nature - is conveyed instead through movement, music and imagery. Entries are ceremonial, with their accompaniment of trumpet flourish (I.ii); or intimate and amorous (I.iii; sig. C^V); or, by stealth they indicate the private and enclosed condition of a room (III.ii; sig. E3^V). Movement and grouping of characters, and the larger concept of movement - departure and return - give an ironically and thematically contrasting nature to these scenes which is more important than any naturalistic identification of place. For example, the first two scenes of the play provide a splendid contrast, which certainly involves the spectator's view (in part atmospheric, in part visual). But the visual contrast is not between a private house and the splendours of the palace; instead it is between a close private conference and public stateliness. The opening scene involves only three characters, all being of one family; its verbal emphasis is upon thralldom and torture, and upon farewell and separation which the gestures of the three characters help to convey. The second scene is crowded and ceremonious, involving three successive formal group entries, music, a triumphal garland; its verbal emphasis is upon victory, triumph, peace for Sparta, with return, reunion and triumph governing the gestures and language of four representative characters (king, kinsman, citizen and princess) after the entry of Ithocles.

Throughout the play, movement and grouping become signs of the civilized community of Sparta, and culminate admirably in the dance of marriage and death (V.ii), in which the pageantry of music and dancing provides a courtly atmosphere rather than a specific setting. Mannered action is conventional and easily becomes ritualistic (even the death of Ithocles is played out in a setting of civilized mourning); spontaneous action is

basically ill-mannered action. When it does occur, as in Ithocles' quarrels with Bassanes (III.ii) and with Nearchus (IV.i), it is not allowed to remain as a completed stage vision (as is the string of violent actions in The White Devil - Cornelia's striking of Zanche, Marcello's kicking of Zanche, Flamineo's stab at Marcello, V.i and ii). Instead, The Broken Heart's ill-mannered action is a momentary embarrassment, refined away into ceremonial politeness (IV.ii.181-195) or into tamely accepted punishment (III.ii.178-180), both conclusions involving courtly gesture.

Movement, flourish and formal groupings suggest the stately presence chamber scenes. In marked contrast are those scenes which suggest a lack of movement - an emotional repression or physical thraldom. In Act II, scene i, set in the house of Bassanes (a scene more specifically located than many), the jealous husband swears that he will "have that window next the street dammed up" (1). Probably he points out one of the façade windows, towards which Phulas can turn his attention, proposing to provide a mason at once (8-9). This walled up house is a manifestation of the imprisoning thraldom to which Ithocles has condemned his sister. Bassanes' pathetic attempt to please his wife, but also to hide her away, forces him into a conflict over the nature of their dwelling. Truthfully, but against his own desires, he says:

This house, methinks, stands somewhat too much inward,
It is too melancholy; we'll remove
Nearer the court:...

(103-105)

Or perhaps, he continues, Penthea would like to live on "the delightful island" which he commands (105-106). Old Grausis at once makes an appropriate comparison, which also applies to their present dwelling:

Island? prison!
A prison is as gaysome.

(109-110)

Ironically, and to Bassanes' horror, they soon move "Nearer the court", but without leaving their house. Phulas amusingly heralds "A herd of lords" and "A flock

of ladies" (128), who arrive bringing the fluttering court into Penthea's prison. This prison-like setting is supported by several stage pictures in which movement is denied or difficult: Ithocles, seated beside Penthea in melancholy bondage (III.ii); the same pair seated together in death when Ithocles has been trapped in the 'engine' (IV.iv); the old king, unable any longer to help his country actively, seated among his councillors (IV.iii). Thus Ford gives setting and united atmosphere to his play, not through any extensive use of properties, nor with strongly localizing language. Instead, two conventional settings - the grove and the altar - act as focal points around which the language frequently revolves, while entries, exits, harmonious movement and its lack all create atmospheric and thematic settings within the actual, but general, setting of Sparta.

II. The altar.

In the play's second scene, the king, joying in Ithocles' victorious return from war, turns in thought towards the gods:

The Spartan gods are gracious; our humility
Shall bend before their altars, and perfume
Their temples with abundant sacrifice.

(I.ii.1-3)

Ithocles' deeds, declares Amyclas,

More than a chronicle - a temple, lords,
A temple to the name of Ithocles.

(17-19)

Thus Ithocles is exalted to the status of a demi-deity and given, at least in proposal, an altar before which "abundant sacrifice" can be made. But the previous scene has exposed Ithocles' past pride (as opposed to Amyclas' humility), his cunning and tyranny, and the sacrifice of his sister's happiness that has been made to his pride (I.i.39-57). The erection of a temple in the name of a living man savours of excess. Even Jonson's Tiberius hedges carefully round the question.³⁶ Prophilus' admiring description of Ithocles (I.ii.34-47) - a model

of perfect moderation in contrast to the cruelty, pride and cunning which Orgilus has attributed to the same man - continues a verbal deification, making Ithocles "a star fixed" (44). But this fixed star, this "miracle of man" (48), makes an odd parallel to his abused sister who has already been described as a "heaven of perfections" (I.i.59), a "shrine of beauty" (64), a miracle worthy of homage (65), and one whom he has cruelly forced into a marriage that is a torture (43-44; 49). Thus, within the rapid opening of the play, the brother and sister are both shown as objects of worship, shrines - yet the one has abused the other. This paradox is not the basis of the harsh and powerful hypocrisy which Webster would have developed: for, despite doubts that are cast upon Prophilus' eulogy by Calantha and Crotolon (I.ii.41 and 47-49), and despite faults in Ithocles that are clearly presented during the play, Ford also intends us to see an admirable nature in the youth. "Honour of loveliness" and his wronged sister continue in the strange parallel that gives a haunting and gentle beauty to the ironically posed situation.

Ithocles himself is aware of the ominous danger in the glorification which Sparta accords his victorious return (I.ii.79-83), and he contrasts the drunken revelry of worship with the grim expenditure of lives in war, where "each common soldier's blood / Drops down as current coin" (84-85). Ford's irony and omens here are subtle: no asides reveal any degree of dissembling in Ithocles. Ford does not intend his audience to see Ithocles as basely hypocritical. The cruel action has been completed before the play opens, and the returning hero is not identical with the rash youth of Orgilus' description; nor, however, is he identical with the paragon described by Prophilus. He tries to identify with this new self and excuse his youth (II.ii.42-55), behaving to Euphranea and Prophilus exactly as he should have done to Penthea (II.ii.99-100), but ironically whenever he does the correct thing (as in I.ii and II.ii) an echo of his past undermines all. In view of the conflicting pride,

self-interest and genuine remorse which Ithocles displays at various points in the play (as in his interview with Penthea, III.ii), his rejection of idolatrous worship can be seen as both modesty and policy. Later, when his ambition is nearly realized, he revels in a vision of himself as king which recalls the very excess that he has criticized. Orgilus draws him on in his pride, predicting that Ithocles will be "a just monarch", and continuing:

Greece must admire and tremble.
 ITHOCLES. Then the sweetness
 Of so imparadised a comfort, Orgilus!
 It is to banquet with the gods.
 ORGILUS. The glory
 Of numerous children, potency of nobles,
 Bent knees, hearts paved to tread on!
 ITHOCLES. With a friendship
 So dear, so fast as thine.

(IV.iii.126-132)

Ithocles has not learned, has not been cured of his pride. He regrets grinding Penthea's heart into the dust (III. ii.43-45) in his rash past; but at this climax of the play he still accepts a future of "hearts paved to tread on". He fails to see through Orgilus' duplicity, not because he is a forgiving and trusting man, but because it eases his conscience to befriend the man he has wronged, and because Orgilus paints the very picture he longs to see. Only when, through death, he has been purged of his sins, does he receive his 'temple', presiding at the altar before which Calantha sacrifices herself.

Love in The Broken Heart is a religion involving both sacrifice and worship, and the object of devotion (the woman) is loved for her beauty, but beauty that is equated with or associated with virtue.³⁷ "The joys of marriage", says Bassanes, "are the heaven on earth, / Life's paradise" (II.ii.86-87). "I can speak by proof", he continues, "For I rest in Elysium" (92-93), but he speaks in the agony of hell created by his jealousy. For all his casebook jealousy, for all the genuine torment that his suspicions cause Penthea, Bassanes does not, in the play, turn spitefully upon her, as do other jealous stage husbands.³⁸ There is an awe in his treatment of

his wife, which gives his situation a pathos despite Ford's failure to make him a tragic character. Bassanes sees Penthea as a celestial being (III.ii.173-174); something rare like the jewels with which his base materialistic instinct would unnecessarily beautify her (II.i.78-79). To him she is 'divine' (IV.ii.63); his deity is her beauty, her "looks are sovereignty" (III.ii.164). In contrition for his unwarranted suspicions of incest, his religion of love reaches a visual climax:

BASSANES. A Goddess! Let me kneel.
 GRAUSIS. Alas, kind animal!
 (III.ii.178)

The old beldam's comment is apt - Bassanes' passions are those of a lower sort. In his attempt at penitential patience, Bassanes points to his polluted worship. He regrets that he has

Endeavoured...to pull down
 That temple built for adoration only,
 And level 't in the dust of causeless scandal.
 (IV.ii.31-33)

That temple of which he speaks is "a chaste wife" (30). He vows that, to redeem his impiety,

Humility shall pour, before the deities
 I have incensed, a largess of more patience
 Than their displeased altars can require.
 (35-37)

The humility, the altars, the temple, the pun upon incense (perfume) recall the king's welcome of Ithocles in the second scene, uniting the worship of Penthea and her brother, of love and victorious peace.

In the first onstage meeting between Orgilus and Penthea, love is again represented in words of religious worship. He bids Penthea turn her eyes

upon that fire
 Which once rose to a flame, perfumed with vows
 As sweetly scented as the incense smoking
 On Vesta's altars-...

(II.iii.28-31)

This reference to incense and altars, coupled with the audience's expectation of seeing Ithocles' enter the grove, again directs our thoughts back to Act I, scene ii, and the semi-deification of Ithocles. But because

Orgilus is the speaker, we are also made to recall the opening scene where we are told that the "holy and chaste love" (30) pledged between Penthea and Orgilus has been prevented of fruition by Ithocles. Orgilus worships Penthea's beauty, which is a heaven that "Refines mortality from dross of earth" (II.iii.22). The comment is a significant one, coming from him, for he has already described unrefined mortality -

Mortality

Creeps on the dung of earth, and cannot reach
The riddles which are purposed by the gods.

(I.iii.179-181)

When Orgilus kneels (II.iii.64-67), he does so with Penthea, and with her consent (a visual repetition of the vows they made before the play begins), and not alone and in penitence, as Bassanes kneels. And yet Orgilus, too, 'abuses' Penthea. Bassanes pollutes the temple with his unjust suspicions; Orgilus with his unworthy temptations. Bassanes, Orgilus tells his father, suspects

That I should steal again into her favours,
And undermine her virtues; which the gods
Know I nor dare nor dream of.

(I.i.74-76)

As we later learn (I.iii.33-35 and II.iii), Orgilus must already, at the time of speaking these lines, have decided to "steal again into her favours".

Ithocles, like Bassanes and Orgilus, hallows Penthea and love (and with it, beauty). Despite a genuine regret for his treatment of his sister Ithocles uses the theme of Penthea's deification as an appeal for her aid. They sit side by side, twins again after long being strangers (III.ii.34-36) - twins visually in their proximity and identical posture: "Sit nearer, sister, to me; nearer yet" (33). In this inactive scene he reveals his difficult secret (his love), and the lack of movement on stage supports the difficulty of his admission - repression is physical and emotional (cf. 98-101). The contrast of the play's first two scenes, between past and present, between the altar of Penthea's holy vows and the altar of war's sacrifices, is sorrowfully yet effectively recalled here by Ithocles:

After my victories abroad, at home
I meet despair; ingratitude of nature
Hath made my actions monstrous.

(80-82)

His long speech, of which this is the opening, reveals a considerable amount about his character. Perceptively he sees that he has come back, not to the glory and temple promised by Amyclas, but back to himself and the sacrifice demanded of his sister in the past. His description of her deification sounds at first (82-87) like an admission of her worthiness to be worshipped (whereas he has declined worship of himself) for past and continued suffering; but then follows the condition - if her pity will now ease her brother's misery (87-89). By likening his suffering to hers - his 'bondage' (91) recalls the 'thraldom' into which he has forced her (I.i.54) - he appeals to her sympathy. He does not kneel down before this shrine, his sister, but sits in equality of misery and of birth. Penthea does offer the aid for which he asks, helping to secure his 'saint' (Calantha) whom he serves (93).

When Penthea bequeathes her brother to Calantha, she represents him not as an equal of the princess, but as a worshipper whose faith is

as humbly perfect as the prayers
Of a devoted suppliant can endow it.

(III.v.80-81)

She claims that in his humility he dares not

ope an eye
On these divine looks, but with low-bent thoughts
Accusing such presumption. As for words,
'A dares not utter any but of service.

(87-90)

Verbally he is represented in the kneeling posture of a worshipper and a subject (one who serves), and even his thoughts bow in image. The double appropriateness of the convention of kneeling is particularly apt in the case of Ithocles. His aspiration towards the princess is composed both of love and of ambition, an appreciation of the divinity of her beauty, and of her royal position. For him she is "a royal maid" (I.ii.68); she is "the princess, the king's daughter, / Sole heir of Sparta" (III.ii.100-101); but she is also 'blessed' (IV.i.31),

and divine (IV.iii.88). Ithocles' words to the princess throughout the play are not merely the stock compliments which any ambitious man would offer his mistress. He can be very incautious in stating his religion of love - "There is more divinity / In beauty than in majesty" (IV.i.95-96). Thus when Penthea represents Ithocles kneeling as subject and lover, she offers Calantha the opportunity of accepting him by raising him, of helping him upwards in his ambitious climb. She begs Calantha to

Be a princess
In sweetness as in blood; give him his doom,
Or raise him up to comfort.

(III.v.91-93)

In the following scene, Ithocles acts out the kneeling posture which Penthea has portrayed figuratively. Calantha provides the directions for his action. Tossing her ring towards him (cf. IV.i.53-55), she says:

let him take it who dares stoop for't,
And give it at next meeting to a mistress.

(IV.i.27-28)

With the precious jewel, Ithocles bends down before her, offering it

To the blessed owner,
Upon my knees.

(31-32)

In this posture he appears to be a rival to Nearchus for the princess. In the first meeting between Calantha and the Prince of Argos, Nearchus uses the language and gestures of devotion. He calls Calantha "Chief, glorious virgin, / In [his] devotions" (III.iii.25-26), and he kneels to the beauty whom he has just met, but of whose report he has long been enamoured (cf. 16-19):

CALANTHA. A prince a subject?

NEARCHUS. Yes, to beauty's sceptre;

All hearts kneel, so mine.

CALANTHA. You are too courtly.

(42-43)

This courtliness (as opposed to passion) allows Nearchus to remain detached and moderate, to withdraw from the rivalry without distress, providing an alternative to the bitter love rivalry between Angry (Orgilus) and Vexation (Bassanes).

Thus altars are built in adulation of love and victory. Sacrifices are promised with ease, but eventually the gods demand payment. On the human level, reconciliation, expiation of sins and the restoration of purity require an actual purge of sins, not the pretense of penance nor a well-intentioned but tardy repentance. Ithocles' penitence takes odd forms if we imagine that his regret for his rash past is already with him at the beginning of the play. He continues the torture of Penthea verbally, taunting her with the imprisoning nature of her marriage (II.ii.65-70), which she answers with understandable bitterness (and an ambiguity misinterpreted by Bassanes):

You best know, brother,
From whom my health and comforts are derived.

(75-76)

When seeking her help, Ithocles predicts a purely poetic sacrifice before her shrine - a "sacrifice [of] / Pure turtles, crowned with myrtle" (III.ii.86-87). Fulfilment of this prediction comes dramatically, when Orgilus, perfecting his revenge, claims to "sacrifice a tyrant to a turtle" (IV.iv.29) - Ithocles to Penthea.

Orgilus, dissembling to his father, makes a rash vow:

I will rather
Be made a sacrifice on Thrasus' monument,
Or kneel to Ithocles, his son, in dust,
Than woo a father's curse.

(III.iv.46-49)

Crotolon has feared that Orgilus intends some violent action which will bring the family's ruin. Despite the absence of confiding soliloquies or asides, the audience should suspect that revenge is at least latent in Orgilus' mind during this scene. He has pledged himself to "Action, not words" (II.iii.126) after his failure with Penthea. Now, in honour of his sister's forthcoming marriage, he plans to prepare "a poor invention", "some slight device" of a sort which he formerly "studied for delight" (III.iv.85-88). The device is surely expected to sound the conventional warning of the murderous revels, such as those that conclude Women Beware Women or The

Revenger's Tragedy. Like Hieronimo's death-bringing invention, Orgilus' entertainment is the fruit of his younger days.³⁹ He does figuratively kneel to Ithocles in dust, by debasing himself to foot level, calling himself "A too unworthy worm" (92-93), and this excessive grovelling colours our opinion of the sincerity of his friendship for the former enemy.

Kneeling in respect or being laid low by force are images related through the ideas of the altar, the temple, worship and sacrifice. When, in the grove, Orgilus attempts to take Penthea as his own, her reply is vivid. "Come, sweet, th'art mine", he declares (II.iii.109), stepping towards her and touching her as she has forbidden (104-107). She sternly bids him forbear, adding:

Your reputation (if you value any)
Lies bleeding at my feet.

(111-112)

This verbal picture is followed by a succession of staged pictures which portray the effects of this meeting between the separated lovers, in terms of worship and sacrifice. Penthea takes no retribution upon Orgilus, saying, "this once I spare thy life" (118). But Orgilus, realizing from their interview that only vengeance, not fruition, is left him, eventually presents Ithocles as a bleeding sacrifice, not at her feet but trapped beside her dead body. Then he too is brought low. As he sinks to the stage in death, Orgilus lies bleeding (figuratively) before Penthea, for he says:

On a pair-royal do I wait in death:
My sovereign, as his liegeman; on my mistress,
As a devoted servant;...

(V.ii.136-138)

From his actions stems the death of Calantha, laid low (but without the spilling of her pure blood) before the altar and Ithocles.

It is necessary now to look at this series of death scenes in greater detail. The death of Ithocles, an action with properties, stage assistants, actors, director and the highly theatrical 'engine', is more a ritualistic sacrifice than a theatrical vengeance. The scene is

prepared for atmospherically in advance. As Ithocles and Orgilus, the former deadly enemies, pledge themselves to extreme friendship (IV.iii.133-139), their interview is interrupted by "Soft *ad musicke*" (sig. I2), and Orgilus demands:

List, what sad sounds are these? - extremely sad ones.

ITHOCLES. Sure from Penthea's lodgings.

ORGILUS. Hark! a voice too.

(140-141)

The two men turn towards the façade, gazing at one of the doors or perhaps an upper window, representing Penthea's dwelling. The song proceeds from offstage, and its words increase the ominous mood:

Oh, no more, no more, too late

Sighs are spent;...

(142-143)

The future, towards which the two onstage characters had been looking with a crescendo of excitement (124-133), now appears trapped again in that inevitability of tragedy that pervades the play. It is too late for hope, as Ithocles had seen that it is too late for his repentance, when saying to Armostes, "Now, uncle, now; this 'now' is now too late" (IV.i.10). The song concludes with foreboding wrapped in an innuendo of the act of love:

Now Love dies, - ^{now Love dies,} implying
Love's martyrs must be ever, ever dying.

(151-153)

Penthea's death is here prepared for as a martyrdom.

Ithocles and Orgilus absorb the fearfulness of the song (the audience does not yet realize to what extent Orgilus is dissembling):

ITHOCLES. Oh, my misgiving heart!

ORGILUS. A horrid stillness
Succeeds this deathful air; let's know the reason.
Tread softly; there is mystery in mourning.

(154-156)

The air - both that of the song, and that which the two characters breathe - is deathful. The atmosphere, built by the stage picture of frozen listeners, by the song and the oppressive stillness accentuated when the music ceases, by the beautiful concluding speech and the

fearful, quiet steps with which they leave the stage, is perfect. The contrast of moods in the scene is complete - between the growing, intoxicating expectation of good fortune, and the arrested, deathlike anticipation of death, as if the characters (and the very stage itself) hold their breath in waiting.

After this stillness, Act IV, scene iv begins with a theatrical burst of activity which, with the first line of dialogue, serves to warn the audience of active danger and premeditation in the "mystery in mourning":

Enter Christalla and Philema, bringing in Penthea in a chaire vaild: two other seruants placing two chaires, one on the one side, and the other with an Engine on the other; the maids sit downe at her feet mourning, the seruants goe out, meet them Ithocles and Orgilus.

(sig. I2)

The consciously symmetrical placement, with one chair on each side of Penthea, and undoubtedly one maid on each side, creates a balanced and static tableau of which the dead woman is the focal point. Mourning is an action both conventional and personal, and in this way resembles the combined ritual and private devotions which Calantha, in the final scene, performs before Ithocles, similarly borne onstage after his death and made part of a visual tableau. The economical revelation by the servant -

'Tis done; that on her right hand.
ORGILUS.

Good: begone

(1)

- interposed between the brief dumb show of mourning and the chant-like expression of Penthea's death, brilliantly sounds the chilling note of treachery which expands the fearful expectation aroused by the preceding song. The symmetry is upset - the audience must fear the difference between the two chairs. Music continues in the form of the cadence of the words and the chorus-like repetitions, and in the recounting of Penthea's end:

PHILEMA. Dead.

CHRISTALLA. Dead!

PHILEMA. Starved.

CHRISTALLA. Starved!

ITHOCLES. Me miserable!

. . . .

PHILEMA. She called for music,
And begged some gentle voice to tune a farewell
To life and griefs. Christalla touched the lute;
I wept the funeral song.

. . . .

CHRISTALLA. So down she drew her veil, so died.
ITHOCLES. So died.

(3-10)

The dismissal of the maids is skilfully handled. "Up! you are messengers of death; go from us", orders Orgilus (11), warning them to speak

No syllable that she is dead. - Away.
Keep a smooth brow.

(14-15)

His words recall the king's last injunction:

Now convey me
Unto my bed-chamber; none on his forehead
Wear a distempered look.

(IV.iii.94-96)

The sorrow of sickness and death must not be allowed to disturb the ceremonious surface of society until the rituals are all performed. This repeated concern for the smooth brow (despite Orgilus' practical reason for it) sets a necessary standard by which Calantha's behaviour in Act V, scenes ii and iii can be judged.

Orgilus emphasizes the symmetry of the scene in insisting upon the similarity between himself and Ithocles - two mourners united by Penthea in the centre. But, because of the servant's opening line, the audience realizes that the symmetry (and therefore the similarity) is unreal. The actor of Orgilus must speak to Ithocles with a mixture of persuasion and quiet grief:

Take that chair;
I'll seat me here in this. Between us sits
The object of our sorrows.

. . . .

There, there; sit there, my lord.
ITHOCLES. Yes, as you please.
Ithocles sits downe, and is catcht in the Engine.

What means this treachery?

ORGILUS. Caught! you are caught,
Young master. 'Tis thy throne of coronation,
Thou fool of greatness.

(16-24; sig. I2^v)

The startling and superbly created change in mood must be accompanied by Orgilus leaping up from his own chair, free, exultant. The 'engine' - an innocent-looking chair with arms that enfold the sitter in an unbreakable embrace - is a fine trap; practical,⁴⁰ and symbolically potent. Ithocles dreamed of kingdoms (IV.iii.124-129 and IV.iv.30), and kingship to the contemporary audience would easily conjure up the elevated state. Instead his "throne of coronation" is a chair of base execution (cf. 50).

Three chair scenes create important visual parallels. Earlier, Ithocles proposes to meet his sister in the grove, but he turns suddenly ill, and is discovered seated, static, and suffering a "chaos of...bondage" (III.ii.91). Here he and Penthea sit side by side, as they will in death. His illness is a sign of his past sins (which now have stirred his conscience and thus his melancholy) and of the ambition to be a prince of which he is frightened (II.ii.1-15). The sudden indisposition followed by a weary, seated posture is then exactly repeated in the stage picture of the old king at the time of the oracle's unfolding (IV.iii). In that scene, when the plot requires new blood and when Ithocles is advanced by Amyclas (42-47), the stage vision draws the dying king and the young man together, reminding the audience that Ithocles, too, is diseased, and must be purged. The entrapping 'engine' also makes a parallel to the situation into which Ithocles has forced Penthea, and to the walled-up island prison that Bassanes proposes for her (II.i.1 and 105-110). Ithocles has wed her to a 'torture' (I.i.49), and is now trapped in an instrument of torture. She has, by him, been "buried in a bride-bed" (II.ii.38) when she expected the bed of Orgilus; the engine in turn is his bed of death when he dreamed of the princess' bed (IV.iii.134-139). The bended knees of nobles before the throne, the hearts paved to walk on which Orgilus had envisaged for Ithocles (IV.iii.129-131), give place to the exultant executioner who stands above, rather than grovelling below, the 'monarch'. Ithocles' death is not merely melodramatic and conventional.⁴¹ The chair setting links him with

his sin towards Penthea and Orgilus, and in the larger story of the kingdom, explains that Ithocles is not the correct successor to the old king. But in the visual playing out of the scene, he is clearly the victim, without any defence, and he behaves with nobility. The equivocal nature of the character is admirably maintained.

When Death comes to him in the engine, Ithocles at last sees himself freed from the bondage of ambition and of sin:

Thoughts of ambition, or delicious banquet,
With beauty, youth, and love, together perish
In my last breath, which on the sacred altar
Of a long-looked-for peace - now - moves - to heaven.

(IV.iv.67-70)

It is a painful picture, the end of all life's glories, but it brings peace. His last words must remain with the audience when he is seen again in the final scene, for there the refining process of death is complete, and the altar by which he sits or lies is (for him) the altar of peace, and therefore salvation.

The presence of the dead Penthea at Ithocles' side adds horror to the murder, while also showing the retributive 'justice' of the action:

ORGILUS. See, I take this veil off:
Survey a beauty withered by the flames
Of an insulting Phaeton, her brother.

(24-26)

As Penthea died of starvation, her beauty has probably been marred by dark lines of makeup.⁴² The presentation of Penthea here resembles a scene in The Second Maiden's Tragedy. The body of the Lady is put onstage in a chair, the object of honour and the focal point of attention, and a song tells us that "one Night of death" has made her beauty "looke pale and horred".⁴³ In both these plays, the powerful presence of a dead body can be compared with the presentation of Antonio's wax figure (DM, IV.i). In each case the dead (or apparently dead) figure is more than a theatrical spectacle, it is thematically relevant. In their earlier interview, the distraught Penthea urged Ithocles to rid her of the jealous Bassanes by killing her:

Then we will join in friendship, be again
 Brother and sister. - Kill me, pray: nay, will 'ee?

(III.ii.66-67)

They can only be truly united again by removing the sin
 and its effects, and this is possible only in death.

When he sees her dead his first response is:

Mine only sister!

Another is not left me.

(IV.iv.15-16)

The debt to Webster in these lines (and pervasively throughout the play) is clear. Trapped like Flamineo, Ithocles sees his murderer as a base executioner (IV.iv. 27, 46-51; cf. WD, V.vi.193-195). Theatricality marks the death scenes of both Ithocles and Flamineo, but Ithocles' quiet acceptance of death and of his guilt contrasts with Flamineo's audacity; Ford's hero is purified by retribution into a saintly figure, calling for peace and heaven; Webster's hero dies a grand and histrionic villain, calling on thunder (V.vi.275-276), facing a mist (260). Rather like the imagery surrounding Brachiano's death, Ford's visual and verbal motifs (of blood, sacrifice, brother and sister, twins) present to the audience a moral judgement against Ithocles, and a dramatic judgement for him. Brachiano is heroic but damned; his enormous pleasures, desires and villainies are out of all proportion to the rather grey natures of his victims; Ithocles in death pays a just penalty for his life, for he has lost love and hopes exactly as Penthea and Orgilus have done.

There is, I think, no point where Orgilus looks favourably upon his enemy until he watches Ithocles face death. Satisfied in vengeance, Orgilus can then look at his enemy in the latter's finest moment. His praise of the dying man (51-59; 71-76) does not transform the nature of the murder quite as uniquely as is sometimes suggested⁴⁴ - Flamineo loves Vittoria when he sees her die with masculine strength, although he had intended (and indeed begged) to kill her (WD, V.vi.176-177 and 241-243).

At the conclusion of Act IV, scene iv, Orgilus "lock[s]

the bodies safe" (73). Perhaps he pulls the chairs and their burdens behind the curtain of a discovery recess, although it would not be impossible for the two extra servants to return and help him, since one at least was privy to the secret of the engine and may be permitted to know of the murder. In The Divils Charter, Lucretia moves the body and carries away the trapping chair herself.⁴⁵

In the cumulative movement of sacrifices, Orgilus becomes the next bleeding spectacle. The interesting factor about Orgilus' death is that he seeks it, acting as messenger of the butchery he has committed (V.ii.40-44). Although he claims that the murder was just (45-46), he realizes that he must die for it, and his death is accepted by him as a legal execution (as Ithocles accepted his own as an illegal but retributively just execution). Orgilus had offered his victim 'peace' - the knowledge that the murderer would follow in death, after "some few short minutes" (IV.iv.54). This preparedness for death, like Penthea's (III.v.111-112) and Calantha's (V.iii.75-80), contributes to the strong sense of inevitability in the play, of characters trapped in unavoidable tragedy. Of The Broken Heart's death scenes, only that of Orgilus is splendidly theatrical with the theatricality of the Websterian glorious villains (Flamineo, Brachiano, Bosola) and not with the quieter nobility of the ritual deaths of Ithocles and Calantha. He has been much wronged (IV.i.8-10), but he has taken a dishonourable route of deception, temptation and vengeance. Tecnicus' lecture to him on the nature of honour, specifically defining revenge as a denial of justice (III.i.40-44), makes his claim of just revenge specious. His final words to Prophilus must not be misinterpreted as a sign that he has learned from Ithocles' behaviour and been an upright brother:

Enjoy my sister, Prophilus; my vengeance
Aimed never at thy prejudice.

(V.ii.75-76)

He did not aim at Prophilus; but, that Prophilus and Euphranea survive in happiness is by chance, by the interference of Amyclas and Crotolon, not by Orgilus'

choice (cf. III.iv.1-49).

The neat symmetry that makes Orgilus the murderer and extoller of Ithocles (cf. V.ii.46-48), now makes his own rival, Bassanes, the assistant executioner and eulogizer of Orgilus. As in the 'engine' scene, there is a certain immobility to the death scene of Orgilus, especially as it contrasts with the movement of the preceding dance. Orgilus is not pinned in a chair, but the motif of binding is introduced:

Bind fast
This arm, that so the pipes may from their conduits
Convey a full stream;...

(V.ii.101-103)

Bassanes repeats the direction: "Quick, fillet both his arms" (109). With both arms bound, holding the dagger that killed Ithocles, and surrounded by his audience, Orgilus is a focal point. Because there is no attempt to avoid death, the actor should remain still, unmoved, without the struggling, active desire to live that marks the final scene of The White Devil, and the deaths of Bosola, Ferdinand and the Cardinal (DM, V.v.47-93). The staff which he holds (V.ii.112) gives an ironical note to the stage picture. A staff is a symbol of office, particularly of councillors:⁴⁶ thus he meets death as a parody of his father's rôle, waiting upon the king (cf. 136) and upon Ithocles, just as Ithocles' death is a parody of that kingship he desired, in the devilish "throne of coronation".

There is a graphic insistence upon the appearance of Orgilus' dying. "I am well skilled in letting blood" (101), he says with macabre truth, and as the theatre's bladder of red liquid pours its contents forth, Bassanes admires the blood that "sparkles like a lusty wine new broached" (125). A note of victory, even revelry, is sounded in this execution, for the yoking of wine and blood echoes Ithocles' description of popular applause, in which he juxtaposes the soldier's spilt blood with "the drunken priests / In Bacchus' sacrifices" (I.ii. 81-85). Bassanes puns upon Orgilus' loss of blood and his courage: "But prithee, look not pale" (V.ii.128);

and gradually the dying man sinks down. The actor must play this scene with careful timing, to allow a continuous descent, punctuated at "Droop not yet" (134); and at "On a pair-royal do I wait in death" (136) (by which time he may already be on his knees); until finally he falls:

When feeble man is bending to his mother,
The dust 'a first was framed on, thus he totters.
So falls the standard
Of my prerogative in being a creature.

(148-151)

Exquisite lines accompany his death. Sentence by sentence, they describe, in a presenter's fashion, the progress of this glorious 'act' which is transformed from a mundane execution into a triumph. Bassanes glorifies the action, saying,

This pastime
Appears majestical; some high-tuned poem
Hereafter shall deliver to posterity
The writer's glory and his subject's triumph.

(131-134)

Gradually Orgilus is robbed of vitality - "Life's fountain is dried up" (150); "Speech hath left him" (155); "'A has shook hands with time" (156) - until he becomes merely an object (dehumanized like the "thing of talk", II.iii.45 or "th' angry thing", IV.ii.177), as Bassanes orders:

Remove the bloodless body.
The coronation must require attendance[.]

(V.ii.157-158)

The abrupt juxtaposition distinguishes, I think, the death of Orgilus from that of Penthea, Ithocles and Calantha. In his theatricality Orgilus makes himself a brilliant focal point, but in death he is removed hastily, whereas Penthea and Ithocles remain as potent and visible forces after death, and Calantha's wishes are held as sacred after her passing (V.iii.102-104). The difference in the death of the two men completes an earlier, and ironically spoken, prediction. When Ithocles offers the height of friendship to the man he has wronged, he claims that they will be "partners / In all respects else but the bed" (IV.iii.134-135), to which Orgilus wryly responds:

The bed?
Forfend it Jove's own jealousy! - till lastly

We slip down in common earth together.
 And there our beds are equal, save some monument
 To show this was the king, and this the subject.

(135-139)

Orgilus is encouraging his prospective victim's proud aspirations when he predicts greatness for the king even in death. But in fact their monuments do prove to be different: Orgilus lies low, executed, his funeral urn left to his rival, Bassanes, and his "bloodless body" cleared away from the stage to give room for the coronation, while Ithocles is raised from the ground (on hearse or chair), crowned and adored in death, his own body becoming his monument (V.iii).⁴⁷

After the stage pictures of kneeling worship, sacrifice and retribution, the physical altar (V.iii) comes as a richly appropriate setting. Calantha lies at Ithocles' feet but her blood, untainted in life, is not spilt as is that of Ithocles and Orgilus. Like Orgilus in the murder of Ithocles, Calantha plays out a prepared scene. The two characters supply properties (engine, ring); stage hands (the maids bearing Penthea, the extras carrying on Ithocles); costume (Penthea's veil; Ithocles' rich robe, the women's white garments, the two crowns); music; and, most important, the presiding figure of the dead betrothed. Both Orgilus and Calantha act as presenters to their audience. The similarities underline several points. The two scenes are essentially artificial, theatrical, but more than that, the rôle of the dead figure, and the sacrifice at an actual or figurative shrine, makes the scenes ritualistic. The death of Orgilus, while highly theatrical, is not in the same way a ritual. He dies in a quasi-legal execution, but except for his personal declarations there is no formal structure of worship. The theatrical similarities between Act IV, scene iv and Act V, scene iii also underline the radical differences between vengeance and willing sacrifice - Orgilus' ritual requires violence and takes life forcibly from another, while Calantha peacefully offers her own. The continued twinship of Penthea and Ithocles, begun in verbal imagery of miracles, stars, two branches and kinship, and visualized in the two chair

scenes (III.ii and IV.iv), is completed in this final scene where Ithocles, like his sister, presides in death over a sacrifice offered to him. The similarity is a clear indication once again from Ford of the paradoxical yet highly human dichotomy of Ithocles' life which has trapped and repressed the entire play in an inevitable tragedy.

The choice of hearse or chair is left to the theatre company to decide:

...enter foure bearing Ithocles on a hearse, [sic]
or in a chaire, in a rich robe, and a Crowne
on his head; place him on one side of the Altar,...
(sig. K2^v)

If the direction is authorial, which seems likely from this very vagueness, it shows how clearly Ford realized that the actual visualization of a play depended upon factors which he could not control. But in his serious consideration of the rôle of spectacle he assures a reasonably accurate presentation of his creation in this play by taxing the potential of a contemporary theatre very little indeed. The Blackfriars theatre did possess hearses, for marginal directions in the quarto text of The Two Noble Kinsmen (1613)⁴⁸ twice warn the assistants to have hearses ready (sig. C3^v; C4^v), and at last comes the stage direction:

Enter the Queenes with the Hearses of their Knightes,
in a Funerall Solempnity, &c.
(sig. C4^v)

But the carrying on or off the stage of a character in a chair (possibly some form of invalid chair with handles) seems also to have been common at the Blackfriars. In the same play, Arcite is carried in a chair when wounded (sig. M4), as is Amyclas when ill. While the choice of a hearse would give a certain dignity to Ford's dead 'king', the chair has the advantage of providing a stage parallel to so many important scenes - the interview, the murder, and the old king's illness. Orgilus' taunt before the murder, that the 'engine' is Ithocles' "throne of coronation", receives a second ironic twist in the final scene where Ithocles, seated or reclining, is crowned and

honoured in death.

In the final scene, Calantha creates the temple which her father would have built for Ithocles (I.ii.18-19). The altar is probably discovered.⁴⁹ It need be only a table, covered with a white cloth, and holding two candles (sig. K2^v). Calantha is in white, and this symbol of purity befits her as virgin bride, as virtuous ruler, and as Sparta's priestess. Euphranea, as a handmaid, is also in white,⁵⁰ and for her - the new bride - the colour is particularly suitable, and is perhaps the colour in which she appeared in the dance which celebrates her marriage. As the final scene progresses and Calantha performs her own marriage, the presence of Euphranea in white creates a quiet but painful counterpoint - the fruitful and the blasted brides. Whiteness has already been associated with purity of reputation, and contrasted with "gaudy outsides" (II.i.98). Penthea declines the "ravishing lustre / Of jewels above value" (78-79), for she needs

No braveries nor cost of art, to draw
The whiteness of [her] name into offence.

(93-94)

In the irreconcilable situation of a ravished bride, Penthea represents herself as, perforce, the opposite of pure white: she is "A spotted whore" (III.ii.70). For Calantha to maintain the white purity of her name she must die - to obey her father's will and remain true to her own vows by "new-marrying" her "contracted lord" (V.iii.63-66). The whiteness of the robes and the altar contrast with the most potent colour throughout the play - the red of blood. Blood represents both the impurity of passion (ambition, revenge, impure love) and the flow of life. At the end of the dance which brings the messengers of death, Calantha asks:

Hath not this motion
Raised fresher colour on your cheeks?
NEARCHUS. Sweet princess,
A perfect purity of blood enamels
The beauty of your white.

(V.ii.20-23)

The white garment of the final scene supports the white

of her beautiful and youthful skin, but it becomes the white of death. When the heart cracks, no blood, either of life or of a knife's stroke, 'enamels' her cheek. Red has brightened the stage picture with macabre effusiveness in the deaths of Orgilus and Ithocles. Orgilus' blood-letting leads to the iciness of his bloodless body, and at least verbally he is pale (V.ii.128 and 154-157) amid the red of spilt stage blood.

Calantha's devotions are performed in dumb show.

She

goes and kneeles before the Altar, the rest stand off, the women kneeling behind; cease Recorders during her deuotions. Sofe [sic] muicke. Calantha and the rest rise doing obeyance to the Altar.

(sig. K2^v)

The religious ceremony does not represent merely private devotions. "Our orisons are heard; the gods are merciful" (1), she says as she rises; and in the rest of the scene, settling the affairs of her kingdom, she displays the 'mercy' of the gods in the fulfilment of the oracle which brings the health and support of "the neighbouring elm" (cf. IV.iii.15).

In the multiplicity of ceremonies that take place in the final scene - religious devotions, coronation, marriage and sacrifice - the "Two lights of Virgin wax" (sig. K2^v) on the altar symbolize various concepts. As part of the religious ceremony, the candles have the traditional associations of holy light, the light of gods and worship; as part of the coronation, and in this Greek setting, the candles can be associated with the light of kingship and of Apollo. Apollo is a life-bringer to the 'plot' of Sparta whose eventual health he predicts through the oracle. Fire, Apollo and the oracle are associated by Orgilus in his death scene:

Oh, Tecnicus, inspired with Phoebus' fire!
I call to mind thy augury, 'twas perfect[.]

(V.ii.145-146)

In the marriage ritual, the lights represent the torches of Hymen. These had been figuratively lighted, in anticipation, by Prophilus and Euphranea, and threatened with extinction by Orgilus in a demonic juxtaposition:

PROPHILUS. Smile, Hymen, on the growth of our desires;
We'll feed thy torches with eternal fires.

Exeunt, manet Org.

ORGILUS. Put out thy torches, Hymen, or their light
Shall meet a darkness of eternal light.

(I.iii.173-176; sig. C3^v)

Orgilus does not complete his threat. Instead he extinguishes the life of Ithocles, and with it, the Hymeneal torches for the princess. But these altar candles once again associate Ithocles and his sister: early in the play Orgilus, reminding Penthea of their past vows, represents his love as a "fire / Which once rose to a flame", as sweet as "the incense smoking / On Vesta's altars" (II.iii.28-31). Sadly, their vows remain on Vesta's altars - virginal, because deprived of fruition. The song which heralds Penthea's suicide uses the image of life as a taper which has burnt out, leaving eternal night (IV.iii.143-147). Earlier, when the malaise of past sin and of present unsatisfied desire settles upon Ithocles, Prophilus prophesies Ithocles' death, and provides a point of reference for the tapers of the final scene:

Stars fall but in the grossness of our sight;
A good man dying, th' earth doth lose a light.

(II.iii.156-157)

The two lights on the altar represent Ithocles and Calantha. The earth has lost their light, but death has wrought an apotheosis. As "faithful lovers" (V.iii.104), they are saints in the play's worship of love. Ithocles, "a star fixed" (I.ii.44) in life, but only in the incomplete opinion of Prophilus, becomes a star with his sister in death: "Sweet twins, shine stars for ever", says his murderer (IV.iv.74). However, he has been twinned also with the princess, when Amyclas calls them "sweet twins of my life's solace" (IV.iii.50), and together they become sacrifices from which the country's health grows, and, like the altar candles, become objects in Sparta's devotions (cf. V.iii.102-104).

The crown and ring of the final ritual recall and complete earlier stage and verbal images. There is a crowning in the play's second scene which first draws Ithocles and Calantha ceremonially together. Calantha

asks her maids for "the chaplet", and applauding Ithocles' recent "high attempt" (I.ii.61-64), declares:

I myself, with mine own hands, have wrought,
To crown thy temples, this provincial garland:

.
Deserved, not purchased.

(65-68)

The crowded stage which has received Ithocles' triumphal return is motionless while Ithocles kneels to receive his garland. Calantha represents Sparta in rewarding his victories, but the relationship is also personal: the "Flower of beauty" has made the garland herself, as she will later reward him with herself. The crowning motif - a glorious virgin presenting a chaplet to a hero, probably here in the armour of his victory - resembles the central motif of innumerable allegorical apotheoses and glorifications, especially those popularly featured in ceiling decorations.⁵¹ This impression is gathered, not just from the simple stage picture, but from the supporting imagery and action of the scene: the flourish and attendants that usher the hero onstage; the soaring image of his action borne up on "the wings of Fame" (62); the king's verbal picture of Ithocles as a personification of victory -

Death-braving Ithocles, brings to our gates
Triumphs and peace upon his conquering sword

(11-12);

and Ithocles' description of the victorious to whom

Applause runs madding, like the drunken priests
In Bacchus' sacrifices, without reason
Voicing the leader-on a demi-god[.]

(81-83)

Messene bowing her neck like a slave of war (15-16), the twenty Messenians attending upon the king's pleasure (21-24), the music of the flourish (50), and the description of the Bacchic procession all create a strong verbal, aural impression of a triumph, to which is added the processional entry of Ithocles, his ceremonial reception and crowning. Together these elements suggest, but without elaborate properties, the type of pictorial

triumphs - of Scipio, of Vespasian, of Julius Caesar - which popularly evoked the classical world. Only a few years before the printing of Ford's tragedy, Mantegna's nine paintings of the Triumph of Julius Caesar had been purchased by Charles I's agent, Daniel Nys, and had reached England.⁵² This particular set of paintings was widely known and admired in Europe, and seemed to Nys the most important of the Gonzaga treasures that he longed to acquire. A set of woodcut copies had been made in 1598 by Andrea Andreani,⁵³ and Rubens' copy of the fifth painting is shown here in figure 33. The suggestion is not that Ford is specifically evoking the Mantegna triumph, or even that he knew it, but that he is appealing to a unified visual tradition that was popular and widely-known, both from Renaissance Classical triumphs, and the many visual representations of Petrarch's allegorical triumphs.⁵⁴ If this comparison seems fanciful in a scene which clearly lacks the visual extravagance of Mantegna's paintings, one can perhaps turn for justification to Phulas' imaginative overstatement of a basic truth:

'tis talked about the streets
That since Lord Ithocles came home, the lions
Never left roaring, at which noise the bears
Have danced their very hearts out.

(II.i.49-52)

All triumphs traditionally contain a germinal warning of a fall.⁵⁵ I believe that Ford, while creating a society that consciously applauds moderation, intentionally evokes these visions of excessive, even ridiculous, triumph, as a warning of the dangers of excessive adulation and ambition. At the same time, Ford shows that Ithocles has earned the garland by his own merit (I.ii. 67-68). This paradox is at the basis of Ithocles' very interesting, seemingly-split, character, and of his changes of mood throughout the play.

Ford uses the word 'triumph' a number of times in the play, and he does not use it carelessly. It gives a unity and poetic justice to the actions of his characters and of Fate. Orgilus and Ithocles begin and end with triumphs. Orgilus has been denied the triumphs of love



Figure 33. Free copy by Rubens (c. 1606) of the fifth painting in Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Gallery, London.

that his Hymeneal vows promised (I.i.32-35); and directly after this revelation, with its accusation of Ithocles, the latter is received home in triumph. Orgilus' death is described as a triumph by Bassanes (V.ii.132-134), shortly after the murderer has reported his victim's "last act" as a "triumph over ruin" (43). Orgilus' phrase is well-worded. Ithocles triumphs over the ruin of his own hopes and life, but also over the ruin he has caused. Penthea describes herself as

A miserable creature, led to ruin
By an unnatural brother.

(III.ii.51-52)

She describes Orgilus as one who looks

not like the ruins of his youth,
But like the ruins of those ruins.

(II.iii.129-130)

"Led to ruin" is the victim of a triumph - Messene, Penthea.

A crown (to return to the visualized motif of the first stage triumph) is mentioned again in connection with Ithocles. Orgilus, in one of his ironical and foreshadowing exaltations of Ithocles, wishes:

Rich fortunes, guard to favour of a princess,
Rock thee, brave man, in ever-crowned plenty.

(IV.iii.89-90)

These words are spoken just after the one little intimate exchange between the princess and Ithocles, and at a time when he seems destined for a crown (cf. 105-123).

Orgilus' irony is turned to deadliness as he traps the ambitious youth in the fatal "throne of coronation" (IV.iv.23).

The crown of Sparta is brought to Calantha in the dance of death. Armostes reports that the dying king had

with his crown bequeathed 'ee
Your mother's wedding ring; which here I tender.

(V.ii.32-33)

Probably he brings the crown (perhaps on a velvet cushion), although it might not be seen until the coronation. Calantha receives the news as a symbol of the change of reign, saying only: "Peace crown his ashes. We are queen then" (34). Ithocles has offered up his soul on

the altar of peace (IV.iv.69-70), and it would perhaps not be too ingenious to interpret his crown in the coronation as a crown of peace, for both he, in his weary flight and fall, and Sparta, have found peace (Calantha making arrangements for the latter before she dies). There is no vivid sense of the state of man after death, of hell or heaven, as there is so strikingly in Webster's two Italian tragedies, especially in the visions of hell in The White Devil.⁵⁶ Death is peace after the struggle, the end of all.

The giving of the ring in the altar scene recalls Act IV, scene i. Calantha kneels before Ithocles, at the side of the altar. (There is no stage direction indicating her posture, but the picture would be awkward and symbolically unsatisfying if she stands.) "Bear witness all", she says,

I put my mother's wedding-ring upon
His finger; 'twas my father's last bequest.
Thus I new-marry him whose wife I am
Death shall not separate us.

(V.iii.63-67)

The ring, like the crown, passes down with authority from her father, and is a sign of continuity.⁵⁷ Despite the tragic waste, Calantha's death does not have the barrenness which plagues Penthea's life and death. Her love (like the friendship of the elm and vine) continues into death, where the pair are united.

The earlier ring scene (IV.i) is a masterful piece of stage action in Ford's gentle and economic telling of Calantha's love. It follows the reading of Penthea's will (III.v), the device by which Calantha is told of Ithocles' devotion. Penthea bequeaths three 'jewels' - her youth, her fame, and her brother, leaving the last "in holiest rites of love" (77). Calantha maintains her decorum of dignity and distance, but her aside shows her sympathy for Penthea and her knowledge that Ithocles is not the blameless hero crowned in the triumph: "Ithocles? Wronged lady!" (110).

In the following scene, Calantha combines Penthea's imagery of jewels and holy rites by choosing a jewel which features in the marriage ceremony. She masks

serious emotion with playfulness, as Penthea does with rhetoric. Nearchus sets the tone of elegant courtship as he enters, "leading Calantha" (sig. G2^v). Ithocles is already onstage, and in a troubled mood (1-13), and he watches their entry with the jealous fear that marked his earlier response to the sight of Calantha courted in gesture and word by Nearchus (III.iii.51). Nearchus, in the language of an elegant and practised suitor, asks Calantha for her ring as a token (IV.i.21-24). The light courtliness of their exchange contrasts with the burning passion which Ithocles revealed to his sister. Calantha is leaning on the prince's arm and he attempts to draw the ring from her finger, while Ithocles, with his eyes, follows doggedly. Calantha's charm is considerable. While maintaining decorum perfectly, she gives Ithocles a clear indication of her affection. Tossing the 'toy' down, she advises:

let him take it who dares stoop for 't,
And give it at next meeting to a mistress.

(27-28)

It was not tossed at random, but directly at Ithocles (sig. G3), with a challenge which he accepts. Stooping, he kneels before his 'mistress':

To the blessed owner,
Upon my knees.
NEARCHUS. Y'are saucy.
CALANTHA. This is pretty.
I am, belike, 'a mistress'-...

(31-33)

Kneeling, he is both a lover and a subject (cf. III.iii.42-43), "By service bound" to Calantha (III.v.76), as Penthea vowed. He has dared to stoop, and Calantha will raise him. Death prevents the rise to kingship and marriage, but Calantha honours her vows and reverses the image, stooping low to put the ring on his dead finger, lying below him (on the stage) in death.

After the exit of Calantha from the first ring scene, Ithocles rises literally and figuratively. He soars in mood, overwhelmed with his possession of her 'favour', scorning Nearchus as "a petty-prince of Argos" (67). His behaviour suggests to Armostes the "useful moral" of Ixion (69-71), and to Nearchus he seems blown up to a "colossic

greatness" (94). After his ill-mannered dispute with Nearchus, the ring remains the central object of interest. Orgilus, with feigned innocence, says,

Amelus told me
'Twas all about a little ring.

(106-107)

Seeming to take Ithocles' part in the conflict, Orgilus speaks in ominous words that the preoccupied Ithocles cannot or will not comprehend: "Griefs will have their vent" (116). The "little ring" reminds the audience of the wedding rings that should have been exchanged by Orgilus and Penthea. Thus, the ring in the final ceremony fulfils the relationship begun in this scene between Ithocles and the princess, fulfils her father's wishes for her marriage, as bequeathed to her in her mother's wedding ring, but also the ring recalls Orgilus' comment, paralleling the two young men's interrupted vows.

In Ford's fine construction of Calantha's dying speeches, the emotional power that is gained through verbal repetition and lyrical cadence throughout the play is strong. With deep-felt, yet quiet pathos she recalls the dance of death (like this scene, a marriage celebration): she had only dissembled calmness, she explains,

When one news straight came huddling on another
Of death, and death, and death. Still I danced forward;
But it struck home, and here, and in an instant.

(V.iii.69-71)

The unspeakable grief of Euphranea at her brother's disaster (V.ii.73-74) is repeated with greater feeling by Calantha:

They are the silent griefs which cut the heart-strings;
Let me die smiling.

(V.iii.75-76)

Kneeling, she kisses the dead man's cold lips (77) to complete the marriage ceremony. In the sad and lovely song which she has 'fitted' for her end (79-80), the princess, like Ithocles (IV.iv.67-70) and Penthea (III.v), relinquishes the joys of this life. Crowns, beauties and youth all decay (85-88). The Triumph of Time rises over earthly fame and love:

Earthly honours flow and waste,
Time alone doth change and last.

(89-90)

Time has fulfilled the inevitable oracle of the gods, and Armestes points to this completion:

Wise Tecnicus, thus said he:
When youth is ripe, and age from time doth part,
The Lifeless Trunk shall wed the Broken Heart.

(98-100)

In the Petrarchan Triumphs, Time is one of the victors, coming late in the series, and therefore being victor progressively over Love, Chastity, Death and Fame. In the play, Time is an enveloping theme. Sometimes it is Fate, or the instrument of Fate and the gods. The characters are caught, both by the past and the future. Their own actions - meritorious or guilty - and their sufferings through the actions of others, tie them to the past. But also, they turn to the past for stimulation and inspiration, when that past has now altered (the king would be young again, Orgilus would claim his 'wife'; the 'slight device' which Orgilus prepares for his sister's marriage and Ithocles' death comes from his "younger days", III.iv.85-88 ; and Ithocles' past cruelty was itself a revenge for "former discontents", I.i.39-42). The future seems ruled by Fate (or the all-seeing gods), and it comes to pass in the fulness of time. Tecnicus' knows that his "hour is come" (IV.i.141); the king 'construe[s]' his death from the oracle (IV.iii.24-26); Ithocles and Calantha shall die and wed "When youth is ripe and age from time doth part".

Ford makes use of several conventional symbolic interpretations of Time. It is occasio, the decisive moment for action.⁵⁸ Euphranea in the grove tells Prophilus: "Occasion is most favourable; use it" (I.iii.153); and Orgilus similarly grasps Occasion when Penthea is given into his care in the grove. It is also a fleeting, passing thing - this life, as contrasted with nothingness or eternity: Orgilus, dead, "has shook hands with time" (V.ii.156), and the philosopher's riddle defines the king's death as the moment when "age from time doth part". In this sense Time is destructive,

and once past it cannot be recalled - "Now, uncle, now; this 'now' is now too late" (IV.i.10). But Time is also the revealer of truth, a guise in which he is often shown in allegoric and emblematic compositions, for Truth is his daughter.⁵⁹ Penthea bequeaths her fame "To Memory, and Time's old daughter, Truth" (III.v.62), and Orgilus swears that

Time can never
On the white table of unquilty faith
Write counterfeit dishonour;...

(II.iii.25-27)

The most overt statement of this aspect of Time comes from Croton as he tries to reassure the king concerning the fateful prophecy. Oracles, he says, cannot be understood until "th' events / Expound their truth" (IV.iii.37-38), and he repeats Penthea's proverb, "Truth is child of Time" (39). Croton's maxim is worded rather differently in the couplet with which Nearchus closes the play:

The counsels of the gods are never known,
Till men can call th' effects of them their own.

(V.iii.105-106)

Time reveals the gods' plans, which in this play are retributive, but it also reveals the individual's inner secrets. Throughout the play, only the gods can see the secrets of the soul (I.iii.2-6; 179-181; III.i.10-12), and only in the completion of time are the cunning of Orgilus and the broken-heartedness of Calantha revealed. It is Time, rather than fame, that receives the final platitude. And yet, for all Time's triumph, the ultimate victory goes to Love:

Love only reigns in death; though art
Can find no comfort for a broken heart.

(V.iii.93-94)

The couplet is visualized: Love (Calantha) crowned, reigns in death, not as Queen of Sparta. The broken heart, uncomforted by 'art', by any artificial means which could touch "mere women" (72), takes natural comfort in death, which has "prepare[d] / Rest for care" (91-92). The completed marriage proves that Love reigns in death. But the words are exquisitely equivocal: Love alone reigns in death - not fame, or "integrity of

life" as in Webster's plays; but also Love, for the four main characters, can only reign in death, for love has destroyed life. With this equivocation, made visual, Ford ties together in a perfect union the tragic destructiveness of Ithocles' fault and the enduring heroism of Calantha's sacrifice.

III. The grove.

Unlike the altar scene, the grove scenes in The Broken Heart are not given descriptive stage directions. While the setting is practical, providing a link between the oratory and the palace, it gains, as well, a thematic importance. The grove, wood or garden - a common conventional setting in early Tudor drama - was inherited by the later sixteenth and seventeenth century theatre.⁶⁰ Naturally the pastoral play required a tree setting, and certainly in the Caroline masques there are frequent grove scenes. In Aurelian Townshend's Albions Trivmph (1632), "The Scene is changed into a pleasant Grove of straight Trees" in which is found also "a stately Temple" (sig. B3^v).⁶¹ But tree properties were not restricted to courtly entertainments, for they also appear as tableaux in the popular street pageants, as in Anthony Munday's Lord Mayor's Show of 1616, Chrysanaleia (see figure 34). Serlio's treatise on architecture (which received an English translation in 1611), supplies woodcuts of three types of scene elevation - tragic, comic and satyric. The last is a backdrop of trees, birds and rustic buildings which would certainly have provided a hint for any grove scene that was represented by a painted cloth.⁶² In the London theatres, actual tree properties were used, at least in some instances, for Henslowe records in his list of properties for the Admiral's Men in 1598: "j tree of gowlden apelles; Tanelouse tre".⁶³ Certain plays appear to require a functional tree onstage. In Marston's The Fawne, a Blackfriars play, for example, the dialogue mentions a "plaintaine" tree that spreads its arms to Dulcinel's chamber window, and a stage direction reads, "Tiberio climes the tree, and is receiued aboue by Dulcimmel".⁶⁴



Figure 34. From the original drawing (in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers) for the tree pageant in Anthony Munday's Chrysanaleia, the Golden Fishing (1616). Reproduced from the copy in John Gough Nichols' The Fishmongers' Pageant ([London] 1844).

The Two Noble Kinsmen, also performed at the Blackfriars playhouse, requires a bush in which Palamon can hide. The stage direction, "Enter Palamon as out of a Bush" (sig. F2^v), probably means that he steps out from behind it, and need not cast doubt on the actual presence of a stage bush. Arcite tells Palamon to return to his "hawthorne house" (sig. F3) which must still be onstage.

The third scene in The Broken Heart takes place in a grove adjoining the palace and Tecnicus' oratory, a setting whose private and special nature is mentioned - it is reserved to those who are close to the king or the philosopher (I.iii.95-99), and hence it represents an important nearness to the governing and spiritual heads of the kingdom. Our first textual indication of the setting does not come until the exit of Tecnicus from this scene:

TECNICUS. I'll to my study.
 ORGILUS. I to contemplations
 In these delightful walks.

(I.iii.32-33)

If a grove is here conventionally represented by a tree or trees, the absence of a relevant stage direction need not surprise us. In contemporary plays, a tree is sometimes mentioned casually in the dialogue, indicating that it is a physical property where we would not previously have expected to find it. Venus, in Dido, Queene of Carthage, suddenly states: "Here in this bush disguised will I stand".⁶⁵ A single tree representing the grove would provide a similar hiding place for Orgilus when his sister and her lover appear, but he need not hide, for he trusts to his disguise, saying, "this scholar's habit / Must stand my privilege" (I.iii.48-49). Werner Habicht postulates that in some plays, tree properties may have "remained on the stage throughout the performance as a contrapuntal visual token of what was being unfolded".⁶⁶ It is an attractive idea in considering Ford's play, for the grove represents a surrogate or deceitful Athens to which Orgilus 'travels', but which is constantly present, unnoticed, in Sparta. At the same time the grove can be seen to represent Sparta which, in the language of the

oracle, is the 'plot' into which Nearchus, "the neighbouring elm", has walked at the critical moment when the old king, "the vine", sickens and withers (IV.iii.2-3; 11-16). If a token tree did remain onstage throughout, it would emphasize the verbal imagery of growth and decay which takes place in the 'plot', and the related imagery of roses and the "two branches" - Penthea and Ithocles (III.ii.112-113). The use of a painted cloth to represent the tree scenes in The Broken Heart seems to me unlikely. In this austere and simply-staged tragedy, a painted cloth seems extravagant - too pictorial in Ford's basically emblematic mode, and more obviously inappropriate during non-grove scenes.

Even in plays where tree scenes seem necessary, however, it would probably be unwise to take for granted a common use of realistic trees. The title plate to Swetnam, the Woman-hater,⁶⁷ printed in 1620, portrays the action of the play's Act IV, scene iii (called ii in error in the quarto, sig. H4^v). It would be dangerous to claim that the illustration faithfully records the stage visualization, but certain interesting features of the scene are revealed which would be easily understandable if the artist is portraying a stage setting. The women arraign Swetnam in an orchard (sig. I), raising Aurelia, the queen, to the position of "Ladie Chiefe Iustice" (sig. I4). They draw up a female jury and proceed to make the orchard a court. Atlanta says:

We want a Barre. O, these two foyles shall serue:
 One stucke i'the Earth, and crosse it from this Tree.
 Now take your places, bring him to the Barre[.]

(sig. I4)

The title plate (see figure 35) shows Aurelia on a suitable stage state, canopied and raised, Swetnam at the bar, an entirely female jury, and officers. The setting is distinctly architectural, with squared floor and brick rear wall with two leaded windows. One explanation could be that the artist portrays a court, rather than the play's makeshift orchard court; but the appearance of the bar is delightful in its careful detail - one foil stuck in the ground, the other crossed from it to "this Tree" - a splendidly-turned baluster. In the

S W E T N A M,
 THE
 W O M A N - h a t e r,
 A R R A I G N E D B Y
 W O M E N.

A new Comedie,
 Acted at the *Red Bull*, by the late
 Queenes Seruants.



L O N D O N,
 Printed for *Richard Meighen*, and are to be sold at his Shops
 at *Saint Clements Church*, over-against *Essex Houle*, and
 at *Westminster Hall*. 1 6 2 0.

Figure 35. Titlepage to Joseph Swetnam's Swetnam, The Woman-hater (London, 1620; B.M. C.34.b.48). Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

1615 edition of The Spanish Tragedie, the arbour in which the murder of Horatio takes place is shown on the title-page (see figure 36) as a lattice-work structure, with no addition of trees. It is easy, from reading the text, to assume that a tree property was used, particularly in the 1602 additions, where Hieronimo wishes the Painter to "paint me this tree, this very tree".⁶⁸ It seems to me possible that the titlepage illustration is faithful, and that many theatrical references to a tree may indeed indicate an architectural feature such as a stage post (perhaps with a few leafy branches tied to it), and the audience made the imaginative adjustment often required of them in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre.

George F. Reynolds, noticing that many plays call for a wood when it is, strictly speaking, illogical (as on seashores),⁶⁹ suggests that a tree setting came to be symbolically and atmospherically interpreted as a place of desolation. One perhaps relevant medieval interpretation of landscape portrays the destructive power of Time by means of desolate scenery with barren trees and ruinous architecture.⁷⁰ Professor Habicht stresses the ambiguity of theatrical tree scenes, which provide settings commonly associated with love, deception, disguise, madness and which, significantly, are capable of sudden atmospheric changes - from gay and fruitful to barren and blasted, for example.⁷¹ The traditional association of love with a garden is long-standing, and the blind vicissitudes of Love make the changeable atmosphere of a garden comprehensible. The biblical images of the garden - of Paradise, of the Fall, of the Agony, and of the Virgin as an enclosed garden - contain their own ambiguities, by drawing damnation and salvation, Eve and Mary, into related associations.⁷² Many of these traditional associations - honourable and illicit love, deception and disguise, madness, the effects of Time, tragic alterations of expectation - are to be found in Ford's play, and are experienced in the grove, or are related to its existence.

The Spanish Tragedie:

OR,

Hieronimo is mad againe.

Containing the lamentable end of *Don Horatio*, and
Belimperia; with the pittifull death of *Hieronimo*.

Newly corrected, amended, and enlarged with new
Additions of the *Painters* part, and others, as
it hath of late been diuers times acted.



LONDON,

Printed by W. White, for I. White and T. Langley,
and are to be sold at their Shop ouer against the
Sarazens head without New-gate. 1615.

Figure 36. Titlepage to Thomas Kyd's The Spanish Tragedie (London, 1615; B.M. 1076.i.13).
Reproduced by kind permission of the
British Museum.

In Act I, scene iii, the first grove scene, Orgilus appears in his scholar's disguise, and is lectured by Tecnicus, whose subject is wise moderation. The disguise - presumably a long dark gown with a hood to aid in the concealment of his features⁷³ - is practical, and at the same time an honourable habit, drawing its wearer into association with the spiritual and moral guide, Tecnicus. But significantly, at the close of this first interview between teacher and pupil, the young man does not pursue learning, does not follow his mentor, but remains behind to contemplate on his planned deceptions and the mysteries of Love:

Thus metamorphosed
I may without suspicion hearken after
Penthea's usage and Euphranea's faith.

(33-35)

His soliloquy at once proves suspect the honourable reasons which he has given, first for his departure to Athens (I.i.78-82), and then for his retreat from court life into that of the secret scholar (I.iii.7-29). The change in his professed attitude represents for the audience a change in the mood of the grove. The "delightful walks" - the words must be overheard by Tecnicus, whose exit is completed at the accentuated break in the line (33)⁷⁴ - become melancholy and sinister, adjoining "the shadowing grove" (43). Only in the grove does Orgilus wear his disguise - an outward symbol of deceit - and Penthea later equates the setting and the concealing garment. He is, she says disapprovingly, "fit only for disguise and walks" (II.iii.117).

Orgilus' private thoughts are interrupted by a brief but effective dumb show, to which he acts as presenter:

Ha! who are those that cross yon private walk
Into the shadowing grove, in amorous foldings?

Prophilus passeth o'er, supporting
Euphrania, and whispering.

My sister; oh, my sister! 'tis Euphranea
With Prophilus; supported too. I would
It were an apparition.

(42-46; sig. C^v)

The passage over the stage and the re-entry of the lovers several lines later satisfactorily give the impression of

a series of pathways, divided by bushes, which brings them in and out of Orgilus' range of view. Figure 37 illustrates an earlier Garden of Love (before 1550). Despite the lapse of time, this woodcut does give an idea of the type of mental visualization which it is easy for an audience to supply, to bring alive the stage grove with its walks and its amorous couple that appears and disappears down the various paths. After their re-entry, Orgilus "walke[s] by reading" (sig. C^V). The lovers do not become aware of his presence until over forty lines later, and then not by sight but by sound - "a stirring... / Of someone near" (93-94). The conventions concerning spatial dimensions on the stage, allowing foreground and background to represent considerable distances or distinct areas would make the staging of this delayed awareness acceptable to a contemporary audience. This use of spatial division and observers recalls Webster's treatment of the stage area in The White Devil, Act I, scene ii, where the lovers are watched by Flamineo and Zanche who are, in turn, watched from behind by Cornelia.

After deceit, love enters the garden, but love hedged round with danger. The audience can sympathize with Orgilus' desire to approach Penthea, to whom he was united in sacred vows, but a certain uneasiness must be felt about his spying on Euphranea. Too much has been said in the preceding two scenes about the interference of a brother in a sister's marriage to allow us to be uncritical. He had admitted to her that

'twere injustice - more, a tyranny -
Not to advance thy merit

(I.i.106-107),

but now he quickly reveals the impurity in his attention to her future: "Prophilus / Is Ithocles his friend" (I.iii.46-47). A double interpretation of the love of Euphranea and Prophilus is conveyed in a highly Websterian fashion, with the (here unseen) presenter sardonically debasing the relationship in his asides, as does Flamineo in the first love scene between Brachiano and Vittoria (WD, I.ii). His description of their entrance, as they



Figure 37. Garden of Love, by Hans Schaufelein (before 1550). The woodcut is recorded in Adam Bartsch, Le Peintre Graveur (Leipzig, 1866), vol. VII, p. 266, no. 97. Reproduced by kind permission of the Warburg Institute.

walk "in amorous foldings" (43), brilliantly conveys a lasciviousness which describes the dalliance of a Garden of Love, rather than the serious and chaste vows actually spoken by the lovers. Ford's portrayal of Orgilus' character is exquisitely achieved by this double conversation where Orgilus, the voyeur of true love, feels all the frustration of his own loss which boils over into desired vengeance against anyone near Ithocles. The love scene, with the unexpected interference of a brother, creates a present parallel to the past love described by Orgilus in the first scene, and is later paralleled in the attempted re-opening of love between Orgilus and Penthea, again in the grove. These parallels, in all of which Orgilus partakes without fruition, underline the poignancy of his trapped situation.

The private interview with its hidden chorus reaches a splendid climax in which Orgilus' anger overcomes his care for secrecy, and the growing fortissimo of his asides becomes the 'stirring' which the lovers overhear (93). Euphranea vows constancy until death, to which Prophilus responds with a kiss:

On thy fair hand
I seal the like.
ORGILUS. There is no faith in woman.
Passion, oh be contained: my very heart-strings
Are on the tenters.

(89-92)

The kissing of hands, a repeated motif in the play, and meant here to confirm the lovers' constant truth, is at once answered with the cry of inconstancy. But Euphranea has not broken faith with Orgilus. She vows to be true to Prophilus, but reminds him that he must prevail with her brother (75-82). Her acceptance of Prophilus as her lover (68-76) combines reason and passion in that balanced moderation admired by the court's chief figures and given its fullest statement by Prophilus himself in the preceding scene (I.ii.34-47).

As the "poor scholar" (101) is discovered, the rôles are reversed. Orgilus is now the observed actor, playing out his antic debate, while Prophilus and Euphranea are his presenters (99-128). The grovelling,

rather comic figure played by Orgilus when he speaks with his sister and Prophilus helps to emphasize, by contrast, the courtliness of the lovers. Euphranea is addressed as "gay creature" (129), Prophilus as "sumptuous master" (141), while Orgilus calls himself "a poor wretch" (141), and degrades himself into a mushroom (130) - the ultimate insult later to Ithocles (IV.i.98-102), and a common contemporary term of contempt.⁷⁵ The contrast here is not between the grave student and the peacock courtiers. Orgilus' excessive obsequiousness recalls Tecnicus' warning that

Neglects in young men of delights, and life,
Run often to extremities;...

(16-17)

Prophilus' aside to Euphranea on the moderation of retired scholars serves to express his own love of moderation which has clearly been lacking in Orgilus whose "very heart-strings" were "on the tenters" (91-92). Scholars, Prophilus explains,

toil not, sweet, in heats of state;
Nor sink in thaws of greatness; their affections
Keep order with the limits of their modesty;
Their love is love of virtue.

(137-140)

The speech awakens an ironic memory of Orgilus' apostrophe to Love (amor vulgaris, not amor virtutis), in which hidden flames waste him incurably (36-41). The life which Orgilus-Aplotes describes to the lovers does not pursue virtue or wisdom, but is occupied with the purely physical aspects of life - eating and sleeping (132-133) - which Bassanes later ascribes to the animal world:

Beasts, only capable of sense, enjoy
The benefit of food and ease with thankfulness[.]

(IV.ii.18-19)

To the audience, this extremely well-constructed scene presents richly overlapping levels of reality. Three 'characters' of Orgilus-Aplotes are created. The first is the perfectly regulated scholar of Prophilus' description. The second is seen only by the audience, as Orgilus, filled with uncontainable passion, nearly bursts from beneath his disguise, the actor probably

conveying, with arm gestures and rapid, pacing movement, the very opposite of ordered affections. The third character is the acted version of Aplotes which is seen by the lovers and the audience alike. His proclaimed lowliness is perhaps aided again by gestures - by servile bendings before these 'deities' (130), keeping his face turned towards the ground (and thus further preventing recognition). The final irony of this scene is the employment of the spy as trusted messenger. Orgilus-Aplotes is to wait for letters "Here in this grove" (149), "Here in this bower" (156). This insistence upon place gives to the grove a continuing existence. It will be a place for secret love, but it will be threatened by deceit. The bitter joy with which Orgilus accepts this ideal aid to his intrigue is conveyed in breathless repetitions - repeated phrases so often proving emotionally powerful in the play:⁷⁶

Jove, make me thankful, thankful, I beseech thee,
Propitious Jove.

. . . .

PROPHILUS. do not forget

Our names.

ORGILUS. I warrant 'ee, I warrant 'ee.

(160-161; 171-172)

He will not forget, for he has "a pretty memory" which "must prove [his] best friend" (164-165). The ominous insistence upon memory looks back to the past, to his own misery which he will keep as a friend until his retribution is complete.

With the exit of the lovers, the simplicity of Aplotes is dropped as Orgilus dedicates himself to cunning:

Inspire me, Mercury, with swift deceits.
Ingenious Fate has leapt into mine arms,
Beyond the compass of my brain. Mortality
Creeps on the dung of earth, and cannot reach
The riddles which are purposed by the gods.

(177-181)

It is a brilliant and chilling speech. After inverting the lovers' prayer to Hymen (173-176), he calls upon the god of treachery in a plea that would sound, to contemporary Christian ears, like an invocation of the devil.⁷⁷

He, the mushroom, is an example of lowly downtrodden mortality; but he grows in his exaltation, becoming a frightening colossus. His confidence foreshadows Giovanni's grandiose assumptions that he can control Fate ('Tis Pity She's a Whore). Despite Orgilus' threat, the love which is first seen in the grove is allowed to fulfil the eternal purpose of the grove (that is, of Nature) through marriage and potential fruitfulness. The bridal song for Euphranea, skilfully given by Ford to Orgilus, and hence received by the audience with a mixture of hope and foreboding, wishes the lovers

Fruitful issues; life so graced,
Not by age to be defaced;
Budding, as the year ensu'th,
Every spring another youth[.]

(III.iv.76-79)

Thus the grove, as the rest of the play reveals, is both the natural world ruled over by Fate but ultimately concerned with growth and rebirth through love; and a place of darkness and treachery. The reconciliation of these warring elements is found in the oracle's final fulfilment.

The proposal that Aplotes should linger in the grove for messages is exploited with great success in Act II, scene iii, and indicates the skill with which Ford has worked out his plot. Movement to this second grove scene is prepared ^{for} in advance. The preceding scene, polite and formal, has brought Penthea and Bassanes to court to greet her returned brother (victor and tormentor) and Calantha. The public scene, crowded with eleven characters, is interrupted by two messengers in hasty succession, who come from the king, demanding the presence of Ithocles and Calantha, to greet the Prince of Argos (101-106). The anticipation of a 'presence' and the unexpected arrival of Nearchus give a burst of excitement and movement which prepares for a stately group exit. But the public interests thus represented are momentarily delayed and undermined by Ithocles' private and deeply insistent aside to his sister, in which he bids her meet him alone, "an hour hence", "within the palace grove" (108-110), and he concludes with a reminder - "Alone,

pray be alone" (113). This repetition inflames Bassanes' excessive jealousy into a suspicion of incest which arouses no responding suspicion in the audience. The secret conference contrasts with the expected presence chamber, and the choice of the grove brings with it associations of danger, deceit and love.

As Penthea and Prophilus (as her guide) enter the grove, Prophilus verbally sets the scene: "In this walk, lady, will your brother find you" (II.iii.1). The short opening conversation is a fine example of the consideration and good manners so admired in the play, and yet contrasting so forcibly with the monstrous treatment which Penthea, Orgilus and Ithocles have suffered or will suffer. Prophilus tells Penthea that her brother 'hoards' his sadness within him, and that

to question
The grounds will argue little skill in friendship,
And less good manners.

(8-10)

Penthea assures him that she will not pry. Neither character wishes to offend, yet each misunderstands the other. With their intense concern for civilised manners, the characters in Ford's plays stand far more open to emotional wounds than do Webster's sturdier beings. Prophilus' abrupt departure suggests his embarrassment at having offended Penthea:

With pardon, lady, not a syllable
Of mine implies so rude a sense: the drift -
Enter Orgilus. [disguised as before]
[To ORGILUS] Do thy best
To make this lady merry for an hour.
Exit.

(12-16; sig. D4)

Gracefully structuring his plot, Ford has left Penthea alone with the character most dangerous to her honour and peace of mind. Orgilus at once begins his complaint and suit. The food and sleep that were said to satisfy the poor scholar prove insufficient. With love denied, his appetite is fed "with steam / And sight of banquet" (35-36), but no substance. The food imagery is subtly appropriate to a love scene in a grove, evoking thoughts of an amorous banquet al fresco.

Orgilus' impassioned words alarm and awaken the pensively sorrowful woman, who seeks to be rid of this apparent stranger:

Thing of talk, begone,
Begone, without reply.

(45-46)

Orgilus treats his unveiling as a theatrical tour de force, and it will be recalled in the revenge scene by his unveiling of the withered Penthea (IV.iv.24-26). There is a momentary pride and self-assurance as he bids her know whom she banishes:

Thus I take off the shroud, in which my cares
Are folded up from view of common eyes.

(II.iii.49-50)

His hopes make 'shroud' an appropriate word for the discarded gown, for he expects to be revived by a renewal of his honourably plighted love. But Penthea accuses him of laying "A blemish on [her] honour" (51-52). Being in honour and precedence 'wife' to Orgilus, she has been made by force Bassanes' whore, and therefore can take no action, for she would blacken her public reputation if she were faithless to her present husband (cf. III.v.60-61), and would prove false to Orgilus if she offered him her ravished "virgin-dowry" (II.iii.99-100).

In his own 'shape', the gown of disguise discarded on the ground, Orgilus performs with Penthea a brief ceremony, kissing hands and kneeling (64-66), that recalls both their once-plighted troth, and the kissed, joined, hands which yoked Prophilus and Euphranea in the grove. But as in the divorce between Brachiano and Isabella which repeats the marriage ritual (WD, II.i.195-208), this ceremony is an inversion, for it represents a severance, not a union. When they rise from their knees, Penthea gives the startling order to forget their old vow, for

'Tis buried in an everlasting silence,
And shall be, shall be ever.

(69-70)

Orgilus, uncomprehending, declares that he "would possess [his] wife" (71), and Penthea completes the separation with a further ceremony, bidding him move away from her:

at this space
A few words I dare change; but first put on
Your borrowed shape.

(74-76)

There is emotional safety in the distance, and depersonalization in the 'shape' (the disguise) which he resumes; but more important, the Orgilus whom she 'married' symbolically ceases to exist, and in his place stands Aplotes. Penthea offers Orgilus the freedom to fulfil the natural functions of the grove:

Live, live happy,
Happy in thy next choice, that thou mayest people
This barren age with virtues in thy issue.

(89-91)

But Orgilus cannot accept this denial of his plighted love, and he dashes disconsolately from the stage. There seems little reason to suspect textual corruption in Orgilus' parting words which, in the 1633 quarto, read: "I'e [sic] teare my vaile of politicke French off" (sig. E^v). 'French', retained by most editors, is altered to 'frenzy' by Brian Morris with the argument that 'French' renders the line meaningless, and that a seventeenth century compositor could easily mistake the relevant manuscript letter.⁷⁸ But Ford, in other plays, uses 'French' as a symbol of dissimulation,⁷⁹ and the anachronism here might make the added point that he is ending his 'foreign' existence - the pretence that he is in Athens. Professor Morris' 'frenzy' does, however, have certain attractions. Although the antic behaviour of Aplotes has scarcely been very frenzied, the word creates an ironic statement upon his present behaviour. 'Tearing' and 'frenzy' both describe his mood now, unsettled by Penthea's rejection of his suit, and rushing off "resolved to do" (125), but with only vague aims. He will tear off the 'veil' of his disguise, an action later completed in the sadistic but utterly appropriate unveiling of Penthea's withered cheeks before the now fallen Phaeton. The veil is a necessary property to hide the ravages of Penthea's starvation until the dramatically ripe moment. The marred beauty of her cheeks is both the evidence of and a symbol of Ithocles'

guilt - suffering has driven her to the madness and suicide which have altered her face, while the beauty withered by "insulting Phaeton" (IV.iv.25-26) symbolizes Ithocles' defilement of "that shrine of beauty" (I.i.64). The practical veil is also an appropriate garment for Penthea. Associated with modesty and mourning, the veil is the accoutrement of nuns and widows.⁸⁰ Penthea, the abused virgin (II.iii.99-100), has been (in her words) "Widowed by lawless marriage" (IV.ii.147).

Penthea succeeds in withstanding the renewal of her repressed and impossible love, but she succeeds only with immense emotional effort. The entry of the suspicious Bassanes and Grausis to this scene is splendidly timed: when a genuine threat to her honour existed, she alone could protect herself. Ithocles, who had conceived the grove meeting, does not come, and Bassanes explains that the young man has suffered "A sudden fit" (141). The combined emotion of Orgilus' dismissal and her brother's illness draws from Penthea a "Perfect philosophy" (149):

In vain we labour in this course of life
To piece our journey out at length, or crave
Respite of breath: our home is in the grave.

(146-148)

Her acceptance of this sombre vision marks her sorrowing patience and inactivity until, in her madness, she forcibly (and thus imperfectly) hurries her journey to the grave. The juxtaposition of this spiritual journey and the physical exit from the stage towards Ithocles - "We are hasting to him", says Bassanes (145) - gives, even thus early in the play, a melancholy sense of inevitable sorrow and death.

When the meeting between Penthea and her brother does take place (III.ii), it is associated with the grove by its imagery from nature, and because it replaces the proposed grove interview. The atmosphere of the two settings is strikingly contrasted. The grove, an exterior, is both natural and austere, the tone being set by "Grave Tecnicus" (I.iii.8) who has a specially-privileged right to the grove (I.iii.95-99), and whose study physically connects with the grove by means of one of

the stage doors (135-136). The meeting of the brother and sister takes place in an intimate interior - Ithocles' 'closet' (cf. II.iii.139-140) - and is introduced by a song to "Soft Musficke" (sig. E3^v), after which Bassanes remarks that "Soldiers / Should not affect, methinks, strains so effeminate" (III.ii.20-21), and he connects such sounds with vice - sloth, luxury, lust (22-24). Although Bassanes (typically) misinterprets, his questioning of the music does affect the audience's reaction. The victorious soldier has become a thing of bedchambers and seeming sloth.

During the song the action begins with a dumb show - a passage over the stage of Prophilus, Bassanes, Penthea and Grausis, then:

Bassanes and Grausis enter againe softly,
stealing to severall stands, and listen.
(sig. E3^v)

Probably Prophilus and Penthea, after entering by one door, crossing over as if 'hasting' to Ithocles, and exiting by the other stage door, enter the discovery space or booth from the back, unseen by the audience, as this arrangement would allow for a long 'passage' and would explain the listening postures of Bassanes and Grausis - they have been allowed only as far as the ante-chamber of Ithocles' bedroom. The spying provides a parallel to the rôle of Orgilus in the first grove scene, but the spies are dismissed as Ithocles' wakes behind the curtain and cries:

Who's there?
Sister? - All quit the room else.

(27-28)

The stage direction, after the exit of Prophilus and the two listeners, reads: "Ithocles discovered in a Chayre, and Penthea" (sig. E4). Probably Penthea opens the curtain which discloses herself and her brother to the audience. She, also, is provided with a chair (33). The scene needs no other properties. Despite the luxuriousness alluded to by Bassanes, the scene does not give an impression of rich hangings or added lights which seem essential elements of Webster's brilliant interiors.

The immobility of the scene, representing visually the repression of the two characters, forces a concentration upon the seated figures which allows no distraction from extraneous properties.

It is important to ask why Ford introduces this change of setting for the meeting. Is it merely for a furtherance of the plot, to allow the unexpected confrontation of Orgilus and Penthea? I think not. The kingdom (in the terms of the Delphic symbolism) is the plot, and the grove, bordering on the palace and the oratory, is at the heart of the plot. The oracle is a statement of the eternal cycle of death and rebirth in the natural world associated with the spring; and of that spiritual rebirth which, in pagan symbolism, requires a sacrifice of the old king and election of the new; and which, in Christian symbolism, is represented by death to the sinful life and rebirth through expiation and physical death.⁸¹ King Amyclas, when he is dying, pointedly urges his councillors to tend and care for Ithocles, whom he has given to Calantha (IV.iii.42-47). But Ithocles is not the "near prince", not the elm which will renew the plot with health (IV.iii.15-16). In his treatment of Orgilus and Penthea, he is a "poisonous stalk / Of aconite" (I.i.36-37). This truth is suggested by Ithocles' failure to go into the grove; as he tries to do so he becomes suddenly ill with a "surfeit or disorder" (II.iii.142).

In the closet scene, the natural, physical, kinship of brother and sister is stressed as the two sit motionlessly together. "We had one father," says Ithocles,

in one womb took life,
Were brought up twins together,...

(34-35)

But this natural relationship is encompassed by the unnatural: by denial of life, for Ithocles wishes his "first pillow" had been his grave (36-38); and by suspicions of "bestial incest" (150) which cause the jealous and violent actions opening and closing the static central scene. Brother and sister, innocent of Bassanes'

accusations, are nonetheless not at peace with nature. Penthea thinks wistfully of the contented country maid, and her own obsession with barrenness (cf. II.iii.86-94 and IV.ii.87-94) influences her verbal picture, in which the maiden is surrounded by the kids and lambs that reveal the fecundity of spring (54-58). Ithocles (who is called "an unnatural brother", 52) thinks of the labourer eating and sleeping peacefully after his humble work, while in himself, all life-sustaining food is turned "To gall" (59-62). But the meeting is not utterly fruitless. Despite her appreciation of her suffering and Ithocles' sin, Penthea agrees to help him, saying,

We are reconciled.
Alas, sir, being children, but two branches
Of one stock, 'tis not fit we should divide.

(111-113)

The image harmonizes with the grove motif, and helps to associate their fates with that of the plot.

Later, in the scene of Penthea's madness (IV.ii), a memory of the grove is again evoked. Since madness and love were common associations of treescapes,⁸² the evocation of the grove by the mad, ravished bride is a skilful variation on a theatrical convention. The meeting with Orgilus in the grove (II.iii) is not the single cause of her ensuing insanity, but it is one of the stimulants, arousing again that love which cannot be requited. The lovely lines with which she recalls the earlier scene play upon the concept of sanity. "Remember", she says to Orgilus,

When we last gathered roses in the garden,
I found my wits; but truly you lost yours.

(119-121)

In the bower Orgilus had played the antic, losing his wits in earnest when he sought to tempt her honour and failed to understand her sense of virtue; while she found hers in being able to defend herself from the threat. While she was still sane, Penthea 'bequeathed' her brother to Calantha, and closed the scene with a stoic couplet:

My reckonings are made even; death or fate
Can now nor strike too soon, nor force too late.

(III.v.111-112)

It is a statement of extraordinary mercy, her 'reckonings' being the return of good for evil. In her conscious mind she chooses this nobility, but her emotions rebel. Now in her distraction she accuses "those tyrants, / A cruel brother and a desperate dotage" (IV.ii.144-145), forcing home the accusation with the simple addition of finger pointing and repetition (116-117; 122). And yet, even in madness, she is fair to her brother, recognizing that his own suffering has been some requital (117-118). Orgilus believes that he has been brought back to his wits by Penthea:

She has tutored me;
Some powerful inspiration checks my laziness. -

. . . .

If this be madness, madness is an oracle.

(124-125; 133)

No fully satisfactory explanation is given for Orgilus' delay since the decision in the grove (II.iii.124-126). His 'laziness' is part of the general atmosphere of repression and inactivity which freezes so many characters in the play. He does not confide, in soliloquies, as does Hamlet, any soul-questioning or other cause for his failure to act.

In staging, as well as in verbalization, the mad scene recalls the grove setting. The kissed hand motif (110-113) repeats the action of Act II, scene iii (64-65). Penthea's madness adds a gentle lyricism to this repetition, which contrasts with the more brittle ritual of their earlier action:

PENTHEA. I loved you once.
ORGILUS. Thou didst, wronged creature, in despite
of malice;

For it I love thee ever.

PENTHEA. Spare your hand;
Believe me, I'll not hurt it.

(108-111)

Penthea draws attention to the significance of this gesture, and evokes a whole series of vows and unions, as she addresses Bassanes:

If you had joined our hands once in the temple, -
 'Twas since my father died, for had he lived
 He would have done 't, - I must have called you father.

(141-143)

Penthea, according to the stage direction, has "her haire about her eares" (sig. H^v). The flowing hair expresses her distraction - the torn hair of the desperate and the mad, which is also a sign of mourning (see figure 38).⁸³ This conventional effect is given a horrifying intensity in her words:

there's not a hair
 Sticks on my head but like a leaden plummet
 It sinks me to my grave. I must creep thither;
 The journey is not long.

(76-79)

The stage is crowded with a helpless chorus (including her distressed tormentors) in the centre of whom this "killing sight" (60) moves with the characteristic grace that her words convey, but with the restlessness of her unsettled mind. Her physical movements, turning from person to person, parallel the flitting of her thoughts, and the straying heart of her lovely image (128-130) seems also to parallel her restlessness. The dramatic effectiveness of this central figure with her long hair flying loose, surrounded by a circle who cannot help her, can be compared, in a latter day creation, with the mad scene in Adolphe Adam's ballet, Giselle.⁸⁴

But loose hair is also the symbol of a bride,⁸⁵ a pathetically poignant touch in this scene of wasted love where Penthea speaks of the time when she "was first a wife" (87), and the children she might have borne (93-94). She thinks of marriage for her brother - "We shall have points and bride-laces" (119) - but for herself "'tis too late...to marry now" (93). She and Orgilus have become anomalies, the "married bachelor" (131) and the "ravished wife, / Widowed by lawless marriage" (146-147).

The rose is a symbol of wide and somewhat ambivalent application. The flower of both courtly and spiritual love, it is a central image in the romance tradition, such as in the Roman de la Rose, and in the love of the



WHAT dolefull dame is this in greate dispaire?
 This prowes is, whoe mournes on A I A X toombe:
 What is the cause, shee rentes her goulden haire?
 Wronge sentence paste by A G A M E M N O N S doombe:
 But howe? declare, V L I S S E S filed tonge,
 Allur'de the Iudge, to giue a Iudgement wronge.

 For when, that dead A C H Y L L I S was in graue,
 For valiante harte, did A I A X winne the fame:
 Whereby, he claimide A C H Y L L I S armes to haue,
 V L I S S E S yet, was honored with the fame:
 His futtle speche, the iudges did preferre,
 And A I A X wrong'de, the onelic man of warre.

 Wherefore, the Knighte impatient of the fame,
 Did loose his wittes, and after wroughte his ende:
 Loe, heare the cause that moude this sacred dame,
 On A I A X toombe, with griefe her time too spende:
 Which warneth vs, and those that after liue,
 To beare them righte, when iudgement they do giue.

CACHIN

Figure 38. A "dolefull dame" with dishevelled and torn hair as a sign of anguish and mourning. From Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes (Leyden, 1586; B.M. C.57.1.2), p. 30. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

Virgin Mary, the Mystical Rose.⁸⁶ To Emilia in The Two Noble Kinsmen, the rose "is the very Embleme of a Maide" (sig. D4). When Emilia prays before the altar, a piece of elaborate stage business is necessary. A silver hind, in which incense and perfumes were burning,

vanishes under the Altar: and in the place ascends a Rose Tree, having one Rose upon it.

(sig. L2)

When, to a twang of music, "the Rose falls from the Tree" (sig. L2), Emilia's marriage - the plucking of the rose - is signified (and verbalized, that the audience shall not lose the symbolism). Perhaps the roses, to Penthea and her audience, similarly suggest marriage, for they have been gathered - in the precontract between herself and Orgilus, as well as in his attempt to reclaim his 'wife' in the bower. Perhaps, too, Penthea's remembered gathering of roses conveys the type of motif used by Henry Peacham in his emblem of the world as a garden in which each man has the right to pick one flower only, the flower representing a calling or rôle in life, "Or else the heedie choosing of thy wife".⁸⁷ The combination of flowing hair and roses would further suggest a bride. H.A. (Henry Hawkins), in Partheneia Sacra, refers to a wedding custom that sounds, from his words, to have been widespread:

[The Rose] is the chiefest grace of Spouses on their Nuptial dayes, and the Bride wil as soone forget her fillet as her Rose.⁸⁸

Jonson's Bride, in Hymenaei, wears her hair flowing loose and "a gyrland of Roses".⁸⁹ Further, the rose, when associated with Cupid who is sometimes crowned with roses, signifies worldly pleasures.⁹⁰ In her madness, Penthea thinks of past (imaginary) happiness, believing that she and her lover have been so happy that there is danger of them becoming proud (115-116). These many interpretations of the rose are meaningful in representing Penthea, for she is unfulfilled bride and abused virgin. Whatever its specific symbolism to Ford, the rose perfectly evokes a picture of love and beauty now lost. By recalling the grove in various ways, Ford dramatically ties together past vows, present suffering and its causes, fruitful

hope (of Euphranea) and barrenness (of Penthea), vengeance contemplated (I.iii.175-177 and II.iii.124-126), and vengeance reawakened (IV.ii.124-125).

As in the final appearance of the king, Ford subtly conveys the approach of Penthea's end although death occurs offstage. She enters and moves restlessly about, but gradually grows weak and faint (154), and cannot exit alone:

Lead me gently; the heavens reward ye.

Exeunt the maids suppoering [sic] Penthea.

(167; sig. H3.)

The king, when he enters to the next scene, requires support to walk to his chair (IV.iii; sig. H3^v), thus repeating the picture of Penthea's exit. He leaves the stage nearer death: "Exeunt carrying out of the King [sic]" (sig. I), probably in the chair. The next scene (IV.iv) again extends the stage picture, for Penthea, carried on in a chair, is dead (sig. I2).

Following the scene of Penthea's madness comes the unsealing of the box, the reading of the oracle, and the delivery of Tecnicus' exposition. The reading is in private, with the removal of the courtiers (IV.iii.3-5) who have just helped the king to his chair. This brief entrance and dismissal accentuates the secrecy and significance of the oracle's revelation. The king is attended by his political advisers only, Tecnicus, the spiritual councillor, having departed for Delphos, to the king's evident surprise (6). For symbolic reasons, the removal of Tecnicus is important, depriving the kingdom of wisdom and a high sense of honour, abandoning it to madness and passion. But in dramatic terms, this reading of the oracle at second hand, without its interpreter, is also effective. The stage business of breaking the seal, removing the oracle from its precious box, and reading it from the scroll, gives a mysterious and frightening quality to this sacred object which their very ignorance of its contents increases.

Armostes reads the oracle:

The plot in which the vine takes root
Begins to dry from head to foot;

The stock soon withering, want of sap
Doth cause to quail the budding grape;
But from the neighbouring elm a dew
Shall drop, and feed the plot anew.

(11-16)

Tecnicus' exposition reveals only part of the truth - that the plot is Sparta, the vine is Amyclas, and the grape is Calantha (19-22). The picture of a vine and elm entwined is a popular emblem, representing friendship that lasts during a physical decline, and even after death, although usually the elm is withered and requires rejuvenation from the vine. Whitney, in A Choice of Emblemes (1586), derives the emblem from Alciati, adding English verses (see figure 39).⁹¹ Without necessarily referring to any specific emblem, Ford's vine and elm belong to the general theme of natural and complementary aid, of new blood infused to aid the older or weaker. The vine, itself, is a potent symbol in Christian and classical imagery,⁹² because it gives its own lifeblood (the wine) to give life (in quenching thirst) to others, but also intoxicates, thus either lowering man to bestiality or raising him to a spiritual frenzy. The vine as symbol of the king is appropriate, because as he gives health to the kingdom, the vine gives wine to the land. The old king is beginning to dry up, and the kingdom's health suffers; a new ruler is essential. Visually, too, the vine requires support, and must cling to something as it grows; old Amyclas, as shown in this scene's entry, must cling to his supporters, and as he withers he can no longer grow upwards, but must sit and be carried offstage.

For the further interpretation of the oracle, the opening lines of this scene are important:

AMYCLAS. Our daughter is not near?
ARMOSTES. She is retired, sir,
Into her gallery.
AMYCLAS. Where's the prince our cousin?
PROPHILUS. New walked into the grove, my lord.

(1-3)

The king's first question repeats and emphasizes knowledge which the audience has already been given. We know that Calantha (and with her, Ithocles) is in her

To R. T. and M. C. Esquiers.



A Withered Elme, whose boughes weare bare of leaues
 And sappe, was sunke with age into the roote:
 A fructefull vine, vnto her bodie cleaues,
 Whose grapes did hange, from toppe vnto the foote:
 And when the Elme, was rotten, drie, and dead,
 His branches still, the vine about it spread.

Virgil in Mœcena-
 tis obitum.
 Et deiet, & certè vinā
 tibi semper amicus,
 Nec tibi qui mori-
 tur, desinit esse tuus:
 Ipse ego quicquid ero,
 cureris interq. fœdus illas,
 Tunc quoque non po-
 tero non memor esse tui.

Quid. 3. Pont. 2.

Which shoues, wee shoulde be linck'de with such a frende,
 That might reuiue, and helpe when wee bee oulde:
 And when wee stoope, and drawe vnto our ende,
 Our staggering state, to helpe for to vphoulde:
 Yea, when wee shall be like a sencelesse block,
 That for our sakes, will still imbrace our stock.

Ire iubet Pylades charum periturus Crestem:

Hic negat, inq. vicem pugnat vterque mori,

Extitit hoc vnum quod non conuenerat illis:

Cætera pars concors, & sine lite fuit.

Poten-

Figure 39. The elm and vine. From Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leyden, 1586; B.M. C.57.1.2), p. 62. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

private gallery (cf. IV.ii.186-189). This repetition draws the ambitious lover and the princess into physical proximity in the mind of the audience. The information that Nearchus has gone into the grove (as Ithocles has failed to do) is not a necessity of the dramatic plot. The reviving elm, according to Tecnicus, is "a near prince" (22); Nearchus, as the king earlier reminds him, is "In title next [after Calantha], being grandchild to our aunt" III.iii.8). The Prince of Argos, in his conflict with Ithocles, has likened himself to a tree, saying "low mushrooms never rival cedars" (IV.i.98).

There is a sense of the oracle being fulfilled inevitably in the ripeness of time (the moment of its interpretation is specifically related to the arrival of Nearchus, III.i.74-78; and the king's final illness comes suddenly, after the oracle has been opened and the interpreter has left the kingdom). Nonetheless, Ford constructs the play so that the tragedy and deaths grow from human, not arbitrary, causes. This resolution of the oracular and the human determinants displays both Ford's particular brilliance as a dramatist and the hopelessness in which the life of this play is trapped. It is not that the characters are without choice, but that there are humanly irreconcilable demands.

Amyclas, throughout the play, is concerned for the health of his kingdom - for its unity (IV.iii.40-42); its peace (I.ii.10-16); and most of all its harmonious well-being represented outwardly by contentment and mirth (III.iii.39, 73-74; IV.iii.68-70, 95-96). For Sparta's sake he longs to become the Young King again, but the futility is visually obvious: the makeup and grey-white wig of age worn by the actor remain, despite Amyclas' desire to shake off his snowy hair "For hairs as gay as are Apollo's locks" (I.ii.6-7). In Phulas' extravagant city news, the desire is given colourful fulfilment in which a beard "of a pure carnation colour, / Speckled with green and russet" has 'budded' in place of the king's old grey one (II.i.45-48). Green represents on the one hand youth and springtime, but on the other, sickness.⁹³ In human terms, the rejuvenation of Amyclas

is impossible - a noble but pathetic hope. In symbolic terms, it implies the cyclical processes of nature, and is ritualized in the death of the old king and the succession of the new.

Amyclas must prepare a successor. Calantha is the rightful heir, but the old king is anxious to strengthen and enlarge the kingdom through a marriage of his daughter and Nearchus (III.iii.1-12). However, Calantha and the king love Ithocles. Their love is both personal, and an appreciation of his public merit. In terms of personal affection and individual relationships, the king makes the right choice, contrasting with the obviously sinful action of Ithocles towards his sister; but in supporting his daughter's choice, Amyclas ignores the oracle - willfully I believe. The philosopher's exposition, interpreted by the two councillors, guarantees the health of the plot through a marriage between Calantha and "some neighbouring prince" (33), which will bring "unity of kingdoms" (41), to which Amyclas responds:

May it prove so,
For weal of this dear nation. - Where is Ithocles?
(41-42)

He is surely aware who is meant by the oracle, but he turns the attention and honour away, to Ithocles. This divergence between Calantha's choice and that of the oracle does not seem to be Ford's way of saying that Fate is unfathomable and cruel. Life is, certainly, sombre and harsh (there is no lighthearted mirth, as the king realizes; no comic subplot) and, for most of the characters, without solution. But, far from exalting personal emotion above social laws,⁹⁴ Ford shows the value of reciprocated affections within a civilized, harmonious, orderly, healthy society. Such a society Sparta is not. Quit Ithocles of his sins against Penthea and then, says Orgilus,

Never lived gentleman of greater merit,
Hope, or abiliment to steer a kingdom.

(V.ii.47-48)

One of the most intriguing features in Ford's creation is this nature of Ithocles as a "might-have-been" - the

goodness and glory in him is never shown as untainted, and yet it is there, and gains reality only after death, when he has been purged of past sins and present questionable ambition, when "The Lifeless Trunk" (V.iii.100) has paid for the ruin and barrenness which he has caused his sister branch (III.ii.112-113).

Calantha alone unhesitatingly accepts the inevitable choice - death instead of dishonour. This "Flower of beauty", "the budding grape", is the play's ideal. Loyalty in love, truth to one's oath, quiet outward harmony, acceptance of fate - in all ways she proves herself a princess and a goddess (in the worship of love). She has been called, by the king, "in all our daughter" (I.ii.69 and cf. IV.iii.81-82), by Ithocles "a royal maid" (I.ii.68), and she displays a royalty of behaviour as well as of birth. When we recall the king's constant concern for the mirth and happiness of his court, we realize that the control and grace with which she completes the dance and coronation are the ultimate signs of this care for decorum, order, self-control. She dies in fulfilment of the oracle, and of her vows, her heart genuinely broken through the cruelty of love's destruction. Calantha is a representative of friendship and love that is lasting in death, and in the play's final scene, Ford has employed several symbols which can be compared with those united by Cesare Ripa in his emblem of 'Amicitia' (see figure 40). Ripa's illustration shows a woman in a white robe, holding her heart from which comes the motto "Longe, et Prope", signifying faithfulness whether near or separated, while the hem of the gown bears the motto "Mors, et Vita". She holds a young dry elm around which a lively vine is entwined, signifying that Amicitia is not less strong in disgrace than in fortunate success. The white dress, the heart symbol, the elm and vine (which, although not applying its symbol of mutuality directly to Calantha, is part of the oracle which her death scene completes) - these elements are probably not conscious echoes of Ripa's emblem, but they portray the emblematic mode of Ford's thinking.



Figure 40. Amicitia. From Cesare Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1611; B.M. 637.g.26), p. 16. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

With the fulfilment of the oracle the plot (and therefore the grove also) is purified, but at the expense of so much. The happy conclusion to Euphranea's love is a necessary complement to Nearchus' ascension to ensure the larger, eternal framework of sacrifice and rebirth, winter and fruitful spring. In terms of the human drama, the grove as locality, together with the oracle and the pervasive imagery of nature, helps to define the rich variety of characters - from those in harmony with their world, to those who abuse the natural (which includes the moderate and the civilized) by excess and cruelty, and who eventually must pay.

IV. Movement.

Movement and gesture are important in The Broken Heart, as the outward and conventional manifestations of the polite manners which the play's social code upholds. Figuratively, movement indicates the characters' spiritual or social positions, through imagery of a flight and a fall, of man as a star or a worm.

The first scene heralds a departure. Orgilus is quitting Sparta for Athens, and he bids farewell to his family, kissing his sister (86-90) - a small, tightly-knit but also forlorn group upon the large stage. Ford rushes his characters directly into journeying:

CROTOLON. Dally not further, I will know the reason
That speeds thee to this journey.

(I.i.1-2)

The question supplies the opportunity for a recounting of the past, necessary to the audience's understanding. Webster's two Italian tragedies open with a departure or a return, and The Broken Heart's opening compares rather with the return and static exposition that begins The Duchess of Malfi, than with the dramatic immediacy of Lodovico's banishment in The White Devil. In Ford's play the situation is more contrived than in The Duchess of Malfi, for Crotolon knows the past situation well, but unnecessary recollections are commonplaces of Jacobean convention, and Ford's construction is economic

and provides an important standpoint from which to view the next scene.

The second scene is an excellently contrasting parallel - a return, crowded, public and joyous. The three successive entries swell the stage in a crescendo of courtly costume and respectful attendance. The ceremonial stateliness portrays a civilized, consciously well-mannered society. Ithocles presents to the king's notice Lemophil and Groneas, who have "wish[ed] their country's peace" (I.ii.97), for, as the returning hero knows, his present victorious fortune has been "strengthened / By many hands" (92-93). The king answers in a conventional gesture of recognition: "Courtiers turn soldiers! We vouchsafe our hand" (99). As the two bow and kiss the proffered hand, the first in a series of hand images is performed.

Another return that can be compared with that of Ithocles is the specious homecoming of Orgilus, apparently returned from Athens. In Act III, scene iii, the king first greets the visiting prince - "Cousin of Argos" (1), then Ithocles and Orgilus enter together:

ITHOCLES. Your safe return to Sparta is most welcome:
I joy to meet you here, and, as occasion
Shall grant us privacy, will yield you reasons...

(44-46)

(reasons why Ithocles should desire Orgilus' friendship). Instead of the open, public cause of Ithocles' reception, delayed and secret reasons for this welcome are promised. The delay is natural, and economic, but it suggests an uneasiness - Ithocles seems to protest too much; his bad conscience urges him to ease his guilt by a friendship that comes too late (cf. IV.1.8-10). Ithocles pushes the welcome forward:

Life to the King,
To whom I here present this noble gentleman
New come from Athens. Royal sir, vouchsafe
Your gracious hand in favour of his merit.

(52-55)

Ithocles' request and the king's proffered hand repeat the king's welcome of the two courtiers in Act I, scene ii (courtiers who are at once shown to be of rather

dubious merit, I.ii.106-149). After his welcome from Ithocles and the king (56-63), Orgilus is then greeted by the princess (65-66) and finally by Nearchus (69-70). The return and the sequence of welcomes continue the recurring comparison (as brothers, lovers, and valued courtiers) between the former enemies, Orgilus and Ithocles. But here the return is false and the welcome is not natural. The audience's reaction to the surprising friendship is voiced by Crotolon, an observer of the central stage picture: "My son preferred by Ithocles!" (56). But the scene is filled with suspicious and perplexed observers speaking in asides. Prophilus wonders "What sudden change is next" (52), and Ithocles eyes Calantha's suitor, Nearchus, with jealous misgiving (51). Thus the stage grouping is uneasy and fragmented, and with our knowledge of Orgilus' deceptions, concerning his journey and his disguise, we are directed to look with suspicion upon the new and extravagant friendship between the two young men.

When Ithocles wins in the rivalry with Nearchus, the king unites him and the princess in a brief stage ceremony which, in sealing vows of love, recalls three past stage visualizations - the linking of hands in the two grove scenes and the mad scene. "Give me thine hand", he says to Ithocles, "Calantha, take thine own" (82-83). For the king, the admirable side of Ithocles, proved in the wars, is prominent, and he assures his daughter that she will find Ithocles "in noble actions" to be "firm and absolute" (83-84). At the same time, the repeated stage picture of the joined hands recalls silently Ithocles' past sin to his sister and Orgilus. Later, in the murder scene, Orgilus finally tears off his politic friendship and revels in his scorn of Ithocles. But Ithocles meets his disaster with such courage that Orgilus for the first time genuinely appreciates and admires his enemy. "By Apollo," he says, "Thou talkst a goodly language!" (51-52), and he bids his victim

Give me thy hand. Be healthful in thy parting
From lost mortality. Thus, thus, I free it.
kills him

(58-59; sig. I3)

By grasping the bound hand Orgilus at last offers true friendship and freedom (or his idea of it) through death. The friendship gesture is, within the bounds of Orgilus' histrionic vision, genuine, for he promises to follow soon in death (54-56).⁹⁵ The series of hand images reaches two climactic moments: the one, signifying union, is visualized in the giving of the ring to the dead Ithocles in the final scene (V.iii.63-65); the other, signifying severance, is figurative - Bassanes' simple and exquisite announcement of Orgilus' death, "'A has shook hands with time" (V.ii.156). Bassanes' ceremonious image links the hand rituals with personified Time. Ithocles' severance of the hands joined in betrothal, expiated in the fulness of time, leads at last to the joined hands of the ritual marriage which occurs when "age from time doth part" (V.iii.99).

Movement and stage space are skilfully manipulated in Act III, scene iii. The scene displays the beginning of Orgilus' splendid hedging (in his appearance of courtly friendship with his old enemy), and the subtle intimation of love between Ithocles and the princess. Through grouping and asides, Ford creates a picture which is formal and civilized on the surface, but full of heated uncertainties below. The scene opens with a flourish and a stately group entrance in which Nearchus is first seen, "leading Calantha" (sig. F2^V). Nearchus is performing a polite, courtly gesture by bringing in Calantha on his arm. But this gesture can become more than merely conventional, as Ford has already shown his audience. In the first grove scene, Orgilus is particularly distressed to see his sister, not only with Prophilus, but "supported too" (I.iii.44-45). In this later scene, the visual relationship is soon given a more than merely polite significance as the king welcomes the Prince of Argos, desiring "in heart" that Nearchus "may sit nearest / Calantha's love" (III.iii.9-10). The simple stage picture of the prince and princess walking arm in arm conveys their possible future relationship as man and wife, but this potential is not to prove a 'thraldom' for Calantha (15), but to be confirmed or denied by her own choice. The thraldom is meant to recall Penthea's "most barbarous

thraldom" (I.i.54), and the evil of a compelled marriage.

After the formal opening of this scene, in which Calantha acquits herself with a courtly elegance, Ford turns the attention away from the young couple, who continue to wander and talk in pantomime. The conversation between Amyclas and his two councillors, while providing several points of interest for the audience, also allows a convenient time for Nearchus' courtly lovemaking to proceed so that, when he speaks again, he has advanced ⁱⁿ his courtship and kneels to her, an action which she dismisses as "too courtly" (43). To this calm and polite scene, Ithocles, Orgilus and Prophilus enter, and the atmosphere suddenly becomes tense. The audience has already learned that Ithocles burns with unquenchable but secret love for Calantha. His entry has probably been timed so that he has observed Nearchus kneeling to the princess. While outwardly behaving with proper respect to the king and attempting to win over his old enemy, Ithocles follows with his eyes the prince and Calantha, and his aside betrays his deeper concern: "So amorously close? - so soon? - my heart!" (51). His viewpoint, as an observer of the young couple's amorous posture, recalls that of Orgilus, the spy upon his sister's "amorous foldings" (I.iii.43), and his heart, like Orgilus' (I.iii.91-92), is torn with passion.

Without the slightest strain upon natural movement or good manners, Calantha turns from her "too courtly" lover towards the newcomer, fulfilling her regal duty in welcoming Orgilus home (64-66), but this movement also turns her towards her own choice in love, who stands near Orgilus. As the king begins his exit, bidding "All prepare / For revels and disport" (70-71), Calantha makes her choice obvious, again with dignity:

CALANTHA. Thine arm, I prithee, Ithocles. - Nay, good My lord, keep on your way, I am provided.

NEARCHUS. I dare not disobey.

ITHOCLES.

Most heavenly lady.

Exeunt.

(75-77; sig. F3^v)

Her entry to this scene on Nearchus' arm and her exit on that of Ithocles is Ford's restrained method of representing

the direction of her affection. This stage picture could not have the force of meaning which is necessary here without Ford's previous uses of the 'supporting' gesture (I.ii.104-105 and I.iii.42-45).

In contrast to stately and courtly movement and to the passive seated scenes are outbursts of spontaneous, passionate action, generally ill-mannered. The most extreme character in this respect is Bassanes, who is forever entering at the wrong moment, spying at the wrong doors. The climax comes when he rushes upon an utterly static and innocent scene - Penthea and Ithocles seated beside each other in sorrow (III.ii) - with his poniard raised and a group of courtiers attempting vainly to restore decorum (sig. F ; 119-120). It is the most animated and spontaneous of all the play's entries, and his 'rudeness', his 'unmannerly' behaviour, is interpreted as either madness or intoxication (124; 136-140). Bassanes is to blame, with his imputations of incest, but Ithocles' reaction would appear to be threatening, not merely defensive, and no doubt he draws his sword and offers to fight with the old and unsoldierly man, for his friends strive to restrain him, not the jealous husband:

PROPHILUS. Sir, by our friendship -
PENTHEA. By our bloods,
Will you quite both undo us, brother?

(153-154)

Bassanes' rude and suspicious behaviour throughout the play - such a contrast to the society's harmonious ideal embodied in Calantha - provides a useful standard which shows that Ford does not intend Orgilus or Ithocles to be viewed as blameless paragons. Orgilus, too, is a spy (I.iii); Ithocles, too, is ill-mannered to near madness (IV.i.85-88; 114-115).

In the general pattern of movement and bondage with which the audience has been made familiar, the dance is the perfect flowering of the courtly code of manners (a code which is a manifestation of a deeper harmony and well-being). Representing controlled, moderate action, between frenzy and frozen inactivity, the dance symbolizes the moderation of emotions, between the passions of

Bassanes, Orgilus and Ithocles, and the repression of Penthea - that moderation applauded by Prophilus (I.ii.34-47); by Tecnicus (I.iii.16-18); and by Euphranea (I.iii.68-76); and now celebrated in the joys of the two fulfilled, self-possessed lovers. Specifically, as a celebration for Euphranea's marriage (which has already been heralded as a union of potential fruitfulness, III.iv.70-81), the dance glorifies life and growth.⁹⁶ With its movement and change within an unchanging pattern, the dance is an earthly representation of the music and dance of the spheres, an ideal harmony which can be achieved through love. Orgilus, in the grove, has established this ideal, when he says to Penthea:

Speak on, fair nymph; our souls
Can dance as well to music of the spheres
As any's who have feasted with the gods.

(II.iii.18-20)

For the audience, the dance makes a startling effect, juxtaposed after the revelation of Penthea's death and the murder of Ithocles. This celebration scene becomes a Dance of Death, with Armostes, Bassanes, and Orgilus acting as the messengers who interrupt the living, but these messengers bring news of death, rather than death itself.

The bride and groom are led onstage as loud music plays (from an offstage music room, one imagines, although a small consort of musicians may sit upon the stage, visible as are those at the domestic celebration in the composite portrait of Sir Henry Unton).⁹⁷ Euphranea probably wears her bridal white (the colour of her costume in the final scene, sig. K2^v), and possibly the flowing and powdered hair of a bride. This surmise is attractive because the flowing hair would recall Penthea's mad scene, drawing a sombre parallel between the happy and the abused brides. Perhaps "points and bride-laces" make gay the costumes of the groom and his guests,⁹⁸ further recalling the mad scene (cf. IV.ii.119).

After the formal entry to the dance, the music ceases and the dance is delayed while Calantha draws attention to the absence of several characters (V.ii.1-8). Ford has already made an individual use of the old revenge

convention of murder brought in the guise of a celebration, by making Orgilus play out his 'invention' with a privacy and intimacy between victim and killer which the murder-masque would not allow. He does not then abandon the idea, but uses it now to increase the pathetic hopefulness of the living characters, and to explain the absence of the two young men. Orgilus, Crotonon tells the princess,

Whispered some new device, to which these revels
Should be but usher: wherein I conceive
Lord Ithocles and he himself are actors.

(3-5)

With 'revels', Ford recalls an earlier line spoken by the king: "A wedding without revels is not seemly" (IV.iii.70). The dance, to which they now fall, is seemly, decorous, almost a necessary ritual. It is part of "those triumphs" for which Orgilus' betrothal had prepared him, but without fruition (cf. I.i.32-35).

Calantha dances with the groom, Nearchus with the bride (9-11). With each change of partners, as Calantha is momentarily alone, the messengers enter and speak (to her only) their dismal news. She continues the dance, with no emotional reaction, completing the seemly revels, obeying her father's charge (IV.iii.72-73). The news of death is lyrical, spoken with melancholy cadence:

Oh, madam!
Penthea, poor Penthea's starved.

. . . .

Brave Ithocles is murdered, murdered cruelly.

(13-14; 16)

The dance movement between each message creates a sense of suspense, and the thrilling contradiction of outward harmony and inner anguish. Only Calantha's verbal reaction alters, growing longer as the weight of succeeding deaths strikes her, and the seeming impatience with which she answers Orgilus' message suggests the repressed hysteria as the least expected and most painful of the three deaths is announced:

How dull this music sounds! Strike up more
sprightly;
Our footings are not active like our heart,
Which treads the nimbler measure.

(17-19)

The three messengers are, understandably, amazed, suspecting her of an unfeeling heart.

The changes of partners should be so arranged that the last movement finds the bride and groom together, the princess with Nearchus. (This arrangement is supported by the ensuing dialogue, in which Calantha and the prince appear to be near each other, 20-28.) Only when each combination of partners has danced together is the dance logically completed, and can Calantha pause. Only now can her subjects be told of their king's passing. The way in which Calantha draws forth a repetition of the hateful news is a further example of Ford's brilliant restraint, and his great success at revealing the heart of the princess. It is, she says, "a rare presumption" (24)

to interrupt
The custom of our ceremony bluntly.
NEARCHUS. None dares, lady.
CALANTHA. Yes, yes; some hollow voice delivered to me
How that the king was dead.
ARMOSTES. The king is dead.

(27-30)

Pentheia, says Calantha when Bassanes has repeated his news, is

happy; she hath finished
A long and painful progress.

(38-39)

It is a very fitting comment, with sympathy for Pentheia's suffering, completing Pentheia's own imagery of life as a journey to the grave. But a progress is not only a journey, it is a pageant, a celebration: robbed of her 'triumphs' (I.i.34), Pentheia has chosen to end this "painful progress", but her end has also made painful the wedding celebrations of Prophilus and Euphranea. Orgilus' account of Ithocles' murder continues the imagery of celebration. Ithocles' end would have been a butchery,

had not bravery
Of an undaunted spirit, conquering terror,
Proclaimed his last act triumph over ruin.

(41-43)

Music, an essential of the dance, weaves through the play. Music ushers in the king and the returning

victor (I.ii; III.iii); effeminate music announces the soul-sickness of Ithocles (III.ii); music forewarns of, and sets the atmosphere for, the revelation of Penthea's death (IV.iii.140-153); and Orgilus' song prepares for his sister's marriage celebrations (III.iv.70-81). A verbal use of the music motif accompanies Penthea's madness when she says:

Sure, if we were all Sirens, we should sing pitifully;
And 'twere a comely music, when in parts
One sung another's knell.

(IV.ii.69-71)

Such a musical death knell will sound for Penthea, and again for Calantha. Both Orgilus and Ithocles have used music and the dance as images of the harmony of the soul. For Orgilus, this harmonious movement is bred in love (II.iii.18-20). For Ithocles, it grows from precept and practice, which keep "the soul in tune, / At whose sweet music all our actions dance" (II.ii.8-10). But the souls of the two men are not harmonious, and their contrasts of excessive passion and bondage reveal this truth. In the final scene, music accompanies the devotions and the marriage-death ritual, thus drawing together the play's motifs of celestial melody, bridal song, and mourning knell.

The dance scene is, then, the climactic moment in the theme of the soul's and society's harmony. But the harmony of life and love is here shattered, and the celebration turns to one of death. The music and the movement cease, and the new queen passes her first sentence - death to Orgilus (66-68; 82-84). The death of the revenger is the opposite of the dance and its music - a denial of harmonious movement as he slowly crumples to the stage in a pool of theatrical blood (148-157).

Besides physical movement, there are images and omens of a flight and a fall, particularly associated with Ithocles.⁹⁹ He is likened to Ixion and Phaeton (III.ii.128-131; IV.i.69-73; IV.iv.25-26), and describes his own ambition as "a seeled dove" that climbs to the clouds, only to plunge down to ruin (II.ii.3-5). The most forceful, realistically vivid, image to warn of Ithocles' danger at the moment of ambitious triumph

is spoken by Orgilus as he watches the king link the hands of Ithocles and Calantha: "Apparent, / The youth is up on tiptoe, yet may stumble" (IV.iii.92-93). And yet Orgilus, who 'totters' to the stage in death (V.ii.149), prevents Ithocles from stumbling quite so low, by arranging death in the chair. Ithocles dares to stoop in order to rise, stooping for Calantha's ring, and kneeling to her (IV.i.27-32), but braving Nearchus without the bow due to a superior (IV.i.passim). Orgilus is debased figuratively, displaying a servility that Ithocles never shows, first in the character of Aplotes (I.iii), then in his fawning, dissembled friendship for Ithocles (III.iv.92-94). Ithocles, both in his climb and fall, is starlike, a demi-god; even "squibs and crackers", although "they vanish / In stench and smoke" (II.ii.6-8), have their shining moment. Ithocles has a potential for glory which Orgilus, poisoned (by Ithocles, a "poisonous stalk / Of aconite", I.i.36-37), with a deep disgust and hatred, does not possess. The two deaths reveal this difference - the one quiet, brave, with complete knowledge and acceptance of guilt and loss, seated in the ironical 'throne'; the other theatrical, courageous certainly, but filled with self delusion of a 'just' revenge, falling onto the stage until he is summarily removed.

The three spectacles which conclude The Broken Heart are a culmination of the worship of love and peace - and the enforcement of their opposites, thralldom and revenge - which the opening scenes introduce. The dangerous deification of the ambitious and imperfect Ithocles receives a purified expression in the final sacrificial coronation. The grove, while presenting a practical location as the action progresses, also provides an immediate setting which supports the themes of natural growth, barrenness and decay, and the sacrifice of a king (Ithocles and Calantha, as well as Amyclas) for the health of the kingdom. Movement, in verbal imagery and in stage action, creates an important thematic and visual framework, helping to convey the inner nature of the characters,

whether harmoniously moderate, irrational and impassioned, or hopelessly repressed. Like Webster, Ford includes formalized ceremonies - execution, marriage, coronation - , and certain elements of staging recall the earlier dramatist, especially the potent use of a dead body, and the recurrence of hand and ring gestures and references. But Ford uses these elements in a way that is not Websterian. Where the boundary between Webster's stage world and his audience is constantly, vitally, blurred and altered, often with the help of the visual presentation, Ford's stage world is more self-contained. There is a quiet and private nature to The Broken Heart, to which the imagery and spectacle give a unified, and yet static, perfection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. For a general summary of the dating of Ford's plays, see Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. III (1956), pp. 433-464, and M. Joan Sargeaunt, John Ford (Oxford, 1935), pp. 17-31.
2. Cf., e.g., G.F. Sensabaugh, The Tragic Muse of John Ford (Stanford, 1944), pp. 109-126; and H.J. Oliver, The Problem of John Ford (Melbourne, 1955), p. 3.
3. Cf., e.g., Stuart P. Sherman, "Forde's Contribution to the Decadence of the Drama", Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, Bd. 23, ed. W. Bang (Louvain, 1908), pp. vii-xix; and Sensabaugh, *op.cit.*, pp. 4-6.
4. Cf., e.g., the conflicting opinions, concerning The Broken Heart's final scene, of Charles Lamb, Specimens of English Dramatic Poets (London, 1808), pp. 264-265; William Hazlitt, Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth, 3rd edn. (London, 1840), p. 171; and Oliver, *op.cit.*, p. 70. For a recent brief summary that appreciates the integral bonds between this scene and the rest of the play, see Donald K. Anderson, Jr., ed., The Broken Heart, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1968), p. xix.
5. Moody E. Prior, The Language of Tragedy (New York, 1947), pp. 148-149.
6. E.g., Walter Montagu, The Shepheard's Paradise (1633); Aurelian Townshend, Albion's Triumph (1632) and Tempe Restored (1632); and James Shirley, The Triumph of Peace (1634). (New style dates given).
7. Cf. Sensabaugh, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-132, and his earlier article, "John Ford and Platonic Love in the Court", Studies in Philology, XXXVI (1939), pp. 206-226.
8. Honor Triumphant is reproduced in The Works of John Ford, ed. William Gifford, revised Alexander Dyce (London, 1869), vol. III. The influence of sixteenth century Neo-Platonism on the works of Ford is discussed by Robert Davril, Le Drame de John Ford (Paris, 1954), pp. 351-352; and Stuart P. Sherman, "Stella and the [sic] Broken Heart", PMLA, XXIV (1909), p. 277.
9. On the Dekker collaborations, see Bentley, *op.cit.*, vol. III, pp. 253 and 436. Postulated collaboration between Webster and Ford on The Fair Maid of the Inn has little provable foundation: cf. Bentley, *ibid.*, pp. 336-338; and H. Dugdale Sykes,

- Sidelights, pp. 141-158. Lucas (Works of Webster, vol. IV, pp. 148-152) does attribute scenes to Webster and to Ford.
10. Lucas, Works, II, p. 35.
 11. Cf. Mark Stavig, John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order (Madison [Wisconsin], 1968), p. 144.
 12. Cf. Irwin Smith, Blackfriars Playhouse, pp. 233-237.
 13. Such a chair is used in Barnabe Barnes' The Devils Charter (1607), sig. C-C3. This possible origin of Ford's chair was mentioned by Gifford. Cf. Gifford and Dyce, op. cit., vol. I, p. 302 n. 28; and W. Gifford, ed., The Dramatic Works of John Ford (London, 1827), vol. I, pp. cxi-cxii (note abridged in edn. of 1869).
 14. Cf., e.g., S. Blaine Ewing, Burtonian Melancholy in the plays of John Ford, Princeton Studies in English, no. 19 (Princeton, 1940), esp. pp. 104-106.
 15. Cf. Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), p. 32.
 16. Cf. George Speaight, The History of the English Puppet Theatre (London, 1955), p. 54.
 17. The sensationalism of Ford's stage spectacles is the theme of critics who term his plays 'decadent'. Cf. W.A. Neilson, "Ford and Shirley", The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. VI (1910; rpt. Cambridge, 1919), p. 195; and Una Ellis-Fermor, The Jacobean Drama, 3rd edn. revised (London, 1955), p. 227.
 18. Cf. I.i.113-114; iii.2-6 and 179-181; and III.i.10-12.
 19. Only Ithocles comes to a final realization of futility. Calantha is never without clear sight; Penthea loses all insight; Orgilus recognizes that revenge leads to death, but he dies deluded about the 'justice' of his vengeance (cf. III.i.37-44).
 20. Cf. Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, Sussidi Eruditi, 16, 2nd edn. (Rome, 1964), pp. 151-154.
 21. Johann Mannich, Sacra Emblemata (Nurnberg, 1624 [colophon dated 1625]; B.M. 636.g.22(1)).
 22. Cf. Daniel Cramer, Emblemata Sacra (Frankfurt, 1624; B.M. 95.a.22).
 23. Five titlepages which include hearts, dating from

1627 to 1633, are described in Margery Corbett & Michael Norton (from the notes of A.M. Hind), Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, pt. III (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 72, 160, 168, 172 and 217.

24. [M. Mainwaringe,] Vienna (London [1628]; B.M. C.40.c.2).
25. The dating of The Broken Heart is uncertain, dates between 1624 or 1625 and 1633 having been suggested. Cf. Bentley, op.cit., vol. III, pp. 440-442. Alfred Harbage, Annals of English Drama, 975-1700, revised S. Schoenbaum (London, 1964), suggests 1629 (p. 124). Conceivably Ford's play precedes the romance, but the emblematic qualities shared by these two works are not thus diminished.
26. Cf. the 1633 quarto, sig. A4^v. The 'A' gathering is misnumbered, there being one leaf missing.
27. Symbolic or representative names appear often in Jonson, e.g. in Volpone, The Alchemist, and the 1616 version of Every Man in His Humour.
28. Cf. Freeman, op.cit., pp. 22 and 25.
29. Mary Edith Cochnower suggests that Ford does not like the character of Crotolon, and thus forces the name 'Noise' upon a generally blameless councillor. Cf. "John Ford", Seventeenth Century Studies, ed. Robert Shafer (Princeton, 1933), p. 180.
30. On the viper image, Morris (BH, p. 91) cites Sir Thomas Browne, Pseudodoxia Epidemica, Bk. III, ch. 16 (not published until 1646). Cf., also, Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor [Michigan], 1950), V68. The she-bear licking its cubs is a recurrent emblem. Cf. Praz, op.cit., pp. 69 and 106, and fig. 35 which comes from Otto van Veen (Vaenius)'s Amorum Emblemata (1608). Praz (p. 217) mentions Marston's use of this image in The Malcontent (I.ii.188, in The Works of John Marston, ed. A.H. Bullen (London, 1887), vol. I).
31. Cf. R. Madelaine, diss. cit., passim.
32. The stage directions may well be authorial, rather than from a prompt copy. In general they are carefully marked, but an essential exit or entry is occasionally missed (the exit of Tecnicus from I.iii; the entry of Armostes in IV.ii). The choice of properties given for the final stage setting (V.iii; sig. K2^v) does not suggest theatre authority. Small properties which can be inferred

from the dialogue are not mentioned in entry directions as a warning to the actor (e.g., the garland, I.ii; the oracle or its box in III.i; IV.i; and IV.iii). Certain necessary actions, such as the removal and resumption of the disguise (II.iii), or the giving of a death stroke (V.ii. 129), are not indicated to the actor but are made obvious from the dialogue. Two scenes open with a character entering 'alone' (II.ii, sig. D2; and V.i, sig. I3). As these two entries follow a complete clearing of the stage, the direction seems more atmospheric than functional.

33. Ford's Sparta has been identified with Sidney's imaginary Sparta. Cf. Sherman, "Stella and the Broken Heart", p. 277; Oliver, op. cit., p. 59.
34. The composite form, Delphos, is conventional. Cf. Sidney, The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia (1590), in The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat, vol. I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 24; John Lyly, Midas, V.iii.1, in The Complete Works of John Lyly, ed. R. Warwick Bond (1902; rpt. Oxford, 1967), vol. III; and John Marston, The Fawn, I.ii.154, in Bullen, op. cit., vol. II.
35. Cf. Henry Weber, ed., The Dramatic Works of John Ford (London, 1811), vol. I. Weber carefully locates vague scenes as "A Room in...", "An Apartment in..."; e.g., III.iv is set as "A Room in the House of CROTOLON" (p. 285), but it could as easily take place in the palace.
36. Sejanus, I, ll. 454-502 (Herford and Simpson, Jonson, vol. IV).
37. E.g., I.i.58-65 and III.iii.16-21. On the concept of beauty and virtue in Ford's plays, see Cochnower, "John Ford", ch. 2, pp. 134-146.
38. Cf., e.g., Corvino in Volpone, II.v (Herford and Simpson, Jonson, vol. V (1937), pp. 59-62), and Don Zuccone in The Fawn, IV.i.296ff. (Bullen, op. cit., vol. II).
39. Cf. Thomas Kyd, The Spanish Tragedy, IV.i.76-84, in Frederick S. Boas, ed., The Works of Thomas Kyd (1901; Oxford, 1955 with suppl.).
40. Anderson (ed., BH, p. 89) gives Pepys' explanation of the working of a post-Restoration theatrical trapping chair. Gifford (Gifford and Dyce, op. cit., vol. II, p. 311 n. 8) supposes that the "chair-politic" called for in the barbering scene in Ford's The Fancies, Chaste and Noble (V.ii) is the same as Orgilus' "engine". The idea seems unlikely, for although Spadone desires to be "Set...at liberty" (p. 313), his words may refer to the hands, soap and razor of the barber. He makes no startled comment, and no other character is supplied to free him at the end of the

scene (p. 315).

41. It is considered thus by Oliver (op.cit., p. 65).
42. The use of cosmetics, for the 'painting' and treatment of the female face, was common, and deplored. Cf. Bosola, DM, II.i.22-39; and Robert Haydocke's earlier translation of Lomazzo, A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Caruing & Buildinge (Oxford, 1598; B.M. 561*.c.2.), pp. 127-133.
43. The Second Maiden's Tragedy (1611), V.ii.s.d. (p. 70) and I. 2233 (p. 71).
44. Cf. Morris, BH, p. xix.
45. Divils Charter, sig. C3.
46. Those two great councillors, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his son Robert Cecil, are often depicted holding their staff. Cf. Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 51, 53-55, 57, 59, 61, 541 and 542.
47. Robert Davril considers that La Cerda's Spanish tragedy may be a source for the wedding of a crowned corpse. Cf. "John Ford and La Cerda's Inés de Castro", MLN, LXVI (1951), pp. 464-466.
48. John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, The Two Noble Kinsmen, Presented at the Blackfriars... (London, 1634; C.34.g.23). Chambers, Elizabethan Stage (vol. III, p. 226) dates the play 1613.
49. The stage direction, beginning "An Altar couered with white", and subsequently giving entries (sig. K2^v), seems to suggest a discovery, but the altar could easily be carried on. There is a similar scene in John Marston's Sophoniba (1606), III.i; sig. D4: "Enters the solemnity of a sacrifice, which beeing entred whil't the attendance furni/h the Altar". The altar could be 'furnished' from without, or discovered and then 'furnished' with its equipment by the attendants.
50. The quarto stage direction (sig. K2^v) reads "Calantha in a white robe, and crown'd Euphranea; Philema, Chri/talia in white". Undoubtedly the punctuation is at fault - Calantha is crowned, Euphranea in white.
51. Rubens' apotheosis of James I for the Whitehall ceiling was not installed until March, 1636. However, the idea for the ceiling seems to have been mooted in the 1620s, and Rubens had already painted glorifications of the Medici and Gonzaga families. Cf. Millar, The Age of Charles I,

- pp. 37-41 and pls. 39 and 40. The great continental Baroque apotheoses reached their height at about this time, e.g., in Pietro da Corbona's vault in the Palazzo Barbarini, Rome, begun for Urban VIII in 1633. Cf. Guiliano Briganti, Pietro da Cortona & della Pittura Barocca (Florence, 1962), fig. 125.
52. On the history of Mantegna's Triumph, and its acquisition by Charles I, see Paul Kristeller, Andrea Mantegna, trans. S. Arthur Strong (London, 1901); and Ernest Law, Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar (London, 1921). The paintings had a theatrical connection before leaving Mantua. In 1501 they were hung up to decorate a Gonzaga 'spettacolo', but whether as mere ornamentation or as part of the acting backdrop is unclear. Cf. Kristeller, op. cit., p. 283 and Law, op. cit., p. 29.
53. Cf. Law, op. cit., p. 45; Kristeller (op. cit., p. 441) gives the date as 1599.
54. E.g., the very fine tapestries of the Triumphs of Petrarch acquired by Cardinal Wolsey in 1523. Cf. H.C. Marillier, The Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace, revised (3rd) edn. (London, 1962), pls. 15-17. The Triumph of Caesar strongly influenced Holbein in his Triumph of Riches and of Poverty for the Guildhall of the London Steelyard Merchants, painted in 1532 or 1533. Holbein's Triumphs were given to Prince Henry Frederick, hung at one time in Whitehall, and either the paintings or the original designs were in the Earl of Arundel's collection in 1627. They, too, were variously copied and thus more widely seen. Cf. Arthur B. Chamberlain, Hans Holbein the Younger (London, 1913), vol. II, pp. 23-30.
55. See above, p. 102 n. 57.
56. E.g., as spoken by Flamineo, WD, V.iii.211-215 and (in parody) V.vi.139-145.
57. The ring is an appropriate property for the coronation, as well as for the marriage. Cf. "The Coronation of King James and Queen Anne his Wife", in Nichols, Progresses of James, vol. I, p. 232.
58. On 'occasio', seen as the figure of Opportunity, and becoming merged with Fortune, see Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, pp. 71-72.
59. On the treatment, in art, of Time's destructive power, cf. Panofsky, op. cit., pp. 79-83; and of Time the Revealer, cf. ibid., pp. 83-84. For the relationship between Time and Truth, cf. Chew, Virtues Reconciled, pp. 69-88.

60. Cf. George F. Reynolds, "'Trees' on the Stage of Shakespeare", MP, V (1907), pp. 153-168; and Werner Habicht, "Tree Properties and Tree Scenes in Elizabethan Theater", Renaissance Drama, n.s. IV (1971), pp. 69-92.
61. Aurelian Townshend, Albions Triumph (London, 1631 [1632]; B.M. 644.c.81), sig. B3^v. Cf. also the many tree designs by Jones for Montagu's The Shepheard's Paradise (1632/33), reproduced in Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones (London, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), vol. II, figs. 245, 246, 250-254, some revealing different moods (desolate, fruitful).
62. Robert Peake, The econd Booke of Architecture (bound with The fir/t Booke of Architecture, 1611), folio 26. Thornton Shirley Graves postulates the use of painted cloths (with trees) in the public theatres. Cf. The Court and the London Theatres During the Reign of Elizabeth (1913; rpt. New York, 1967), p. 79.
63. Foakes and Rickert, eds., Henslowe's Dairy, p. 320, ll. 75-76.
64. John Marston, Parasitaster, or The Fawne, as it hath bene divers times presented at the blacke Friars (London, 1606; B.M. C.34.d.31), V. s.d., sig. H3. The tree is mentioned on sig. HV - H2^v.
65. Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe, Dido, Queene of Carthage, I.i.139, in Marlowe, ed. Bowers, vol. I.
66. Habicht, art. cit., p. 91.
67. [Joseph Swetnam,] Swetnam, the Woman-hater (London, 1620; B.M. C.34.b.48).
68. Cf. Kyd, The Spanish Tragedy, III.xiiA (Additions), 121-122, and cf. 109, 124-126 (ed. Boas).
69. Reynolds, art. cit., p. 153.
70. Cf. Panofsky, op. cit., p. 81 and fig. 53.
71. Habicht, art. cit., p. 79.
72. Cf. Poh Sim Plowright, "Religious Themes and Images in the plays of John Ford", unpub. M. Phil. Dissertation, University of London (Westfield), 1970, p. 65. The theme of the Virgin as a garden is discussed by Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden (Madison [Wisconsin], 1966); and it is the central image in the emblem book by H.A. [Henry Hawkins], Partheneia Sacra (1633), facsimile edn., English Emblem Books no. 10, ed. John Horden (Menston [Yorkshire], 1971).

73. Cf. W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the end of the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1963), pl. 12(a) and pp. 96-97.
74. No exit for Tecnicus is marked in the 1633 quarto. The relevant lines there (sig. CV) read:
 "I to contemplations:
 In the^se delightfull walkes - thus metamorphiz'd,
 I may...."
75. Ford uses the word in a contemptuous sense again in Perkin Warbeck, II.iii.5-6 (ed. Ure).
76. E.g., I.iii.44; II.iii.70; III.v.106; IV.iv.3,10; and V.iii.70.
77. Mercury had acquired an unflattering reputation as god of thieves and liars. Cotgrave defines 'mercurial', the temperament of one born under the god's planet, as "craftie, subtill, deceitfull, theeuish". Cf. Randle Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongves (London, 1611; B.M. N.L.10a), sig. Fff6^v.
78. Cf. Morris, BH, p. 92. His argument is weakened because he does not say which letters could be mistaken, and 'frenzy' had numerous spellings in current use: 'phrenzie', 'phrensie', 'frenzy', 'frenzie', 'frensie', 'frenyse', and 'phrenesye' all occur in examples between 1549 and 1632 cited in O.E.D.: 'Frenzy'.
79. Cf. Perkin Warbeck, ed. Ure, I.i.112 and I.iii.53; and Love's Sacrifice, ed. Gifford and Dyce, Works of Ford, vol. II, I.i, p. 10.
80. In William Davenant's The Crvell Brother (London, 1630; B.M. 644.b.17), again a Blackfriars play (cf. titlepage), the stage direction, "Couers her face with her white Vaile", accompanies the line, "Shroude thee in thy ve^stall ornaments" (sig. D2). Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots in her widow's weeds show her with a veil, which could cover the face as desired. Cf. Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 433, 436-438.
81. Cf. E.O. James, Origins of Sacrifice (London, 1933), chap. II, esp. pp. 73-77. Miss Plowright (diss. cit., pp. 24-25) sees the play's sacrifice as strictly Christian, with Calantha as a Christ-figure. I believe Ford is appealing to the much more pervasive belief in decay and rebirth. Cf. Sir James G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, 3rd edn. (London, 1919), Pt. IV, vol. 1, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, esp. pp. 3-12.
82. Cf. Habicht, art. cit., p. 83.

83. In Ford's Loues Sacrifice (London, 1633; B.M. C.12.g.3(3)), Bianca comes to Fernando's bed with "her haire about her eares" (sig. F^v), a sign not only of nighttime, but also of her distress, for she makes a vow "By the se di/heauel'd hayres, the se wretched teares" (sig. F2^v). In the same play, Fernando acts out his despair while D'Avolos comments on the gestures: "tearing his haire? pa^{ss}ion, ... plaine pa^{ss}ion" (sig. D4).
84. Giselle, ou les Wilis, music by Adolphe Adam, choreographed by Marius Petipa after Jean Coralli and Jules Perrot (first performed, Paris 1841), Act I. A 'Simplified Choreographic Script of "Giselle," Act One' is given in Cyril W. Beaumont, The Ballet Called Giselle (London, 1944), pp. 91-102; see esp. p. 100.
85. Cf. Hymenaei, in Herford, Simpson and Simpson, Jonson, vol. VII, p. 211, l. 57.
86. In The Romaunt of the Rose, Fragment A, the lover sees a vision of roses and plucks one, a symbol of the Lady (ll. 1649-1705). Cf. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd edn. (London, 1957), pp. 580-581. In Henry Hawkins' Partheneia Sacra, the rose is a symbol of the Virgin Mary (p. 21).
87. Peacham, Minerva Britanna, p. 183 (sig. Cc^v).
88. Hawkins, op. cit., p. 18.
89. Hymenaei, ed. cit., ll. 57-58. In the same masque, Hymen is crowned with roses, ll. 48-51 (pp. 210-211).
90. Cf. Panofsky, op. cit., pp. 115-120 and figs. 88-90.
91. Cf. Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, ed. Henry Green (Manchester and London, 1870), p. 16 (facsimile from the 1534 edn.).
92. Cf. the imagery of the vineyard in the Song of Solomon; the Communion wine which is Christ's blood; and the grape as symbol of Bacchus. According to St. John of the Cross, the soul, which on earth is called a garden, is called a vineyard above (cf. Stewart, op. cit., p. 109).
93. Green sickness is "chlorosis, the anaemia very frequent in maidens" (hence an illness of youth). Cf. Shakespeare's England, vol. I, p. 440.
94. Glenn H. Blayney, "Convention, Plot, and Structure in The Broken Heart", MP, LVI (1958), pp. 1-9, discusses perceptively the questions of love and marriage, of emotion and convention, in the play.
95. A handshake is the symbol of 'Concordia', bringing

peace to warlike princes, in Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes, p. 76.

96. On the matrimonial significance of the dance, cf. Sir Thomas Elyot: "by the association of a man and a woman in daunsinge may be signified matrimonie". The Boke Named the Governour (London, 1531; B.M. G.735), fol. 82-82v.
97. Cf. Strong, op.cit., vol. II, pl. 632.
98. In Deloney's Iacke of Newberie, the bride is "led to Church betweene two sweete boyes, with Bridelaces & Rosemary tied about their Silken Sleeues". Cf. The Works of Thomas Deloney, ed. Francis Oscar Mann (Oxford, 1912), p. 22, ll. 8-9. 'Points', the ties which join various pieces of clothing, could be very decorative. Cf. the portrait of the Duke of Richmond (1609), in Strong, op.cit., vol. II, pl. 518.
99. Cf. Anderson, op.cit., p. xvii.

CHAPTER FIVE: LOVE'S SACRIFICE

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The text of Love's Sacrifice is quoted from The Works of John Ford, eds. William Gifford and Alexander Dyce (London, 1869), vol. II. Because the edition is not delineated, references are given to act, scene and page, followed by the number of the line(s) counting from the top of the given page, or from the beginning of the scene if it starts on that page. Stage directions are not included in counting the lines. The stage directions are quoted from the first edition: LOUES / Sacrifice. // A / TRAGEDIE / RECEIUED GENE- / RALLY WELL. // Acted by the QVEENES Ma- / jesties Seruants at the Phoenix in / Drury-lane. /// LONDON: / Printed by I.B. for HVGH BEESTON, dwel- / ling next the Castle in Cornhill. / 1633. / [B.M. C.12.g.3(3). The Epistle Dedicatory, sig. A^v, is signed IOHN FORD.]

LOVE'S SACRIFICE

In Love's Sacrifice, scene after scene of striking visual effect is presented, often with some thematic relevance, but without the rich network of imagistic interrelationship found in The Broken Heart. Such interrelationship is not essential to unified drama, but in Love's Sacrifice its lack gives an impression of authorial uncertainty or carelessness, for images and motifs are introduced, often elaborately, but are left disappointingly perfunctory or undeveloped. So dense is Love's Sacrifice in recollections and borrowings - of verbal images, visual effects, situations - that at times it appears to be a pastiche of other plays.¹ Dramatic imitation is an almost universal feature of the plays of Ford's predecessors and contemporaries; but in this tragedy Ford often uses his borrowings without the imaginative power of the original, and without modifying his source successfully in terms of his own themes. A sensitivity to Ford's borrowings and echoes helps to illuminate a certain lack of integral care and development in this tragedy.

Nevertheless, Love's Sacrifice does exhibit, structurally and thematically, far more conscious and careful organization than it is sometimes allowed. This organization is not so noticeable in the formal visualization of the set scenes (so symbolically integrated in The Broken Heart), but rather in the overall structure of the play, conveyed through such effects as juxtaposed entries or repeated stage pictures. Thus the total structure must always be considered: to examine the main plot in isolation, dismissing the subplots as lamentable,² is to miss the essential comparisons and silent judgements which these foil plots provide. Ford's inclusion of the subplots is widely regretted. There is not much to recommend in the characters and action of Ferentes and the ladies; and Roseilli as the fool is a disguise device which is of very little success in itself; but Mauruccio is not a bad attempt at a conventional old fop.

The significance of the subplots is that they deal with aspects of love and its fate which provide conscious parallels to and contrasts with the main plot. An attentive audience watching the play in performance (unlike the casual reader) could scarcely miss Ford's comparisons.

While The Broken Heart was first played at the Blackfriars playhouse, Love's Sacrifice, like 'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Perkin Warbeck, had its inception at the Phoenix in Drury Lane. It is unlikely that these two private theatres would necessitate or encourage significantly different staging. The Caroline Phoenix, it has been suggested, may have made some use of stage scenery;³ but there is nothing in Love's Sacrifice which demands naturalistic sets. Instead, the play requires only the typical architectural façade of the Elizabethan theatres, making considerable use of the terrace level, of a discovery space or curtained area, and three stage doors.⁴ The stage properties - bed, tomb, table, chairs, possibly a state - and the necessary acting areas, are well within the theatrical possibilities provided by the Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouses: The Duchess of Malfi and Love's Sacrifice have similar requirements in matters of stage presentation.

The 1633 quarto titlepage affirms that the play was "RECEIUED GENE- / RALLY WELL" when first performed. In subsequent centuries it has not been staged,⁵ and amongst critics of Ford's work it has aroused much disgust and some approval.⁶ For many critics, the fifth act seems to degenerate into a complete moral muddle, or to uphold a morally indefensible position. This interpretation often depends upon a naïve acceptance of the sanctification of Bianca by Fernando and the Duke as representing Ford's own statement.⁷ Peter Ure and Mark Stavig have, from slightly differing positions, tried to show a moral coherence and structural unity in the play and its themes by relating the tragedy to the contemporary courtly Platonic love cult, and Ford's understanding or criticism of it.⁸ Their discussions are more sensitive and

seriously observant of the text than are many of the derogatory criticisms; however, I believe that they are inclined to overstate their theses, finding a greater unity and certainty of development in the work than is altogether justifiable.

I. The opening act.

The opening scene of any play is important in arousing the expectations of the audience, and setting some standards or atmosphere by which the play's society is defined and given independent vitality. In the first scene of Love's Sacrifice, Ford skilfully handles the eternal problem of introducing essential exposition without descending to the recitation of bald facts. By an unstilted movement of characters he presents his audience with a variety of conversations which reveal the complex pattern of lovers: Roseilli's unrequited love for Fiormonda, the Duke's sister; Fernando's illicit love for Bianca, the Duke's wife; the Duke's uxoriousness; and Fiormonda's unreturned love for Fernando.

The play begins and ends with Roseilli. In character and actions, Roseilli is a composite of various earlier and contemporary theatrical devices. Some of these devices are handled satisfactorily by Ford, but ultimately he is a disappointing character. Many highly dramatic possibilities are raised through Roseilli, but all fall limply for lack of real interest from Ford in Roseilli as a character, apart from as a convenient moral spokesman and restorer of order at the play's conclusion. The opening of the play, with its echo of The White Devil, does not attempt the impact of Webster's startling beginning:

Enter Roseilli and Roderico D'auolos.

ROS. Depart the court?
D'AV. Such was the duke's command.

(sig. B; I.i, p.7.1)

Roseilli's punishment is not the hopeless banishment that tortures the despairing and powerfully bitter Lodovico (cf. WD, I.i):

ROS. And whither must I go?

D'AV. You have the open world before you.

ROS. Why, then 'tis like I'm banish'd?

D'AV. Not so: my warrant is only to command you from the court; within five hours to depart after notice taken, and not to live within thirty miles of it[.]

(pp. 7.11-8.2)

D'Avolos' discursive explanation gives a tone of some greyness to Webster's device. The opening of Love's Sacrifice does not demand from the actors the explosive, hasty entry and the torment expressed in breathless fury that are essential to the beginning of The White Devil. There is not the sense of place, or of danger, with powerful and cruel authority at hand, intruding at the end of the scene, overlapping in the sennet blast, and, after a nervous, hurried exit of the banished, entering in a procession of numbers, formality, and lights, which creates a great and ironical alteration in the nature of the locality. There is no particular sense of place in Ford's opening scene. Roseilli must quit the court, but there is leisure for discussion with other characters, and by the time the formal centre of the court is seen, in the entry of the Duke, Bianca and their party, the sense of isolation, enforced absence and injustice has been dissipated.

By the end of the first scene in The White Devil, we know everything about Lodovico - his past crimes; his viciousness (murders are mere "flea-bytinges", WD, I.i.32); his fiery anger and hatred; his devotion to a lingering grudge and revenge; and the wry humour of his individualized idiom ("Ile make Italian cut-works in their guts", I.i.51). The marvellously charged taunting by Lodovico's friends - a chorus who, while consoling, effectively torture and inflame him - is tensely dramatic and at the same time reveals much about the generally demoralized state of the play's society. After Ford's opening conversation and Roseilli's following soliloquy, we know only that Roseilli, descended from an ancient and loyal family, is now in peace time discarded, and that the cause is the cruel widow whom he loves. Roseilli is not guilty of Lodovico's horrifying excesses. He is an apparently

blameless victim, and his situation thus resembles that of the Duchess of Malfi and Antonio when they are banished (DM, III.v): innocence is abused. Potentially, Roseilli's situation is pathetic or tragic; but whereas the audience has full knowledge of the innocence of the Duchess, of her blind wilfulness and her brothers' villainy, we are not presented with any particularly individualizing qualities which could make Roseilli dramatically appealing, or which could engage our sympathies to any great extent.

As an independent dramatic device then, Ford's use of the banishment motif is colourless when compared with Webster's. As a means of opening the action (in a more quiet mood) it augurs well enough, setting up a potentially powerful situation. The Duke, we gather, is led to his harsh (and in this case, unwise) decisions by the personal prejudices of "Fiormonda, she, / That glorious widow" (p. 8.8-9). The staccato emphasis exalts Fiormonda into a formidable rival. 'Glorious' is an epithet easily suggesting villainy on a grand scale (as in "Thou glorious traitor!", V.ii, p. 97.23).⁹ Ford contrives an added irony by making the victim love his persecutor. The Duke is attended, we realize, both by the cruel widow and by a 'politician' (p. 8.7), a word conventionally suggesting cunning, villainy and hypocrisy.¹⁰

To Roseilli, left alone upon the stage, his friends Fernando and Petruchio enter. Now Ford makes use of a device which opens Webster's other Italian tragedy.¹¹ Fernando, "late return'd / From travels" (p. 8.22-23), provides an opportunity for a discussion of nationalities; and Roseilli's enforced departure gives further purpose to the recitation. Antonio's recollections of the French court set a standard against which the court of The Duchess of Malfi can be judged; his description introduces images of water, disease, and close physical inter-relationships which are developed throughout the play. Fernando's discussion of countries is rather more gratuitous, allowing a patriotic disparagement of Spain, and a rather self-conscious introduction of England:

hand" (I.i, p. 11.16), and he neglects the dukedom in favour of the reins of his horse (cf. II.ii, p. 40.20-24). During the Duke's absence hunting, D'Avolos presents to the audience his own interpretation of Fernando's love suit. While the audience watches and hears Fernando offer his love, and be chastely rejected by Bianca, D'Avolos spies upon them, seeing the action - the kneeling, rising, the forgotten chess game - but not hearing. In a splendid speech, breathless with vicarious excitement, bursting with sexual suggestion, D'Avolos describes the scene with horse imagery:

Now, now, now the game is a-foot!
 your gray jennet with the white face is curried, for-
 sooth; - please your lordship leap up into the saddle,
 forsooth. - Poor duke, how does thy head ache now!

(II.iii, p. 48.18-21)

Horse imagery with sexual implications is particularly prevalent in Ferentes' idiom. Lecherous himself, and confident that there is no such thing as an honest woman, Ferentes is, with the three easily-won ladies, a contrast to the central love affair. At the same time, the main characters begin to exhibit their similarity to the lustfulness of the baser world of the subplot, and this similarity is suggested in part through equestrian imagery. Bianca, the "gray jennet with the white face" (an image of hypocrisy), comes to resemble, at least in desire, the lecherous Morona who has "kicked up [her] heels like a jennet / whose mark is new come into her mouth" (III.i, p. 58.22-23).

At the beginning of the action, the Duke has unwisely dismissed the faithful horseman. At the conclusion of the play, the 'champion', Roseilli, inherits the dukedom, accepting his rôle with a serious concern for justice and general order that the Duke has never shown. However, whether the connection between noble horsemanship, lustful riding, and the ultimate rule of the state is intentional, is difficult to determine. Certainly, the opposing values of 'riding' are not related in this play with the thematic clarity that is found in The Duchess of Malfi where horsemanship links together the rewards offered Antonio and Bosola, the latter's vital new rôle,

and the Duchess' pregnancy.

After the exit of Roseilli from Ford's opening scene, Fernando's recent absence from the court provides the justification for necessary exposition. The movement from plans for Roseilli's future to an account of the Duke's recent past, and at last to the formal entry of the Duke, is smooth, and skilfully handled:

ROS. The duke's at hand,
And I must hence: my service to your lordships. Exit.
PET. Now, nephew, as I told you, since the duke
Hath held the reins of state in his own hand,
Much altered from the man he was before,
As if he were transformèd in his mind, -
To soothe him in his pleasures, amongst whom
Is fond Ferentes;...

(pp. 11.13-12.2; sig. B2^v)

This speech, despite the textual corruption,¹³ seems intended to prepare the audience for a Duke attended by and dependent upon parasites. As developed, the Duke's character is consistent with this suggestion. He is a weak, innocuous individual who seeks mirth, not as does Amyclas for whom mirth represents a deep balance and harmony, but as "A salve for melancholy" (II.i, p. 33.14) - a selfish or thoughtless search for pleasure which tends to draw him away (to hunt) from the duties of his dukedom. Petruchio's description at the same time includes a digression on the knavish Ferentes which shows Ford's skill in introducing topics. Ferentes has besotted Petruchio's daughter (Fernando's relative), thus explaining any future involvement, on Fernando's part, in the subplot events concerning Colona.

Fernando seeks further information concerning the Duke, asking,

Whose mediation wrought the marriage
Betwixt the duke and duchess, - who was agent.
PET. His roving eye and her enchanting face,...

(p. 12.11-13)

The Duke's "roving eye", taken in conjunction with the ignoble transformation since his assumption of power, casts aspersion on the quality of his love - he is lustful, like Ferentes. However, his sudden wooing of Bianca is ambivalent, for he has also acted in accordance with

values which are upheld by the rest of the play and its imagery. The love of beauty can be a physical lust; it can also be a worship of that inner goodness which beauty seems to declare. The Duke takes her without a dowry, and a chain of images and statements contrasts a worthless material fortune with the true jewel of Bianca's beauty and soul (cf. p. 13.8-15, and pp. 15-16). The vicious Fiormonda's disgust and jealousy that such a lowly woman should be raised to the height of the Caraffas make the audience sympathetic towards the Duke's marriage. The counsellor, Petruchio, while believing that Bianca is "right noble / In her conditions" (p. 13.1-2), is clearly critical of the speed and lust-orientation of Caraffa's wooing (cf. p. 12.21-25). Throughout the play there are reminders that the Duke has raised Bianca from lowliness, with the implicit suggestion that the unattractive Duke has perhaps been unwise in trying to make such youth and beauty his own; but there is no indication, as in The Duchess of Malfi, that the marriage is a crime against decorum.

The ambivalence concerning the Duke's marriage - the roving eye of the huntsman, the appreciation for a true jewel - is important at the end of the play. Bianca, before her death, justifies her love of Fernando by comparison with the Duke's love for her own beauty:

The self-same appetite which led you on
To marry me led me to love your friend[.]

(V.i, p. 93.7-8)

The excuse is Bianca's, not Ford's. The worship of beauty is not extolled as being beyond conventional laws; nor is all love, as long as it remains unconsummated, upheld as totally virtuous. There is a lust in the eye and the intention - as in the Duke's speedy pursuit of Bianca, as in Fiormonda's longing for Fernando, as in Bianca's own admission to the Duke (cf. V.i, pp. 93.31-94.9).¹⁴

Petruchio's description of the Duke's love is interrupted (or completed) by the entry of the Duke, Bianca and Fiormonda, with Nibrassa, Ferentes, Julia and D'Avolos (sig. B3). In a play so concerned with beauty,

the main characters must present, as far as is theatrically possible, an appearance agreeing with that which Ford intimates. Bianca is young and beautiful, and must be clad with the elegance and wealth befitting the Duchess of Pavy. Her rich habit would present concrete proof of the social elevation for which she is indebted to her husband; before her marriage, Bianca was merely the daughter of

a gentleman of Milán - no better -
 Preferr'd to serve i' th' Duke of Milan's court[.]

(I.i, p. 12.16-17)

The speaker of these lines (Petruccio) has a daughter who serves in the Duke of Pavy's court. Perhaps we are meant to make a conscious comparison later between the more simple garments of Colona and those of Bianca, recognizing that it is the Duchess' marriage (itself dependent upon her personal beauty) which has effected this difference. Probably Bianca wears a liberal sprinkling of jewels. The Duke is admittedly rich, for he "command[s] / The storehouse of the earth's hid minerals" (I.i, p. 15.23-24), and at the same time he describes his wife as a jewel which he prefers to "Europe's riches" (cf. I.i, p. 13.14 and p. 16.1-2). The metaphor of the jewel would make any actual jewels appear less valuable and lovely than the boy actor himself, while adding to the richness and beauty of Bianca's garments. The Duke is ugly. Makeup and the actor's manner of movement must make at least plausible Bianca's detailed description of her husband in the fifth act, with his "scrambling foot", his "wearish [that is, feeble or shrivelled]¹⁵ hand", his "untrimm'd beard" (V.i, p. 92.10-12). His garments, however, would be sumptuous, conceivably even formally ducal in this opening scene with its hint of a 'presence'. The official costume of a duke, as portrayed in Thomas Milles' The Catalogue of Honor (1610), and shown in figure 41, includes the "cap of state" mentioned later in the Duke's dream (IV.ii, p. 84.25). Garments suggesting his formal rôle would subtly establish the Duke's power in his position, rather than in his manhood. Caraffa is, according to Bianca, "for a prince / Handsome

The habit and attire of a D V K E.



Figure 41. The formal attire of a duke, including the cap of state which Caraffa mentions (LS, IV.ii, p. 84.25). Some adaptation of these robes may be worn by the Duke in Act I. From Thomas Milles' The Catalogve of Honor (1610), p. 47. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

enough" (V.i, p. 93.12-13), while Fernando is "a gallant man" (p. 93.9). Thus, to her, man is more than duke, and Caraffa's symbols prove empty. In the first scene, Ford, perhaps with intentional irony, makes the Duke call himself "monarch of felicity" (p. 13.13). Later Caraffa swears that the loss of his whole dukedom would have been nothing if only Bianca had remained true (III.iii, p. 68.27-30). Bianca (prejudiced, it is true) describes her lover as "a miracle compos'd / Of flesh and blood" (V.i, p. 93.10-11). Some difference between the two men must surely be shown, perhaps by the upright and graceful bearing of the actor playing Fernando. From the beginning, the appearance of the three central characters, as they are drawn into proximity and friendly unity by the Duke (p. 13.8-15), would expose the mésalliance, in physical terms, and the dangerous appeal of Fernando (whose aside has already hinted at his love for the Duchess, p. 13.6-7).

Fiormonda is probably in black, and perhaps wearing the thin veil that was part of a widow's weeds.¹⁶ She is ostentatiously and hypocritically mourning the husband whom, in the second scene, she has clearly forgotten. Black garments would set her off against the colourful and youthful beauty of Bianca, and against her brother's joy; and would suit her rôle as tragic director, and as satirist and malcontent whose typical position is isolated from any unified central picture, commenting in cynical asides.

The Duke, Bianca and Fernando begin in visual unity, but qualified by the disturbing undercurrent of Fernando's fervent aside:

If ever, now,
Good angel of my soul, protect my truth!

(p. 13.6-7)

The Duke, sweeping onstage in an ecstasy of happiness that ignores the other characters who attend him, cries, "Come, my Bianca, revel in mine arms" (p. 13.8). His speech suggests action for the actor, first taking Bianca in his arms, then turning towards his friend, saying, "Fernando! O, thou half myself" (p. 13.11). Perhaps Fernando kneels, for he speaks of himself as "so low in

rank", and offers "loyal duty and devoted zeal" (p. 13.16, 17). As the Duke stands between his "pair of jewels,... / A perfect friend, a wife above compare" (p. 13.14-15), he attempts to make their unity even greater:

Look, Bianca,
On this good man; in all respects to him
Be as to me:...

(p. 13.25-27)

Like Ithocles in his declared friendship for Orgilus (BH, IV.iii.133-135), Caraffa restricts the proffered partnership only in "reverent observance of our bed" (p. 14.1). Fernando's stated ambition is only "to climb" to the position of a faithful follower (p. 13.20-21), but the Duke raises him (figuratively) to a share in the dukedom. Thus, when, in the Duke's absence, Fernando (according to D'Avolos) "is gotten / into the duke's seat" (II.iii, p. 50.7-8), he is only fulfilling the climb which the Duke, with grand but rather empty words, has proposed. Bianca promises to give her "best of love" to "the bosom-partner of [her] lord" (p. 14.3-4), and at once the dialogue moves away to Fiormonda's cynical asides with the lustful Ferentes - asides which view this eulogy of friendship as mere words. This movement is skilful, allowing the three central characters to remain momentarily locked in silent, visible unity, while the speakers plainly deflate the harmony of the picture, and the audience's attention is drawn to the unpleasant and discordant Fiormonda.

The unity of Caraffa and the 'jewels' is later recalled with ironical force by a repetition of the stage picture. In Act IV, scene ii after Fiormonda and D'Avolos have tortured the Duke with vivid descriptions of his wife's adultery, he pretends to set forth to the spas of Lucca, leaving his wife in the care of his friend:

Friend, hold; take here from me this jewel, this:
Be she your care till my return from Lucca,
Honest Fernando. - Wife, respect my friend.

(p. 86.7-9)

The quarto follows the first line with the stage direction, "Giues him Biancha" (sig. I3). The audience would recall the first scene when he joyed in his two jewels, bidding

them share everything but his bed - the bed which now he believes they do share.

The main exit from the Act I group scene is formal and orderly, but its completion is disrupted by Fiormonda's aside:

Now take thy time, or never, D'Avolos;
Prevail, and I will raise thee high in grace. Exeunt.
D'AV. Madam, I will omit no art.

(p. 16.8-10; sig. B4)

This summary offer of promotion is the only reason given for the machinations of D'Avolos, and Ford shows little concern in giving him an individual or powerful stimulation. "Da'uolos stayes Fernando" (sig. B4), drawing him forward again onto the stage platform, away from the façade and the retreating court figures. The offer of Fiormonda's love, by which D'Avolos fulfils her commission, continues the theme of a rise in fortunes (p. 17.28), and by this theme draws into comparison the motives and methods of the lustful widow and her brother. D'Avolos and Fernando understand each other, but each uses rhetoric to disguise the baldness of the truth, and on this occasion, Fernando is too clever for the 'politician'. The fumbling of the go-between as he realizes that he has been outwitted is comical, and helps to dispose the audience in favour of Fernando. The Duke's favourite has made his exit before D'Avolos has time to recover himself:

D'AV. Gone already? 'sfoot, I ha' marred all! this is worse and worse; he's as cold as hemlock.

(p. 18.3-4)

The secretary's soliloquy that follows is not particularly revealing, either of his character or his plans, but is instead a fairly conventional communication from a tool-villain to the audience. He plans to "smooth [Fiormonda] up" (p. 18.11) with the news that Fernando is delighted with the prospect of her love, but Ford does not exploit the idea. In the following scene the marquess does offer her love, but there is no irony of misunderstanding: she is not portrayed as a woman who assumes that only modesty stands between them; instead she appears as one who would brazenly offer herself to any object of her desires.

The second scene pushes forward Fiormonda's suit and Fernando's refusal. But intervening between these two stages of her offer is a meeting of Ferentes with his two mistresses, Colona and Julia. The subplot concerning Ferentes has been widely condemned, but it is very closely related to the themes of the main plot. Love, with the suggestion of lust, has been shown to determine the actions of the Duke and his sister. Now lust is openly the motivator. At this point, Ferentes is a complete contrast to Fernando: he pursues and accepts physical satisfaction wherever he can get it. His soliloquies after each of the girls departs show him to be without delicacy or loyalty, and his cynical generalizations create a background of depravity and license before which Fernando and Bianca struggle to maintain their honour.

Fernando's entry to Act I, scene ii, his brief exchange of words with Ferentes, and the exit of the latter, are handled with naturalness. Ford treats the problem of place and of the relationship of the characters to each other in an essentially non-localized place with subtle understanding. Fernando seems to drift onstage, wandering in that aimless way natural to one preoccupied with troublesome thoughts. Ferentes, in contrast, is alert and anxious to exploit any opportunity:

FER. Who comes now?

Enter Fernando.¹⁷

My lord, the duke's friend! I will strive to be inward with him.

My noble Lord Fernando!-

FERN. My Lord Ferentes, I should change some words of consequence with you; but since I am, for this time, busied in more serious thoughts, I'll pick some fitter opportunity.

(p. 21.9-16; sig. C2)

Ferentes, willing to oblige the Duke's great friend, and needing to set off about his "shrewd hard / task" (p. 21.8-9) of wooing, melts away at this hint. Fernando's short soliloquy exposes the unruly and immoral passion which sways him, as passion sways Ferentes; the agony of his treachery to the Duke contrasts with the cynical ease with which Ferentes accepts the naturalness of disloyalty, lust and cuckoldry. Fernando, like Ferentes, loves or

is loved by two women; the entry of Fiormonda attended by Ferentes' mistress, Julia (who makes no speech and soon exits), emphasizes, by this simple visual effect, the comparison between the two men. Such an effect as this makes an almost unconscious impression upon a theatre audience, easily overlooked by the reader who examines scenes and speeches out of their context. Julia's appearance also helps to suggest the private nature of this scene and Fiormonda's control over it. She bids Fernando sit by her (p. 22.7), making the well-mannered man temporarily captive, creating an intimate and informal grouping. Ford is particularly conscious of the intensification in mood that can be achieved by seating two characters together, as in the meeting between the melancholy Ithocles and his sister (BH, III.ii), or in the encounter of Julia and Colona, ruined and mocked (LS, III.i, pp. 56.21-57.19). Fernando's efforts to guide the conversation away from any declaration of love, and Fiormonda's very open attempts to ensnare him, provide a comical battle which has a deeply serious element too, considering the passionate nature of these two characters. This wooing, shamelessly overt and forgetful of the dead husband, establishes a standard which affects the subsequent wooings by Fernando and Bianca - they too ignore convention and decency to state their desires. Fiormonda can play the hypocritical mourner when it is convenient (before her brother and the court, I.i, p. 14.9-21), but she can also, without reticence or modesty, discard the pretence. She brushes aside Fernando's praise of her dead husband, saying, "Now, good my lord, no more of him" (I.ii, p. 23.6). With the ring she plays the widowed Duchess of Malfi's little trick, but with a difference. Webster's Duchess has vowed never to part with her wedding ring "But to [her] second husband" (DM, I.i.466). Ford's marquess was given the ring by her dying husband who bade her never part with it

but to the man [she] lov'd as dearly
As [she] lov'd him:...

(p. 23.18-19)

With this subtle change, Ford lays the emphasis upon love

or lust as Fiormonda's foremost object, not honourable marriage. Further, Fiormonda, unlike the Duchess, is shown to be a recent widow and a hypocrite. The black widow's weeds, which no doubt she still wears, silently condemn her and recall her brother's gentle accusation that her mourning "exceed[s] a mean" (I.i, p. 14.14). "What means the virtuous marquess?" asks Fernando as she kisses him (p. 24.6), and his words point ironically at the discrepancy between her appearance and reality. The Duchess of Malfi places the ring in Antonio's possession by means of a subtle and delicate device - the cure for his bloodshot eye - which avoids any overt statement of love (DM, I.i.463-468). Fiormonda is far more crude - she heavily urges the ring and her lips upon the resisting lover. "Look here", she tells him,

My blood is not yet freez'd;

. . .

Cold are my sighs; but, feel, my lips are warm. (ki(sses him))
(p. 24.2-5; sig. C3^v)

Her brashness is completely suitable to her character, even if the words are but a faint echo of the Duchess' vital yet ominous contrast between her flesh and blood and the alabaster weeper at her first husband's tomb (DM, I.i.519-521). Fernando maintains his courtliness, and in their rhetorical contest pretends to misunderstand her intentions, but he does not escape with easy wit as from D'Avolos. The verbal construction shows that he is floundering, and he escapes only through a providential intrusion. "[K]now", he tells the widow,

Long since I vow'd to live a single life.

FIOR. What was't you said?

FERN. I said I made a vow -

Enter Biancha, Petruccio, Colona, Da'uolos.

[Aside] Blessed deliverance!

FIOR. [aside] Prevented? mischief on this interruption!

(p. 24.15-18; sig. C3^v)

During the rest of the scene, Fiormonda's spite is exacerbated by Bianca's endeavours to restore Roseilli to honour - Roseilli, the very man whom Fiormonda sought to disgrace. This concluding portion of the scene shows how admirably Fiormonda is tied into the character structure

of the main plot. She is the Duke's sister with some, but not total, control over him; she dislikes his wife, loves the wife's lover, and hates the man who loves her and who is championed by Bianca and Fernando. Fiormonda's dark mood reaches a climax in a disturbing omen:

DUKE. How now, what ails our sister?

FIOR. On the sudden
I fall a-bleeding; 'tis an ominous sign,
Pray heaven it turn to good!

(p. 28.8-10)

This portent is predictive of Fiormonda's bloody purposes, and at the same time it increases the atmosphere of dismay and chaos occasioned by the Duke's anger at Roseilli's removal to Spain. Possibly Ford intends us to see the omen as another trick. Fiormonda could easily clap her handkerchief to her nose and pretend to be bleeding, hoping that the omen will intensify her brother's cholera (which is gratifying to her, being directed in part against Roseilli). The superstition that a nosebleed is ominous was widespread. Bassanes mentions it amongst the various signs that bode mischief (BH, V.i.13-14), and Antonio, trying not to be superstitious, is nonetheless distressed by his nosebleed (DM, II.iii.58-63, and cf. II.ii.80-84).

In the action following the wooing, Fernando, too, finds his self-control difficult to maintain. He is upset by his 'unruly' thoughts (p. 25.19), and aroused by Bianca's beauty (p. 26.13-15). The portrayal of general disharmony is tense and exciting. Misunderstandings and lies abound, while frequent asides shatter the unity of the stage picture into fragments - one individual pitted against another. Fiormonda attempts to offend and accuse her sister-in-law (intimating an unnatural attachment between Bianca and Roseilli); Bianca protests innocence and upholds honour; D'Avolos lies about Roseilli and is exposed; and Petruchio could be defining the whole scene when he says "Here's fine juggling" (p. 28.4). The Duke's anger, his petulance at the thought of opposition, his change of mood from mirth "Beside [his] spleen" (p. 26.18) to "choleric heat" (p. 28.12),

and his altered attitude towards Roseilli whom he now claims he only meant to banish for "a day or two at most" (p. 27.13), all help to make credible his later mood changes - his sudden jealousy and equally sudden remorse. D'Avolos is discomfitted and told not to trifle with his master, who self-pityingly exclaims:

How we
Who sway the manage of authority
May be abus'd by smooth officious agents!

(p. 28.13-15)

This judgement of D'Avolos is important. The Duke sees, at least partially, into the dishonourable nature of his secretary, and yet he later accepts this man's word against the virtue of his wife. Thus the Duke is made to appear more culpable in his jealousy than is Othello who is deluded with the belief that Iago is a very honest man (Othello, V.ii.157).

The first act has set forth a dramatically charged and tightly structured situation, with Fernando illicitly loving the wife of his friend, and loved by the lusty widow. A growing tension has been revealed in the character of Fernando, who closes the act with a further soliloquy:

Thus bodies walk unsoul'd! mine eyes but follow
My heart entomb'd in yonder goodly shrine:
Life without her is but death's subtle snares,
And I am but a coffin to my cares.

(p. 28.18-21)

The verbal emphasis upon death - 'entomb'd', 'death', 'coffin' - is ominous, almost a memento mori, for it describes a death-in-life unless he can satisfy his love, and yet that love is a treachery which he has sought to banish with the words, "Death to my thoughts" (p. 21.23). Heart imagery, in this play as in The Broken Heart and 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, is of continuing importance; and the verbal picture of his heart entombed in the shrine that is Bianca is prophetic. In the last act, this soliloquy of Fernando's is visualized when he rises startingly (already in the winding sheet of the dead) from within the tomb of Bianca, which becomes transformed into a shrine to her honour as the two men sacrifice their lives at her altar (V.iii; sig. L^v).

II. Development of the main plot and its triangle of lovers.

In the first act, Fernando's love for Bianca has been exposed, but he has not yet been seen in any open declaration to her. As the play progresses, the love of Fernando and Bianca, with the Duke's discovery and the final catastrophes, is presented in a highly visualized form.

In Act II, scene i, Fernando first (before the audience) declares to the Duchess the nature of his yearning. The scene is well composed. Mauruccio, the ancient fop, is on the open platform, playing his courtly gestures before a mirror (a conventional symbol of vanity) held by his satirical servant, Giacomo. A crowd watches him - the "Duke, Lords and Ladies" who have entered 'aboue' (sig. D^V). This audience on the terrace level makes amused comments as the fop performs on the stage platform below. Only Fiormonda is not entertained, enraged at being the object of the old antic's love. She becomes a presenter,¹⁸ drawing attention to the multiple implications in Mauruccio's act, generalizing on the nature of fools:

FIOR. I think in princes' courts no age nor greatness
But must admit the fool; in me 'twere folly
To scorn what greater states than I have been.

BIAN. O, but you are too general -

FIOR. A fool!

I thank your highness: many a woman's wit
Have thought themselves much better was much worse.

(II.i, pp. 30.25-31.5)

Mauruccio's antics before the mirror and his absurd poetic offering to Fiormonda (of whose presence he is unaware) make him an example of folly and vanity. This particular picture, with Fiormonda's snide generalizations, satirizes broadly. Her first comment is aimed at her brother, the "greater state". The imputation that the Duke has acted the fool in his courtship, coming as it does from this spiteful woman, is not in itself sufficient to influence our evaluation of the Duke. But he has behaved in a manner somewhat resembling Mauruccio's - he has sought an incongruous match with a woman not of his own status, yoking her beauty to his ugliness. Mauruccio is vain of

his appearance, which in all probability gives no cause for his self-satisfaction. The success of the humour given by this character would partly depend on his physically inelegant, ludicrous appearance. Certainly his belief in the "handsomeness of shape in [his] / very breath" (p. 29.10-11) is pungently qualified by Giacopo:

Yes, indeed, sir, I do feel a savour as pleasant,¹⁹
as - a glister-pipe [aside] - calamus, or civet.

(p. 29.12-13)

The ridiculous prospect of the aged and unattractive fool seeking a beautiful mistress²⁰ probably suggests to an audience the visual parallel of the ugly duke and his beautiful wife. But Fiormonda's generalization turns back upon herself. She has played the fool in thrusting forward her love where it is not wanted, furthering her suit with the device of her late husband's ring. This gift of the ring is recalled in Mauruccio's proposed gift of his picture (a fine conceit, he thinks it, cf. p. 31.9-14) and is recalled again when the fop finally does present her with a gift - the disguised fool, Roseilli.

In terms of the immediate development of the main love story, this subplot scene is an important intermezzo. Ford handles the transition from comedy to the serious plot with skill, leaving an impression of unforced spontaneity:

DUKE. Away, then! come, Bianca, we have found
A salve for melancholy, - mirth and ease. Exit Duke
cum (uis.

Manent Biancha & Fernando.

BIAN. I'll see the jolly lover and his glass
Take leave of one another.

(p. 33.13-16; sig. D3)

Bianca remains a casual upper stage audience, Fernando a passionately-aroused observer, no doubt with his eyes fixed upon her, while Mauruccio's activities below provide a delay which must stimulate Fernando's agony and the impatience of the audience (to discover why Ford has left Bianca and her lover together). With the foolish vanity of his type, Mauruccio slowly bows himself from the stage in a lengthy exit (sig. D3), and Bianca turns to go off in pursuit of the amusing fop, saying,

I'll not lose him so. She is going out.
 FERN. Madam, -
 BIAN. To me, my lord?
 FERN. Please but to hear
 The story of a castaway in love[.]

(p. 34.4-6; sig. D3)

As audience, she is naturally relaxed and off her guard when Fernando's intrusion suddenly forces her to be an actor again rather than an observer.

It is significant that Fernando's declaration to Bianca comes as the aftermath to a jest, and Fernando notes the contrast between the fool's declaration of love and his own:

O, let not the passage of a jest
 Make slight a sadder subject,...

(p. 34.7-8)

But by this very statement he draws the two actions into comparison. The jest and the sad story are not pure contrasts; Mauruccio is not a perfect foil, not the opposite to Fernando. Although deeply serious, Fernando too behaves foolishly, pressing an unwanted suit which Bianca has already refused twice (p. 35.2-7). Her words clearly relate his behaviour to the preceding action:

for the friendship 'twixt my lord and you,
 I have not voic'd your follies:...

(p. 35.8-9)

Although at first Bianca has been unable to stem the flow of his passionate speeches, she soon regains composure and, with a single speech of refusal and chastisement, she silences him and exits. Fernando is left to soliloquize on his past attempts to gain her love, concluding hopelessly that

tears and vows and words
 Move her no more than summer-winds a rock.

(p. 35.16-17)

The relationship of the two characters, and their respective positions, is at this point still very clear. The juxtaposition of this, their first onstage confrontation, with the comic 'act' is admirable, theatrically and thematically. The staging of Fernando's love plea on the upper level - already established as a place for observation (as it will be used elsewhere in the play,

V.i) - makes his suit appear as an intrusion, indecorous; he is taking advantage of her, haunting her at every opportunity.

The stage business of the following scene (II.ii) recalls the business and content of Act II, scene i. Now Fernando is the actor, unaware of the presence of D'Avolos who is audience and presenter to the theatre audience. In a long soliloquy before D'Avolos enters, Fernando catechizes himself on his illicit and hopeless love. The resolution of the preceding scene, "to check this rage of blood" (p. 35.18), has proved to be empty. Since Bianca has forbidden him to speak again, he proposes to send her a letter. Fernando's self-questioning does not proceed from doubts as to whether he should write; it is a foreshortening of continuing distress, for he has already written the letter:

What then? pish! [if] I must not speak, I'll write.

. . .

{ he draws
a letter.

he reads to him (elfe.

Enter D'aurlos [sic] with two Pictures.

(p. 36.21; sig. D4)

The actor of Fernando, as he reads over his latest suit to Bianca, portrays strong stage emotion with conventional gestures which are emphasized by D'Avolos who describes them for the audience. This dual presentation gives a detailed picture of 'passion' in the emotional vein of acting not infrequently demanded in contemporary stage directions.²¹ Perhaps D'Avolos remains behind Fernando, nearer the façade; probably, however, he moves nearer the foot of the stage at one side (thus allowing an intimacy with the audience for his long and slightly ungainly explanation about the pictures he is bearing and the use to which he will put them). Fernando, engrossed in his letter, is in no danger of seeing D'Avolos until the dialogue supplies the direction, "he turns about" (p. 37.13). "[H]ow now!" exclaims D'Avolos,

striking his breast! what in
the name of policy, should this mean? tearing his
hair! passion; by all the hopes of my life, plain
passion!

(pp. 36.26-37.2)

As this excessive passion ("plaine passion" is italicized in the quarto, sig. D4) is betrayed during Fernando's reading of his own letter, Ford must mean us to realize that Fernando is still tortured with the sinfulness of his hopeless love. It is the betrayal of a friend (cf. p. 36. 15-16), not adultery itself, that seems wicked to Fernando. He dismisses the thought that she is married by finding in this condition a hopeful sign, for she "therefore better might distinguish love" (p. 36.12), although this comment may proceed in part from a forced cynicism by which he tries to steel himself to his guilty act.

While Fernando acts his 'passion', D'Avolos informs the audience that the two pictures he carries are of Bianca and Fiormonda, gifts to be sent to the Duchess' uncle, the Abbot of Monaco. Fernando, when he is shown the portraits, unintentionally exposes his love for Bianca, and the spying D'Avolos becomes the possessor of the lover's secret. The pictures are thus important in the development of the plot, but at the same time they are imagistically and symbolically united to several continuing motifs in the play. The comparison of two portraits is a common device in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre. The pictures which Hamlet forces his mother to view must either be part of the normal ornament of the characters, or of the existing setting - they could be miniatures, large paintings hanging on the tiring-house façade, or figures painted on the arras itself.²² Emilia's pictures of her two lovers in The Two Noble Kinsmen are undoubtedly miniatures. The stage direction reads: "Enter Emilia alone, with 2. Pictures" (sig. 13^v).²³ There would be neither justification for nor grace in her carrying large paintings about with her. In Satiro-mastix, Tucca enters, "his boy after him with two pictures vnder his cloake" (sig. L2^v).²⁴ Here miniatures would be easily concealed, although it is possible that Dekker's satiric scene may be comically enhanced by the protrusion of larger, ungainly paintings from under their hiding place.

D'Avolos' pictures may be miniatures. He is on his way to send them "for a present to the / Abbot of Monaco"

(p. 37.10-11). Miniatures, being popular gifts and easily transportable, would be logical, and at the same time convenient, hand properties. Frequently worn on garments, and sometimes richly gem-encrusted, miniatures were, in nature and value, akin to jewels (see figure 42). Bianca has already been described as a jewel of greater worth than material riches.²⁵ D'Avolos' metaphor of the two sitters continues the general imagery of beauty as a gem or gold: the pictures will show the Abbot "the riches of two / such lustres as shine in the court of Pavy" (II.ii, p. 38.12-13). Fernando has been offered the riches of these two lustres²⁶ - the first visually and figuratively when the Duke binds his two 'jewels' in friendship (I.i, pp. 13-14), the second when Fiormonda offers her fortune and herself to him, symbolized and visualized in the ring (I.ii, p. 23). These various jewel images would make the use of miniatures here very suitable, but larger counterfeits might make a more forceful impact, since the painted image actively stimulates Ferdinand's physical passion. The play has already introduced the idea of a larger picture as a gift. Mauruccio considers presenting Fiormonda with his likeness, half-length, "in a square table of some / two foot long" (II.i, p. 31.12-13).

Whether miniatures or 'tables', the pictures entrap Fernando. Ironically, he is at first so absorbed by his own thoughts concerning Bianca that he shows little interest in the artworks, saying.

I care not much for pictures; but whose are they?
D'AV. Th' one is for my lord's sister, the other is the duchess.

FERN. Ha, D'Avolos! the duchess's?

D'AV. Yes, my lord. - [Aside] Sure, the word startled him: observe that.

(p. 37.22-27)

Despite the transition from pantomime with presenter to dialogue, D'Avolos, as his last aside shows, remains an observer. He plays the double rôle of actor and presenter, moving deftly between conversation and aside, a technique of duality that is conventionally used to expose and develop the cunning, plotting type of villain.

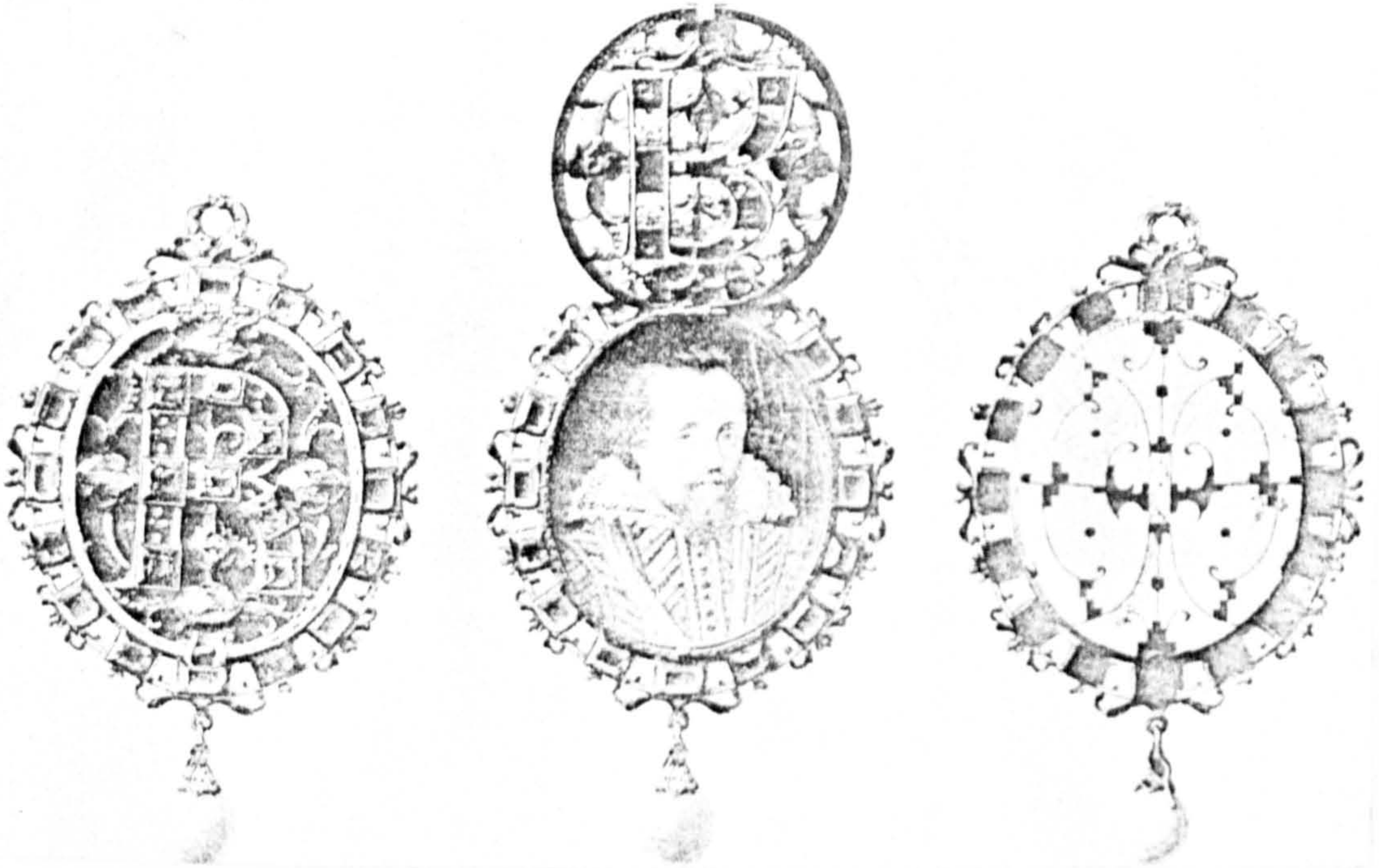


Figure 42. Portrait miniatures were valued personal ornaments, and in their use of colours, especially blue, take on the quality of enameled gems. Often miniatures were gem-encrusted, as is this superb portrait of James I, perhaps by Nicholas Hilliard, and now in the British Museum. Known as the Lyte Jewel, it was a gift from James to Thomas Lyte. Reproduced from C.H. Read, The Waddesdon Bequest, 2nd edn., rev. by A.B. Tonnochy ([London] 1927), no. 167.

He gives Fernando the picture of Fiormonda first, describing it as "a sweet picture", and one for which "Michael Angelo himself needed not blush to / own the workmanship" (p. 38.4, 6-7). This last comment and his attention to the formal details of the piece (so newly finished that the oil is "yet green", l. 4) focus upon Fiormonda's picture as a work of art (which "striv[es] to equal the / life", ll. 5-6), and Fernando's response is perfunctory: "A very pretty picture" (p. 38.8). But in presenting and describing Bianca's picture, D'Avolos emphasizes the extraordinary naturalism of the work:

[Bianca] cannot more formally, or - if it may be lawful to use the word - more really, behold her own symmetry in her glass than in taking a sensible view of this counterfeit. When I first saw it, I verily almost was of a mind that this was her very lip.
FERN. Lip!

(p. 38.21-26)

Fernando can do nothing but gaze and echo D'Avolos: "A hair!" (p. 38.20), "Love! heart!" (p. 39.5). The device of the two portraits, supported by the dialogue and Fernando's alteration from indifference to the pictures to an almost hypnotized attention, emphasizes how powerful is the appeal to the eye in this lover, as it is in the Duke. It is true that the Duke's "roving eye" (I.i, p. 12.13) subtly suggests inconstancy or ranging appetite, while Fernando's eye is constant:

His eye is fixed as if
it were incorporated there.

(II.ii, p. 38.29-30)

Nonetheless, it is the eye that governs him, as he admits after D'Avolos and the fascinating picture have left the stage:

I fear I spoke or did I know not what;
All sense of providence was in mine eye.

(p. 39.24-25)

Fernando is "dazzled / With looking on [the picture]" (p. 39.13-14). Like Ferdinand, whose eyes 'dazell' at the sight of his murdered sister (DM, IV.ii.281), Bianca's lover is blinded by sight, losing his insight, being truly "lost beyond [his] senses" (p. 39.17).

Despite the physical basis of his love (termed 'lust' by Bianca, II.i, p. 35.10), Fernando, like all Ford's serious lovers, exalts his mistress into a goddess and his love into worship:

'Tis such a picture as might well become
The shrine of some fam'd Venus;...

(p. 39.12-13)

The words echo the soliloquy which closes Act I, in which Fernando declares that his heart is entombed in "yonder goodly shrine", in other words, Bianca (I.ii, p. 28.19). But the picture upon the shrine adds another dimension. The picture has become almost an icon, something in itself to be worshipped, and Fernando longs to own a copy. "[W]here dwells the picture-maker?" he asks D'Avolos.

D'AV. By the castle's farther drawbridge, near
Galiazzo's statue; his name is Alphonso Trinultio.

(p. 39.18-20)

When he is alone, Fernando vows that

Were that picture
But rated at my lordship, 'twere too cheap.

(p. 39.22-23)

The veneration of the icon of the beloved finds a place within the conventions of Renaissance courtly love, a convention introduced in Act I. There, Bianca, striving for the recall of Roseilli, praises him to Fiormonda who flings back a taunt at her sister-in-law, saying,

You have some cause to speak; he undertook,
Most champion-like, to win the prize at tilt,
In honour of your picture; marry, did he.

(I.ii, p. 25.8-10)

Her speech, with its double entendres on 'undertook', 'tilt', 'riding-man' (ll. 8-13), embraces two levels of meaning - of the courtly, essentially asexual 'service' of a lady's champion, and of physical, animalistic lust. This duality, prevalent in the play, is expressed in Fernando's reaction to the picture and his desire to possess it - his love is lust and worship.

The device of the pictures recalls the previous scene (II.i), as does the opening arrangement of actor

and observer-presenter. The portrait of himself which Mauruccio intends to give to Fiormonda is to be no commonplace picture, as he informs his servant, for it will include a leaf of red velvet which, being opened, will reveal a "transparent crystal in the form of a heart" (p. 31.18-22). And because Giacomo feigns not to grasp the conceit, Mauruccio explains that the crystal heart will be her looking glass which she will observe hourly, and just as often see his picture (p. 32.1-9). The heart is a persistent image and symbol in Ford's plays, but he can also treat it with ridicule. The old fop naturally attributes to his mistress the vanity which he displays, and the crystal heart seems an appropriate gift. For him, the looking glass is itself an object of absorbing interest, which he views with the same fixed devotion that Fernando gives to Bianca's picture (cf. sig. D^V).

Fernando's determination to possess a copy of Bianca's picture foreshadows his continuing attempt to possess the woman, which ultimately concludes with him possessing only the picture on the shrine, the worshipped beauty and her soul without her body. D'Avolos' information about the painter, Alphonso Trinultio, adds a touch of realism that is similar to Ferdinand's statement that the wax bodies were made

By the curious Master in that Qualitie,
Vincentio Lauriola,...

(DM, IV.i.136-137)

The painter lives "near / Galeazzo's statue" (II.ii, p. 39.19-20). Ford probably invented the artist,²⁷ but Galeazzo is a name belonging to various of the Visconti rulers of Pavia. The mausoleum of Gian Galeazzo Visconti is a grandiose structure in the great Charterhouse of Pavia,²⁸ and perhaps its reputation was sufficiently widely known to add a minor, background association between the name and tombs which, considering the activities of the final scene and the proposal of a great monument to contain the three dead lovers, would give a certain aptness to the play's general locality. Galeazzo II in 1361 founded the university, a detail which may have given Ford

the idea of making the final resting-place of the ducal family a "college-church" (V.ii, p. 100.24), or he may simply have been thinking of the wide reputation of Pavia as a university town.²⁹

After the intense and private D'Avolos-Fernando confrontation over the portraits, Ford introduces action that is more general and public, the stage becoming increasingly crowded. At first Fernando is an observer to the ribaldry of Ferentes, Mauruccio and Giacopo (II.ii, pp. 39-40), and this actor-audience structure recalls the preceding action with the pictures. Once again a gift is discussed, this gift being Roseilli, disguised as a fool. The fool is given first by Fernando to the old fop, then by the latter to Fiormonda. In an ironical way, Fiormonda's acceptance of a gift from her lover, Mauruccio (whom she despises and will not hear in Act II, scene i), foreshadows Bianca's acceptance of Fernando's love after her virtuous refusals. Having rid herself of Roseilli, Fiormonda now accepts him in disguise. She tries to send the fool offstage with D'Avolos, but Roseilli will only accompany her (p. 44.20-26), probably holding her hand, for his assumed character is childlike. The two women think they can free themselves of their lovers, but neither is proof against the continued battery. Mauruccio, offering his service to Fiormonda in verses of absurd courtliness, is a parody of chivalric service. His representation of Fiormonda as a goddess is comical - "Vouchsafe to stay thy foot, most Cynthian hue" (p. 43.30) - but it recalls Fernando's enraptured conviction that Bianca's picture would become the shrine of a Venus. Either Ford intends Mauruccio's service as a parody of Fernando's - ludicrous vanity contrasting with true and exalted love -, or he is hinting at a similarity - a folly and excess in both. The structure of Act II, scenes i and ii, with their juxtapositions and visual reminiscences, with the exposure and manipulation of both the lovers, seems to support the latter view. The appeal to the eye, of looking glass and portrait, which overtly links the two men is at once evoked in the private conversation that intrudes towards the end of Act II, scene ii.

D'Avolos, reporting his discoveries to Fiormonda, draws a verbal picture of Fernando which, although biassed, is not unwarrantable: he speaks of "the infinite appetite of lust in the piercing adultery of his eye" (p. 43.17-18). The next scene confirms, I think, the supposition that Ford means us to judge Fernando's worship critically, not to give it our undivided approval.

Act II, scene iii opens with a detailed stage direction in which Ford carefully sets the scene:

Enter Colona with lights, Biancha, Fiormonda, Iulia, Fernando, and D'auolos; Colona placeth the lights on a Table, and sets downe a Chess-board.

(sig. E3^v)

Perhaps the table is discovered (as it is in Act V, scene i, sig. I4), so that the chess game takes place within the discovery space.³⁰ Both the later Fernando-Bianca scenes are discovered, involving the drawing of a curtain (II.iv, sig. F^v; V.i, sig. I4).³¹ If the discovery space, with its formalizing, frame-like effect, is used for this scene it would help to relate and emphasize the three major crises in the development of the love involvement - Fernando's courtship, with Bianca's refusal of the temptation; Bianca's courtship, with Fernando's abandonment of the temptation and acceptance of a spiritual love; and the seeming proof of consummation which leads the Duke to his murderous deed. The ritualistic and fairly static nature of the chess game scene, with the two players as a concentrated focal point at the table, and with first Fiormonda and D'Avolos, and later the secretary alone, as observer-presenter, lends itself to the visualization of a central, framed formal picture, with its observer on the open platform nearer the audience and forming indeed an extension of the audience with whom confidences are shared in asides. In the brief but comparable chess game in The Tempest (V.i.166-177), which uses the game and its language to represent the game of love, the scene is discovered. There, of course, Prospero intends to give an artificial nature to the scene, for Alonso believes that his son, Ferdinand, is dead; when the arras is drawn, discovering the young couple, Alonso suspects that the tableau is a

picture, "A vision of the island" (176). But the scene may have been in Ford's mind when he created his chess game, for certainly he often harks back to the plays of his predecessors during this drama, and the artificial picture setting of Shakespeare's game would be appropriate to Ford's play.

The chess game takes place at night, and while the Duke is absent, hunting in Nibrassa's forest. Both details are ominous: darkness and the late hour provide dangers; the Duke's hunting reminds us of Actaeon and cuckold's horns. The darkness of night is represented by the convention of lights (probably candles), and perhaps the theatre's natural light is further restricted by the closing of window shutters, a practice sometimes employed to increase the gloom of a tragedy.³² When Fiormonda prepares to retire, Bianca calls, "Lights for our sister, sirs!" (p. 46.5). If this order is addressed to attendants who are already onstage, and who now exit with the marquess, the darkness in which Bianca is left to face Fernando's declaration of love would be accentuated. But Bianca does not succumb to the danger. When she succeeds in converting her suitor, winning him from his protestations of lust to a vow of constant but silent love, she bids him good night, saying, "Rest in your goodness. - Lights there!" (p. 49.9). Unnamed attendants "Enter with lights" (sig. F), and this swelling of light, which then accompanies the characters offstage "undry wayes" (sig. F), represents Fernando's return to goodness, as Bianca and her lover exit by separate doorways to their separate beds.

As the scene begins, Bianca suggests "a mate at chess" (II.iii, p. 45.2). The ensuing dialogue with its double entendres transforms the proposed game into an allegory of sexual conquest. The clear suggestion, underlined by D'Avolos' asides, is that Fernando will defeat Bianca, who will gladly lose. The chess pieces and their described moves stand for Fernando's attempt to replace the Duke and possess the Duchess. The dramatic and symbolic purpose of this chess game recalls Middleton's

use of the device in Women Beware Women (II.ii) (as perhaps do Bianca's name and her rise in fortune through the love of a duke). Middleton's chess game is an extended effect, brilliant and harsh. The game is a trick to detain the simple Mother while her daughter-in-law is dishonoured; played out on the stage platform while Bianca and the Duke come and go on the upper stage level, it both symbolizes the loss of virtue (again through technical jargon of the chess pieces and their moves) and dramatically covers the foreshortened time in which Bianca falls. The movement from her defence of honour to her return after the Duke's conquest is paralleled by the movement in the game below in which Livia (subtle, like the Duke) defeats the Mother (simple, like Bianca). The two elements of the parallel are splendidly welded together: the game proceeds in pantomime below while the Duke and Bianca play their game verbally above, and it continues in the dialogue below while the game of adultery is played offstage.

The chess game in Love's Sacrifice, compared with that in Women Beware Women, is more naturalistically and perfunctorily treated. Most of the chess puns precede the actual playing, creating an atmosphere and expectation of sexuality. Fiormonda retires for the night, refusing to play, and thus smoothly leaving Bianca and Fernando alone. After the general exit, Bianca orders Fernando to play. The game lasts only a few lines before Fernando abandons it for his declaration of love, and there is no continuing use of the game's imagery. When D'Avolos returns as secret audience and presenter, his double entendres involve horse and hunting imagery instead of the descriptive language of the chess game. Here, as elsewhere in the play, Ford has borrowed a theatrical device, introduced it with dramatic effect, and then abandoned it fairly abruptly. Perhaps he feels it has served his purpose and wishes to give greater scope to genuine emotion in Fernando, but to have employed the chess idea, and then to ignore it in D'Avolos' satiric asides, suggests a failure to incorporate fully his staged symbol.

Another relevant play uses a game to cover a highly emotional relationship, like that in Ford's tragedy, rather than the more formalized, satirized, seduction in Women Beware Women. Thomas Heywood's A Woman Killed with Kindness (1603) has been compared with Love's Sacrifice for its domestic plot, its psychological interest, and the relationship of its three main characters.³³ In Heywood's play, a game (cards instead of chess) covers a situation of illicit love between the wife and the husband's friend, with double entendres to point the sexual overtones.³⁴ As in Love's Sacrifice, the necessary properties are carefully laid out, including lights. Frankford's servant, Nicholas, pronounces asides which underline the lovers' falsehood to his master, but he is not hidden from the players, as D'Avolos later is. The major difference between the two scenes is that Frankford, already suspecting his wife's infidelity, is present during the game, taking part in the protracted puns, until his hidden anguish bursts forth in a sudden indisposition which terminates the game in a chaos which reflects his inner turmoil. The husband's presence during the game adds dramatic tension, and as a spy to his wife's love dalliance, he here resembles Ford's Duke in a later scene (V.1).

It is just possible that a non-theatrical, artistic tradition of the chess game provides a further source for Ford's device. The game, played by a lady and her knight-servant, is a popular motif in the realm of late medieval and Renaissance courtly love and is a favourite decoration for mirror cases (see figure 43). Such renderings frequently resemble a staged scene, formed as they are by the curtains of a booth or tent. The mirror case scenes belong to a convention of service in love which in some points resembles the Platonic relationship towards which Ford's scene is moving, unlike the avowedly physical and adulterous love of Middleton's Duke for Bianca. Possibly Ford was aware of the chess game mirrors, and the idea, consciously or unconsciously, fitted within the general motif of looking glasses and lovers which he



Figure 43. Chess game on a French mirror case (Paris School), fourteenth century, ivory. Victoria and Albert Museum, 803-1891. Reproduced by kind permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

has already introduced.

Ford provides a stage direction for his actor as the game proceeds: "Fernando often looks about" (sig. E4). Fernando's long delays between moves in the game express his agitation and (providing that the boy playing Bianca pauses at each of the breaks indicated in her speech) arouse impatience and expectation in the audience. At last he kneels as she sits at the table - the lover offering service. As Fernando kneels before the disapproving lady, D'Avolos enters, "jeering and listening" (sig. E4^v). The remainder of the scene is enlivened by the manipulation of a dual perspective on the stage. Bianca and Fernando are unwitting actors; and once again D'Avolos is audience and presenter. He sees only the physical sexuality in Fernando's love - the lust which Bianca suspects and which Fernando denies. The jeering figure is a fine picture of vice, taking a prurient delight in imagining scenes of lust. His comments increase the tempo:

Not kissing yet? still on your knees?
O, for a plump bed and clean sheets, to comfort the
aching of his shins!

(pp. 47.27-48.1)

The actions which accompany the change in Fernando, brought about by Bianca's virtuous cooling of his ardour, are wonderfully equivocal - the actions of lovers. To D'Avolos, Bianca's refusal seems to signify her acceptance. Ironically it is his interpretation of the visual scene alone - of the picture without the words - that foreshadows the transformation in Bianca which is to follow directly, in the next scene (II.iv). Although, as the play amply reveals, the evidence of the eye cannot always be trusted, here it is both false and, ultimately, true. Bianca orders the "most unworthy man" to rise (p. 48.3, 5), thus refusing his offered service as a lover. But D'Avolos sees the rise as signifying a step upward to the Duke's saddle, and he accompanies his conclusion with sexual puns upon riding and hunting (p. 48.18-20). D'Avolos calls Bianca the "gray jennet with the white face" (p. 48.19), an image suggestive of hypocrisy, of the white, pure face

that is not consistent with the animal itself. The beauty of Bianca's face has captured the heart of the Duke and Fernando, the latter trusting it as an indication of virtue (I.1, p. 15.4-6). Just before D'Avolos' comment, Bianca has appealed to the visual proof of virtue in her face:

Look on our face:
What see you there that may persuade a hope
Of lawless love?

(p. 48.3-5)

This is the face that Fernando worships in the portrait, and that is befitting the shrine of the goddess of love. His worship of her face is multiple, not the simple pure adoration which, later, the two lovers convince themselves that they have achieved. When, in Act V, scene 1, the Duke believes in Bianca's adultery, he applies epithets that accuse her of hypocrisy in appearance - "black angel, / Fair devil" (p. 94.17-18).

D'Avolos' metaphor of the jennet, closely conjoined with Bianca's demand that Fernando view her chaste face, must be recalled in the following scene when Bianca, physically altered, with "her haire about her eares, in her night mantle" (sig. F^V), offers to Fernando a face which does, at first, seem to give hope of lawless love.

The chess game scene concludes with a soliloquy from D'Avolos, and a brief dialogue with Fiormonda. This separation between Bianca's refusal and the bedchamber scene may cover the re-setting of the discovery space if the chess table has been placed there. The curtain could be closed by one of the attendants who has entered with lights (sig. F), to be opened in the next scene by Bianca (sig. F^V). If the table and chairs are on the open platform for the game, they can easily be left in place or pushed back against the tiring-house façade for the rest of this act. Dramatically, the exchange between Fiormonda and her spy increases the atmosphere of danger that surrounds Bianca and Fernando.

The economy of statement with which Ford juxtaposes Bianca's virtuous refusal and her pursuit of Fernando is admirable and startling. No subplot scene intervenes to

mitigate the amazing alteration after all her protestations of virtue. The dishabille in which she enters (sig. F^V), like the lights in the preceding scene, indicates night, but it also reveals her mood - a distress which takes advantage of her unprotected state. Bianca

drawes a Curtaine, where Fernando is di/couered in bed, sleeping, she sets downe the Candle before the Bed, and goes to the Bed side.

(sig. F^V)

This careful attention to the detail of the candle suggests that its importance is more than merely literal: she abandons the light (which has been associated with a return to goodness in the preceding scene) and draws near the dangerous bed.

The awakening of Fernando, first an actual waking from sleep, then an awakening to the alteration in Bianca, is charged with questions and staccato lines. Visually, Bianca repeats Fernando's actions of the preceding scene, kneeling and kissing him as a seal of her vow (sig. F2^V and F3). But her suit, like his wooing and D'Avolos' interpretation, is equivocal. She means "to give [her] body up to [his] embraces" (II.iv, p. 52.18), but to die thereafter. She describes her love with shame, aware that it is an adulterous and physical desire, but she has "vow'd a vow to live a constant wife" (p. 52.8), and imagines she can do so if she does not enter the adulterous bed. She exploits her appearance, fit for night and bed, to stir his pity and protect her 'innocence':

If thou dost spoil me of this robe of shame,
By my best comforts, here I vow again,
To thee, to heaven, to the world, to time,
Ere yet the morning shall new-christen day,
I'll kill myself!

(p. 52.21-25)

"[R]obe of shame" is italicized in the 1633 quarto (F2), stressing the significance of the garment. The boy actor, indicating the mantle by gesture, also thus draws attention to Bianca's body (as does D'Avolos in describing her picture), to its near-nakedness, which would understandably inflame Fernando.³⁵ The night mantle is "a short, sleeveless, circular cape"³⁶ which covered part of the night smock when a woman rose from bed. The smock itself,

like the shirt probably worn by Fernando, is a long thin garment, opening at the neck, and worn with nothing underneath. She kneels thus by the bed and vows "By these dishevell'd hairs, these wretched tears" (p. 53.5) that if her protestations are not sincere he may think her "a common and most cunning whore" (p. 53.9). Her hair expresses distraction, as did Fernando's torn hair (II.ii, pp. 36-37), and as, more potently, does mad Penthea's (BH, IV.ii).

Bianca gives Fernando two kisses. The first is, for him, physical and adulterous, for he still imagines that she will satisfy his desires without killing herself. But when she succeeds in convincing him that her self-imposed death sentence is genuine, she gives him a "chaste kiss" (p. 53.18), vowing "by the faith I owe my bridal vows" (p. 53.16), that her love for him is true. It is a fine touch that Bianca protests by her bridal vows (which later seem to her to be of no value anyway, V.i, p. 89.5-8), kneeling in near undress before the bed of another man. By stopping at the chaste kiss, denying the satisfaction of the bed, Bianca and Fernando obey the Duke's earlier injunction that the Duchess should treat the two men alike, except in "reverent observance of our bed" (I.i, p. 14.1). Adultery of the bed is avoided, but adultery of the eye has been committed. For all her avowals of chaste love, Bianca confesses "With shame and passion" that

Since first mine eyes beheld you, in my heart
You have been only king;...

(p. 51.11-13)

Any final evaluation of her innocence and Ford's attitude to it is qualified by this sense of shame, forgotten by the lovers as their relationship progresses.

The whole of this bedchamber scene bears striking resemblances to one in The Lovers Progres, performed in 1623. In Fletcher's play the characters are reversed, the man coming at night for a tryst and finding, behind a curtain, his mistress sleeping (seated, not in bed).³⁷ The relationship of the central triangle of characters

is similar - the lover, Lisander, is the close friend of the husband, Cleander; during the bedchamber meeting, Lisander kneels and kisses Caliste's hand to seal his acceptance of her vow to remain a chaste wife; Cleander describes a prophetic dream which symbolizes an attempt upon his lady's virtue;³⁸ and when tried for adultery, Caliste insists that passion was mastered by reason, and that the favours she gave to Lisander were only those a sister might give a brother.³⁹ Fletcher escapes from the genuine dilemma of the triangle by killing Cleander and allowing the lovers to marry after a year's sorrow.⁴⁰ The significance of the bedchamber scene's resemblance is that it adds yet another possible source for one of Ford's highly visualized scenes in this drama which tends, at times, to appear a pastiche of his predecessors' plays.

The third act of Love's Sacrifice opens energetically. One by one, the three mistresses of the wanton Ferentes enter, pregnant, and presumably given the appropriate theatrical padding.⁴¹ (Time passes quickly, and by the end of this act the three offspring have been delivered.) The three fallen women act as foils to that shrine of virtue, the "sacred temple" that describes Bianca (II.iv, p. 53.21), and their bodies display the fruits of lust which she has avoided. But as with the contrast between Mauruccio and Fernando, this contrast is equivocal. The pervasiveness of lust and broken vows sets a background and standard which gradually becomes a norm to which the behaviour of the once-virtuous Bianca is steadily shown to conform. This spirited scene, endowing Ferentes with agile villainy and satiric humour, and threatening revenge from the three women, is followed immediately by the stage direction:

Enter Duke, Biancha supported by Fernando, Fiormonda, Petruccio, Nibrassa, Ferentes, and D'auolos.
(sig. G^v)

The friend supporting the wife is an innocent courtly action. But for Ford, this conventional relationship of a woman leaning on the man's arm is a potent, silent sign: Euphranea supported by Prophilus is a sight which causes distress to their observer (BH, I.iii.42-45).

The potentially innocent nature of Fernando's support is soon placed in doubt by Bianca's actions as she takes advantage of her husband's preoccupation concerning the coming entertainment for her uncle:

BIAN. Your lip, my lord!

FERN. Madam?

BIAN. Perhaps your teeth have bled; wipe't with my handkercher: give me, I'll do't myself. - [Aside to Fern.] Speak, shall I steal a kiss? believe me, my lord, I long.

FERN. Not for the world.

FIOR. [aside] Apparent impudence!

D'AV. Beshrew my heart, but that's not so good.

DUKE. Ha, what's that thou mislikest, D'Avolos?

D'AV. Nothing, my lord;...

(III.ii, p. 62.8-18)

Ford imitates Iago's half-heard statements, and the Duke, like Othello (Othello, III.iii) becomes suspicious. But D'Avolos has no need to create a false appearance in the wife. Bianca's action, taking place in a crowded and public scene, is impudent enough and Fernando, slightly shocked, rejects it as such. If Ford intended her behaviour to be applauded as virtuous, if he were upholding as Platonic all love except the final consummation,⁴² he would hardly have introduced this piece of action and Fernando's response. Bianca's intended deception with the handkerchief falls into the category of cunning tricks and conceits - of the worthless Mauruccio's crystal heart and Fiormonda's offer of the ring. Bianca's invention is ominous, unwisely introducing the theme of blood, and recalls her enemy's exit from Act I, scene ii.

In the following scene (III.iii), the Duke forces D'Avolos to a 'confession', and hears that he has been cuckolded by his friend. D'Avolos' hesitant revelation, the Duke's instant jealousy, and his threats against the informer if proof is not given, are reminiscences of Othello. D'Avolos promises to bring the Duke where he shall see the adultery. "See it!" exclaims Caraffa, and the villain replies, "Ay, see it, if that be proof sufficient" (p. 69.10-11). Sight will be the greatest proof for the Duke, for him whose love grew in the eye. This offer to make the Duke a spy reminds the audience of D'Avolos as spy in the chess game scene - sight does not

always convey a complete truth. In the midst of the informer's revelation Ferdinand enters, and this juxtaposition tests the Duke's self-control. Caraffa's verbal insistence upon their friendship is like a finger returning to a wound: "Come, mine own best Fernando, my dear friend", he says, and they exit together, perhaps arm-in-arm (p. 69.18; sig. G4^V), leaving D'Avolos to gloat on the Duke's sufferings: "Excellent! now for a horned moon" (p. 69.19). His thoughts are interrupted by a "Sound of Musficke" (sig. G4^V) - no doubt a 'sennet' from the music room or somewhere offstage - declaring the approach of the Abbot. D'Avolos moralizes on Baglione's visit (giving time for the Duke and Fernando to take their places for the processional entry):

Let him [i.e., the Abbot] come and go,
that matters nothing to this; whiles he rides abroad
in hope to purchase a purple hat, our duke shall as
earnestly heat the pericranion of his noddle with a
yellow hood at home.

(p. 69.21-25)

The Abbot is travelling to Rome to receive the Cardinal's hat - a journey and a transformation in his life and position; the Duke has returned home from his journey to Nibrassa's wood to receive the figurative yellow hood of jealousy. The processional meeting between Caraffa and Baglione, which enlivens the stage with crowds, colour, torches and music, is not merely gratuitous pageantry. When the Duke and the Abbot "meet and salute" (sig. H), the imagination of the audience would add the two hats to the formal picture, thus ironically undermining the splendid ceremonial which contrasts so strongly with the turbulence within the jealous ducal breast. The Abbot, with his friars and attendants, represents the Church in its strength. The insignia of an abbot are the same as those of a bishop, and include the crosier and mitre which are perhaps displayed by Baglione. Probably he wears the episcopal garments of Protestant England - the chimere (a full-sleeved, long white gown) and rochet (a sleeveless black stole).⁴³ The Duke, probably wearing his "cap of state" (cf. IV.ii, p. 84.25) and ducal robes, represents

temporal power and the nobility of his family. Yet dukedom and wealth are nothing to him compared with his wife's virtue. "A cuckold!" he had moaned after D'Avolos' confession:

had my dukedom's whole inheritance
Been rent, mine honours levell'd in the dust,
So she, that wicked woman, might have slept
Chaste in my bosom, 't had been all a sport.

(III.iii, p. 68.27-30)

A choir sings throughout this pantomimic greeting (sig. H), possibly visible on an upper level of the façade, and the music ironically suggests the harmony which no longer exists. As the two groups meet and file offstage, 'ranke[d]' in hierarchical order, "D'auolos onely (t)ayes" (sig. H). The focus returns to the solitary observer, and the stage, empty now by contrast with the colour, light, crowd and music which lately assailed both eye and ear, becomes again a place of shadows and insecurity:

D'AV. On to your victuals; some of ye, I know, feed upon wormwood.

(p. 70.1-2)

The wormwood is the jealousy that nourishes the Duke; but there may be also a suggestion of more fatal poison, for we know Fiormonda, assisted by D'Avolos, contemplates revenge. The action moves smoothly from the silent ceremonial greeting and D'Avolos' closing comment to the entertainment which ends in murder. The murder of Ferentes', crude though it may be, is closely related in theme to the main plot. The Duke, as audience, witnesses revenge for lust; he expects to be audience, in the near future, to his wife's lust. The Abbot's sententious judgement -

'tis just
He dies by murder that hath liv'd in lust

(III.iv, p. 73.5-6)

- appears, at that moment, to provide an exemplum for the Duke.

The pageant and the masque to which it leads add tension to the plot by delaying the promised sight of adultery in action, and by keeping the anguished Duke in a formal, public, audience rôle which he must share in

seeming harmony with his Duchess. The delay continues through the fourth act which exacerbates the Duke by direct assault from his informers, and by an ironical interpretation of Bianca's outwardly innocent behaviour. Act IV opens with a powerful scene, admirably written. The situation, with two characters pitted against one, resembles the construction favoured by Webster in similar scenes.⁴⁴ The taunts which Fiormonda and D'Avolos, her accomplice, fling at the jealous Duke expose the nature of all three characters - the widow's spite and her masculine spirit; D'Avolos' sneering scurrility, and the Duke's ineffectuality. When, from his weakness, the Duke is aroused to a passion that seeks action, his words reveal a histrionic, not a realistic, plan for vengeance which is consistent with his actions in the last act - with his initial inability to kill his wife, and with the highly theatrical, self-dramatizing nature of his reactions when he learns he has murdered a 'saint'.

At first in this scene (IV.i), Caraffa is the passive victim of his taunters, but belatedly he gains a verbal power, until they become his instruments whom he commands contemptuously (cf. p. 77.1), making them witnesses to a ritual which formalizes his commitment to vengeance. "[N]ay, kneel down", he bids, and as the three go down upon their knees he swears never to rest, never to smile, until he has found a way "to satisfy / Fury and wrong" (p. 77.8-14). This formalization of the vow gives it a force and dedication, almost a religious import, like the "vowes seal'd with the sacrament" made by the Conspirators before they murder Brachiano (WD, V.i.62-63). The brief ceremony and the oath make the revenge seem inevitable, and the Duke concludes it by saying,

Let's rise on all sides friends: - now all's agreed:
If the moon serve, some that are safe shall bleed.

(p. 77.14-15)

Here again Ford is influenced by Othello (III.iii.456-473). There is greater strength in Shakespeare's scene, in the spontaneity of Othello's vow, and the consummate villainy of Iago as he kneels voluntarily, dedicating himself, with

a show of great loyalty, to the Moor's purposes. However, Ford's scene is adequate, and the trio of kneeling figures effectively recalls and anticipates other groups of three.

As the three revengers, contemplating blood, stand in formal and concrete unity, there enter to them, Fernando, Bianca and Morona. This sudden intrusion by the lovers is dramatically timed. Unwitting of their danger, they come innocently to plead for the Duke's acquiescence to the marriage of Mauruccio and Morona. To the Duke they appear to be the treacherous friend and the harlot, visually united with a woman whose lust has ended in revenge.

BIAN. My lord the duke, -
DUKE. Bianca! ha, how is't?
How is't, Bianca? - What, Fernando! - come,
Shall's shake hands, sirs? - 'faith, this is kindly done.
Here's three as one: welcome, dear wife, sweet friend!

(p. 77.16-19)

D'Avolos and Fiormonda are left alone to whisper and observe, and Morona must remain humbly aside until her suit is pleaded; the Duke, taking Bianca and Fernando by the hand, creates a further visual trio. This picture of "three as one" recalls the initial peaceful appearance of the Duke between his two jewels (I.i, p. 13), while it also, forcefully, imitates the recent pact of vengeance. The two jewels have become victims.

Bianca's suit to the Duke is a recollection of Desdemona's ill-timed plea to Othello concerning Cassio (Othello, III.iii), but whereas Cassio is the very cause of Othello's jealousy, Bianca and the suspected adulterer have been made suitors together. The subject of their case is less organically related to the main plot than is that in Othello. For Bianca and Fernando to be so concerned with the affairs of Morona and Mauruccio does little to express their characters or any serious issue; their suit is used as a piece of effective stage business to increase the Duke's anguish:

BIAN. My lord, we have a suit; your friend and I -
DUKE. [aside] She puts my friend before, most kindly
still.

BIAN. Must join -

DUKE. What, must?

BIAN. My lord! -

DUKE. Must join, you say -

BIAN. That you will please to set Mauruccio
At liberty;...

(p. 77.22-78.3)

Mauruccio enters "in poore rags, and Giacopo weeping" (sig. H4).⁴⁵ His foppish vanity, visualized with the looking glass in Act II, scene i, is aptly punished by this transformation, but the humour provided by the old fop, frightened but still speaking in stilted rhymes, is feeble. Mauruccio's liberty depends upon his marriage with Morona, a condition he readily accepts, but the Duke is disgusted that a man should be prepared to take as wife the mother of a bastard (p. 79.11-15). The Duke's thoughts run upon bastardy and abused beds, thus making the present stage situation seem to parallel his own disgrace. Caraffa consents to the marriage which sets the fop at liberty:

Fernando, thou shalt have the grace
To join their hands; put 'em together, friend.
BIAN. Yes, do, my lord; bring you the bridegroom
hither;

I'll give the bride myself.

D'AV. [aside] Here's argument to jealousy as good
as drink to the dropsy; she will share any disgrace
with him: I could not wish it better.

(p. 79.23-29)

Bianca's action does not seem to merit the word 'disgrace', especially as the Duke has agreed to the marriage. Visually the little action is effective: the couple who, to the Duke, appear as adulterous lovers, joins together folly and lust.

Once more before the climax the Duke confronts his wife; he and Bianca are alone upon the stage, the only time that this is so (IV.ii). The dream which the Duke recites is a little allegory, its implications reaching beyond the purely personal tale of adultery. It resembles popular hortatory exempla, for here the guilty have triumphed, but will be punished. The dream is the culmination of the imagery of a rise and fall which has touched the three main characters. The Duke has raised Bianca socially, and raises Fernando to a position of power and friendship - "partner in my dukedom, in my heart" (I.i, p. 13.22); D'Avolos suspects Fernando of

rising to the Duke's seat (II.iii, p. 50.7-8) and of begetting a bastard to take the throne (IV.i, p. 75.9-11). During the dream sequence, as for the taunting scene (IV.i), the presence of a stage state would add effective irony. No stage direction requires a throne, but as it was a common stage property it may have been the conventional means of establishing the court setting of a ruler. If the Duke is actually seated upon the state during Act IV, scene i, his sister's accusation of cowardly inaction would make visually forceful the irony of ducal power and personal weakness:

dost thou sit
On great Lorenzo's seat, our glorious father,
And canst not blush to be so far beneath.
The spirit of heroic ancestors?

(IV.i, p. 73.3-6)

In his symbolic dream, the Duke pictures himself upon his throne, and perhaps he speaks from that position, or backed by the state:

as I in glorious pomp
Was sitting on my throne, whiles I had hemm'd
My best-belov'd Bianca in mine arms,
She reach'd my cap of state, and cast it down
Beneath her foot, and spurn'd it in the dust[.]

(IV.ii, p. 84.22-26)

Naturally he represents himself as innocent, but the audience is aware of his ineffectuality while seated upon his throne (and in dealing with his wife), and his grandiose offer to raise his friend to a partnership in that throne, and therefore we can see that he has some responsibility for his misfortune.

The rhetoric of the dream ceases to exert a control over his emotions. The vision threatens to become reality, and crying, "I have a sword - 'tis here -" (p. 85.3), he vows

To hew your lust-engender'd flesh to shreds,
Pound you to mortar, cut your throats, and mince
Your flesh to mites: I will, - start not, - I will.

(p. 85.5-7)

This vow of action is as imaginary as the dream, as horrific and histrionic as the oath with which he previously vowed vengeance (IV.i, p. 76.1-7 and p. 77.2-7). But as he grasps his weapon, flourishing it at Bianca, he

gives a terrifying reality to the moment:

BIAN. Mercy protect me, will ye murder me?

DUKE. Yes. - O, I cry thee mercy!

(p. 85.8-9)

Just in time he recollects himself, and that he will not act until he has proof. Theatrically it is a good scene - the drawn sword appears as a genuine threat, but Bianca escapes; tension mounts, and is briefly allayed before rising once more. In abstract, this scene is a successful confrontation of jealousy, sympathetically treated, and innocence; but its meaning in relation to the rest of the play is somewhat ambiguous. In general, the development of Bianca's character (supported by stage visualisation) is fairly clear - from the aloofly chaste wife, to the troubled lover trying to remain true to her marriage vows, to the wanton who snatches a kiss, and finally to the frankly lascivious lover who has lost her own sense of values (denying now the significance of a vow, V.i, p. 89.5-14), and who is longing to complete the adultery in the bed which she swore to keep pure (V.i, p. 93.16-18). In the dream scene, Bianca appears innocent; she has the restraint and strong sense of morality that she displays in the first two acts before the bedchamber scene. Caraffa asks her if his dream were not ominous, and she replies:

'Twas, my lord,
Yet but a vision; for did such a guilt
Hang on mine honour, 'twere no blame in you,
If you did stab me to the heart.

(IV.ii, p. 85.14-17)

In this scene Bianca is not given the "innocence-resembling boldness" which Lamb attributes to Vittoria in the trial scene.⁴⁶ There is no indication that we are to judge her as a dissembler. If she interprets her relationship as purely Platonic, then she is, in her own mind, free from the guilt of horning her husband. Her attitude provides a self-criticism of her behaviour in the next act. Although, to the end, physical adultery is not committed, her professed desire for ultimate satisfaction with Fernando (V.i, pp. 93-94) makes her, in intention, guilty of the sin for which she accepts the rightness of her husband's punishment.

A stab to the heart is the punishment which she condones, and which she receives. When Bianca first admits that Fernando holds the highest place in her heart, she does so "With shame" (II.iv, p. 51.11-13); thus she has accepted that there can be sin in intention, not only in the act. Bianca is not a hypocrite, but she becomes untrue to herself, gradually losing sight of her earlier clear sense of morals as she seeks satisfaction for her desires.

Act IV, scene ii can be made to fit into the general pattern of Bianca's development and self-deception. However, as a scene, I feel that it has acquired a slightly independent nature. In the main plot of Love's Sacrifice, Ford frequently echoes Othello and, particularly in Bianca's death scene, The White Devil.⁴⁷ In her death scene (V.i), in actions and verbal echoes, Bianca is another Vittoria, although Ford fails to give her the glory and power of Webster's frankly sinful heroine. In the dream scene, dramatically - in her effect upon the audience - Bianca is another Desdemona. In his fashioning of scenes upon other plays, Ford seems, in Love's Sacrifice, to strive at times after individual effects that do not quite unite - he wants Bianca to be both Desdemona and Vittoria.

The terrifying threat offered by the Duke in response to the dream is temporarily removed and he houses his sword. But to cure his frenzied senses he intends to speed to Lucca. Here again is a Websterian echo - Bosola advises the old courtier, Castruchio and the Old Lady to go together to the healing waters of Lucca (DM, II.i.63-64), and Cariola suggests Lucca as a destination for the Duchess' flight from her brothers' wrath (III.ii.361-362). The device is useful to Ford's plot: the feigned journey allows the Duke to catch the lovers together, and the pretended cure is necessary, for he has felt "a disposition to be sick" (III.ii, p. 62.33) just before he learns of the apparent adultery. Bidding Bianca to remember his dream, the Duke prepares for his journey:

Is provision ready,

To pass to Lucca?

Enter Petr. Nibr. Fior. D'auolos, Ro/ & Fernando.

PET.

It attends your highness.

DUKE. Friend, hold; take here from me this jewel, this:
Giues him Biancha.

Be she your care till my return from Lucca,
 Honest Fernando. - Wife, respect my friend. -
 Let's go: - but hear ye, wife, think on my dream.

(p. 86.5-10; sig. I3)

He joins again the two jewels, recalling the first scene, but warning of the dream that has intervened. By his repetitions of 'friend' and 'wife' he casts them in the rôles which he believes them to have abused.

Act V, scene i, like the chess game and bedchamber scenes, gives the impression of a visual tableau.

Fiormonda enters 'aboue' (sig. I4) - the position of the presenter-audience as it has been in Act II, scene i.

After her apostrophe to Revenge, which arouses an expectation of catastrophe, the stage direction reads:

A Curtaine drawne, below are discovered Biancha in her night attire, leaning on a Cushion at a Table, holding Fernando by the hand.

(sig. I4)

As in the other two tableau scenes it is nighttime, with the dangerous security of the Duke's absence. Her night attire repeats the costume of her wooing scene, when she first overstepped the bounds of strict virtue and presented herself before his bed. Presumably Fernando is still in day clothes, having come to her chamber. Ford may simply neglect to mention Fernando's night clothing; but Fernando, unlike Bianca, does not deviate from a Platonic expression of love after he dedicates himself to that worship in Act II, scene iv. If he wears his normal habit, the difference in their costumes would suggest the difference in their attitude to the relationship. As this tableau is discovered - the curtain probably drawn by an extra from inside the discovery space or booth - the bed could be visible at the back (as it is her bed-chamber), furthering the reminiscence of Act II, scene i, and the sense of present danger. If the action takes place in the discovery space, Fiormonda must be on that part of the balcony which runs along one of the side walls of the tiring-house, in order to see the onstage action. However, if the action is set within a curtained booth

that has been set upon the stage platform, she would be able to observe from a central position on the façade.⁴⁸

A cushion is a symbol of luxury, in the medieval sense embracing lechery, and is used as such in The White Devil (I.ii; sig. B4^v).⁴⁹ Here it denotes the flagrant wooing by Bianca, and enables Ford to communicate a moral judgement. It is Bianca only who leans upon it and questions the validity of vows and of marriage as a barrier to their love (p. 89.5-14). Fernando, in a passage garbled in the printing, seems to uphold his chaste relationship, intending to remain a purely Platonic servant until she is widowed or buried:

By all the comfort I can wish to taste,
By your fair eyes, that sepulchre that holds
Your coffin shall incoffin me alive;
I sign it with this seal.

Kisses her.

(pp. 89.21-90.2; sig. I4^v)

This vow, sealed with a kiss, is fulfilled when her tomb does 'incoffin' him, alive but in the winding sheet that foretells his self-inflicted end (V.iii; sig. L^v); both vow and final action are conscious pursuits of an earlier, involuntary situation when, with no apparent hope of response, his heart was 'entomb'd' in Bianca (I.ii, p. 28.19). Ironically, Bianca questions the validity of all vows, and thus by implication of his loyalty until death (p. 89.5-8). Chaste love until death is no longer what she seeks, for she would rather be a maid-servant,

To purchase one night's rest with...Fernando,
Than be Caraffa's spouse a thousand years.

(p. 89.13-14)

Fiormonda's asides, accentuated by her isolated and elevated position, here point more closely to the truth than in earlier scenes; her suspicions are becoming justified. Like D'Avolos' comments during the chess scene, her words give a bawdy note which now does describe Bianca. The two lovers kiss again and again, in 'sport' (p. 90.3-7; sig. I4^v), at which Fiormonda remarks:

Here's fast and loose!
Which, for a ducat, now the game's on foot?

(p. 90.7-8)

Their kisses across a table and before a hidden audience

recall the chess scene, while Fiormonda's aside echoes D'Avolos' response to that earlier meeting: "Now, now, now the game is a-foot!" (II.iii, p. 48.18). The stage picture has not changed radically from that of the chess scene; the interpretation by the onstage audience shows little difference; but how much Bianca has changed is evident in her desire for the kisses which, in the chess scene, were only acceptable as a vow that he would never again speak to her of love (pp. 48-49). Ford has used games as symbols of sexual activity, both in the chess scene and in Act III, scene ii (p. 63.7-12). Fernando's words now - "it is a sport to swear, / And glory to forswear" (p. 90.6-7) - bring to the lovers' actions a lasciviousness that formerly existed only in the asides of the misinterpreters, D'Avolos and Fiormonda. This lighthearted attitude to vows and perjury, in a play that has exposed and punished a vow-breaker in Ferentes, also places the lovers in a less than defensible position.

Whiles they are kissing, Enter Duke with his sword drawne, D'auolos in like manner, Petruchio, Nibraa, and a Guard.

(sig. I4^v)

The sudden intrusion of five or more characters breaks only slowly upon the lovers' absorbed consciousness. The sword which the Duke had threatened to turn upon Bianca, is now unsheathed in earnest, and supported by D'Avolos and the armed guard. Colona cries a warning from 'within' (sig. I4^v) - presumably from beyond the back curtains of the discovery space, or through the door by which the Duke has entered.

FERN. What noise is that? I heard one cry.

DUKE.

Ha! did you?

Know you who I am?

FERN. Yes; thou'rt Pavy's duke,

Drest like a hangman: see, I am unarm'd,

Yet do not fear thee;...

(p. 90.15-18)

As in The White Devil (V.vi.193) and 'Tis Pity She's a Whore (IV.iii.69), 'hangman' is an epithet of scorn, describing a base executioner striking against one who cannot defend himself. "[M]urder sits upon [the Duke's] cheeks" (p. 90.21), as foreshadowed by the "ruddy flakes

of wrath" that scarleted his pale cheeks when first he vowed vengeance (IV.i, p. 75.15).

The removal of Fernando, necessary for the ensuing confrontation between the Duke and his wife, is somewhat awkward. The Duke, "too angry" to punish Fernando 'unprovided' (p. 90.22-23), orders the guard to take the lover away. Struggling, and protesting Bianca's innocence, Fernando is dragged from the stage (p. 91.1-4). He warns Caraffa not to shame his manhood by laying hands "On that most innocent lady" (p. 91.3). Fernando does not merely speak from a sense of chivalrous protection. Although he has not actively attempted to increase the physical enjoyment of their relationship, he has, like Bianca, degenerated and lost sight of his earlier, clearly professed values. In the scene which leads to this climax, Roseilli warns him that the Duke knows of his relationship with Bianca:

FERN. Let him know it; yet I vow
 She is as loyal in her plighted faith
 As is the sun in heaven: but put case
 She were not, and the duke did know she were not;
 This sword lift up, and guided by this arm,
 Shall guard her from an armed troop of fiends
 And all the earth beside.

(IV.ii, p. 87.20-26)

Even if she were guilty he would protect her; but such a defence would not accord well with his earlier understanding of his loyalties, by which his love for the Duchess makes him a "Traitor to friendship" (I.ii, p. 21.19).

Ferdinand's removal is succeeded by a general exit:

DUKE. Leave us all;
 None stay, not one; shut up the doors.

(p. 91.4-5)

The confrontation is thus reduced to essentials - the Duke with his sword, Bianca in her night attire, and, on the balcony above, the voice of revenge urging the Duke on to action:

FIOR. Now show thyself my brother, brave Caraffa.

(p. 91.6)

Bianca is here presented with an audacity that recalls Vittoria's strength before her judge, where she,

too, is styled a whore.⁵⁰ The courage of the taunts by which she wittingly provokes her death is unflinching. But, compared with Vittoria in her trial and death scenes, Bianca is a poor creature, not vanquishing by strength of argument, but descending to the petty glory of triumph over her husband's ugly insignificance; like Vittoria in the house of convertites, Bianca is reduced to a merely spiteful woman, but without Vittoria's appeal (however dishonest) to larger issues. In Bianca's defence of her action there is no sense of eternity, no view of larger reality, nothing but a poor delight in having found "the properer man" (p. 92.7). She describes her husband with cruel delight, a man with

a crookèd leg, a scrambling foot,
A tolerable face, a wearish hand,
A bloodless lip, ...an untrimm'd beard[.]

(p. 92.10-12)

The effect which she might expect such a description, and its contrast with Fernando, that "miracle compos'd / Of flesh and blood" (p. 93.10-11), to make on the Duke can be surmised by recalling the importance of personal beauty in this play. As Ferentes lies dying, his three mistresses stand over him, recalling his former offences, but Julia alone, who was not fair enough, dwells with growing fury upon his insult, stabbing him again when the other two have satisfied their revenge:

COL. I was too quickly won, you slave!

MOR. I was too old, you dog!

JUL. I, - and I never shall forget the wrong, -
I was not fair enough; not fair enough
For thee, thou monster! - let me cut his gall -
(he stabs him.)

Not fair enough! O, scorn! not fair enough!

(III.iv, p. 72.11-16; sig. H^v)

Bianca justifies her choice of Fernando by comparing it with her husband's reason for marriage - each chose to love great beauty (p. 93.7-9). Bianca's love has become appetite (p. 93.7) and she swears that she sought every opportunity to win Fernando to a fulfilment of adultery:

Hark in your ear; thank heaven he was so slow
As not to wrong your sheets; for, as I live,
The fault was his, not mine.

(p. 93.16-18)

It is possible to suppose that Bianca speaks in this fashion to take the blame upon herself and free Fernando from the Duke's punishment, but throughout this scene Ford makes Bianca seem truly lustful.

Bianca meets her death bravely, with words that recall Vittoria (cf. WD, V.vi.217-222). "Prepare to die!" cries the exasperated Duke, to which she replies:

I do; and to the point
Of thy sharp sword with open breast I'll run
Half way thus naked;...

(p. 95.13-16)

The boy actor, tearing back the garment at his throat, would reveal a simulation of nakedness by means of a fleshcoloured garment discreetly padded.⁵¹ Bianca's action exposes her courage, but this attention to nakedness can also be expected to discountenance the Duke whose love for her has resided in the eye (cf. I.i, p. 12.13-24).

Like Vittoria, Bianca claims that she will not tremble, that her murderer does not look fierce enough (cf. WD, V.vi.210-212 and 222-227):

DUKE. Dost thou not shake?
BIAN. For what? to see a weak,
Faint, trembling arm advance a leaden blade?

(p. 91.13-14)

But unlike Vittoria (and Desdemona), Bianca is not given that human fear which marks a credible and heroic death. Vittoria does tremble, as Lodovico affirms (222), but she will not allow fear to win. "O thou art deceiv'd", she tells him (224), and the audience knows that he is not deceived, but that, even in her natural terror, she will not let her murderer triumph. By making Bianca utterly unmoved by death, Ford weakens the horrifying power of murder and makes her courage appear too easy. Webster's Duchess has this same fortitude, but she has come through despair (DM, IV.i) before she can attain her magnificent yet humble confidence. Ford makes quite clear Bianca's moral decay, but in the courage with which she meets the fatal stroke, he seems to be attempting to give her death grandeur and strength. However, her ignoble language in this scene - language that is spiteful and full of a frankly physical longing - robs her death of tragic majesty.

Ford's presentation of the Duke in this scene is more successful. The jealous husband cannot believe the alteration in his Duchess, attributing to witchcraft the perversion "Of the once spotless temple of [her] mind" (p. 94.13). Gradually he becomes convinced that her beauteous face has misled him. She is a "black angel", a "Fair devil" (p. 94.17, 18, another probable recollection of The White Devil). His anguished words have a poetic beauty which contrasts with the harsh realities of Bianca's descriptions and saves him from being the pathetic object of her scorn:

Now turn thine eyes into thy hovering soul,
And do not hope for life; would angels sing
A requiem at my hearse but to dispense
With my revenge on thee, 'twere all in vain[.]

(p. 95.9-12)

The Duke's words lead outwards, beyond the immediate, as Bianca's do not. It is ironical that the Abbot, Bianca's uncle, has promised to return from Rome with "an indulgence / Both large and general" (III.iv, p. 71.1-2) to give to the Duke, but when the Abbot reappears in the final scene, Ford does not revert to the matter of the indulgence.

The Duke is not meant to be seen as the virtuous avenger. He gains some sympathy, but he is acting entirely on the instigation of the two malicious villains, accepting as proof a vision which has not shown him the adultery that he repeatedly describes - abuse of the bed (cf. p. 95.2-3). Fiormonda's presence on the balcony level reminds us of the Duke's weakness and his tendency to be led by whichever person has his ear. Seeing his brave wife bare her breast to the sword, he falters and "casts away his sword" (sig. K2^V), but Fiormonda upbraids him as a coward:

DUKE. Ha! say you so too? -
Give me thy hand, Bianca.
BIAN. Here.
DUKE. Farewell;
Thus go in everlasting sleep to dwell! (draws his ponyard
Here's blood for lust, and sacrifice (and tabs her.
for wrong.

(pp. 95.26-96.2; sig. K3)

within the curtained area, its artificial nature, resembling a framed picture, would be stressed, encouraging a detached and critical rather than emotional response from the spectators. We in the audience would resemble Fiormonda, conscious viewers of a scene; because she is never a character with whom we are meant to sympathize, we must reject her point of view. Observers, onlookers, spies in the play constantly see only part of the reality; any emphasis upon the audience as audience should remind us subtly that a single and simple interpretation is unwise. This caution is necessary, since both the Duke and Bianca see only their own version of the truth - he, that his revenge is just; she, that the incomplete adultery leaves her innocent. Neither interpretation is complete.

In the two remaining scenes of the play, Bianca is remembered and described as if she were entirely virtuous. Fernando, as yet unaware of her death, swears to Petruchio and Nibrassa that he had never reaped the benefit

Of any favour from her save a kiss:
A better woman never bless'd the earth.

(V.ii, p. 97.1-2)

Thus he admits and upholds a Platonic relationship that allows kisses; from his point of view he and she have not overstepped the virtuous limits. His listeners accept without question his justification, calling Bianca "kind lady", "virtuous lady" (p. 97.4, 20). The two old men are counsellors, "Counsellors of State" (sig. A2^V); they have both shown their conventionally moral hatred of consummated lust when their unwed daughters are found to be enceinte (III.i). But they are not shown to be particularly intelligent or effectual men - they have not succeeded in weaning the Duke from dangerous friendships (cf. I.i, pp. 11.15-12.3), nor do they give him any of the strength of counsel which the weak ruler requires. They are commonplace men, and their unquestioning acceptance of a physical yet apparently Platonic relationship is not expressed by Ford as anything but a superficial view. (Conceivably Ford intends some irony in Nibrassa's evaluation of the "kind lady" who gives kisses, for 'kind' in the verbiage of love could mean

that the lady gratified her lover's desires:)⁵³

For the audience, Fernando's description of Bianca is a misrepresentation which the counsellors do not bother to question and concerning which Fernando is deluded. The kisses in the fifth act are of such an absorbing nature that they mask from the lovers a major entry and Colona's repeated cries (V.i, p. 90.9-15; sig. I4^v), showing that Fernando too, although not admitting it to himself as truthfully as does Bianca (cf. p. 93.9-32), is experiencing that physical satisfaction which, earlier, the two lovers recognized as lust and treachery. The audience, having just heard Bianca's cruel scorn for her jealous husband, can hardly be expected to accept her as the best woman who ever blessed the earth (p. 97.2), especially as she has admitted how much she owes to that husband whom she abuses (cf. II.iv, p. 52.2-8).

Fernando is given a sword by Nibrassa who fears the fury of "the jealous madman", the Duke (p. 97.5; sig. K3), and a moment later the Duke enters,

his Sword in one hand, and in the other a
bloody Dagger,

DUKE. Stand, and behold thy executioner,
Thou glorious traitor! I will keep no form
Of ceremonious law to try thy guilt.]

(sig. K3^v; p. 97.22-24)

Like Orgilus and Ferdinand, the Duke oversteps the forms of law. In doing so he is, like them, deluded about the 'justice' of his revenge, and like Ferdinand he comes to recognize his sin in thus abusing ceremonious law. Ferdinand momentarily sees the truth, is mentally blinded and goes mad; the Duke is incapable of deep insight, and merely exchanges one distorted version of reality for another.

Fernando's preparedness for death repeats, visually, Bianca's. He refuses to fight or plead, and dropping the borrowed sword, he, like his mistress, offers his breast to his enemy's weapon:

Here, here's my bosom: as thou art a duke,
Dost honour goodness, if the chaste Bianca
Be murder'd, murder me.

(p. 98.19-21)

His defence of Bianca depends upon the acceptance of the cult of Platonic love. Because the adultery has not been consummated and Bianca is not technically guilty, it is possible to respond with some confusion to this scene and believe that Ford is now upholding his heroine as the totally virtuous woman whom Fernando and the Duke sanctify. But Ford has made Bianca's deterioration and the consummation towards which she aims quite clear; he has, by means of staging and irony, exposed the foolish unreality, the theatricality and lack of clear insight in Fernando and the Duke. The vision of the two men has been shown to be suspect: the lust in the eye betrayed by Fernando's reaction to the two portraits; the Duke's acceptance of the fifth act's opening tableau as visual proof of a completed adultery which it does not show. And both men have been shown in situations which parallel them with the overt fools of the play - Mauruccio and Roseilli in disguise. We must ignore Ford's construction of the preceding acts if we accept Fernando and the Duke as his spokesmen. Fernando at least has the courtesy to recognize his own failings, which Bianca has not (p. 99.5-9).

Fernando's words in this scene have a beauty and a cosmic vision that transform Bianca, in her lover's mind, into a saintly heroine:

O duke!
 Couldst thou rear up another world like this,
 Another like to that, and more, or more,
 Herein thou art most wretched; all the wealth
 Of all those worlds could not redeem the loss
 Of such a spotless wife. Glorious Bianca,
 Reign in the triumph of thy martyrdom;
 Earth was unworthy of thee!

(p. 99.11-18)

These fine lines, with their not unworthy echo of Othello (V.ii.146-149), represent only Fernando's view and his usual imaginative extravagance, and show how far he is from seeing the truth of Bianca as presented by Ford in her developing character. However, one feels here as elsewhere in the play, that the lines take on an almost abstract reality, as if Ford would like his heroine here to be truly virtuous, truly a martyred Desdemona. Once again there is this hint of duality in her creation - it

is noticeable that in her death scene (V.i), Webster (and Vittoria) is most frequently evoked by Ford, while in this scene the imitations of Othello return with density.⁵⁴

The Duke, easily credulous, is shaken by Fernando's declaration of her innocence, and asks:

Fernando, dar'st thou swear upon my sword
To justify thy words?

FERN. I dare; look here. Kisses the Sword
(p. 99.20-21; sig. K4)

The Duke is convinced and gasps, "Bianca chaste!" (p. 99.26), and

(Offers to stabbe
himselfe, and is
stayed by Fern.

(sig. K4)

This complete faith in the easy oath of the man whom he believed to be a traitor (p. 97.23), capable of witchcraft (V.i, p. 94.12-14), does expose the weakness of the Duke, easily led and obviously (for the audience) an untrustworthy interpreter of Bianca. But, even in convincing the Duke, this device is dramatically feeble. It has none of the strength of proof by which Othello learns the truth with growing horror in the passage on which the Duke's conversion is modelled (Othello, V.ii.228-238). Emilia offers factual proof about the handkerchief; her words, coming from one who is not the accused lover, have greater dependability, and her death at her husband's hand proves Iago a villain. In momentary snatches Ford recovers strength. The Duke's anguish, which reminds one of Othello's deeper and more individualized grief (Othello, V.ii.274-285), is effective because of the play's concern with sight:

Whither now
Shall I run from the day, where never man,
Nor eye, nor eye of heaven may see a dog
So hateful as I am? Bianca chaste!

(p. 100.3-6)

The Duke performs a brief ceremony of the sort which appeals to Ford:

Kneeles downe, holds vp his
hands speakes a little and riseth[.]
(sig. K4^v)

Ironically, the kneeling motif is a visual repetition of

the pact of vengeance which the Duke formed with his sister and D'Avolos in Act IV, scene i (p. 77.11-14). This repetition points to the Duke's vacillation and narrowness of vision. Easily swayed by others he does not look beyond the immediate and partial vision of truth that is presented to him, for to accept Fernando's declarations means to forget Bianca's sworn desires in Act V, scene i. The Duke draws Fernando to him, probably taking him by the arm:

come, friend, now for her love,
Her love that prais'd thee in the pangs of death,
I'll hold thee dear.

(p. 100.10-12)

Husband and friend are once again united when D'Avolos enters. The Duke's dismissal of his tormentor - the "arch-arch-devil" (p. 100.20, a variation on Othello's epithet of "demi-devil" applied to Iago, Othello, V.ii.304), is somewhat perfunctory. D'Avolos brings news that the Abbot of Monaco, Bianca's uncle, means to visit the Duchess the following day (p. 100.14-17). This unexpected return of the murdered woman's uncle could be highly tense. The presence of Gratiano, Desdemona's uncle, at the bedside after her death is filled with pathos. He is both the close relative, deeply and personally moved (V.ii.207-212), and the upright citizen with a commonsense view, who would prevent Othello's suicide, but cannot (257-259). Since the Duke of Pavy now accepts his guilt and Bianca's innocence, he is subject to the chastisement of the Abbot who is both her relative and a representative of the Church. But the Abbot's personal, family involvement in the disaster is not explored. As the Abbot is returning from Rome (p. 100.14-15), he must now be a cardinal, with new robes and the purple hat for which D'Avolos told us he was journeying (III.ii, p. 69.22-23). The Cardinal has received the purple hat; the Duke has found the yellow hood (cf. p. 69.23-25) of jealousy and has acted upon its bias. But Ford makes no reference to Baglione's transformation, referring to him still as 'abbot', and perhaps he has forgotten the purpose of the journey to Rome.

In the play's final scene, a servant prepares for

the pageantry of Bianca's funeral. The Duke, he tells Roseilli, Fiormonda and D'Avolos,

is ready to pass to the church, only staying for my lord abbot to associate him. - Withal, his pleasure is, that you, D'Avolos, forbear to rank in this solemnity in the place of secretary; else to be there as a private man.

(V.iii, p. 102.20-24)

D'Avolos is left onstage alone for a brief comment on his fate. The arrangement is skilful. An empty stage is avoided between the announcement and the ceremonial entry (which Roseilli, Fiormonda and the Servant must exit to join), and it allows D'Avolos to be present, despite his decline, in his old rôle of isolated observer.

Ford prepares this scene of spectacle with his usual conscious care:

(A sad sound of soft musicke.
The Tombe is discovered.)

Enter foure with Torches, after them two Fryars, after the Duke in mourning manner, after him the Abbot, Fiormonda, Colona, Iulia, Roseilli, Petruchio, Nibrassa, and a guard. D'auolos following behinde. Comming neere the Tombe they all kneele, making shew of Ceremony. The Duke goes to the Tombe, layes his hand on it.

Musicke cease.

(sig. L^v)

The soft, sad music, whether from concealed or visible musicians,⁵⁵ creates a tragic atmosphere which also befits a religious mystery. The discovered tomb is probably a large movable sepulchre in the discovery space or booth, with a front panel which can be opened.⁵⁶ A similar monument may have been used in the echo scene of The Duchess of Malfi, likewise a private theatre play, where the tomb can accommodate the actor of the Duchess (as Echo) whose face Antonio (and perhaps the audience) can see on a sudden in a clear light (V.iii.56-57). Romeo and Juliet, of which this final scene of Love's Sacrifice shows an awareness,⁵⁷ requires action among a number of tombs (V.iii.85-87,97). There, the necessary tomb properties, the vault which Romeo forces open (perhaps signified by a door across the usually curtained discovery space, V.iii.22, 45-46), and the verbal references to numerous graves (5-7, 121-122, 151-152) create a setting which is

overwhelmingly that of death and its trophies. Ford's scene, ritualized and histrionic, depends more upon ceremonial and the shock of Fernando's actions, for its deathly effect.

The funereal procession in Love's Sacrifice is large and impressive. The four characters with torches help to focus our attention upon the line of spectacle with its tomb background, after the open and intimately informal nature of the stage at the beginning of the scene during the meeting of Roseilli and Fiormonda. Presumably the "mourning manner" of the Duke refers to his habit as well as his mood. In black he would present a contrast to Fernando's pale winding sheet; in garments he is the living mourner while Fernando is symbolically dead. Since Fiormonda has probably worn the black weeds of her widowhood throughout, mourning clothes would associate the Duke with his sister, associating the murder with its instigator.

The large group of characters kneels before the tomb. The presence of the Abbot-Cardinal and the friars gives to the spectacle something of the nature of a formal religious ceremony. The simple gesture with which the Duke concludes the ceremony, laying his hand upon the tomb, is the type of gentle effect that Ford understands so well. In the midst of pomp it expresses the Duke's unspeakable grief. He confesses the crime of his butchery, with that imaginative vision that glories in making great tragedy of his rather tawdry being (p. 103.12-21), and bids his attendants open the tomb,

that I may take
My last farewell, and bury griefs with her.
One goes to open the Tombe, out of which ariseth
Fernando in his winding sheet, onely his face
discovered; as Caraffa is going in, he puts
him backe.

(p. 104.1-2; sig. L^v)

The sombre mood of penance is shattered by the startling appearance of Fernando, already given to death. As Bianca's true lover, Fernando claims his right as guardian of her tomb. Her heart was consecrated to him, and now he joins with her in death, literally fulfilling his vow

to be encoffined alive in her monument (cf. V.i, pp. 89.19-90.2). He has made her a shrine for his love (I.ii, p. 28.18-21), and now treats her tomb as a shrine of virtue out of all proportion to the reality of her life. His appearance and timing is so histrionic, his rhetoric is so contrived, that he betrays, like the Duke, an unconscious fondness for theatricals, for playing out a grand scene that obscures reality from himself. Robert Ornstein, who finds little to applaud in Love's Sacrifice, is particularly embarrassed by the final scene. He fears that it is serious in intention, but wishes that it were a burlesque of the whole tradition of romantic melodrama.⁵⁸ One sympathizes with his fear that it might appear merely silly - but only if badly and insensitively played. Ornstein accepts the deification of Bianca through her two lovers as being Ford's evaluation of his heroine, which clearly it is not. The actor of Fernando must be able to show the theatricality of this final development of his character without destroying the inherent beauty and passion in his rôle. His behaviour in this scene has, and should have, a dangerous resemblance to that of Mauruccio (II.i). But whereas Mauruccio's adoration is grounded in self-love, as symbolized by the looking glass, Fernando's is based in genuine and deep love of another, as symbolized by the portrait. His is a mixed love - it is lust of the eye, but it is also worship of beauty as representative of a virtue which is proved to him by Bianca's behaviour in the bedchamber scene (II.iv) and which he does not subsequently question.

Where Ford fails in this scene is not in the ranting and spectacle, but in the somewhat perfunctory treatment of the two acts of suicide. The death chosen by the two characters is well fitted to their nature: the man of passion takes poison and burns in the flames of the "Swift, nimble venom" (p. 105.15); the murderer inflicts upon himself the same death that he gave his wife. But the words with which they meet their end are set speeches, without originality.

This scene of double violence - one dead within the

tomb, one before it - freezes the other characters, who stand as a horrified audience. The two men make themselves sacrifices at Bianca's altar, but it is an altar and saint which they have created for themselves. This artificiality is stressed by the highly theatrical nature of the scene, by the presence of an onstage audience, and by the Duke's transformation of his life into a story:

Children unborn, and widows whose lean cheeks
 Are furrow'd-up by age, shall weep whole nights,
 Repeating but the story of our fates;
 Whiles in the period, closing up their tale,
 They must conclude how for Bianca's love
 Caraffa, in revenge of wrongs to her,
 Thus on her altar sacrific'd his life. - (tabs him)selfe.
 (p. 106.6-12; sig. L2^v)

This consciousness of posterity, of an undying fame purchased by the tragic deeds, is a commonplace of Jacobean tragedy, especially of the self-conscious villains who glory in their deeds. But seldom does the dying man himself make such a distanced and rather impersonal prediction. How very different is Othello's death speech, which in dramatic terms resembles the Duke's in obscuring from the surrounding characters the intended self-slaughter. Othello does not bequeath his story to a nameless and distant audience, but to the Venetian state for whom he has done "some service", and whose judgement of his final actions must be guided to the truth, without extenuation (Othello, V.ii.341-359).

Fernando and the Duke are both histrionic in performing their death, but consistently dissimilar. Fernando, hot-blooded, goes swiftly burning to Bianca. The poor Duke is ineffectual even in death, missing the tragic moment, robbed of his glorious scene by Fernando (V.iii, p. 104.3-6), coming behind his rival in the ultimate sacrifice. With his scrambling foot (cf. V.i, p. 92.10), he creeps to Bianca (V.iii, p. 106.23), an ignominious action portrayed by the actor as he seeks to reach the tomb that already encoffins Bianca and her lover.

The Abbot pronounces the play's final couplet, acting here, as after Ferentes' death, as an impersonal, authoritative spokesman. The nature of his final comment is revealing:

No age hath heard, nor chronicle can say,
That ever here befell a sadder day.

(p. 108.6-7)

Unlike the rhyming sententia^e that close all the other plays in this discussion, the Abbot's words do not convey any moral or philosophical judgement. He offers no evaluation of Bianca's chastity or lust, or of the 'sacrifice' of the two men. This day is the saddest - virtue and vice are not assigned rôles. This non-moral statement is consistent with the play in which errors of judgement and lack of self-knowledge bring about the tragedy. All three of the main characters are guilty of misinterpretation and worse, but Fernando and Bianca stop short of the most severe moral crimes. The attitudes towards morality expressed in the play remain, intentionally, equivocal.

III. Roseilli and fools in general.

Roseilli, as an independent character, is not a tremendous success. His suffering as Fiormonda's faithful but despised lover is not explored - the relationship is convenient to the plot, not integral to the character. But symbolically, Roseilli is important. We are told a considerable amount about his horsemanship - he could outride even the skilful French (I.i, p. 27.2-6), and he competes as a chivalric champion in tournaments (I.i, p. 25.8-10). This emphasis upon horsemanship makes it logical to compare him with the Duke who first saw Bianca while hunting and who is in danger of receiving Actaeon's horns when he has left the duties of government for further hunting. Roseilli, who rides for the honour of the tilt instead of the negligent pleasure of the chase (with its implications of lechery), ultimately receives the reins of the dukedom. The way for Roseilli's honourable return to court is prepared in Act I, scene ii when the Duke is surprised by the young man's absence and insists that the commanded banishment was only to have lasted for a few days (p. 27.8-14). Thus when, in the final act, Roseilli resumes his own shape and assumes the power of Duke of Pavy, this change in his position is not startling or

inappropriate. He does not, like Lodovico (WD, IV.iii), return from banishment in the very face of his crimes, with ironical effect. But in the intervening scenes, Roseilli takes on a second significance. His return to court is not open and honourable, but secretive, deceitful, and ignominious. His purpose in undertaking the disguise is to place himself, undetected, near his only enemy in court, Fiormonda whom he loves.

Roseilli enters "like a foole" (sig. E2). Like many disguised stage characters - like Ford's scholar Aplotes, or Webster's friar murderers in The White Devil -, Roseilli's assumed rôle requires only a simple costume which could be worn over his normal garments to allow an easy return to his real self in Act V (iii, p. 101.1-3). The conventional dress of the natural fool or simpleton, a frequent stage costume, was a long garment - long petticoats often of coarse cloth and sometimes guarded with bands of contrasting colours at the hem. The fool wore a cap, often trimmed with bell, cock's comb or feather. Perhaps Roseilli wears the traditional comb, making literal as well as figurative his assertion that he is able to penetrate the plots of the wise "By privilege of coxcombs" (III.ii, p. 66.18). Several other common accoutrements of the fool were worn at the girdle - a muckender or handkerchief, a slate or hornbook, a child's wooden dagger, and a horn.⁵⁹ Roseilli might also carry the fool's 'bauble' (a stick often ending in a toy head) with which he could play, seemingly unconcerned with the reality of life around him. But the movements of this bauble in the hands of the disguised lover would add to the undercurrent of sexuality evident in this scene (II.ii). Phallic in shape, the fool's stick is an obvious source for puns, as in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore: "They say a / fool's bauble is a lady's playfellow" (I.ii.122-123). This indecent suggestion of 'playing' with fools is made while we watch Roseilli, for Mauruccio (himself a fool and soon to receive an equally suggestive toy - the tooth-picker) assures Fercentes that

there's not a great
woman amongst forty but knows how to make sport
with a fool.

(II.ii, p. 43.6-8)

An illustration which, although post-Restoration in date, may give a reasonable portrait of Antonio, the disguised fool in Middleton and Rowley's The Changeling (1622) of whom Roseilli is reminiscent, is on the titlepage to Francis Kirkman's The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport (1673) (see figure 44). Besides the costume, gestures - the lolling head and vacant eye of the idiot - would help to transform Roseilli in the sight of those who know him well. Perhaps the disguise is aided by the use of a different wig, although the audience would accept the conventional success of a disguise without extensive alteration, for in contemporary plays other characters seldom penetrate the assumed rôles of their friends.

Antonio, in The Changeling, also performed at the Phoenix, uses his fool's disguise, as does Roseilli, to obtain free access to an otherwise unapproachable mistress. But Antonio puts his disguise to rapid and extensive use. Since the mistress he loves is married to the jealous owner of a school for fools and madmen, the disguise is an integral part of the subplot. As soon as he succeeds in being alone with Isabella, Antonio discards his fool's talk for a feverish love suit, startling his mistress (to whose sense of humour the situation appeals, as it would to the audience). In this metamorphosis he is spied upon by the husband's servant, Lollo (III.iii.187-199).⁶⁰ Roseilli, on the other hand, is not given a scene in which to plead with his mistress, and as a result his attendance upon her is predictably ineffectual. Gifford's abhorrence of the contemporary attitude to fools as creatures of amusement is irrelevant, but his criticism of the practicality of the disguise is difficult to oppose. Roseilli, he says, "could scarcely expect to win his mistress by inarticulate drivelling".⁶¹ The Changeling's idiot, besides making use of his disguise, is, as fool, an amusing character, assuming a sufficient degree of understanding to make pungent jests, while the almost



Figure 44. Titlepage to Francis Kirkman's The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport (London, 1673; B.M. C.71.h.23). The figure of the changeling may preserve the traditional stage appearance of Antonio in his fool's disguise in Middleton and Rowley's The Changeling (1622). His foolishness is accentuated by the way he stands, with feet apart and splayed, and hanging hands. Roseilli's dress and manner were probably similar. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

incoherent Roseilli, with his "Can speak; de e e e e -" (II.ii, p. 42.21) and "Will go, te e e - go will go -" (p. 44.26) is hardly stimulating. Where Ford does make amusing use of Roseilli is not through the idiot himself, but through Mauruccio, the genuine fool, who translates Roseilli's mutterings and affirms that the fool is a great linguist, delivering "whole histories in the Tangay tongue" (III.ii, p. 64.10).

The Changeling's subplot of the disguised fool and his companion, Franciscus, the disguised madman, is suddenly and frighteningly tied to the main plot, with the potent danger of tragedy into which they heedlessly run. The absence of the fool and the madman provides the false suspicion that Antonio and Franciscus are the murderers of Piracquo - they have indeed played the fool and madman with their own honour and safety (V.ii.70-82). Roseilli, although not in such a dramatically exciting dilemma, is placed in what, at first, promises to be an interesting position. Fernando is his close friend, and to him he owes some undefined debt for aiding the disguise plan (II.ii, p. 36.1-6); at the same time he is a suitor to the woman who loves Fernando and is so placed that he overhears her expression of love for that friend, but a love that is so violent and passionate that he fears she will either win or ruin Fernando (III.ii, p. 65.18-21). Loyal he brings a timely warning to his friend, and in response Fernando passes a judgement that can hardly be pleasing to the ears of a lover:

She is as far beneath my thought as I⁶²
In soul above her malice.

(III.ii, p. 66.2-3)

But the potentially dramatic situation of Roseilli's divided loyalties - of his disappointed love and warnings to his rival - is not explored, and his pain is not made evident.

The significance of Roseilli's presence onstage in his disguise is that it provides a simple concrete image of foolishness which is a constant source of comparison with the apparently wise characters who cannot see themselves reflected in this counterfeit fool. Most overtly, the fool provides an ironic foil to Mauruccio, a comparison

that is obvious to everyone but the foolish old courtier himself. Fernando assures him that the fool is

As very a fool as your lordship is - hopeful
to see in any time of your life.

(II.ii, p. 41.9-10)

The parallel between the two fools is made particularly clear when Giacopo applauds his master for giving Roseilli to Fiormonda,

for so shall she no oftener see the fool but she
shall remember you better than by a thousand looking-
glasses.

(II.ii, p. 43.2-4)

Mauruccio's proposed looking-glass gift to which Giacopo refers was to have been enclosed in a portrait of Mauruccio himself; the fool thus becomes Mauruccio's picture.

But not only Mauruccio, unwittingly presenting his rival to his mistress, is shown to be a fool. Fiormonda accepts the gift only because it comes ultimately from Fernando. She who has clearer vision than most of the other characters is, through her lust for Fernando and anything associated with him, fooled by her own fool - Roseilli, the lover whose exile she had effected - and she is thus shown to be deluded about the extent of her power over the lives of other characters. Mauruccio explains that the fool was

given me out of special
favour by the Lord Fernando, madam.
FIOR. By him? well, I accept him; thank you for't:
And, in requital, take that toothpicker;
'Tis yours.

(II.ii, p. 44.11-15)

The 'toothpicker' is a suitably worthless gift for the vain fop who will now be able, like Dekker's gulls, to correct his teeth with his instrument in the sight of all,⁶³ and he sets off on an elaborate quibble upon the sweet gift (pp. 44.16-45.2). At the same time, the toothpicker presents another quibble to an audience familiar with the inevitable sexual associations of such an object.⁶⁴ These implications contribute to the general bawdry of this scene, a bawdry related to the disguised lover and (by association) to Fiormonda who receives him. Mauruccio has told Ferentes that any great woman knows the way "to

make sport / with a fool" (p. 43.6-8). Fiormonda exits with the fool-lover, but the 'sport' which he would afford her takes an unexpected turn. It is he who will finally outwit her, punishing her lust with an enforced chastity (V.iii, p. 107.21-25). In terms of the play's plot, the giving of Roseilli to his mistress seems like a natural object of the disguise plan made by Roseilli and Fernando. Fernando stands to gain by promoting Roseilli's suit, for it would rid him of Fiormonda, his "other plague" (I.ii, p. 21.24). But Fernando presents the disguised fool to Mauruccio, and there is no indication that those who know the secret of the disguise confidently expect the old fop to make a further gift of the fool.

The Duke is soon drawn into a comparison with the fool. D'Avolos, while his master is away hunting, misinterprets the Bianca-Fernando meeting and assumes that the Duke has been given Actaeon's horns. Moralizing on the inevitability of adultery, he exclaims,

the goodliest beast amongst tame
fools in a corporation is a cuckold.

(II.iii, p. 50.1-2)

The Duke returns, and seeks out entertainment from his corporation of fools. He is irritable and melancholic, and his vague general "disposition to be sick" (III.ii, p. 62.33) is intensified by his specific anger against Roseilli:

Roseilli will not come, then! will not? well;
His pride shall ruin him.

(III.ii, p. 60.1-2)

To soothe his displeasure he calls for Mauruccio and his fellow fool - Roseilli, the source of the displeasure:

DUKE. We are too sad; methinks the life of mirth
Should still be fed where we are: where's Mauruccio?

(p. 62.22-23)

Ferentes tells him that Mauruccio has "grown / so affectionately inward with my Lady Marquess's fool" (p. 62.24-25), that it is difficult now to decide "which of the two is the / wiser man" (p. 62.29-30). Roseilli's

own folly is apparent in his persistent refusal to return to court in his own person. His pursuit of a hopeless love is endangering his honour and position with the Duke. Mauruccio and the fool are brought before the Duke to perform, the one interpreting the 'learned' ramblings of the other. They fail to raise mirth in the Duke (or much in the audience), but the fool inspires in the Duke a weary remembrance of the burden of greatness:

How happy is that idiot whose ambition
Is but to eat and sleep, and shun the rod!

(p. 64.34-35)

This longing for escape echoes the nobler sentiment of Prophilus on seeing the simple, but virtue-loving Aplotes - likewise a disguised character ironically at variance with the real character underneath (BH, I.iii.137-140).

The Duke continues:

Men that have more of wit, and use it ill,
Are fools in proof.

BIAN. True, my lord, there's many
Who think themselves most wise that are most fools.
D'AV. Bitter girds, if all were known; - but -...

(p. 65.1-4)

Ford probably does not intend us to imagine that Bianca is flatly calling her husband a fool (although she has behaved somewhat brazenly in this scene, under his very nose, p. 62.8-16); instead, D'Avolos draws our attention to the specific application of the generalization. But because Bianca is not totally innocent and ignorant of the crime, as is Desdemona, her words are ambivalent, and D'Avolos' Iago-like insinuation has a dramatic potency and danger of truth.

The Duke, now thoroughly out of countenance, exits and the stage is soon left to Roseilli and Fernando. At once Roseilli utters wisdom from within his fool's dress. He warns Fernando that Fiormonda and D'Avolos are dangerous and bent on wicked plots, a caution which Fernando dismisses carelessly, almost arrogantly, with the folly of one who no longer considers the realities of life:

Pish! should he [i.e., D'Avolos] or hell
Affront me in the passage of my fate,
I'd crush them into atomies.

(p. 66.11-13)

The 'fool' is the wiser man. Their secret conversation and its continuation in Act IV, scene ii (pp. 87-88) add nothing to the plot or the audience's knowledge. In the second meeting Roseilli repeats a conversation between his mistress and her evil agent which he has overheard as he "lay slumbering on the mats" in Fiormonda's chamber (IV.ii, p. 87.6). But as his information is general, supplying no details of plots that can be avoided or met, the purpose of both these meetings can only be to show the nature of Fernando, a fool where his own safety - indeed where reality - is involved. Roseilli quotes the marquess as saying

"Were not the duke a baby, he would seek
Swift vengeance; for he knew it long ago."

(p. 87.18-19)

Perhaps here again the audience would recognize the irony of the Duke as a fool. The 'natural' idiot was dressed as a large child, a baby not yet out of his long coats, and the Duke is a baby, a fool. The entry of Colona to this private meeting is lame. The situation is potentially tense - prying eyes might catch the 'fool' out of character. Fernando's threats against the Duke cease:

FERN. Damn him! - he shall feel -
But peace! who comes?

Enter Colona.

COL. My lord, the duchess craves
A word with you.

FERN. Where is she?

COL. In her chamber.

ROS. Here, have a plum for ie'ee -

COL. Come, fool, I'll give thee plums enow; come, fool.

(p. 88.2-6; sig. I4)

Ford has not bothered to create a real sense of danger. Roseilli falls back into his fool's rôle with ease, but is not robbed of further serious statement. He does not follow Colona's bidding, but remains behind, alone, to close the act with a general maxim:

I see him lost already.
If all prevail not, we shall know too late
No toil can shun the violence of fate.

(p. 88.9-11)

In The Broken Heart, fate is an active and unavoidable force, twisting the lives of the characters together in a

superbly inescapable fashion. In Love's Sacrifice, Fernando encounters the violence of his fate because he refuses to avoid it; little toil is expended to shun it. As Roseilli realizes, Fernando is "too safe / In [his] destruction" (p. 88.1-2).

Roseilli's next appearance, transformed from fool to noble lover (V.iii), brings him back into focus before the audience in a shape that will be suitable for his final rôle as spokesman and judge. The stage direction reads:

Enter Fiormonda, and Roseilli discovered.
(sig. L)

Ford's words imply simply that Roseilli is now in his normal costume. Weber's emendation - "discovering himself"⁶⁵ - is unnecessary. Roseilli need not be in the act of removing his fool's garments, but he is presumably carrying them, for he refers to "this shape" in which he has been hidden (V.iii, p. 101.3), and D'Avolos, entering several lines later, at once associates the man and the assumed character ("Whom have we here? Roseilli, the / supposed fool", p. 102.10-11). Fiormonda is converted with unconvincing speed by her lover's faithful servitude:

Strange miracle!
Roseilli, I must honour thee: thy truth,
Like a transparent mirror, represents
My reason with my errors.

(p. 102.1-4)

There may be an intentional echo of the mirror conceit of her foolish lover (II.i, pp. 31.9-32.9), contrasting the sincerity and worth of the two men. She promises herself to Roseilli and he expresses infinite pleasure. This preparation for Roseilli's final reception as Duke is not essential, in terms of plot, at precisely this moment. Structurally, however, it is useful, providing a moment of calm relief between the highly emotional moments of the anguished Duke's announcement of Bianca's funeral (V.ii) and the actual ceremony three days later. During the spectacular tragedy of the tomb scene, Roseilli is a spectator of no individual importance to the audience. But he is the first to speak after the second suicide,

acting as presenter to the character next in command: "He's dead already, madam", he tells Fiormonda (V.iii, p. 106.24). As in the final scene of The Broken Heart, a brief ceremony makes formal the transference of rule from the dead to the living. The Abbot "ioynes their hands" (sig. L3), conferring the church blessing of marriage, and the general cry of "Long live Roseilli!" (p. 107.3) completes his assumption of power. Like Calantha (BH, V.ii.66-67), Roseilli begins his rule with the dispensation of justice. If the stage state is visible, it would lend visual and symbolic force to his authority. He turns first to D'Avolos, who is dealt with summarily, sent off to hang with only two lines of reaction, and then the new Duke directs his justice towards Fiormonda, dismissing her from "The mutual comforts of [their] marriage-bed" (p. 107.22), urging her to improve her life and "make [her] peace with heaven" (p. 107.25). This punishment is consistent with the attitudes towards physical lust expressed in the play (although surprisingly lenient). The bed is the important scene of love; it alone, in the view of most of the characters, can be abused. Roseilli's firm command brings an order to the play's world that the old uxorious, roving-eyed Duke could not bestow. However, like so much in Ford's rendering of this character, Roseilli's attitude towards his new bride fits the general pattern of the play more effectively than it fits his character. He has, literally, put off the fool, but his metamorphosis has been without any indication of inner struggle. He who earlier stubbornly pursued his mistress despite the ruin to his reputation and place at court now, at the ideally appropriate moment, casts her aside in the interests of justice. In this final ensemble, there is no unifying comment, ironical or otherwise, encouraging us to recall that the man banished by the Duke has become the Duke's successor.

IV. Fiormonda and D'Avolos, the conscious villains.

With Fiormonda, Ford has made a highly successful, theatrically gripping character, only marred in the end by her sudden unconvincing conversion (V.iii). Throughout the play she is governed by her lust for Fernando; her pride wounded by his scorn; and her disdain for Bianca raised from lowliness to the Duke's bed. These passions, consistent and credible, make her a natural creator of harm. She is usually somewhat withdrawn from any unified group of characters, commenting maliciously upon them in asides, often coupled with her evil companion, D'Avolos. Her asides frequently add or underline sexual crudeness, indicating her own preoccupation. As the chief plotter with D'Avolos, she is naturally a director of action; and this director's rôle is skilfully heightened by the application of an overtly theatrical idiom to some of her important scenes - an idiom closer to Webster than is anything in The Broken Heart.

Both Fiormonda and D'Avolos are frequently observers and commentators, but the secretary is a more impersonal audience and villain than is the widow. With his many asides and soliloquies, D'Avolos is often a link between the audience and the action; but he has none of the individuality and wit which makes similarly-placed tool villains, such as Flamineo, so appealing despite the audience's consciousness of their evil. Motivation for his villainy is perfunctory and conventional. Fiormonda's offer of reward (I.i, p. 16.8-9) is a commonplace stimulus to poor secretaries with an appetite for villainy; his soliloquy after the unsuccessful interview with Fernando suggests a further, also conventional, motive for continuing his activities - the Vice character's love of his own cunning, his ability to 'sift' mysteries (I.i, p. 18.7-10). But he is never given sufficient bitterness at his own lowly place nor that verbal hugging of his own cleverness that makes a Jacobean Vice an exciting creation. He is Fiormonda's tool, willing but unoriginal. The scenes in which he is made to imitate Iago (especially III.ii) show particularly a lack of invention on the part of the dramatist.

But in an important way, D'Avolos is not a failure. Ford has given to the two plotters some very fine staging, making their place in the stage picture, as unnoticed audience or whispering observers, dramatically effective. The question of vision (which includes insight) is important throughout the play - Fernando believes in the truth which he sees in Bianca's face (I.i, p. 15.4-6); love presents itself to the Duke through the eye (I.i, p. 12.13,24); Fernando's eye seems 'incorporated' in the portrait (II.ii, p. 38.29-30) on which he has gazed so steadily that "All sense of providence was in [his] eye" (p. 39.25); and the Duke, believing himself to be a just executioner, bids Bianca "turn [her] eyes into [her] hovering soul" (V.i, p. 95.9). The characters believe in the 'proof' which is presented to their eyes, but they are frequently shown to be thus deluded by their misinterpretations of a visual scene. Because of this significance of sight, the observer rôles of D'Avolos and Fiormonda, while being theatrically effective, are also important to the play's themes. The audience is meant to be aware that vision is frequently at fault - partial, biassed - so that no character's opinion represents Ford's own or the total truth. D'Avolos and Fiormonda, as observers, are not merely spies, in the manner of Iago. Their observing is often made to seem that of the spectator of a picture or a theatrical scene, especially when Fiormonda watches, from above, Bianca's death scene (V.i), or when D'Avolos observes the tableau and pantomime of the chess game (II.iii) and the curtain-framed tableau of the kissing lovers which opens Act V. That D'Avolos should also be the bearer of the portraits and the enunciator of their artistic merits is entirely appropriate.

In Act II, scene i, Fiormonda is just one of many characters standing as audience on the upper stage while Mauruccio recites his verses to his mistress. The other characters, overhearing the fool, treat his performance as amusing and empty. Fiormonda reacts with all the spite and hate that is common to her nature, and that is disproportionate to the given offense. Her anger makes her

a formidable enemy to Fernando, for clearly she is not one to be easily assuaged, or to overlook an insult. But her reaction also reveals how a given scene can arouse passions which expose the observer, and in the following scene (II.ii) this truth is further explored by D'Avolos. With the two portraits, D'Avolos plays a theatrical rôle, as observer-presenter of Fernando's passion. He uses his convenient properties in the hopes that Fernando will betray the object of his devotion, and after the success of this attempt joyfully says in an aside, "I am confirmed" (II.ii, p. 39.8). However, he does not appear to have suspected, prior to this scene, that Bianca was the beloved (cf. II.ii, p. 37.2-13), and consequently his use of the two pictures, while clever, does not have that element of planning and cunning which distinguishes such politic villains as Flamineo, Francisco, and D'Avolos' cousin germane, Iago. Like them he can use a situation that is fortuitously provided, but Ford does not give him the same inventive imagination with which Webster and Shakespeare endow their villains, creating a chilling sense of continued, offstage, plotting. The pictures, being fortunately those of the woman Fernando loves and the one who loves him, seem a rather more contrived device than, for example, the dropped handkerchief for which Iago has long sought and which he stores for future use (Othello, III.iii.294-328).

In the portrait scene, D'Avolos is also a director, for he stimulates Fernando's emotions until the truth of the love for Bianca is exposed. When D'Avolos later returns to the stage, he is in private conversation with Fiormonda, reporting his discovery. Fiormonda is grimly satisfied: "Is't Mistress Madam Duchess? brave revenge!" (p. 43.16), but D'Avolos does not let the matter rest, saying,

But had your grace seen the infinite appetite of lust in the piercing adultery of his eye, you would -

FIOR. Or change him, or confound him:...

(p. 43.17-20)

Fiormonda does not notice that D'Avolos is working upon

her, increasing her sexual frustration by his detailed account of Fernando's lust. This type of stimulation is precisely that which he has applied to Fernando and will force upon the jealous Duke (III.iii and IV.i). D'Avolos, by habit an observer, attributes great importance to sight, but his own vision is partial, imperfect. He correctly interprets Fernando's visualized display of emotion as stemming from love, but he does not see that the ecstasy of passion arises from warring emotions of love and loyalty to friendship (cf. p. 36.8-23). Thus, to the following scene (II.iii), D'Avolos comes with a bias that expects to find Fernando wooing the Duchess, and he accepts what he sees as proof of the couple's adultery. The chess game is given undercurrents of lewdness by the asides of Fiormonda and D'Avolos. D'Avolos' imperfect vision is effectively portrayed through his ability to see the gestures without hearing the words which mitigate the action. Probably he is near the front of the stage, confiding with the audience. His generalizing soliloquy on the universality of cuckoldry (p. 49.10-12) echoes Ferentes' view of life (cf. I.ii, pp. 19-21 passim). But whereas Ferentes' view is borne out by the easy conquest of his mistresses, D'Avolos' view at this moment has been shown to the audience to be false, for Bianca has not accepted the offered adultery. It is economically ironic that in the very next scene (II.iv) D'Avolos' suspicion is at least partially justified.

When D'Avolos reveals the adultery to the Duke (III.iii), his activities resemble those of Iago as he feigns innocence and offers to provide proof of his accusations. The proof that he proposes is to be a sight of the adultery itself:

I can, if you will temper your distractions, but bring you where you shall see it; no more.

DUKE. See it!

D'AV. Ay, see it, if that be proof sufficient.

(p. 69.7-11)

This promise and the taunting of the jealous Duke is repeated in Act IV, scene 1. Here Ford, without turning

to Othello this time as a model, brings his two plotters to the centre of the stage picture, and brilliantly and forcefully displays their baseness, their sexual excitement and voyeurism, and their crude delight in torturing the Duke. Again the Duke insists that D'Avolos "must produce an instance [of Bianca's faithlessness] to [his] eye" (IV.i, p. 76.10), and the tempter offers to reveal the lovers

begetting an heir to the dukedom, or practising more than the very act of adultery itself[.]

(p. 76.25-26)

This proof is provided in Act V, scene i, and the Duke is at once convinced. D'Avolos, showing Caraffa the scene of Fernando and Bianca kissing, asks:

Is there confidence in credit,
now, sir? belief in your own eyes? do you see? do
you see, sir?

(V.i, p. 90.11-13)

But of course he does not see them in the act of adultery, and since, to the Duke as to Fernando and Bianca, true adultery resides only in the final consummation, he here accepts as proof a scene which only suggests cuckoldry. The equivocal nature of the lovers' relationship is effectively conveyed: their engrossed kissing certainly seems lustful, but genuine proof of adultery is not provided. We must remember this flawed perception of the Duke's when he, with a complete volte-face, accepts the 'proof' of Bianca's saintly innocence which Fernando's oath provides (V.ii, p. 99.1-26).

In the scene of proof (V.i), Ford makes brilliant use of Fiormonda. Throughout Bianca's death scene, the marquess observes and directs from above, becoming almost a personification of revenge.⁶⁶

Enter above, Fiormonda.

Now fly, revenge, and wound the lower earth,
That I, inspher'd above, may cross the race
Of love despis'd, and triumph o'er their graves
Who scorn the low-bent thraldom of my heart!

(p. 89.1-4; sig. I4)

It is a piece of splendid and appropriate villainy. At the end of the preceding scene Fernando has disdained to follow Roseilli's cautionary advice, leaving himself to a

grander fate:

Let slaves in mind be servile to their fears;
Our heart is high instarr'd in brighter spheres.

(IV.ii, p. 88.7-8)

But now Fiormonda is "inspher'd above" - a black, tragic figure. The association of her position with that of a celestial power is suggested by her words and her raised position: she is also nearer "yonder starry roof" (cf. V.ii, p. 99.11) - the painted heavens.⁶⁷ Her apostrophe gives to revenge the nature of a character who will act for her, and brings to mind the position of Andrea and Revenge preparing, as Chorus, to watch the fulfilment of retributive justice in The Spanish Tragedy.⁶⁸ Prior to this scene Fiormonda's character has grown darker as she dedicates herself to evil in a theatrical idiom that suits both her histrionic nature and the director rôle she is about to play. She is resolved, she says,

To stir-up tragedies as black as brave,
And send the lecher panting to his grave.

(II.iii, p. 50.14-15)

The blackness of her widow's garments, as she stands above the stage platform is appropriate to her evil purposes and to her rôle as tragic director. Fiormonda's self-consciousness gives her a power against which the foolishly incautious, self-indulgent lovers cannot fight. As the curtain below is drawn, the tableau of Bianca and Fernando is presented as if it were a picture, a scene, on lower earth, revealed (not naturalistically) to this fate figure ensphered above. Fiormonda watched her "jolly lover and his glass" (II.i, p. 33.15) from the same position. The slights to her proud heart and her triumph over those who scorned her are connected visually, making her victory neatly apt. When, after the discovery of the lovers, the stage platform is emptied of all except Bianca and the Duke, Fiormonda remains above. The Duke takes his cue from her - "Now show thyself my brother, brave Caraffa" (V.i, p. 91.6) - but does not answer her; she is a prompter, not another actor. As his resolve fails, her words rush in to stir his vengeance:

Dost thou halt? faint coward, dost thou wish
To blemish all thy glorious ancestors?
Is this thy courage?

DUKE. Ha! say you so too?

(p. 95.24-26)

The Duke speaks as if he has forgotten his sister's presence in the face of Bianca's provoking confession and his own agony. With this further stimulation, the murder is accomplished, but Fiormonda's revenge remains incomplete. Aroused by her once more, Caraffa exits to confront Fernando, leaving Fiormonda to close the scene with a gloating couplet:

Here's royal vengeance! this becomes the state
Of his disgrace and my unbounded fate.

(p. 96.11-12)

Gifford altered the last phrase to "my unbounded hate",⁶⁹ which is quite possible. However, the quarto line (sig. K3) may be correct. Fiormonda plays, especially in this scene, a type of evil fate which overcomes the lovers. By her "unbounded fate" she may refer to her power, beyond limitations.

After this splendid scene, one cannot help feeling that Fiormonda might have come to a grander end and been permitted a strong final scene. Her changed attitude towards Roseilli (V.iii. p. 102.1-7) is unconvincing, and is not even given the possibility that she might be accepting him as the best protection if the tide of affairs turns against her as a murderess. But the death of Bianca and the play's final scene are in two very different moods. Bianca's murder is in the true spirit of the old revenge tradition. The last scene is involved with self-sacrifice, not revenge; death has become a ceremonial, a sacrificial giving (as in The Broken Heart, V.iii), largely without rancour. The posthumous unity of the three central characters - a unity desired only by the Duke - is to be effected by the only character to whom the Duke can logically turn - his sister and collaborator:

Sister, when I have finish'd my last days,
Lodge me, my wife, and this unequall'd friend,
All in one monument.

(V.iii, pp. 105.25-106.1)

It is more fitting for this request to be addressed to the

rehabilitated Fiormonda who has discarded her evil companion (cf. p. 102.15-16) and chosen a virtuous man, than to the Fiormonda who occasioned the deaths. In this changed atmosphere her death would perhaps be dramatically difficult, although she, like D'Avolos, could be haled offstage to punishment. Instead she is given enforced chastity - a weak conclusion, consistent with the play's themes rather than with the character.

The decline of D'Avolos in the final act is more convincing, although ultimately Ford seems to lose interest in the character. When the lovers are discovered in Act V, scene i, the stage direction requires the Duke to enter "with his word drawne, D'auolos in like manner" (sig. I4^V). The nature of D'Avolos' entry helps to implicate him firmly in the guilt of the murder. Unlike many stage villains whom in some ways he resembles - Iago, Flamineo, The Changeling's De Flores, Bosola - he performs no act of violence, but his responsibility for the murder is strong and the penalty is death. He "play[s] upon" the Duke's feelings (IV.i, p. 76.31), helping to inspire the vengeance, but he alone of the three collaborators who kneel in formal recognition of their pact (IV.i, p. 77.1-15) has received no personal offence from the victims for which he must be avenged.

D'Avolos exits from the discovery scene (V.i) still in favour with his master, at the head of the guard that escorts off Fernando (sig. K). When the Duke reverses his opinion of Bianca, D'Avolos becomes "an arch-arch-devil" (V.ii, p. 100.20). Left alone after the other characters exit, he thinks of his decline in words that may echo Flamineo's (cf. p. 101.5-15 and WD, V.i.130-138; iv.20-21 and 137-143). But whereas Flamineo meets the end fighting, D'Avolos is merely passive. He puts on "a brazen / face" when he finds that Roseilli was the disguised fool (V.iii, p. 102.11-12), but he has no clever plan of action. Roseilli's first action as Duke is to send D'Avolos off to hang in chains, unfed, at the prison's top:

ROS. Bear him hence!
 D'AV. Mercy, new duke! here's my comfort, I
 make but one in the number of the tragedy of princes.
 (p. 107.14-16)

His final words fit the theatrical rôle that he has often played - as presenter and observer in this tragedy of princes, especially in the highly visualized scenes where his placement on the stage is noteworthy, in the portrait scene (II.ii), the chess game (II.iii), the ceremonial greeting of the Abbot (III.iii), and the procession to the tomb (V.iii). But his abrupt acceptance and speedy removal is disappointing.

On the whole, Ford has been successful in his theatrical use of Fiormonda and D'Avolos, and through the device of the observer has enhanced his theme of sight. Fiormonda, with her huge pride and almost superhuman hates is superbly created. D'Avolos, basically lacking in individuality, betrays in certain scenes (for example, IV.i) a streak of nastiness that gives him vitality. The two confederates belong in spirit to the older harsh tragedies of blood, and in Ford's final scene, concerned with tying together the themes and situations of his more modern story of love, sacrifice and personal blindness, he dismisses them conveniently but summarily.

V. The masque.

The subplot story of Ferentes' and his mistresses is thematically related to the main plot. They represent a more abandoned and completed form of lust than the equivocally Platonic love of Bianca and Fernando. The breaking of vows to marry, which Ferentes performs so easily (I.ii and III.i), at first seems to contrast with Bianca's honourable intention to preserve her marriage vow (II.iv, p. 52.2-9); but the Duchess grows to be more of Ferentes' mind, asking "what's a vow?" (V.i, p. 89.7).

The masque (III.iv) is the climax of the Ferentes' story, and it supplies, for the Duke and for the audience, an example of the punishment which lust receives.

Justification for the masque's inclusion comes from the need to greet the visiting Abbot "with a courtly show of mirth" (III.iv, p. 70.10) - a somewhat slender justification because the Abbot fills such a slight rôle in the play. The onstage audience - some eight seated characters and attendants with lights (sig. H; III.iv, p. 70.6, 11) - is probably on the open stage platform. They make an entry and then take their seats after several lines of dialogue in contrast to arrangements which require a stage audience to be discovered, such as that in Fletcher's A Wife for a Month, in which the masque audience is revealed, already seated, by the drawing of a curtain.⁷⁰ In Love's Sacrifice the chairs could be set up in advance inside the discovery space or booth and revealed by the (unremarked) opening of a curtain as the scene begins, and to which the stage audience moves when Caraffa says, "Please you to sit" (III.iv, p. 70.11). However, the chairs or stools could easily be on the platform (leaving a free central area), brought on by extras, and resembling the position of members of the paying audience who sometimes sat onstage.⁷¹ It is possible that the Duke and Duchess sit on their states and that a chair is provided for the honoured guest while the other characters stand to watch. If the Duke is on his raised throne his position would be dramatically effective - he is in the place of command, yet unable to control the behaviour in his court any more than he can control the behaviour of his wife and friend of whom he is now silently suspicious.

The masque is little more than an excuse for the murder. The grotesque costumes of the masquers and their dances offer the appeal of spectacle to the audience, but no attempt is made to expand the masque in dialogue and theme as, for example, in Shakespeare's masque of Ceres in The Tempest which is both a part of the main action and an exploration, on a different plane, of the play's theme of nature (Tempest, IV.i.60-117). Because Ford's whole masque with its unexpected ending is played out in dumb show without any reaction from the onstage audience until the murder is begun, the masque lacks that

tension and irony that can be achieved when interspersed dialogue from the stage audience blurs the boundary between life, play and play-within-the-play. Marston, for example, in Antonio's Revenge, achieves some tension by allowing the victim to speak in the secure enjoyment of his audience position while the disguised masquers, unheard by him, twist his words into threats; and Middleton, in Women Beware Women (one of the plays which appear to have influenced Ford in creating this tragedy), makes extensive use of a murder-masque in which ironies and delusions are skilfully conveyed.⁷² Ford's masque here is more like his masque in Perkin Warbeck (III.ii) - a visual spectacle, depending for its effect upon strange costumes, dance and music, but without the dimension of dialogue.

The dances that lead to the murder provide an anti-masque - the entertainment "In nature of an antic" which Fernando has advised (III.ii, p. 61.8).⁷³ The anti-masque is the crude and grotesque rather than the beautiful element of the masque convention, and as such it is a suitable prelude to the horrifying and base butchery and a sign of the lechery which leads to the death. Ferentes, Roseilli and Mauruccio enter "in an Anticke fashon" and "dance a little", followed by the three abandoned mistresses "in odde hapes" who also dance while the men stand gazing (sig. H). Details of the costumes are left to the imagination and the capacities of the theatre wardrobe. Inigo Jones' drawings for contemporary costumes for court anti-masques give a general idea of the type of extravagance that might be expected.⁷⁴ In Jonson's masque, Oberon (1611), the anti-maskers are Satyrs, who "mak[e] antique action, and / gestures".⁷⁵ This association of lecherous satyrs with anti-masques is particularly suitable when considering Ford's 'Anticke' masque of lust revenged. The word 'Anticke' conveyed, besides the sense of grotesqueness, that of foolishness, as in the dramatis personae's description of Mauruccio as "An old Antike" (sig. A2^v). Possibly Roseilli's dancing should be particularly foolish, for Fernando has stipulated that there must be a fool among the performers (III.ii, p. 61.18-19).

Of course, Fernando has made this demand in order to insure that a friend, but one who could not be held culpable, will be amongst the masquers. The women are to perform the murder, without resistance from Roseilli or Mauruccio, the only character foolish enough to be completely at a loss during such an action. Presumably it is Fernando's knowledge of his own organizing responsibility that subsequently makes him anxious to save Mauruccio from the Duke's punishment (IV.i, pp. 77-81 passim). Fernando's involvement in the retributive masque is not, as Fiormonda cleverly assures her brother, through any personal fear of Ferentes (cf. IV.i, p. 76. 13-17), but as a fulfilment of his promise to rescue his relative, Colona, from dishonour (cf. I.i, p. 12.6-10).

The six dancers appear all to be masked, as the convention would permit. Ferentes calls for his visor to be pulled off after he is stabbed (p. 71.4-8); the three women return after the fatal dance 'vnmask'd' (sig. H^V); and the Duke does not seem to recognize the "two...yonder" (p. 71.10) who are Roseilli and Mauruccio. The masquers dance together, then the women shake off Roseilli and Mauruccio, who stand "at feuerall ends of the Stage gazing" (sig. H^V) - in other words, near opposite sides of the platform, away from the central action, and perhaps nearer the onstage audience. The three mistresses then hold hands, dancing around Ferentes "in diuers complementall offers of Courtship", until suddenly they stab him and "run out at feuerall doores" (sig. H^V) - at the three stage doors which the Phoenix appears to have possessed.⁷⁶ This combination of formal courtly compliment (although here ironical) and violent destruction is a truly Fordian ritual, resembling the death of Ithocles. The gestures (no doubt including bows) satirize Ferentes' courtship of the ladies. As Ferentes crumples, "slain in jest" (p. 71.4), his words and the action recall the murder of Brachiano.⁷⁷ "[P]ull off my visor", he cries, an order which is urgently given four times (p. 71.5-9). The face mask is not causing him harm as is Brachiano's poisoned beaver. Ford appears to have taken the

Websterian hint in order to impose a sense of chaos and increasing agony. The playing of this passage could be effective as the dying man tries to raise himself upon his hands and has not the strength to free his eyes as a greater darkness begins to overwhelm him.

There is a general panic onstage, as characters rush to support Ferentes and seize the fop and the counterfeit fool. The three women return, unmasked, "euery one hauing a child in their armes" (sig. H^v). The child that they each carry is the visual completion of Ferentes' and their own lust. The offspring, and Ferentes' refusal to fulfil the promises of marriage, are now recalled in the taunts with which the women justify the murder, and Ford brings no retribution to the three women. Hereafter, Colona is virtually ignored, although (perhaps unwitting of the consequences) she will betray her mistress to Julia (IV.ii, p. 83.1-5); Julia, the more insatiable lover (cf. I.ii, p. 20.5-9), continues in her lustful ways, transferring her allegiance to D'Avolos and working underhandedly as his agent (IV.ii, pp. 83.1-84.5); while Morona is made an 'honest' woman by her marriage with the antiquated fop and is dismissed from court (IV.i). These "outlandish feminine antics"⁷⁸ whom Ferentes curses (III.iv, p. 71.5) are, when unmasked, all too familiar to him. And yet they do present an "outlandish" picture - a mixture of grotesques, mothers, and murderesses. Probably they still hold the blood-stained knives, for Julia finds hers again without hesitation (p. 72.15-18).

Ferentes dies with an echo of Vittoria:

FER. My forfeit was in my
blood; and my life hath answered it.

(p. 72.23-24)

VIT. O my greatest sinne lay in my blood.
Now my blood pales for't.

(WD, V.vi.240-241)

He ends with a bitter jest consistent with his usual horse imagery:

Vengeance on
all wild whores, I say! - O, 'tis true - farewell, genera-
tion of hackneys! - O!

(p. 72.24-26)

The words fit the satirist-villain type of character, but Ferentes has never really been given sufficient opportunity to develop. His lust is thorough and remorseless, but the rest of his activities are innocuous. His pernicious nearness to the Duke (I.i, pp. 11.15-12.3) is never given supporting evidence beyond a propensity for immoderate mirth (I.ii, p. 26.16-18), and even that is merely alluded to, having taken place offstage. The Vice rôle is split between Ferentes and D'Avolos, diminishing the potential of each.

The masque scene is rounded up with speed, rather as if Ford has lost interest. The Duke, with an almost hysterical flourish, orders a general arrest which is largely ignored:

To prison with those monstrous strumpets!
 PET. Stay;
 I'll answer for my daughter.
 NIB. And I for mine. -
 O, well done, girls!
 FERN. I for yon gentlewoman [i.e.,
 Morona], sir.

(pp. 72.28-73.1)

The Duke does not attempt to enforce his authority, but instead imprisons Mauruccio (who protests his innocence). Roseilli, without his mask, is presumably recognized as the fool and led off in the protection of Fiormonda, uncensured because of his simplicity. The Duke's ineffectuality at this moment is a good presentation of his general character and situation - he is led, although he imagines himself a leader (cf. I.ii, p. 28.13-15). That his enemy, Fernando, should publicly protect one of the murdering strumpets intensifies the sense of the Duke's powerlessness; at the same time, Fernando seems to be upholding vengeance against lust. The Abbot, principal guest and representative of religion, speaks the concluding moral couplet, pronouncing as justice the murder of one who "liv'd in lust" (p. 73.5-6). To the Duke, recently alerted to his wife's 'lust', the words must have a foreboding ring which would echo in the apprehension of the audience. The play's final couplet is also spoken by the Abbot, but he is given no individuality - no reaction to his niece's murder nor revulsion

from her 'adultery', and presents none of the ironical, superimposed dimensions that enliven the characters of Cardinal Monticelso, the Duchess of Malfi's Cardinal brother, or the Cardinal in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore.

The influence of other dramas upon Love's Sacrifice seems very strong. Many situations and stage actions appear to be borrowed from other plays - for example, the chess game which recalls especially Women Beware Women, the ring device borrowed from The Duchess of Malfi, the banishment opening which resembles The White Devil, and the many echoes of Othello. Ford does not always succeed in integrating these borrowed devices, and as a result the play seems to lack structural unity. Some of the characters - Roseilli, D'Avolos, Ferentes - are at times highly effective in terms of theatre and themes, but are ultimately unsuccessful as individual characters. The disgust and confusion felt by some critics of the play are understandable, if not strictly justifiable, because Ford does seem to wish Bianca to be both chaste and a grand sinner. But against these reservations about the tragedy's success must be weighed certain points in its defence. The subplots, far from being unnecessary, are skilfully welded to the main plot by means of repeated themes and devices, by the motifs of pictures, gifts and fools, which help to clarify the play's main themes. The large number of observed scenes - scenes involving presenters and observers, where part of the stage vision is treated almost as a picture, a tableau - helps to expose one very important theme in the play, the significance of sight. Sight is shown to be unreliable, allowing several opposing 'truths', but it also has great power, for it is used as proof of the characters' prejudices, and lust may reside in the eye as well as in the intention. And sight, even when faulty, may (ironically) point towards the truth. The debasement of Bianca is shown subtly through parallel tableaux - that of the chess game (II.iii) and that which opens the fifth act. D'Avolos' mistaken interpretation of the former does, in truth, foreshadow the latter. This theme of sight, evident in

The Broken Heart, is of serious importance in Ford's exploration of Giovanni's character in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore.⁷⁹ Although the play's failings are evident, Love's Sacrifice contains much that would provide extremely good theatre when presented upon the stage of Ford's contemporaries.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Some of the borrowings are pervasive, such as the obvious reminiscences of Othello; others affect the staging of certain scenes, such as the ring device (I.ii, pp. 23-24) which imitates The Duchess of Malfi (I.i.462-476). For other detected borrowings or influences, cf., e.g., Davril, Le Drame de John Ford, pp. 171-172; Robert Ornstein, The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy (Madison and Milwaukee, 1965), p. 220; Sargeant, John Ford, pp. 112 and 121; Peter Ure, "Cult and Initiates in Ford's Love's Sacrifice", MLQ, XI (1950), p. 305; and Donald K. Anderson, Jr., John Ford, Twayne's English Authors Series, 129 (New York, 1972), pp. 112-115.
2. Sargeant (op.cit., p. 71) declares that the Ferentes subplot has no connection whatsoever with the main plot; Ornstein (op.cit., pp. 216-221), in his condemnation of the play does not consider the subplots at all; and Ellis-Fermor (Jacobean Drama, p. 232) finds the subplots deplorable.
3. Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. VI, p. 51.
4. William B. Markward postulates three doors at the Phoenix - one at each side of the platform, and one at the rear of the discovery space. Cf. "A Study of the Phoenix Theatre in Drury Lane, 1617-1638", unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham (1953), pp. 329 and 355-365. When the discovery space is closed, its curtain could act as the third exit.
5. There have been adaptations of the play. Davril (op.cit., p. 478) compares Mirandola (1821), by Bryan W. Procter, acted at Covent Garden, with Ford's tragedy. Clifford Leech, John Ford and the Drama of his Time (London, 1957), records the publication, in 1921, of The Duchess of Pavy, adapted by Samuel A. Eliot, Jr., which, however, did not reach the stage (p. 140).
6. Hartley Coleridge, The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford, new edn. (London, 1859), p. xlvi, finds Love's Sacrifice unsavoury, disgusting, and the characters vile; Algernon Charles Swinburne, Essays and Studies (London, 1875), p. 287, finds the play "utterly indecent, unseemly and unfit for handling"; Sherman, "Ford's Contribution", p. xi, states that the play ends in moral confusion; Thomas Marc Parrott and Robert Hamilton Ball, A Short View of Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1943), p. 246, find the play's construction confused and muddled; and Ornstein, op.cit., pp. 216-221, condemns the play extensively. Stavig, Ford, p. 143, concludes that

the play is a coherent study of irrational love; and Ure, art. cit., p. 306, finds in the play a consistent ethical scheme.

7. Cf., e.g., Sensabaugh, Tragic Muse, p. 171; and S.P. Sherman, ed., "'Tis Pity She's a Whore" and "The Broken Heart", The Belles-Lettres Series (Boston and London, 1915), p. xxxi.
8. Ure, art. cit., passim, and Stavig, op.cit., Chap. VI.
9. Cf., also, Lodovico to Vittoria: "O thou glorious strumpet" (WD, V.vi.207), and Flamineo's dying words to his murderers: "Farewell glorious villaines" (272).
10. Cf., e.g., Brachiano's description of Francisco, by whom he suspects he has been tricked and poisoned, as "that Polititian Florence" (WD, V.iii.93). It is with this trickery of Francisco's in mind that Flamineo, some lines later, calls him "a Machi-villian" (196).
11. Cf. DM, I.i.1-23. Lucas (Works, II, pp. 129-130) discusses the probability that this passage is not the original opening of The Duchess of Malfi, but a later addition.
12. Cf. Othello, I.iii.128-170 and I.ii.63-79.
13. The early modern editions suggest that a line is missing after "the man he was before". Cf. Weber, Dramatic Works, vol. I, p. 351 and n. 1, and Gifford and Dyce, Works of Ford, vol. II, p. 11 and n. 10. The original passage is on sig. B2^v in the quarto.
14. Ford is very conscious of the "adultery of [the] eye". Cf. II.ii, p. 43.18 and BH, II.i.1-7.
15. O.E.D.: "Wearish: 2. Of persons and animals, their limbs, etc.: Sickly, feeble, delicate; lean, wizened, shrivelled." Cf. Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 92 n. 4.
16. Hippolita in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, a similarly vicious and lustful character, is dressed as a widow in "these black mourning weeds of care" (II.ii.53). Quotations are from The New Mermaids edition, edited by Brian Morris (London, 1968). For illustrations of a widow's black weeds, see the portraits of Mary Queen of Scots in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 435, 437 and 438.
17. I have followed the quarto for the placement of the stage direction. Gifford (Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 21) puts it after "with him". The quarto is theatrically sound. The entering character is seen by the speaker and the audience, is commented

upon, and is given time to cross from rear to front stage (or diagonally across it) before he joins Ferentes and direct conversation begins.

18. The upper stage seems to have been a conventional place for a presenter. Cf. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, vol. III, pp. 91-92.
19. 'Glister' is the obsolete form of 'clyster', the clyster-pipe being a syringe used to inject an enema (O.E.D.: 'Clyster', 1 and 2). By contrast, 'calamus' is an aromatic plant (O.E.D.: 'Calamus', 2) and 'civet', obtained from animals of the Civet genus, is used in perfumes (O.E.D.: 'Civet', 2).
20. To make Roseilli's passion credible, Fiormonda is presumably physically attractive. As a painted subject she is said to make "a sweet picture" (II.ii, p. 38.4).
21. Cf., e.g., Antonio in The First Part of Antonio and Mellida (IV.i.156-157):
 "I am not for thee if thou canst not rave,
 [ANTONIO falls on the ground.
 Fall flat on the ground,..."
 (Bullen, ed., Marston, vol. I).
22. Hamlet, III.iv.53-88. On the use of pictures on the stage, see Arthur Colby Sprague, The Stage Business in Shakespeare's Plays: A Postscript, The Society for Theatre Research, Pamphlet Series, no. 3 (London, 1953), pp. 19-20.
23. John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, The Two Noble Kinsmen (London, 1634; B.M. C.34.g.23).
24. Thomas Dekker, Satiro-ma(tix (London, 1602; B.M. C.34.c.27). The pictures are described on sig. I4-I4^v.
25. See above, pp. 412-416.
26. The word 'lustre' was sometimes used to refer to the shine of diamonds or other jewels. Cf. O.E.D.: 'Lustre', 1.
27. I have been unable to locate any Trinultio in Giorgio Vasari's Le Vite de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori... (Florence, 1550), or in Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker's Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, vol. XXXIII (Leipzig, 1939).
28. See Antonio Morassi, La Certosa di Pavia, 4th edn. (Rome, 1966). Moryson (Itinerary, 1907, vol. I, p. 364) describes "the Sepulcher of John Galiacius first Duke of Millan" as being among the things that "deserve admiration" in la Certosa.

29. Moryson (ed. cit., vol. I, pp. 364-365) mentions that in 1361 Galiacius II founded the university.
30. If Act II, scene iii does take place in the discovery space, the curtain must close at the departure of Bianca and Fernando (sig. F), to allow time, during D'Avolos' soliloquy and his exchange with Fiormonda, for the discovery space to be reset with the bed for the following scene.
31. In II.iv, Bianca "drawes a curtaine, where Fernando is discovered in bed, sleeping" (sig. Fv). This stage direction may mean that she merely draws the bed curtain, but the wording seems rather to suggest that Fernando and the bed are both revealed by her action.
32. Cf. Dekker's well-known simile: "...like a priuate Play-house, when the windowes are clapt downe, as if some Nocturnal, or dismall Tragedy were presently to be acted...." Thomas Dekker, The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London, The Percy Reprints, ed. H.F.B. Brett-Smith (Oxford, 1922), p. 30.
33. Cf. Davril, op.cit., pp. 171-172.
34. Cf. Heywood, A Woman Killed With Kindness, ed. cit., sc. VIII, ll. 112-194.
35. Gifford (Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 51 n. 26) defines Bianca's declaration that "Thus singly" she comes to Fernando as meaning "thus undressed: she had, in short, but one garment". He is probably right in believing she here indicates her state of undress, although, strictly speaking, she presumably wears a mantle over a smock.
36. Linthicum, Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare, p. 215.
37. Cf. The Lovers Progres, in Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Comedies and Tragedies (London, 1647; B.M. C.39.k.5), Act III, sig. kkk4v. The play is dated 1623 (cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 116). Ornstein (op.cit., p. 220) mentions that Love's Sacrifice's "boudoir scenes are reminiscent of The Lover's Progress".
38. Op.cit., III, sig. Lll.
39. Op.cit., V, sig. Mmm3^v.
40. Op.cit., V, sig. Mmm4.
41. In Marston's The Fawn, IV.i (Bullen, ed., Marston, vol. II), Donna Zoya pads herself with feathers so that her husband believes she is with child. Clearly she looks pregnant at her entry after l. 295, and

seems 'delivered' when she returns (cf. 426 and 451-454). Cf., also, the Duchess of Malfi's "loose-bodied Gowne" (DM, II.i.70) which partially conceals her pregnancy.

42. For various views on Ford and Platonic love conventions, cf. Ure, art. cit., passim; Sensabaugh, "John Ford and Platonic Love in the Court", pp. 206-226; and Anderson, op.cit., pp. 113-118.
43. On the insignia of an abbot, cf. Cross and Livingstone, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 'Abbot', p. 2. The Protestant bishop's garments are illustrated in the anonymous painting of George Abbot, in Strong, op.cit., vol. II, pl. 1, and in our fig. 64.
44. Cf. the two versus one arrangement of characters in WD, I.ii and II.i, and in DM, I.i.318-368.
45. The "poore rags" could be very suggestive of his general decline from the vain fop of earlier scenes. A detailed description of stage rags is given in Philip Massinger's The Roman Actor: "This nasty hat, this tatter'd cloak, rent shoe, / This sordid linen" (II.i). Cf. Coleridge, Massinger and Ford, p. 149.
46. Cf. Charles Lamb, Specimens of English Dramatic Poets, p. 229 n. 71.
47. Bianca's death, like Vittoria's, takes place in a closed room (LS, V.i, p. 91.5 and WD, V.vi.55); the two heroines consider their executioner too weak (LS, p. 91.13-16 and WD, V.vi.210-213); and they each offer to meet the blade with their naked breast (LS, V.i, p. 95.14-16 and WD, V.vi.217 and 222). Bianca, as "black angel, / Fair devil" (V.i, p. 94.17-18), recalls the title of Webster's play and the images of fair-seeming which run through the trial scene (WD, III.ii).
48. Markward (diss. cit.) considers that the side doors of the stage area may have been obliquely set (pp. 355-365), and that there was an acting area over these entries (p. 437). Fiormonda would be able to see into a permanent, central, discovery space from above one of the doors. However, Markward also considers that the Phoenix may have used an onstage booth for discovered scenes (p. 251).
49. See above, p. 18 and p. 95 n. 14.
50. Leech (op.cit., p. 77) compares this death scene with Annabella's provocation of Soranzo, TP, IV.iii.1-147.
51. See above, p. 60 and p. 105 n. 80.
52. Cf. Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 96 n. 10.

53. Petruchio's "virtuous lady" may also be meant to have an ironical effect. Certainly Ford elsewhere applies it as an ironical epithet. Cf. Fernando to Fiormonda, as the widow brazenly kisses him: "What means the virtuous marquess?" (I.ii, p. 24.6).
54. Cf., e.g., Fernando's speech beginning, "Couldst thou rear up another world" (V.ii, p. 99.12-16) and Othello, V.ii.146-149; the Duke's speech beginning, "Whither now / Shall I run" (V.ii, p. 100.3-6) and Othello, V.ii.274-285; the total conversion of the Duke and Othello with regard to their dead wife; the two murderers prevented from committing suicide, and branding their informer (D'Avolos and Iago) as devil (LS, V.ii, p. 100.20 and Othello, V.ii.304).
55. Since the scene takes place in the chapel, the musicians are probably visible, perhaps on an upper level like the musicians on a church gallery.
56. Markward (diss. cit., pp. 306-308) takes this scene to be evidence of a trap in the inner stage at the Phoenix, by which Fernando rises. But the words, "One goes to open the Tombe, out of which ariseth Fernando" (sig. LV), do not necessitate a trap, for the actor could easily be crouched, hidden, to spring up as the door is opened.
57. Ornstein (op.cit., p. 220) calls the last scene of Love's Sacrifice a "ranting parody of the conclusion of Romeo and Juliet". Certainly the drinking of poison and the deaths at the tomb are reminiscent.
58. Op.cit., pp. 219-220.
59. The conventional costume of the fool is discussed by Leslie Hotson in Shakespeare's Motley (London, 1952), esp. pp. 58-59 and 78-79.
60. Line references are to Bullen, ed., Middleton, vol. VI (1885).
61. Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 41 n. 18.
62. The quarto (sig. G3) renders this line thus: "Shee is as farre beneath thy thought,..". Perhaps Fernando means that she is unworthy of Roseilli.
63. In The Gull's Horn-Book, Dekker advises his fop to be seen, after dinner, "to correct your teeth with some quill or silver instrument". Cf. Pendry, ed., Dekker, p. 89.
64. Flamineo, in his tale of the crocodile, calls the bird that removes the troublesome worm, a "tooth-picker" (WD, IV.ii.235), and amongst the various levels of meaning in his allegory is a sexual interpretation.

65. Weber, op.cit., vol. I, p. 442.
66. Cf. the position of Andrugio's ghost "betwixt the music-houses" (probably meaning on an upper level) in Antonio's Revenge, where he watches the murder of Piero, commenting:
 "Here will I sit, spectator of revenge,
 And glad my ghost in anguish of my foe."
 Cf. Bullen, ed., Marston, vol. I, V.ii.53-54. On the placing of the ghost 'above', cf. Armstrong, Private Theatres, p. 10.
67. Being roofed, the Phoenix would have less need of a 'heavens' than the public theatres, but it may have existed - a canopy from which objects could be lowered. Irwin Smith (Blackfriars, p. 418) takes for granted a 'heavens' in that indoor playhouse and thinks that the underside may have been painted, not with stars, but as imitation marble.
68. Cf. The Spanish Tragedie, I.i; I.vi; III.xv; IV.v in Boas, ed., Kyd.
69. Cf. Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 96 n. 13.
70. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, Comedies and Tragedies, p. 54, Act II, sig. Gggggg3^v.
71. Cf. The Gull's Horn-Book (Dekker, ed. Pendry), pp. 98-99, and Webster's Induction to The Malcontent, esp. ll. 1-9 (Lucas, Works, III, p. 301).
72. Cf. Antonio's Revenge, V.ii.33-62, in Bullen, ed., Marston, vol. I; and Women Beware Women, V.i.41 ff., in Bullen, ed., Middleton, vol. VI.
73. Gifford defines "In nature of an antic" as in the nature "of an anti-masque, in which the characters were always grotesque and extravagant" (Gifford and Dyce, op.cit., vol. II, p. 61 n. 9).
74. Cf., e.g., the designs for anti-masque costumes reproduced in Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, vol. I, p. 221 figs. 65 and 66; p. 270 fig. 90; and vol. II, p. 435 fig. 171, and pp. 465-467 figs. 194-198. This last group of figures comes from Aurelian Townshend's Albion's Triumph (1632) in which the words "Love's sacrifice" occur in the refrain of the Fourth Song (ibid., p. 456 ll. 305, 311 and 317).
75. Jonson, ed. Herford, Simpson and Simpson, vol. VII, p. 342, ll. 30-31. The lechery of the Satyrs is evinced when they call for Nymphs, p. 343, ll. 46-50.
76. See above, p. 496 n. 4.

77. Cf. LS, III.iv, p. 71.5-8 and WD, V.iii.1-12. Oliver (op.cit., p. 80) compares Ferentes' last speech with that of Mercutio. The mood is similar, and both are 'peppered' (LS, III.iv, p. 72.20-26 and Romeo and Juliet, III.i.93-100). In this scene, as elsewhere in the tragedy, Ford seems to take his inspiration from more than one other play.
78. The presence of women as actresses in the masque, and the fact that Fernando has seen women act (III.ii, p. 61.4-9), have been used as evidence by which to date the play, French actresses having performed in London in November, 1629. But, as Bentley points out, the "women-antics" (III.ii, p. 61.9) whom Fernando saw were ladies of the court of the Duke of Brabant, and the reference to actresses may be no more specific than an allusion to the English court masques in which ladies had acted since the previous reign (Bentley, op.cit., vol. III, pp. 452-453).
79. In The Broken Heart, both the lust in the eye, and the ability to see into the secrets of another person's soul are mentioned (II.i. 3-4, and I.ii.2-6 and 36-40). The more expanded theme of sight in 'Tis Pity, which includes the blinding of Putana (TP, IV.iii.224) and Giovanni's spiritual blindness (V.iii.21), will be discussed in chapter six (see below, pp. 581-591).

CHAPTER SIX: 'TIS PITY SHE'S A WHORE

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The text of the play is quoted from John Ford's 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, The New Mermaids, ed. Brian Morris (London, 1968) (hereinafter, Morris, TP). The stage directions are quoted from the first edition: 'TIS / Pitty Shee's a Whore // Acted by the Queenes Maie^{ties} Ser- / uants, at The Phoenix in / Drury-Lane. // [printer's device] // LONDON, / Printed by Nicholas Okes for Richard / Collins, and are to be sold at his shop / in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe / of the three Kings. 1633. / [B.M. C.12.g.3(4). The Epistle, sig. A2^v, is signed IOHN FORD.]

'TIS PITY SHE'S A WHORE

Of all Ford's tragedies, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore is distinguished by the most perfect unity and interrelation of verbal image and stage picture, with a startling yet simple completion of word in stage action. The heart on the dagger is emotionally chilling, but thematically it is the entirely logical climax to the themes of incest and of bloody violence which are at the centre of the play. Shared blood (of family), enflamed blood (of passion) and spilt blood (of vengeance) lead to the inevitable tragedy in the love affair; the hearts 'exchanged' metaphorically by the lovers result in Giovanni's murder, emblematically displayed, when he fears that he will lose Annabella's heart, and to the breaking of their father's heart. The potent nearness of a brother and sister is of vital importance in The Broken Heart. Ithocles and Penthea are twin souls who share one womb (III.ii.34-35) and one ritualized death scene (IV.iv); they are tormentor and victim, and yet they are drawn into a melancholy union of suffering (III.ii) in which Bassanes suspects incest (149-150). Incest, wrongfully suspected in The Broken Heart, is bound into the fabric of 'Tis Pity, but it is not treated sensationally. There is none of the prurience of Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King which excites interest in the theme, then deftly avoids the issue by a twist of plot.¹ For Ford's Friar, the incestuous element in the illicit love is crucial and unambivalent - eternal death waits upon Giovanni's lust (I.i.59), while lust untainted with incest is "much less sin" (62) and is recommended as an alternative to save Giovanni from a second death. In incest, "a pair of souls are lost" (II.v.69); Annabella, repenting, is saved (V.i.56-57), while Giovanni, persisting in his love, is abandoned to despair (V.iii.70). To the brother and sister, intermittently, the sin in their relationship is a cause for deep grief, physically expressed in tears, breast-beating, grovelling (I.ii.133-134; II.vi., sig. F3^v). But it is also a source of beauty. Giovanni's

specious arguments, as he grasps at the comfort of moral and intellectual blindness, represent the nearness of blood as a unity established by Nature which seems to mark the brother and sister for each other by destiny (I.i.28-34 and I.ii.230-236). Their physical beauty (I.ii.126-127 and 212-214) is shared, and in performance there should be an attempt, with the aid of makeup and costume, to set these young lovers apart, in radiant youth and loveliness, from the other, often vicious, characters.

For the other characters, Ford does not make the incest theme central. The illicit love is for a long time unknown, and its presentation on stage is delicately restrained. After the love scene which immediately follows the consummation of their relationship (II.i), only gentle hints make clear that the passion continues to be physically enjoyed offstage.² The truth and depth of their passion contrasts with Soranzo's inconstancy in love, the breaking of his vow to Hippolita (II.ii.70-71), Hippolita's adultery and lust, and even with the whimsical Bergetto's healthy animal lust, and it gives Giovanni and Annabella a dramatic justification and glorification, even while the audience remains aware, especially through the Friar, of their sin. Our reaction is mitigated by the idealization of their love in the midst of corruption, pettiness and violence so that we become the "after-times" which Giovanni foresees - a future audience to their story who may "justly blame", but who will not judge their "fast-knit affections" as harshly as "in other incests" (V.v. 68-73). When, gradually, the truth of Annabella's condition becomes known, it is adultery rather than incest that causes the horror and scandal within the play's society. Soranzo abuses Annabella and seeks his revenge upon her because she is a strumpet, her womb teeming with bastards (IV.iii). When the identity of the lover is revealed, Vasques feels repulsed (IV.iii.233-234), but as he has just ordered Putana's hideous punishment - "put out her eyes instantly; if she roars, slit / her nose" (230-231) - our dramatic reaction is turned against

him and the repulsive element in the incest is not heightened. Vasques' revelation to Soranzo takes place offstage; we are not given the husband's specific reaction to incest (V.ii.1-5), but instead a continuation of his resolution for revenge. He has found the object of his hatred, and displays no particular alteration in mood at learning that the lover is her brother.

This treatment of incest is splendidly subtle. As a crucial theme it gives a strange, ambivalent inevitability to the love, their mystical unity seeming to raise the lovers above the rest of their society. Giovanni and Annabella commit a sin more thrillingly damnable in normal eyes than the merely illicit relationship of great dramatic lovers. Yet, by refraining from any sensational outbursts, and by tainting the other characters with violent and ignoble moral flaws, Ford robs the passionate and vengeful competitors of all opportunity for serious indignation.

Most 'Italin¹ate' of Ford's tragedies, in the sense that violence, sin and horror are prevalent, and at the same time are treated with poetic beauty,³ 'Tis Pity She's a Whore provides a society based physically upon Parma. However, as in The Broken Heart but less strongly, we are conscious of other geographic poles (all Italian) - of Bononia (Bologna) as a home of the spirit and the intellect; of Cremona as embodying "the way to Heaven" (IV.ii.21) far from this corrupt world;⁴ of Ligorn (Leghorn) as a source both of Richardetto's 'death' (II.ii.70-78) and of his rebirth as the false doctor (II.iii.1-10); of the mountains of Liguria where the vicious bandits live like animals of prey (V.iv.2-4). The Italian nature of the play is, towards the end, emphasized by the very existence of a foreigner, Vasques. Although loyal to his master, Vasques is a particularly brutal character, first seen in a brawl, responsible for the death of Hippolita and the blinding of Putana, often gulling his victims, and anxious to secure the damnation as well as the death of Giovanni (V.iv.31-33).⁵ Vasques repeatedly enflames Soranzo to vengeful action by reminding him of his disgraces. Soranzo responds as his servant wishes, crying:

'Tis well; the less I speak, the more I burn,
 And blood shall quench that flame.
 VASQUES. Now you begin to turn Italian.

(V.iv.26-28)

He turns Italian in the Elizabethan dramatists' sense of the Machiavellian, villainous Italian,⁶ and the line gains a mocking emphasis in the mouth of the play's one non-Italian who, at the conclusion of the action, rejoices "that a Spaniard / outwent an Italian in revenge" (V.vi. 146-147). By emphasizing that Vasques is an outsider, banished by the Cardinal (V.vi.141-144), Ford allows a subtle form of satire, for by contrast the play's central society ceases to seem 'foreign' and becomes, for all its Italianate elements, a parallel to the society of the audience, of Ford's England.

A Phoenix play like two more of Ford's tragedies,⁷ Love's Sacrifice and Perkin Warbeck, 'Tis Pity makes simple use of its available stage, concentrating upon a banquet setting, the bed, the study and the upper stage as a gallery or window. These simple but carefully chosen visual settings help to direct the audience's reactions to the characters and to the development of plot and themes.

I. Rivalry for Annabella's love: Giovanni's initial victory.

The opening of 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, carrying speedily through the first two scenes, is brilliant, presenting before us the possibility of a soul's loss, the revelation of incest, a physical fight following the spiritual struggle, a parade of rival suitors, and finally the ritual of love which at once (although temporarily) settles the opening dispute and defeats the fighting suitors. As in the beginning of The Broken Heart, the first scene provides past and present details by means of a conversation in progress as the two characters enter. Ford has given a greater intensity and naturalness to this debate than to the more clumsy reminiscences of Orgilus. The torturing problem facing Giovanni and the Friar, the potential loss not only of happiness and life but of the soul, surges forth in their discussion and sets

the tone of universal danger which marks the play. From the opening moments, an apocalyptic atmosphere colours the setting: "Heaven admits no jest" (I.i.4), and the harshness of life thus suggested reaches a climax in the Friar's highly medieval vision of hell (III.vi.8-30), supported by Annabella's Faustian sense of guilt and loss,⁸ and the visual horror of the pierced heart.

The opening scene with its disputation between pupil and teacher, between sinner and priest, and with the Friar's concern for the larger realities of heaven and hell could, logically, take place in Bonaventura's cell.⁹ No stage direction specifically locates this scene, and perhaps we should imagine it taking place on the open platform, for there is a sense of placelessness, of dispossession, for the Friar. Giovanni has left the university and Bononia, and the Friar, proud of his tutelage of "that miracle of wit" (47), has chosen "Rather to leave [his] books than part with [Giovanni]" (54). But the Friar fears that the young man has travelled home only to find destruction:

O, Giovanni, hast thou left the schools
Of knowledge to converse with lust and death?

(57-58)

It is possible, however, that this scene and the similar discussion in Act II, scene v are staged within the discovery space, representing the Friar's cell or study. The quarto stage direction for Act III, scene vi reads: "Enter the Fryar in his study,..." (sig. F3^v), presumably indicating a discovered scene. Realistically, the location of this scene should be Annabella's chamber, for she has been removed there when sick (III.ii.72) and Giovanni has drawn the Friar "from forth his cell" (III. iv.27) to visit her. However, Ford clearly thinks of the exchange between Bonaventura and Annabella, with the old man's concern for salvation and damnation, as taking place within the Friar's domain; the play's opening scene and Act II, scene v, similarly concerned with the state of a soul, could equally appropriately be located in the Friar's study. If a repeated association between the Friar and the restricted space of his cell is created, emphasis would be given to his special rôle as the

conscience and spiritual adviser of the play's world. This cell would become a present extension of Bononia, with its concern for religion and study, the place to which he by nature and past belongs, and to which he returns when he finds that Giovanni is beyond salvation (V.iii.65-68). Thus he, like Tecnicus, abandons the play's immediate locality when disaster becomes inevitable, and leaves that world bereft of wisdom and moral control. Both these departures contribute to the sense of tragic inevitability which touches the two plays. The discovery space with its curtained front, its restricted space, and probably a table and small properties to suggest a private study, would be an entirely fitting setting for the Friar, whose character combines spirituality, the contemplative life, and a harsh medieval awareness of hell and death. Seventeenth century visual representations of Philosophy, Truth, or the pursuit of virtuous thought and study, often include a small curtained area, adorned with suitable attributes (which would be easy hand properties) such as a skull, books, a table, candles, pens, and suggesting an appearance similar to that of a theatrical discovery space. In figure 45, the titlepage of James Howel's Epistolae Ho Elianae (1645), a curtained setting is given to Phylosophia in the top left hand vignette, while that at the bottom left clearly shows a study, with book shelves, covered table, candle and pen, and its own door at the rear, while the surface between the study and the spectator is shown as a curtain drawn upwards. This curtain and rear door give the sense of a theatrical discovery space. On the titlepage of Trvth Brought to light and discovered by Time (1651), the figures of Memory and History, depicted as philosophers or scholars, are shown in their studies which are indicated by a table in a restricted space, with a leaded window behind of the sort which may have been found on the rear wall of a theatrical discovery space (see figure 46).¹⁰ In the same engraving is a vignette with strong theatrical affinities: at the top of the titlepage, King James, seated upon his raised and canopied state (the state being a common stage property),

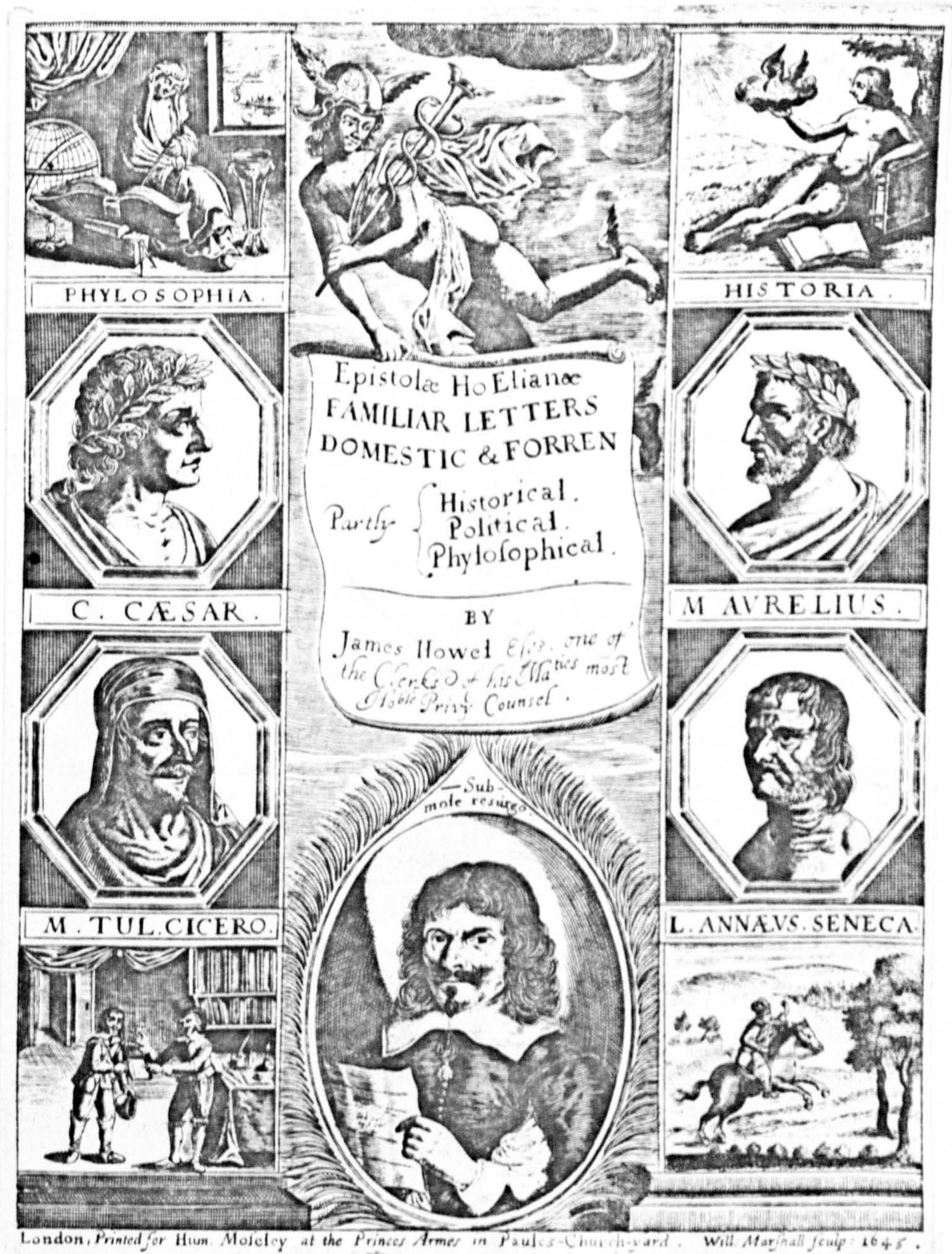


Figure 45. James Howel, Epistolae Ho Elianae (London, 1645). Reproduced from Alfred Forbes Johnson, A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691 (Oxford, 1934), Marshall No. 94.

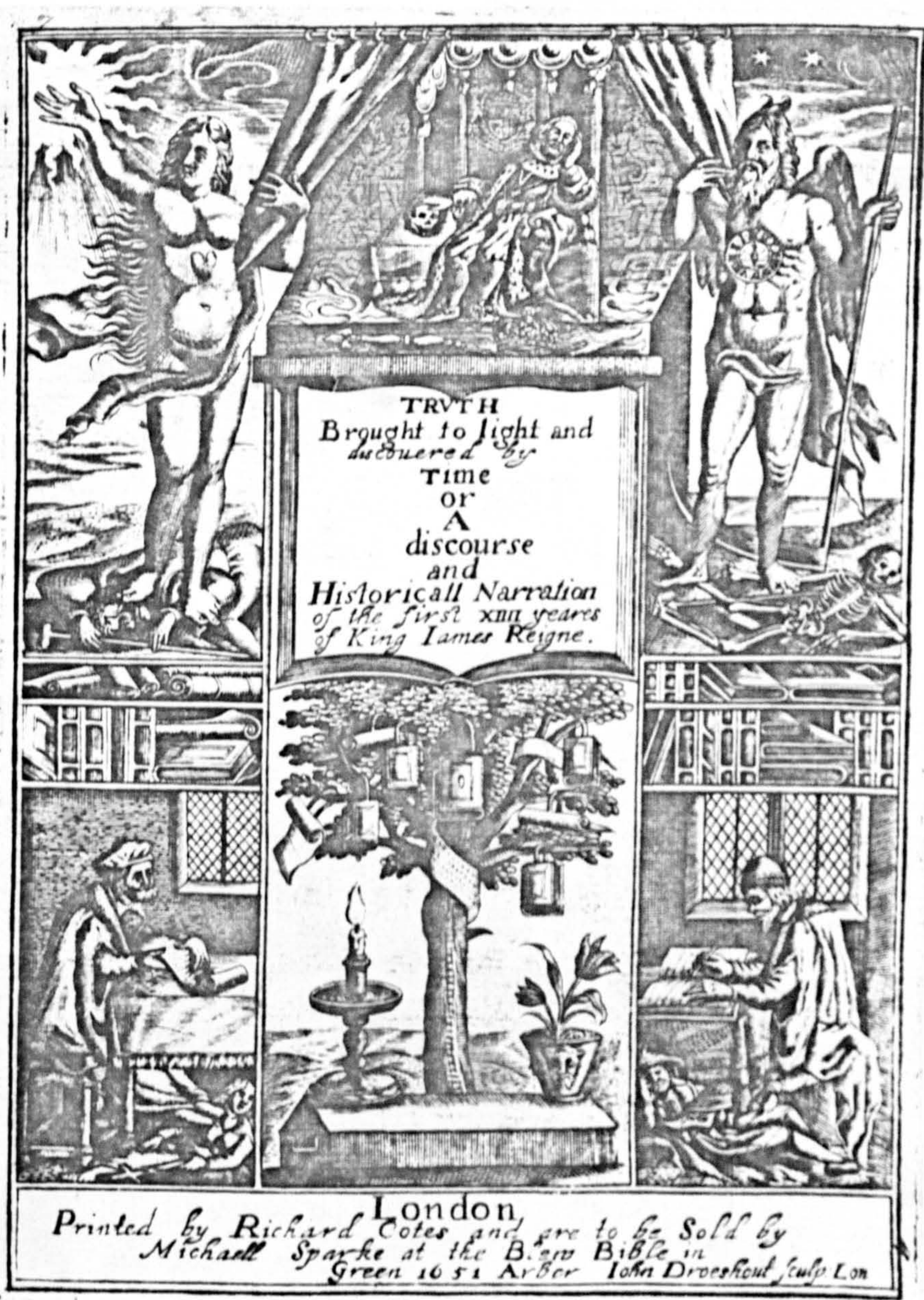


Figure 46. Trvth Brought to light and discovered by Time (London, 1651). Reproduced from Alfred Forbes Johnson, A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691 (Oxford, 1934), J. Droeshout, No. 11.

is revealed within a small, platformed area by the drawing back of curtains which are attached by rings to a rod, a means of attachment which would be particularly practical in the theatre.¹¹ Although both of these engravings are later in date than Ford's tragedy, there is nothing new or unusual in their details.¹²

With the Friar, and perhaps within the Friar's stage study, Giovanni is confronted with the precepts which he has left behind in Bononia, in that past life of which the university admired his

government, behaviour, learning, speech,
Sweetness, and all that could make up a man[.]

(I.i.51-52)

The Friar's world also links the immediate setting with heaven and hell (cf. II.vi.1-5), and, alone with the Friar both Giovanni and Annabella struggle for the salvation of their soul.

But besides the Friar, Soranzo also is shown in a study. Act II, scene ii begins with the stage direction: "Enter Soranzo in his study reading a Booke" (sig. C4^v). Here the study setting gives, not an atmosphere of the spirit and of wisdom, but of a poetic artificiality. Soranzo's love for Annabella is expressed through his adaptation of Sannazaro's verses on love, and it is faintly comic that he compares his praise of his beloved to the poet's encomium of Venice which, as he recalls, "gained [Sannazaro] such a sum of gold" (II.ii.15).

In the opening scene, whether on the open platform or in the discovery space, where the Friar looks outward, to the past and the university, and further to the universal and eternal, Giovanni's sin very delicately unfolds:

GIOVANNI. Must I not do what all men else may, love?
FRIAR. Yes, you may love, fair son.

(19-20)

The gentle pathos of the question enlists the sympathy of the audience for this 'fair' youth before the nature of his sin is known, and the revelation itself is made with a casualness at once startling and disarming:

Shall a peevish sound,
A customary form, from man to man,
Of brother and of sister, be a bar
'Twixt my perpetual happiness and me?

(24-27)

Giovanni, in his attempts to justify his love, moves further and further away from the perfect civilized man that once he was and becomes an advocate of uncivilized nature - nature without the "customary form[s]" of society's laws and morals. He is no longer ruled by reason, but by nature and blood:

It were more ease to stop the ocean
From floats and ebbs than to dissuade my vows.
FRIAR. Then I have done, and in thy wilful flames
Already see thy ruin; Heaven is just.

(64-67)

Strong omens forewarn of the dangerous flood of passion, and of heaven's retribution.

The Friar advises Giovanni to hurry home, there to cleanse his leprous soul of incest:

lock thee fast
Alone within thy chamber, then fall down
On both thy knees, and grovel on the ground:
Cry to thy heart, wash every word thou utter'st
In tears (and if't be possible) of blood[.]

(69-73)

Elements of this verbal picture - kneeling, hearts, tears, blood - will recur throughout the play in verbal and visual images, linking the progress of Giovanni's story with this initial advice from the Friar. Ironically, for this penance the Friar draws attention to the family element - "Hie to thy father's house" (69), the house where Annabella, Giovanni's goddess, lives. The youth has expressed his incestuous adoration in terms of religious worship, asking:

Must I not praise
That beauty which, if framed anew, the gods
Would make a god of, if they had it there,
And kneel to it, as I do kneel to them?

(20-23)

Thus his kneeling worship of the gods (fine pagan plural of the Renaissance Christian) leads his thoughts to Annabella. He accepts the Friar's exhortation to kneel and weep in penance, less through a sense of religious conviction than through the fatalism he will eventually accept:

All this I'll do, to free me from the rod
Of vengeance; else I'll swear my fate's my god.

(83-84)

The gestures of penance become, easily and scarcely perceptibly, the gestures of love. When the brother and sister come together at the end of the next long scene, Giovanni's struggle is lost (I.ii.139-141), and he exclaims:

O that it were not in religion sin
To make our love a god, and worship it.

(I.ii.145-146)

Gradually he is beginning to make Annabella his goddess (cf., later, II.v.35-36), and Annabella at once identifies her brother as a "blessed shape / Of some celestial creature" (I.ii.126-127). The tears which the Friar advised become tears of unrequited love, visualized by the actor of Giovanni as Annabella watches from the balcony level, noting:

Alas, he heats his breast, and wipes his eyes
Drowned all in tears: methinks I hear him sigh.

(133-134)

And the passionate direction of these tears is made more obvious when Annabella admits to her brother that

For every sigh that thou hast spent for me
I have sighed ten; for every tear shed twenty[.]

(244-245)

After the lovers have knelt in solemn assurance of mutual devotion, Giovanni says to his sister:

After so many tears as we have wept,
Let's learn to court in smiles, to kiss, and sleep.

(262-263)

Throughout the play multiple applications of single images recur - kneeling in expiation, kneeling in the acts of worship and of love; tears of love and tears of penance.

After the play's eschatological opening scene, the second scene provides a most admirable contrast and yet continuation. Firmly placed in the streets of Parma, near Florio's doors (I.ii.20), the scene with its brawling characters becomes totally immediate, bound by this world, devoid of elevated thought. Action contrasts effectively with the previous disputation, but it is action which is similarly threatening to peace and life:

Enter Grimaldi and Vasques ready to fight.
VASQUES. Come sir, stand to your tuckling; if you
prove craven, I'll
make you run quickly.

GRIMALDI. Thou art no equal match for me.

(sig. B2; I.ii.1-3)

Grimaldi, a soldier (11), a Roman gentleman (14), "nephew to the Duke Montferrato" (76), scorns to fight with a mere servant, "a cast-suit" (9),¹³ until Vasques, insolently taunting him with cowardice, provokes him to action. The language of these two quarrellers is powerful and individualized. Through nineteen lines of dialogue the audience is given no indication of the cause of the fight, yet the characters are at once expressed: the arrogant pride of blood in the Roman, the vulgar, sneering belligerence of the servant.

They fight, Grimal. hath the worst.

Enter Florio, Donado, Soranzo.

FLORIO. What mean these sudden broils so near my doors?
Have you not other places but my house
To vent the spleen of your disordered bloods?

(sig. B2^v; 20-22)

The brawlers present a visual and emotional contrast to Giovanni, and yet his blood is, as we have seen, as disordered as theirs; the conclusion of this scene will show that he brings his leprous passion (cf. I.i.74-75) to Florio's house. Ironically the youthful soldier comes off worst - physically against the old grey-haired servant, and then verbally against Soranzo, his well-spoken rival for Annabella's hand. The society against which the incestuous love develops is seen to be violent, crude and disorientated.

Florio, characteristically tactful and pacific, ushers the characters from the stage platform into his house (by means, probably, of a stage door not used for Grimaldi's exit at line 51), seeking to allay the recent unpleasantness:

I would not for my wealth my daughter's love
Should cause the spilling of one drop of blood.
Vasques, put up, let's end this fray in wine.

(60-62)

The sword is put away; the threat of blood is replaced by a celebration in wine. But the peace for which Florio hopes is temporary; the blade which spills his daughter's blood will come from within his house, blood will be

celebrated in a feast of death.

With the exit of Florio and his party from the platform, the focus of attention moves to the upper stage where Annabella and Putana have been watching as from a window or balcony of Florio's house (sig. B2^V). This change of focus suggests a spiritual elevation. Annabella is morally above the petty wrangling of suitors, and her purity is enhanced by contrast with her prating nurse to whom she says,

But, tut'ress, such a life gives no content
To me, my thoughts are fixed on other ends;
Would you would leave me.

(67-69)

Her words suggest a spiritual concern for the other worlds of the first scene, and a desired isolation from the worldliness below her, to which Putana would lower and unite her mistress (95-98).

To Annabella and Putana in their observer position, the scene below has the nature of a parade of lovers passing in review. The suitors are clearly differentiated. Grimaldi is the military man, perhaps identified by his gorget¹⁴ or the various other shorthand signs of a soldier - buff coat, baldric, boots, or a helmet hanging at the waist.¹⁵ Soranzo is the proud nobleman, and in this non-aristocratic society his garments presumably indicate, through splendour of fabric and ostentation of cut, his exalted social position. Bergetto is individualized by his language and gestures - a foolish but irrepressibly lively youth. Together with his satirical servant, Poggio, Bergetto provides comic scenes that resemble those which Ford creates around the character of Mauruccio. But unlike Love's Sacrifice's old fop, this foolish lover becomes increasingly caught up in, and finally extinguished by, the general violence of his society. From his first appearance, as he passes (unwittingly) in review below the observers (Annabella and her tutress), he resembles, despite the comic tone, the serious rival suitors, for his first words indicate that he, too, has been drawn to a fight (103-105). The harshness of Bergetto's fate when compared with that of

Mauruccio is an indication of the extreme violence which 'Tis Pity's society displays, a violence in which the (offstage) blinding of Putana, the dragging about of a pregnant woman by her hair, and the widespread attempts at vengeance prepare us for the final horror of the ripped up heart.

And now the fourth lover appears on the stage platform:

Enter Giouanni.

ANNABELLA. But see, Putana, see: what blessed shape
Of some celestial creature now appears?

(sig. B4; 126-127)

For the first time Annabella shows an interest in the action on the platform, asking,

What man is he, that with such sad aspect
Walks careless of himself?

PUTANA. Where?

ANNABELLA. Look below.

PUTANA. O, 'tis your brother, sweet.

ANNABELLA. Ha!

PUTANA. 'Tis your brother.

(128-130)

By maintaining the physical separation of characters, above and on the platform, Ford provides a presenter of Giovanni's lovelorn actions (131-134), and subtly allows us to witness Annabella's sympathy for her brother before she is actually confronted with her incestuous lover. Giovanni, in his grief, appears to her to be

some woeful thing
Wrapped up in grief, some shadow of a man.

(131-132)

Perhaps Giovanni presents, in shape of garments and in stance, something of the conventional appearance of the "Melancholy Lover", a type name which could be applied to him in the opening and wedding scenes, as also to Fernando in Love's Sacrifice and Palador in The Lover's Melancholy. Ford's debt to Robert Burton is well-known.¹⁶ On the engraved titlepage to the 1628 edition of Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy, the figure 'Inamorato' is shown in a huge hat and with his arms folded, an appearance resembling one of the rare contemporary references to Ford himself, in William Heminges' Elegy on Randolph's Finger (c. 1632):

Deep In a dumpe Iacke forde alone was gott
Wth folded Armes and Melancholye hatt.¹⁷

Inigo Jones, in his designs for Jonson's Love's Triumph through Callipolis (1630/31), bases the Melancholy Lover¹⁸ closely upon the figure on Burton's titlepage (see figures 47(a) and (b)).

With a sense of foreboding, Annabella exits from above to join her brother, saying, "My soul is full of heaviness and fear" (138). This heaviness is represented visually by her descent; her soul is dragged down.¹⁹ In relation to her other lovers, Annabella has remained an elevated and isolated observer; now, by her own choice (135), she ceases to be an audience and becomes an actress on the stage platform.

When the young woman and Putana re-enter below, the brother and sister are drawn into a new physical nearness, and at the same time their family relationship is, verbally, emphasized:

GIOVANNI. O me! She comes.

Enter Anna. and Putana.

ANNABELLA.

Brother.

Why, brother, will you not speak to me?

GIOVANNI. Yes; how d'ee, sister?

. . .

Sister,

I would be private with you.

(sig. B4^v; 158, 161-162, 165-166)

When Putana withdraws (with an aside, ironical as it transpires, to the effect that any man but her brother would pay for the pleasure of getting the young woman alone, 168-170), Giovanni draws his sister still nearer:

Come, sister, lend your hand, let's walk together.
I hope you need not blush to walk with me;
Here's none but you and I.

(171-173)

The speech, with the action that it implies, is beautifully created. Giovanni's longing for his sister is physical; hand in hand, they walk like lovers. But Giovanni does not wish to alarm Annabella, and adopts what is also a gentle fraternal posture, hiding the danger in ambivalent words: "Here's none but you and I".



(a)



(b)

Figure 47. (a) Inigo Jones' drawing of the "Mellancoli Lover" for Ben Jonson's Love's Triumph through Callipolis (1630/31). Reproduced from Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones (London, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), vol. I, p. 414 number 158.

(b) 'Inamorato', from Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1628; B.M. C.123.k.28), titlepage (detail).

Annabella is not at first able to accept the true meaning of Giovanni's seeming flattery, and she answers her brother lightly:

O you are a trim youth.

GIOVANNI. Here.

ANNABELLA. What to do?

Offers his Dagger to her.

GIOVANNI. And here's my breast, strike home.

Rip up my bosom, there thou shalt behold
A heart in which is writ the truth I speak.²⁰

(202-207; sig. C)

The image of the heart ripped up and inscribed with the beloved's name - a potent image for Ford who uses it also in Love's Sacrifice (II.iii, p. 49.4-7 and II.iv, p. 54.8-10) - is the beginning of a chain of heart symbolism which concludes in Giovanni's murder of Annabella when, still obsessed with the heart, he digs it from her bosom (cf. V.vi.25) and flourishes it on his dagger before the horrified banquet guests.

Annabella accepts her brother's proffered love, and in the ritual that seals their pact the lovers give, through gesture and incantation, an aura of purity and an appearance of sanctity to their sin:

ANNABELLA.

On my knees,

Shee kneeles.

Brother, even by our mother's dust, I charge you,

Do not betray me to your mirth or hate,

Love me, or kill me, brother.

(249-252; sig. C2)

Giovanni, kneeling, repeats the charge (252-255). The lovers' exhortation by their mother's dust emphasizes (as do 'brother' and 'sister' used antonomastically) the incest, but their words now seem to glorify the union, enhancing that mystic relationship of the lovers which Giovanni has (however speciously) expounded (228-236). Their ritual puts their incestuous union on a formal basis which makes the subsequent proposals and betrothal seem actively destructive.

Annabella has chosen her brother in favour of the formal suitors. Between the exit of the new lovers and their re-entry as man and mistress (II.i) is a brief comic scene involving Bergetto. This interval, while it provides a passage of time for the offstage crowning of the incestuous love, also keeps before the audience the

busy rivalry for Annabella's hand. The utter unsuitability of Bergetto and the misrepresentation of Annabella as one likely to make a marriage for money (I.iii.66-68 and 78-80) enhance the impression, already fostered, that Giovanni alone is the worthy 'suitor'.

The stage direction indicating the lovers' next entrance, "as from their Chamber" (II.i; sig. C3^V), is probably authorial, being descriptive rather than a direction for action which one would expect from a play-house copy. In the theatre it could most easily be suggested by their entry from the discovery space, possibly even with the curtains open to reveal the bed which is a property used later in the play (V.v; sig. I4). But, as the discovery space is presumably used in the following scene to represent Soranzo's study (II.ii; sig. C4^V), the showing of the bed in Act II, scene i might seem unnecessarily troublesome. It is possible however, that the bedchamber is revealed as the lovers enter, and the curtain is then closed by them, allowing for the unseen change of properties. Possibly Ford has in mind some element of dishabille such as that required for Soranzo later (IV.iii; sig. G4^V). Annabella, when her father calls her from offstage at line 49, is temporarily discomfitted (cf. l. 50), and could possibly fasten up a dishevelled curl or secure some point or button on her dress before reaching for her work. But without the aid of visual hints, Giovanni's opening words reveal the activity from which the lovers have entered:

Come Annabella: no more sister now,
 But love, a name more gracious; do not blush,
 Beauty's sweet wonder, but be proud to know
 That yielding thou hast conquered, and inflamed
 A heart whose tribute is thy brother's life.

(II.i.1-5)

In the radiance of the lines and with a confusion of morality, the lovers disguise the nature of their sin. She is "no more sister now" - the name enshrining their incestuous union is transformed into something "more gracious".

That she must eventually marry in order to preserve their love and its natural fruits does not occur to

Annabella.

GIOVANNI. You must be married, mistress.

ANNABELLA. Yes? To whom?

GIOVANNI. Someone must have you.

ANNABELLA. You must.

GIOVANNI. Nay, some other.

(22-23)

Her oath to "live to [Giovanni], and to no other" (27) is given with complete conviction, for, she tells her brother:

didst thou know,
My Giovanni, how all suitors seem
To my eyes hateful, thou wouldst trust me then.

(28-30)

Through the sense of sight she rejects the competitors, and thus recalls for us the parade of lovers on the stage platform in Act I, scene ii, when, as spectator, she showed her lack of concern for, and superiority to, the rival lovers.

GIOVANNI. Enough, I take thy word. Sweet, we
Remember what thou vowst; keep well my heart. must part.

(31-32)

The insistence upon the vow, and the ominous rhyming of 'heart' with 'part', focus attention upon that vow, giving it an important prominence. When, trapped by the natural consequences of their love and by a conflicting vow rashly given (III.ii.56-62), Annabella appears to break the vow, Giovanni returns to claim her heart in which his is symbolically buried (cf. V.vi.27-28).

In their two love scenes, the brother and sister are seen amorally, their human passion and radiance rising above conventional or moral rules. But Ford, through the Friar, through the dual application of simple gestures which express both religion and love, and through his use of platform and upper stage, keeps the reminder of damnation before us. Tragedy on two levels threatens - the loss of their freedom to live to each other in this world; the loss of the next world. Thus the hero and heroine are (more strongly here than in his other tragedies) doubly tested.

II. Music and medicine.

After the exit of Giovanni from the second act love scene, Florio's voice is heard offstage (II.i.49; sig. C4). At once Annabella adopts the attitude of the dutiful daughter by taking her work - probably some form of needlework²¹ - from Putana. Annabella's fluster at being found in what is not, after all, a very incriminating state (49-51), shows her to be inexperienced in the arts of deceit. Florio's entry with

...Richardetto, like a Doctor of Phi(icke,
and Philotis with a Lute in her hand)

(sig. C4)

makes concrete two motifs already introduced - music and sickness.²² (The audience does not learn of the imposture of the physician and musician until Act II, scene iii.) Verbally, music is not as strong a theme in 'Tis Pity as in The Broken Heart, but in terms of incident and action it is important. Philotis, with her lute, is almost a personification of music, introduced into the household purely on the merits of her musical talents, and given no further personality in this scene. Presenting the young woman to Annabella, Richardetto explains:

I have been bold to bring with me
A kinswoman of mine, a maid, for song
And music one perhaps will give content[.]

(61-63)

A girl holding a lute is the emblem representing music in The Mirrovr of Maiestie (1618), and the explanatory verses that accompany the illustration assert that "th' attractiue power of Mu(sicke)" can "Wilde Rea(son re-contract, diuorc'd from man" (see figure 48). Here as elsewhere in Ford's plays, music represents harmony, and it is given a chivalrous welcome:

ANNABELLA. They are parts I love,
And she for them most welcome.

(64-65)

Aiding internal harmony and health, music is a logical companion to the doctor. This youthful representative of music is herself an harmonious influence: she later, we are told, offers to Bergetto a healing, pacifying kiss,

35.

EMBLEME 18.



AS busie Bees vnto their Hiue doe swarme,
 So do's th'attractive power of *Musicke* charme
 All *Eares* with silent rapture : nay, it can
 Wilde *Reason* re-contract, diuore'd from man.
Birds in their warblings imitate the *Sphaeres* :
 This sings the *Treble*, that the *Tenour* beares:
Beasts haue with listning to a Shepherds lay,
 Forgot to feed, and so haue pin'd away :
Brookes that creepe through each flou'r-befretted field,
 In their harmonious murmurs, musicke yeeld :
 Yea, senselesse *stones* at the old *Poets* song,
 Themselues in heapes did so together throng,
 That to high beauteous structures they did swell
 Without the helpe of *hand*, or vse of *skill* :
 This *Harmony* in t'humane *Fabricke* steales:
 And is the sinewes of all *Common-weales*.
 In you this *Concord* so diuinely placed :
 That *it* by *you*, not *you* by *it* is graced.

F 2

Figure 48. Emblem of Music with her lute. From Henry Green and James Croston, eds., The Mirrovr of Maiestie (1618), Holbein Society Fac-simile Reprint (Manchester and London, 1870), sig. F2.

and washes his bleeding face and hands, a Good Samaritan to the comic but sympathetically drawn figure after the unprovoked attack by a swaggering bully (II.vi.69-86).

But in the play as a whole, music (literally and figuratively) can be misinterpreted and misused. Giovanni is at first fully aware of the disharmony caused to his soul by his passion:

The love of thee, my sister, and the view
O thy immortal beauty hath untuned
All harmony both of my rest and life.

(I.ii.212-214)

When he is accepted by his mistress, he calls to the gods, "Let not this music be a dream" (I.ii.248). Annabella's music, although it brings fulfilment and love, does not bring harmony, as his ultimate behaviour shows. In accepting her music he rejects that of heaven and virtue. After the consummation of their love he applies the motif with gaiety. "[T]his pretty toy called maidenhead", he tells Annabella (II.i.10), is nothing, to which she answers:

'Tis well for you;
Now you can talk.
GIOVANNI. Music as well consists
In th' ear as in the playing.
ANNABELLA. O, y'are wanton.

(12-14)

This yoking of music and sexual 'playing' is taken up innocently by Florio who, entering shortly afterwards with the musician, boasts that his daughter

hath not quite forgot
To touch an instrument: she could have done't.

(74-75)

In his next interview with the Friar (II.v), Giovanni has progressed to a state of idolatry in which he sees Annabella as divine and her love as his heaven (35-36). He paints a verbal picture of his sister for the old man, and concludes by bidding the Friar

Hear her but speak, and you will swear the spheres
Make music to the citizens of Heaven.

(55-56)

Giovanni, grandly, chooses to follow this music at the expense of his eternal salvation. Annabella, awakening

to the full horror of their sin, denounces her "lethargies of lust" (V.i.28). Her repentance, opening the way for her salvation, is overheard by the Friar, who murmurs, "Here's music to the soul" (30).

Actively, music is used to consciously evil ends, concealing with ceremony and seeming harmony the discord that lies beneath the polite surface. 'Hoboyes' accompany the banquet in celebration of Annabella's marriage (IV.i; sig. G2^V). The musicians, probably positioned visibly on an upper level, supply one pageant element of the general festivity. They play to announce the entrance of

...Hippolita and Ladies in white Roabes with
Garlands of Willowes.

Musicke and a Daunce.

Dance.

(sig. G3)

This peaceful, gracious, harmonious offering, conceals the intended murder of the bridegroom and brings, instead, Hippolita's death. Although Soranzo, here, escapes, his happiness soon crumbles, and music becomes a taunt. In the powerful quarrel scene between him and his wife (IV. iii), Annabella sings snatches of Italian madrigals, provoking her husband with her refusal to name the lover (57-64). "Che morte piu dolce che morire per amore?" (59) she sings, and the song, generalizing and glorifying the situation of one who dies for love, places her individual behaviour in a more universal framework, making of it a 'triumph' (64). Vasques, urging Soranzo to seek revenge by subtler means, bids his master

use [Annabella] mildly, win her
if it be possible to a voluntary, to a weeping tune;...

(158-159)

The change in Soranzo's treatment, from brutal to sorrowful, does win her "to a weeping tune" (cf. 128-130); and with tears and blood she repents, providing "music to the soul" for the Friar. Concerning this motif of music it is interesting to note that its most obvious and pure visual symbol of harmony - Philotis with her lute²³ - retreats from the play's violent society to seek "the way to Heaven" (IV.ii.21) by becoming a nun. She leaves Parma altogether, and her removal (to Cremona), like that of

the Friar (V.iii.65-67) and that of Tecnicus in The Broken Heart (IV.i.127-143), can be seen as symbolic. Harmony flees from the play, and in the succeeding scene Soranzo abuses his pregnant wife and Vasques orders Putana's eyes to be put out; then follow Giovanni's murder of his sister, and the final deaths in a general fight.

Music (Philotis) is accompanied and introduced into Florio's household by the disguised physician. The doctor's habit, like the scholar's gown worn by Orgilus and the idiot's petticoats adopted by Roseilli, would be a convenient stage disguise. Being the recognizable dress of a profession, rather than of an individual, it provides a useful degree of anonymity. Fairly enveloping in outline it can easily conceal Richardetto's own clothes beneath it, in readiness for his self-revelation in the final scene (V.vi.152-155). The costume would involve some form of long gown or cloak, probably closed at the front, and perhaps a hood or bonnet (see figures 49(a) and (b)). Perhaps Richardetto carries some medical instrument, such as a vial or hourglass, to help in indicating his profession.²⁴

Disguised as a healer, Richardetto is a (fictitious) minister of physical health as the Friar is an agent of spiritual well-being. The health of the body and the soul interweave. Giovanni's spiritual state has already been likened to disease when the Friar warns him of "the leprosy of lust / That rots [his] soul" (I.i.74-75). His passion for Annabella renders him 'ill'. He tells his sister:

Trust me, but I am sick, I fear so sick
'Twill cost my life.

(I.ii.179-180)

Ironically, Florio attributes his son's unsettled health to excessive study (I.iii.5-6). Florio's mistaken fear for Giovanni's health does leave the vague impression that a real and recognizable illness marks the young man. Now we learn from Florio that Annabella, too, has "of late been sickly" (II.i.56). Perhaps a meaning hidden to Florio is intended - the sickness of love-longing has been cured by Giovanni. But the relationship will later



Figure 49 (a). The dress of a physician in 1587. Engraving by Henri Goltzius (1558-1617), recorded in Adam Bartsch, Le Peintre Graveur (Leipzig, 1854), vol. III, p. 99, no. 3. Reproduced from W.S.C. Copeman, Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times (London, 1960), fig. 2.



Figure 49 (b). A physician in 1651. Titlepage to James Primrose, Popular Errours (1651). Reproduced from Margery Corbett & Michael Norton, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, vol. III (Cambridge, 1964), pl. 165(a).

Although more than sixty years separate these two illustrations, the flat hat and long outer garment worn by the two doctors differ very little. The curtained beds probably resemble stage beds, such as the one used in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, V.v.

make itself felt in the sickness that strikes Annabella with superbly retributive timing. After treating the suing Soranzo with gay contempt, she at last allows him an equivocal promise:

If I hereafter find that I must marry,
It shall be you or none.

SORANZO. I take that promise.

ANNABELLA. O, O, my head.

SORANZO. What's the matter? Not well?

ANNABELLA. O, I begin to sicken.

(III.ii.61-65)

As in The Duchess of Malfi, pregnancy inexorably speeds on action; the natural outcome of love cannot be hidden. Her punishment is particularly fitting, for she has just jeered at Soranzo who, in expressing his passion for her, claims,

I'm sick, and sick to th' heart.

ANNABELLA. Help, aqua-vitae.

SORANZO. What mean you?

ANNABELLA. Why, I thought you had been sick.

(35-36)

The physician (from Act II, scene iii known to the audience to be an imposter) interprets Annabella's pregnancy as "a fulness of her blood" (III.iv.8), hinting that a husband is the cure for her maiden sickness. It is not clear whether he is as deceived about the truth as is Florio or whether he is wittingly aiming at an ignoble marriage for his rival Soranzo. Either way, his advice is aimed, not at a cure, but at the expense of blood, for in the following scene he is seen plotting the murder of the proposed bridegroom (III.v.8-24).

Giovanni, before he kills his sister, speaks to her in words of chilling forewarning:

Give me your hand; how sweetly life doth run
In these well-coloured veins. How constantly
These palms do promise health. But I could chide
With Nature for this cunning flattery.

(V.v.74-77)

The promise of health is a false promise; she dies, but having cleansed her soul, she does not (we may feel confident) die eternally. } ?

The disguised doctor is in some ways a foil to Giovanni. Like the hero, Richardetto returns to Parma

at the beginning of the play and to a new way of life which has been altered and upset by the workings of love and lust. Again, like Giovanni, Richardetto is reported to have been a model of manhood before the events of the tragedy have begun. He was, says Soranzo,

So noble in his quality, condition,
Learning, behaviour, entertainment, love,
As Parma could not show a braver man.

(II.ii.91-93; cf. I.i.50-52)

Where Giovanni grows increasingly enthralled by his own "brave revenge" (V.vi.75), believing that he can act on behalf of fate (V.vi.70-72), Richardetto eventually relinquishes vengeance and places his faith in the working of providence (IV.ii.1-9). In the play's final moments, after the death of Giovanni, Richardetto casts off his deceitful identity, but his return to peace and truth cannot be seen as a strongly optimistic sign in this brutal and unjust society. Ironically, Richardetto discards his disguise before the Cardinal, begging pardon of the very churchman who was condoned murder and who has already ordered the seizure of those riches which the tragedy's deaths have left behind (V.vi.148-154).

III.a) Marriage and violence.

Two topics dominate much of the imagery, action and dialogue of 'Tis Pity She's a Whore - marriage and violence. Marriage, together with the ceremonies which accompany it in the play, represents a sanctified convention of society, a convention which upholds life, order, harmony. Violence, here most frequently in the service of vengeance, represents the disruption of society's lawful working order, a breakdown of spiritual, moral and legal values. It is not only the suitors who are immersed in thoughts of marriage: Annabella is twice forced to receive proposals which she seeks to decline; Giovanni fears that she will marry and spies upon Soranzo's proposal scene; Donado acts as agent for his nephew as Annabella's suitor; Florio's dearest wish, and indeed his constant thought, is for his daughter's marriage;

and Hippolita returns to claim from Soranzo his promise to marry her when her first marriage has ended. Violence, which begins in the second scene's fight between Vasques and Grimaldi, continues at all levels, from the comical beating which Bergetto reports (II.vi.66-85), through the various plots of vengeance hatched by Richardetto, Grimaldi, Hippolita, Vasques and Soranzo; the spontaneous fury in which Soranzo hales his wife about by the hair; the pre-arranged (but abortive) violence of the marriage masque and of the masked bandits; and the offstage blinding of Putana. In image and action, marriage and violence come together - unexpectedly for the characters, but with strong foreboding for the audience - most elaborately in the marriage-death scene of Bergetto (III.vii) and in Hippolita's marriage masque (IV.i). Visually, marriage and violence provide a great proportion of the stage pictures: two proposal scenes, betrothal, marriage banquet; frequent fights, murders, violent intrusions.

The two themes of marriage and violence tie the three plots together, and also are important in shaping our attitude to the society (and its values) in which the lovers live. Maeterlinck's Annabella, an adaptation of Ford's play, excises the subplots.²⁵ By thus removing much of the violence, the endless discussions of vengeance, and the universal interest in marriage and lust, Maeterlinck alters the basic fabric of the play. Without Hippolita's marriage masque, the important symbolism of a feast as both celebration and triumph of death, with which the play so brilliantly concludes, is weakened.

The love scene that opens Act II seems to set an obstacle between the formal suitors and Annabella. But, thereafter, the theme of her marriage becomes more and more forceful, and the succeeding scenes are dominated by offers of betrothal, her acceptance, the brief marriage ceremony and the celebratory banquet. Throughout these scenes, Giovanni and Annabella, although they are onstage together several times, are not given a private meeting of any length until the scene of Annabella's death (V.v). By bringing them both onstage while the action sweeps onward, yet by permitting them little opportunity for

confidences, Ford isolates and tests the lovers, making each more dependent upon himself or herself, tortured and uncertain.²⁶

The Friar, in an attempt to save the guilty pair from their lust, is an advocate of marriage for Annabella, saying to Giovanni,

Persuade thy sister to some marriage.

GIOVANNI. Marriage? Why, that's to damn her.

That's to prove

Her greedy of variety of lust.

(II.v.40-42)

The testing of Annabella's resources - her loyalty to Giovanni and her diplomacy in the face of varied pressures to marry - begins light-heartedly. As in the original description and parade of suitors, Ford uses repetition as a plot device, presenting her with two explicit offers of marriage - from Bergetto and from Soranzo. Bergetto's suit does not come from the foolish young man himself, but from Donado, his worldly, dignified uncle. This scene (II.vi) is civilized and slightly comical, since the audience is aware of the great distance that separates Bergetto from Donado's portrait of the despairing lover. And yet, from the scene's opening moments there hangs in the atmosphere a memory of one who is not present, whose peace of mind is threatened by the prospect of Annabella's marriage, and whom the audience has seen acting out precisely those gestures of a lover which Donado attributes to Bergetto (cf. II.vi.8-10 and I.ii.133-134):

FLORIO. Where's Giovanni?

ANNABELLA. Newly walked abroad,
And, as I heard him say, gone to the friar,
His reverend tutor.

FLORIO. That's a blessed man,
A man made up of holiness; I hope
He'll teach him how to gain another world.

(II.vi.1-5)

We are taken back to the preceding scene where the Friar fears his pupil will lose that other world, and where Giovanni has protested against Annabella's marriage. The dangers, the sin lying beneath this comfortable exterior and Florio's confident illusions about his children,

create a second dimension to the mood of this scene. Also, Annabella's intimate knowledge of Giovanni's movements subtly implies the continued closeness of their offstage life. Ford has used the subtle device similarly in The Broken Heart when Amyclas questions the whereabouts of Calantha and Nearchus (IV.iii.1-3), reminding us of their physical offstage location in a way that suggests a symbolic relationship of characters and place.²⁷

The audience comes to the scene of Donado's surrogate wooing (II.vi) with considerable knowledge of the suitor's letter. Despairing of Bergetto as a wooer in person, Donado has told the youth:

I'll have you write to her after some courtly
manner,
and enclose some rich jewel in the letter.

(I.iii.79-80)

The jewel introduces an effective minor motif. It could be in a ring, a jewel to be attached to the dress,²⁸ or a ring to be worn about the neck on a chain (as, for example, in the standard portraits of Robert Cecil).²⁹ Bergetto's jewel is part of a marriage bargain in which the prize is to be Annabella. Donado, after hearing of a shrewd commercial sense in Annabella (I.iii.66-69), proposes to send the "rich jewel", which thus becomes an elegant form of bait.

When Annabella unrolls the letter and finds the jewel within, she seeks to return the gift with a graceful compliment:

The jewel I'll return; for if he love,
I'll count that love a jewel.

(II.vi.33-34)

But Florio urges her to send another token to the young man.

Where's the ring,
That which your mother in her will bequeathed,
And charged you on her blessing not to give't
To any but your husband? Send back that.

ANNABELLA. I have it not.

FLORIO.

Ha, have it not! Where is't?

ANNABELLA. My brother in the morning took it from me,
Said he would wear't today.

(36-42)

This curious little exchange draws attention to a jewel as symbol. The circumstance of the ring is a variant on the device used by Webster in The Duchess of Malfi (I.i.463-467) and followed closely by Ford in Love's Sacrifice (I.ii, pp. 23-24). The solemnity of a dying behest gives to the ring a symbolical, almost mystical power. Florio is pacified on learning that his son wears the marriage token, but in the understanding of the audience, Giovanni wears it as Annabella's 'husband', and the ring thus subtly reinforces the sense of a 'marriage' between the lovers which was begun in their kneeling ritual (I.ii.249-259).

The entry of Bergetto and Poggio at this moment is well timed. The fool, bandaged and bloody, is an amusing ass as he relates the story of his own beating (69-85), and this comic moment relieves the awkward situation of Annabella's refusal which, conversationally at least, has created something of an impasse. But also, his tale introduces his infatuation for Philotis who washed and kissed him, thus providing for the young man an alternative mistress.

After Bergetto's intrusion and definite elimination from the list of suitors, Donado, generous and courteous, leaves the jewel with Annabella - no longer a love token, but a gift to a maiden whose honesty he has learned to admire (54-57):

to you, fair maid,
That jewel I will give you 'gainst your marriage.
(113-114)

But the prospect (or threat) of her marriage grows more forceful as Florio now consults his own preference, assuring Giovanni that

Soranzo is the man I only like -
Look on him, Annabella. Come, 'tis supper-time,
And it grows late. Exit Florio.
(123-125; sig. E3^v)

This seemingly casual remark about the movement of time introduces a hurrying note, a reminder that time is not eternal for the lovers, but actively progressing. For Giovanni and Annabella, as yet oblivious of the danger,

"it grows late". Fittingly, Florio hurries them to supper. When Annabella's pregnancy is felt, she and Giovanni deceive with a credible and seemingly harmless explanation - ill diet (III.iii.25-27 and III.iv.3-5). Their reason becomes ominously apt, as they are hurried to the marriage banquet that seems to condemn Annabella of lustful greed (cf. II.v.41-42), and as the play then moves on inexorably to Soranzo's banquet of vengeance at which Giovanni 'feasts' upon Annabella's heart (V.vi.24-27).

Giovanni detains his sister:

Whose jewel's that?

ANNABELLA. Some sweetheart's.

GIOVANNI. So I think.

ANNABELLA. A lusty youth,
Signor Donado, gave it me to wear
Against my marriage.

GIOVANNI. But you shall not wear it.
Send it him back again.

ANNABELLA. What, you are jealous?

GIOVANNI. That you shall know anon, at better
leisure.

Welcome, sweet night! The evening crowns the
day. Exeunt.

(II.vi.126-132; sign. E3^V)

This exchange is their first onstage meeting since the scene of consummated love (II.i) in which Annabella dismissed her brother's fears that she would marry. Annabella takes the gift casually, infected with the gaiety that has been introduced with Bergetto's entry and tale. Giovanni comes alone, brooding, from the thrilling but sombre spiritual battle that has taken place with the Friar (II.v). His promise of explanations still to come charges the air with vague possibilities, drawing attention to his jealousy (which helps later to explain his belief that she is false to him, V.v.1-5) and to the jewel as an ominous token.

If Giovanni still wears his sister's ring at the wedding banquet (where, tortured and jealous, he isolates himself from the other guests, IV.i.15-18; 24-28), he would provide, in visual shorthand, a sign of the deceit and danger beneath the complacent surface. He, not Soranzo, has taken the husband's prerogative. Soranzo, presiding over the banquet, confident in the double success

of his marriage and his escape from Grimaldi's attempted murder, tells the Friar that "the hand of goodness" (7)

hath enriched my life
With this most precious jewel; such a prize
As earth hath not another like to this.

(9-11)

He completes his glorying speech with a call to the guests to drink, saying,

this day we'll crown
With lusty cups to Annabella's health.

(13-14)

The irony of his jewel (neatly given a slightly mercenary tone with the word 'prize') is obvious; the conventionally imagistic use of 'crown' recalls the evening which 'crowns' the lovers' day (II.vi.132); he drinks to her health, when her sickness (the fruit of incest) has given him his bride.

Later, when Soranzo learns the truth about his wife's condition, he warns her, in his rage, that

The treasure of the earth
Shall not redeem thee;...

(IV.iii.64-65)

Treasure and wealth - of prime interest to many of the characters in this play - are no temptation to Annabella. But when Soranzo changes his language from outraged threats to sorrowful regrets, reminding her that she has been his jewel, Annabella's conscience and heart are wounded and she weeps.

SORANZO. O Vasques, Vasques, in this piece of flesh,
This faithless face of hers, had I laid up
The treasure of my heart.

(106-108)

Stirred to a sober realization of his loss she is as reluctant to cheat him of treasure as she was to take Bergetto's jewel without fair exchange (II.vi.32-34). Soranzo's beautifully powerful cry is rich in associations: "this piece of flesh" recalls his threats to rip, hew, tear her and her lover to shreds (IV.iii.53-58), and is completed in Giovanni's dismemberment of his sister. The "faithless face", denouncing Annabella's appearance as deceptive, implicitly questions Giovanni's worship of his sister's beauty as a sign of her virtue (a principle

which, according to the Friar, Giovanni only partially understands, II.v.14-34); and Annabella, repentant, comes to recognize the curse of a beautiful face that is "not clothed with grace" (V.i.13).

After the murder, Giovanni holds the heart on the dagger before the startled guests and cries triumphantly:

I digged for food
In a much richer mine than gold or stone
Of any value balanced; 'tis a heart,
A heart, my lords, in which is mine entombed[.]

(V.vi.25-28)

The heart, richer than gold or gem ('stone'), becomes a jewel of sorts. Thus Ford has, with the motif of a jewel or a treasure, drawn into association the commercial marriage bargain, the abused husband, and the murderous lover.

Before the second formal proposal scene, that involving Soranzo, Ford has inserted a brief comic interlude in which Bergetto, still full of childlike high spirits, vows to wed Philotis in spite of his uncle's desires. The motif of a lover's gift or token receives a comic parallel in this subplot when we hear that Bergetto has received gifts more suitable to his tastes - a "codpiece-point" and a "box of marmalade" (III.i.11-12). Poggio, urging on his young master, declares,

There's no way but to clap up a marriage in
hugger-mugger.

(14-15)

This detail in Bergetto's career keeps the topic of marriage obsessively placed before us, and introduces an atmosphere of secrecy, deception and therefore danger, concerning marriage. Bergetto's intended behaviour parallels the completed union of Giovanni and Annabella, in hugger-mugger (Annabella "would not have it known for all the world", II.i.46), following their passions instead of the opinions of society or the desires of their guardian.

Soranzo, as wooer, presents an altogether different threat from that of Bergetto. He is no fool; he is hot-tempered (II.ii), proud and ready to take offence (I.ii.30-42); and he imagines himself to be powerfully in love

with Annabella (II.ii). Thus he cannot be put off easily with plain dealing or the substitution of a wench with gifts and kisses. Soranzo brings his suit in person, without the distancing of an intermediary.

As Soranzo's wooing scene begins, Florio calls for a general exit, but Giovanni pauses to leave an injunction with Annabella:

FLORIO. Come, son, and you the rest, let them alone:
Agree they as they may.

SORANZO. I thank you, sir.

GIOVANNI. [Aside] Sister, be not all woman, think on me.

SORANZO. Vasques.

VASQUES. My lord?

SORANZO. Attend me without. Exeunt omnes, manet Soran.
(& Anna.

(III.ii.9-14; sig. E4)

The slow exit stresses the arranged privacy of the forthcoming conversation, introducing a note of stiffness which puts pressure upon Soranzo to say his piece (a rehearsed speech, one feels). Giovanni's warning makes us aware again of his suspicious, watchful nature.

Annabella behaves very differently (but consistently) in facing the two offers of marriage. Her polite consideration shown to Donado, and her reticence to make any definite statement, are replaced by a somewhat bold wit, emphasized for the audience by Giovanni's asides after he reappears, above.(18). But after mocking the courtly lover whom she has never encouraged, she answers him, as she did Donado, with straightforward truth:

To put you out of doubt, my lord, methinks
Your common sense should make you understand
That if I loved you, or desired your love,
Some way I should have given you better taste[.]

(42-45)

Ford's use of two levels of the stage is theatrically effective, with Giovanni, unseen and unheard by those below, interpreting Annabella's answers in terms of his (and the audience's) private knowledge. Soranzo presents his love in conventional terms, urging his lovesickness (35), his loving heart (23), his tears (25) upon her as tokens of passion. Annabella's answers and Giovanni's asides make a mockery of the poor lover, and Giovanni's

glee at Soranzo's discomfiture grows to a renewed trust in his sister until he exclaims: "Why, now I see she loves me" (56). But visually, the scene recalls Act I, scene ii, when, with the positions reversed, Annabella watched from above as her suitors passed below. There it was Giovanni who on the stage platform portrayed himself as tearful lover (131-134). This parallel (and the comic extension in the patently untrue verbal portrait of Bergetto, II.vi.8-10) need not cast doubt upon the sincerity of Giovanni's passion - his sorrow is witnessed by a hidden audience, Soranzo describes his feelings to a prospective bride. But the visually similar scenes show the significance of the mutual love between the brother and sister: Annabella accepts the passionate mode of the man she loves, admitting to the same expressions of feeling in her own behaviour (I.ii.240-247); she rejects and mocks the mode where she does not return the love. And the parallel also exposes the histrionic element in Giovanni's nature which, along with his jealousy, contributes to the growing irrationality which governs his later actions. Giovanni's appearance 'aboue' (sig. E4) is not a sign of moral or personal superiority. He is revealed to us clearly as a spy, his jealousy accounting for his presence, and he exults over his rival, adding a note of crudeness to the exchange through his asides.

Sickness comes upon Annabella with brilliantly retributive timing, destroying Giovanni's new found confidence, making inevitable her rash vow to marry Soranzo if marriage were to prove necessary, and punishing her for her flippant reaction to her suitor's heart sickness. The chaos which follows - the rapid entries and exits, the hurried conferences between Vasques and Soranzo, between Putana and Giovanni (III.iii) - foreshadows the deeper dissent and confusion to which Annabella's pregnancy will eventually lead.

Annabella needs a husband for her honour's sake, but the impediments to that marriage multiply in the following scenes. Act III, scene v forewarns of danger to the bridegroom, the scene opening with that economic directness

by which Ford often creates a striking impression:

Enter Grimaldi.

GRIMALDI. Now if the doctor keep his word, Soranzo,
Twenty to one you miss your bride;...

(sig. F2^v; 1-2)

Richardetto brings the means for revenge, in the form of a poison, and Grimaldi exits, promising to 'speed' Soranzo to his death (19). The tempo of the play speeds up, and our attention is concentrated, in expectation, upon the Friar's cell. This same night, Soranzo and Annabella are to be 'affied' (9), Grimaldi the vengeful soldier is to mount guard outside the cell (12-14), and, as a last moment thought, Richardetto agrees that Philotis and Bergetto shall wed this same night. "[B]ut let me see", he says (33), forming his plan,

I - ha - yes - so it shall be; in disguise
We'll early to the friar's,...

(34-35)

Marriage, death, vengeance, night, and the Friar's cell all become intricately, ominously bound.

The violent death of Bergetto, like that of Hippolita, occurs during the celebration of, or preparations for, marriage. But the comical young man's sudden, undeserved death is not an isolated attack upon him. At his first entrance he already speaks of some fight which he has avoided (I.ii.103-104); later he comes to Annabella with the "good jest" (II.vi.66) of the bully who beat him and at whom he laughed

till I see the blood run about
mine ears, and then I could not choose but find in my
heart to cry;...

(78-80)

His appearance, as he reports this jest, bears witness to the attack, for his head is bandaged (80-82) but now washed clean of blood (82-83). This fray, happily concluded in love, presages the irrepressible youth's sad end, when once again he seeks for the jest and is startled by the flow of blood:

I am sure I cannot piss forward and backward, and yet I
am wet before and behind. - Lights, lights! ho, lights!

(III.vii.11-12)

And in the lights that are brought by the Officers comes

the light of truth, as Bergetto asks, "Is all this mine own blood? Nay then, good night with me" (30). The darkness of night becomes eternal; the lights of the Officers are useless.

This death probably occurs just before the closed discovery space, for we are to imagine that it takes place in the neighbourhood of the Friar's cell where two events are expected - the betrothal of Annabella (cf. III.v.8-12) and the marriage of Bergetto (cf. III.v.33-35). The audience approaches the scene with an expectation of violence, for Grimaldi enters "with his Rapier drawne, and a Darke-lanthorne" (sig. F4^V). The lantern adds to the atmosphere of night and dark treachery. Action is swift. Grimaldi lies down to await his victim, and at once there is a movement of characters onto the stage:

Enter Bergetto and Philotis di(guis'd, and after Richardetto and Poggio.

BERGETTO. We are almost at the place, I hope, sweetheart.

(sig. F4^V; III.vii.4)

Grimaldi, misinterpreting 'sweetheart', plunges his rapier. As in the death of Hippolita, planned vengeance goes awry. Grimaldi does not use the poison with which he has been supplied, and his plea to "some angry justice" to "guide [his] hand"(6) is not heard, or is answered ironically. The disguise worn by the two lovers - perhaps cloaks and masks - adds to the clandestine nature of the occasion, and to the general theme of self-blindness which causes clever plans to end in defeat.

Philotis, the play's most active picture of virtue and harmony, tears off her linen to stop Bergetto's wounds (28), perhaps making a bandage of some independent piece of linen, such as a frontlet or an apron, although easily removable strips of cloth could be loosely stitched to her petticoat or gown so that she could appear to rip her garments, thus intensifying the urgency and selflessness of her aid.

Grimaldi flees "with a / naked weapon in his hand all bloody", as the Officer later reports (III.ix.12-13). It is possible that he offers up this weapon to the Cardinal when he submits himself to the sentence of that

churchman. But the Cardinal brushes Grimaldi's submission aside, severely informing those who seek justice that Grimaldi

is no common man, but nobly born;
Of princes' blood,...

(III.ix.55-56)

The social and political connections which come to Grimaldi through the blood of his birth save him from punishment for letting blood. And to his inherited position he has added honour through "expense of blood" (I.ii.15) - the blood of others, shed on the battlefield. The talk of honour and nobility is ironical; in the upper echelons of this society, expense of blood need not be distinguished by honourable intent. Grimaldi goes about the murder in a cowardly way, not offering an even battle, fleeing after the first muddled stroke, running like a child for refuge. Vasques, at the beginning of the play, casts doubt upon Grimaldi's reputation as a soldier (I.ii.4-6), and his insinuations, although obviously biassed, gain an ironical support when he has the better of the youthful soldier in their brawl. For his cowardly attack aimed at Soranzo, Grimaldi feels no shame. "Had he the face to speak it, and not blush?" ask Florio in amazement (III.ix.64).

Thus the plans and ceremonies of marriage, in the scenes between the peaceful, lyrical consummation of the lovers' 'marriage' ritual and the great banquet which seems to separate them by consecrating the wedding of Annabella and Soranzo, are hedged round with deceit and vengeance. In the scenes remaining, the effects of Annabella's marriage and the violence attendant upon it, are never far from the surface. When at last the heroine dies, in a scene which is entirely personal, belonging to her and Giovanni alone, she dies nonetheless upon her "sad marriage-bed" (V.v.97), and probably dressed in her wedding gown (cf. V.ii.9-21).³⁰

b) Images in the development of Annabella.

From the discovery of her pregnancy until her death, Annabella's rôle is to a large extent circumscribed.

Within this imprisoning state, her reactions and the changes in her thoughts and feelings are forcefully and economically conveyed. The stages in her progress (III.vi, IV.iii and V.i) are drawn together by certain recurrent images.

Enter the Fryar in his study, sitting in a chayre, Annabella kneeling and whispering to him, a Table before them and wax-lights, she weenes, and wrings her hands.

(III.vi; sig. F3^v)

The stage direction indicates a discovered scene, and the restricted area of the discovery space would emphasize the privacy and loneliness of the meeting, intensifying the horror of the Friar's vision of hell.³¹ The nature of this scene makes the table with its wax lights not so much a study desk as a simple altar. The candles are holy, but also, like all stage lights, symbolic of the darkness in which they shine and which makes them necessary. The setting of approaching night is dark like Annabella's sin.

The beauty and pleasure of Annabella's love for her brother have allowed her conscience to rest, but unlike him she has not reasoned the sin away. The Friar welcomes Annabella's visible penance, saying,

weep, weep on,
These tears may do you good; weep faster yet,
Whiles I do read a lecture.

(III.vi.4-6)

Kneeling, weeping, wringing her hands, Annabella acts out the penance which the Friar advised for Giovanni in the play's opening scene (I.1.70-77). Annabella, as the scene progresses, accepts the Friar's spiritual warnings, as Giovanni does not. But, as Act IV, scene iii reveals, Annabella's penitence is not yet complete. The Friar's picture of hell, powerfully medieval, does not give to the incestuous, as it does to the other sinners, a physical punishment.³² The incestuous stand, he tells Annabella,

cursing one another.
Then you will wish each kiss your brother gave
Had been a dagger's point;...

(III.vi.26-28)

Action unexpectedly fulfils the prophecy, but with a twist,

when Giovanni's kiss is turned to a dagger's point:

GIOVANNI. Kiss me again - forgive me.

ANNABELLA. With my heart.

GIOVANNI. One other kiss, my sister.

ANNABELLA. What means this?

GIOVANNI. To save thy fame, and kill thee
in a kiss. stabs her.
(V.v.78; 83-84; sig. K^v)

The action comes in this life; Annabella is not left only to wish for the dagger's point; it brings death and, through her genuine repentance and forgiveness, death brings a type of salvation.

Annabella's consent to marry is extracted under the stifling vision of hell, and the Friar at once pushes the consent into action. The ceremony that binds her to Soranzo is brief and hurried. Although it is performed with Florio's consent and the Friar's blessing, there is an unmistakable speed in this nighttime setting. Visually, Annabella and the bridegroom, united by their hands, by the authority of the father who links those hands, by the hand of the Friar raised in the gesture of spiritual blessing, exclude the lover, who stands by (51-56). This simple tableau conveys the force of convention, order, and religion that now separate the lovers. The introduction of this ritual recalls the earlier ceremony of union between Annabella and her brother - then so confidently performed, now seemingly shattered.

The great banquet that opens the fourth act and to which this ritual leads is a large and public scene in which Giovanni and Annabella, focal points of the gathering's attention (IV.1.24-54), must suffer inwardly, manipulated by others (Giovanni unsuccessfully, as Soranzo urges him to drink; Annabella passively, as Hippolita joins the hands of the bride and groom). Ford carefully restricts the speech of his hero and heroine in this scene, allowing Giovanni only one aside (15-18) in which to express the torture that he feels. Otherwise, Giovanni and Annabella speak very little, and then only in brief tense lines (19-20, 27-28 and 101). This silence in the midst of festivity is skilfully drawn: the lovers seem

trapped, waiting. The scene provides an irreversible change in Annabella's social position, from 'maiden' to wife, but staged in such a way that her own emotional response is not shown. Thus we are not permitted to see whether her previous repentance affects her attitude as Soranzo's bride. Outwardly, the union between Soranzo and his bride appears calm and hopeful at the conclusion of the marriage banquet. The "happy couple" (6) leaves the feast to seek the peace of their home, with the bridegroom confidently grateful for his good fortune in escaping from Hippolita's intended revenge:

Come, my love,
We'll home, and thank the Heavens for this escape.
(103-104)

We next see them, after only a short scene (which, however, prepares for the disintegration of their marriage by telling of 'debates' between Soranzo and his wife which "Thicken and run to head", IV.ii.10-11), in their home. The entrance is startling in its brutality:

Enter Soranzo vnbrac't, and Annabella dragg'd in.
SORANZO. Come, strumpet, famous whore! Were every drop
Of blood that runs in thy adulterous veins
A life, this sword (dost see't?) should in one blow
Confound them all.

(sig. G4^v; IV.iii.1-4)

The visual action is a harsh contrast to that of the wedding banquet, where, in all their bridal finery, Soranzo and Annabella stood with formal dignity, conscious of their audience of guests, their hands joined as a symbol of matrimonial unity (IV.i.52-54). The hand which Soranzo stretches towards Annabella now is one which drags and threatens her. Probably Soranzo's unbraced appearance and Annabella's untied hair (cf. l. 60) are meant to serve two purposes, as symbols of night, and of emotional turmoil. Soranzo's untidiness resembles Hamlet's which seems, to Ophelia, a sign of strangeness even unto madness (Hamlet, II.i.77-86).³³

Ford, in causing Annabella to be pulled about by her loose-hanging hair (IV.iii.60-61), may intend a further poignant contrast. As 'virgin' bride at the beginning of this act, the girl may appear with her hair loose and

powdered,³⁴ a symbol (false even then) which now is aptly echoed when Soranzo discovers that she is not a virgin.

The gentle scene which intervenes between the banquet and the quarrel also provides a rich contrast. Soranzo's violence, the result of lust in Annabella and the husband's dreams of revenge, follows with splendid juxtaposition upon Richardetto's relinquishment of revenge and Philotis' retreat from lust and the world. Richardetto, sobered by the violent chaos of his own adulterous wife's death, abandons personal vengeance against her lover, trusting that "One / Above" (IV.ii.8-9) will bring justice:

though vengeance hover,
Keeping aloof yet from Soranzo's fall,
Yet he will fall, and sink with his own weight.

(4-6)³⁵

At once in the next scene we see Soranzo in the position Richardetto has abandoned - seeking vengeance on the lover of his wife. He is already sinking morally and physically as he brutally drags about a pregnant woman.³⁶ Annabella's love seems glorious and courageous in the face of his cowardly rage, but Ford clearly shows in the juxtaposition of scenes the moral descent of Annabella too. In the previous scene Richardetto has urged his niece to hasten to Cremona and there become a nun:

Your home your cloister, your best friends your beads.
Your chaste and single life shall crown your birth;
Who dies a virgin lives a saint on earth.

(IV.ii.26-28)

Annabella now faces death (beneath Soranzo's sword) in a far from saintly state. Later, when Soranzo locks her in her chamber (V.i.48-52), she calls the setting her 'cage' (V.i.14). Withdrawn and solitary (placed, significantly, on the upper stage, sig. H4^v), seen perhaps through the cage-like latticed casements of a bay window above,³⁷ she is forced into a situation akin to that of a nun, and here she truly and lastingly repents.

Presumably in the quarrel scene the boy playing Annabella is padded to present visually the brazen strumpet with her "bastard-bearing womb" (IV.iii.14).³⁸ (Giovanni, in the final scene, emphasizes that it has been nine months since first he enjoyed his sister, V.vi.44-46.)

This visual change may explain the suddenness of Soranzo's discovery and his fear later that Giovanni, if he goes to his sister, will "know all" (253). And such a blatant sign of her illicit love would intensify the audacity with which she taunts her husband, saying,

Yet somewhat, sir, to stay your longing stomach,
I am content t'acquaint you with; the man,
The more than man, that got this sprightly boy

(29-31),

as she indicates this (her own) swelling stomach. Visually obvious pregnancy would make more powerful Soranzo's obsession with her body, the beauty of which he once adored (II.ii.12-17), and which now seems hideous (IV.iii.12-14). Her body is "lust-be-lepered" (61), tainted with "hot itch and pleurisy of lust" (8); she delights in "belly-sports" (12). She is "this piece of flesh" (106); he longs to "rip up [her] heart" (53) and "hew [her] flesh to shreds" (58).

For this immensely powerful scene, Ford has been influenced by Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois³⁹ (V.i), in which is found the following stage direction:

Montfurry bare, vnbrac'd, pulling Tamyra in, Comolet,
One bearing light a standish and paper, which sets a Table
(sig. G4^v)

(a scene from which Ford has taken also the device of the letter written in blood).⁴⁰ Tamyra is, like Annabella, adulterous. The Friar's rôle is different, for he is an aid to Bussy's sin, and reminds the murderous husband of the danger to his own soul. Chapman's scene involves a great deal of stage business - Tamyra is stabbed and racked; the Friar ascends through the trap and is killed. Ford's scene, harsh and powerful, with no drawing back from the ugliness of the quarrel, is by comparison restrained. There is no indulgence in unnecessary sensationalism: the scene is a perfect image of the depth to which both these characters have sunk - for Annabella, it is the lowest ebb.

The quarrel scene has been compared with the death of Bianca in Love's Sacrifice.⁴¹ The scene in 'Tis Pity is greatly superior. Bianca becomes petty and gloating, her praise of Fernando being gratuitous cruelty, since the Duke

already knows the identity of the lover; and the equivocal state of Bianca's guilt - adultery in intent but not in performance - gives an unpleasant prurience to the scene. Annabella, unequivocally a sinner, accepts the challenge of danger, proudly shielding her lover, singing his praises (literally) in a powerful conviction of love. In her strength of character and grandeur despite sin she resembles Webster's Vittoria, magnificent before her corrupt accusers (WD, III.ii). Soranzo's furious but impotent desire to discover the lover's name, which prevents him from satisfying his murderous rage, creates a much more dramatic tension than is achieved in Love's Sacrifice.

Soranzo's frustration as she 'triumph[s]' (64) gives birth to a beautiful image:

were there kneeling kings
Did beg thy life, or angels did come down
To plead in tears, yet should not all prevail
Against my rage.

(65-63)⁴²

The kings and angels give an imaginative loveliness to the related motifs of kneeling and weeping which weave through the play. Ironically Soranzo's impotent rage echoes Annabella's taunts. "This noble creature", she says of her lover,

was in every part
So angel-like, so glorious, that a woman
Who had not been but human, as was I,
Would have kneeled to him, and have begged for love.

(36-39)

She has reached that point of adoration which Giovanni similarly expressed in the opening scene, believing that even the gods would kneel to Annabella's beauty (I.i.20-23). 'You', she continues scornfully to her husband,

Why, you are not worthy once to name
His name without true worship, or, indeed,
Unless you kneeled, to hear another name him.

(40-42)

When, after Vasques' whispered advice, Soranzo changes his behaviour towards his wife from physical brutality to sorrowing gentleness he touches her compassion and conscience, and she falls upon her knees in genuine contrition (129,

141). But Annabella's repentance is not (as Vasques hopes it will be) treacherous to Giovanni. Ford, with delicacy towards his heroine and consistency in his depiction of her character, does not require her to provide the lover's name. The information comes through Putana who enters (after Soranzo's exit) in tears:

"What, crying, old mistress", says Vasques (174). She seeks the easy way out of her tears by betraying her mistress' secret in order to gain peace for Annabella and reward for herself (200-210), and in exchange for this service she has her eyes put out (223-224).

Locked away by Soranzo, "mewed up in a cage" (V.i. 14), Annabella regards her past life with deep concern. We see her 'aboue' (sig. H4^V), perhaps on the upper stage itself or, more appropriately, at an upper window which, we imagine, gives onto the street. The physical placement once again represents her moral position: she begins the play aloof, innocent, physically raised above the fighting suitors; she descends to the platform and to incest. She is brought low, kneeling before the Friar in an emotional but impermanent penitence with a vision of hell below her; and then is brought low again, by Soranzo (abused and verbally abusing him), but then falls voluntarily to her knees as her conscience reawakens. Now, truly repentant, she is elevated physically as well as morally. The inspiration for her present mood comes from within her, not from the Friar's fearsome picture of damnation. She is ready for death, and her thought is all for her brother's safety - to save his life from Soranzo (51-52), to save his soul by urging repentance (47) or by taking the sin upon herself (21-23). She makes no accusations, displays no malice towards Soranzo for imprisoning her, debarring her of all company (48-49). The Friar who enters below is at first unseen by her, probably remaining hidden near the stage façade. He overhears and reacts to her penitent words, giving to the scene the nature of a formal confession. She begs her "good genius" (31) to

Let some good man

Pass this way, to whose trust I may commit
This paper double-lined with tears and blood[]

(32-34)

The tears and blood expended upon the letter complete Annabella's self-inflicted fulfilment of the penance which the Friar had originally imposed upon Giovanni, bidding the young man to lock himself alone in his chamber (I.i.69-70) and wash his every word "In tears (and if't be possible) of blood" (73). It is in such fulfilments as this that the play gains its richness of structural unity.

Annabella's final scene (V.v) takes place in that chamber from which she had been looking in Act V, scene i, on the bed which Giovanni and she have adulterated. The simple existence of that prominent stage property - the bed - recalls the early period of their story, when they entered the stage from their bedchamber, having consummated their love (II.i). Since this later scene's stage direction reads: "Enter Giouanni and Annabella lying on a bed" (sig. I4), the bed may either be revealed within the discovery space, or thrust out onto the stage. Standing above his reclining sister, Giovanni asks:

What see you in mine eyes?

ANNABELLA.

Methinks you weep.

GIOVANNI. I do indeed; these are the funeral tears
Shed on your grave; these furrowed up my cheeks
When first I loved and knew not how to woo.

(V.v.48-51)

From Annabella's words it is clear that Ford imagines Giovanni actually weeping in the murder scene, as he did in Act I, scene ii, while Annabella watched him from above. Giovanni now calls upon the spirits of the air to record

that day and night,
Early and late, the tribute which my heart
Hath paid to Annabella's sacred love
Hath been these tears, which are her mourners now.

(55-58)

Thus the end is contained in the beginning - tears of mourning in tears of love; the tears due to heaven for their sin are forgotten, but must at last be paid, and with blood. Giovanni does not interpret his tears in rational moral terms. For him, the murder of his sister

is a necessary act forced upon him by fate: he must kill her to preserve her loyalty to him when marriage, Soranzo's treachery, and her seeming inconstancy threaten to take her from him. In killing her he sees himself as her preserver and lover, triumphing over the rape he has forestalled (V.v.99-104 and cf. V.vi.9-11). In this dual rôle of murderer and lover (like Orgilus as executioner and eulogist) Giovanni pays the tribute of tears.

IV. Banquets and entertainments.

Donald K. Anderson, Jr., discusses the banquet and food imagery in 'Tis Pity, but without mention of the visual staging of the two banquet scenes.⁴³ The staging of these scenes (IV.i and V.vi) and the conventional associations of a banquet are important to Ford's tragedy, and bound up with a wealth of motifs. These scenes are two of the most highly visualized in the play. Except for the bed scene (V.v) and the 'study' (for Soranzo, II.ii and for the Friar, III.vi) no other scene is specifically located by stage directions in a way that requires or suggests the need for localizing properties. (Act III, scene vii takes place near the Friar's cell, and Act II, scene i occurs outside the lovers' bedchamber, thus bypassing the need for localizing additions and simplifying the staging.) The banquet setting represents an important pole in the play's world, and is far more than a merely naturalistic location.

The banquet, in visual tradition and in the history of entertainment, had developed certain strong associations by the time Ford made use of it as a theatrical setting. From medieval times, throughout the period of Elizabeth, and particularly during the reigns of James and Charles, the banquet as an activity in which the guests are both actors (feasters, revellers) and audience (to disguisings, dances, masques) had become commonplace.⁴⁴ 'Banquet' or 'banket' really refers to the 'subtillties' - the confectionary and sweetmeat course after a feast. But such subtillties were, themselves, entertainments - tableaux

morts⁴⁵ - and frequently (like Giovanni's heart and dagger) emblematic or allegoric in purport. But the word, 'banquet', was also commonly used in the wider sense of a feast, and in this sense Ford seems to have used it in 'Tis Pity, for the Friar, opening the play's first banquet (sig. G2^v), bids the guests "To spend the remnant of the day in feast" (IV.i.2).

The banqueting house was the typical name for Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline settings for the combined entertainment of feast and masque or triumph. For Ford's contemporaries, the Banqueting House par excellence was that built by Inigo Jones at Whitehall to replace the earlier hall that had been destroyed in 1619. Jones' building, completed in 1622, was the scene of the court masques in their heyday.⁴⁶ A contemporary account (1623), describing the typical combination of feast and theatrical entertainment, speaks of "a sumptuous banquet finely set out; a masque with various intermezzi, followed by a dance of twelve masked gentlemen".⁴⁷ Triumphs had long been staged in banqueting houses, particularly in the form of the barriers, fought on foot.⁴⁸ The court masques themselves sometimes took the name of a 'triumph'.⁴⁹

In pictorial representations, the banquet is frequently the setting for entertainment as, for example, in the composite portrait of Sir Henry Unton, where a masque is being performed before a table at which the guests are seated to their meal.⁵⁰ The titlepage to the interlude, Jack Juggler (c. 1565-1570), shows a banquet table with canopy, and, in the background, dancers on a raised stage and musicians (see figure 50). Such an arrangement, but simplified, would be appropriate to 'Tis Pity's fourth act banquet, and shows how easily the visual presentation of a feast could establish a mood of splendour and celebration.

The banquet is also a conventional stage setting. A stage direction in The Revenger's Tragedy says, succinctly,

A furnished Table is brought forth: then enters the Duke & his Nobles to the banquet.

(V.iii; sig. I2^v)⁵¹

**A[n] Enterlude for chil-
dren to play named Jack Jugler / bothe wit-
tie and very plesant. Newly Imprinted.**

The names of the Players.

Maister Boungrace	}	A Callant
Dame Coy		A Gentlewoman
Jack Jugler		The Alice
Jenkin Careaway		A Lackey
Alice trip and go.		A Paib.



Imprinted at London

at the long Shop adloynng vnto Saint Mil-
dzeds Church in the Pultrie, by
John Alde.

Figure 50. Titlepage to the interlude, Jack Juggler, printed c. 1565-1570. Reproduced from W.W. Greg, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, vol. I (London, 1939), pl. 23. Greg points out that the woodcut cannot have been designed as an illustration of the interlude itself, for it represents the story of the Return of the Prodigal Son. Cf. Printed Drama, vol. IV (1959), pp. 1644-1645.

In Henry VIII a more detailed stage direction calls for Hautboys. A small table under a state for the Cardinal, a longer table for the guests.

(I.iv, opening s.d.)

The Cardinal drinks to his guests from a bowl, and after an interruption, "All rise, and tables remov'd" (following l. 60), at which King Henry and others enter "as maskers" (foll. l. 63). There is music and a dance, the masquers choosing their partners from amongst the guests (75-76). The movable tables, canopy, wine, music and entertainment of Henry VIII provide possible practical analogies for 'Tis Pity's two banquet scenes. The appearance of a nearly contemporary staging of a meal can be seen in the titlepage illustration to Heywood's A Maidenhead Well Lost (see figure 51), showing how easily a feast could make an effective theatrical setting.

The banquet, on the stage and in pictorial representations, is frequently given symbolic dimensions. In Macbeth, the banquet (III.iv) with its places assigned to everyone, represents the order and hierarchy which have been disturbed by Macbeth's murders.⁵² Two common associations of the banquet are death (in ironical contrast to the life-sustaining feast) and the 'appotite' for love or lust. In Holbein's Totentanz, the King, dining richly beneath his canopy of state, is visited by the figure of Death (see figure 52). Such a juxtaposition of life's pleasure and unexpected death is a central motif in the whole memento mori tradition.⁵³ In the famous Dance of Death painted by Caspar Meglinger between 1626 and 1635 for the 'Muhlenbruke', Lucerne, Death makes his appearance in several feasting scenes, the most interesting being "The Wedding", where a priest joins the couple's hands while Death (a skaleton with viol and scytho) raises a hand above them, and the wedding guests, all unwitting, sit to their feast at a long table (figure 53).⁵⁴ Visually, the feast and lust are frequently associated, as, for example, in an allegorical scene, "Of Lechory", in a book of vices and virtues, entitled A christall glasse of christian reformation (1569), where the banquet itself signifies "fleshly delight" (see figure 54). These associations

157
 A Pleasant Comedy, called
 B A
 MAYDEN-HEAD WELL LOST.

As it hath beene publickly Acted at the Cocke-pit
 in Drury-lane, with much Applause:
 By her Maiesties Seruants.

Written by THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Aut prodesse solent, aut delectare.



LONDON,

Printed by *Nicholas Okes* for *John Iackson* and *Francis Church*, and are
 to be sold at the *Kings Armes* in *Cheape-side*. 1634.

Figure 51. Titlepage to Thomas Heywood, A Maiden-head Well Lost (London, 1634). Reproduced from W.W. Greg, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, vol. II (London, 1951), pl. 82. Heywood's play, like 'Tis Pity, was produced at the Phoenix; the large dish and cover capable of holding a child show that the Phoenix could supply quite elaborate table ornaments, and would be able to create a banquet setting of some splendour. Alfred Harbage, Annals of English Drama, 975-1700, rev. edn. S. Schoenbaum (London, 1964), p. 130, dates Heywood's play c. 1625-1634.

Sicut & rex hodie est, & cras morietur,
nemo enim ex regibus aliud
habuit.

ECCLESIASTICI X



Ainsi qu'aujourd'hui il est Roy,
Demain sera en tombe close.
Car Roy aucun de son arroy
N'a seu emporter autre chose.

Figure 52. The King, from Holbein's Totentanz (1538 edn.).
Reproduced from Henry Green, trans. and ed.,
The Dance of Death, Holbein Society Fac-simile
Reprint (Manchester and London, 1869), sig. C4.



Figure 53. "The Wedding". From The Dance of Death on the Muhlenbruke, in Lucerne, Painted by Caspar Meglinger, 1626-1635, Copied by H. [Jakob] Schwegler ([Lucerne] 1893), no. 53.

Of Lechery.

Prover- ξ *A Whore is a deepe graue : and an harlot is a narrow pit.*
 bes. 23. ξ *She lurketh like a theefe: and bringeth vnto her such mē as be full of vice.*



¶ The signification.

THese foure sitting banqueting, signifieth fleshly delight: and the fist which is apparelled lyke a woman with a cup in her hand, and whose legges are like vnto a Serpent, is called *Philogines*, a louer of Lechery: the cup horroure: the leggs destruction: the men fighting murder: and hell the place for such offenders, whose continuance is endles.

E.g. when

Figure 54. Allegoric banquet representing Lechery in a book of vices and virtues. From A christall glasse of christian reformation, collected by Stephen Bateman (London, 1569; B.M. C.37.d.2), sig. E11. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

of death and of lust are employed ironically in the theatre, where the banquet is a logical setting for the conventional theatrical murder masque. The intended victim, as in Marston's classic example, Antonio's Revenge, sits confident and careless, renewing life with food, dying when he is least prepared (V.ii).⁵⁵ In The Revenger's Tragedy, with its multiple deaths occurring at the banquet (V.iii), a dominant source of imagery throughout the play is the analogy between feasting and lust.⁵⁶ The Bloodie Banquet,⁵⁷ as its name implies, makes extensive literal and figurative use of feasting and horror. Several stage directions call for "a Banquet" (sig. D4^V) or "dishes of sweete meates" (sig. E), with lights, music, a table, and an arras (sig. D4^V and E). The revenger, Roxano, uses language of the feast to foreshadow his vengeance, declaring that his victim will "finde sowre sauce still after [his] sweete meate" (sig. E), and he directly parallels "the choyce sweetes" of the banquet with those of the lady, both of which are

able to move
A man past sence, to the delights of love[.]
(sig. E)

He welcomes Tymethes, the future victim, as a guest, "First to this banquet, next to pleasures feast" (sig. E).

In Ford's two banquet scenes, the various associations - entertainment, marriage masque, revenge masque, triumph, lust, unexpected death - all combine. If the scenes are discovered, the curtains of the discovery space or of a portable stage booth would resemble the tents and pavilions which often functioned as temporary banqueting houses, or the pavilions which were sometimes erected within a banqueting hall to act as multiple settings for the entertainment.⁵⁸ The necessary properties - probably a table, wine goblets (IV.i.13-14), bowls (23), food (V.vi.2-6) and chairs (V.vi, s.d. sig. K^V) - may be discovered, but they could be carried or thrust onstage. A canopy for a guest or guests is a very common feature of banquet illustrations.⁵⁹ Perhaps the stage state with its canopy becomes part of the banquet seating arrangement, especially in the final scene where Soranzo and the Cardinal, host

and chief guest, nobleman and high churchman, could fittingly be exalted by the canopy covering. Such an ornament would be ironical, since the noble host intends to murder a guest, and the church's representative has already condoned murder (III.ix).

Ford subtly creates, in his banquet scenes, a culmination, in terms of spectacle, of the play's various figurative or ominous allusions to food - the pretended ill diet that leads to the marriage and banquet (III.iii.25-27 and III.iv.2-5); the greed of which marriage seems to accuse Annabella (II.v.41-42); Giovanni's innuendo concerning his sister who "Took too much of the flesh" (IV.iii.244); the "delicious bane" of vengeance on which Hippolita's thoughts 'banquet' (II.ii.158-159); Richardetto's hopes that the wedding feast will end in mourning (III.v.23-24); Annabella's vision of life as "but a dining-time" (V.v.17); and finally Giovanni's 'feast' upon his sister's heart (V.vi.24-27).⁶⁰

The two banquet scenes, aided by their visual presentation, constitute the public, open, celebratory climaxes of the play. They are settings for entertainment - Hippolita's marriage masque and Giovanni's allegorical triumph - but entertainment that is vengeful and violent. The violent entertainment at the two banquets is very different from the violence which is so prevalent elsewhere in the play. These entertainments are rituals that make public and attempt to glorify deeds of evil, deeds which horrify the rest of the play's society. These banquets of death place murder upon the level of a perverted spiritual victory, with Hippolita cloaking her intentions in the words and actions of the church (IV.i.50-54) and Giovanni glorying in his 'execution' of Annabella (V.vi.32-34), and identifying himself with Fate as he prepares to murder Soranzo (71-75). Violence in the rest of the play is not ritualized, but is usually hidden or hurried, as in the street fight before Florio's door (I.ii.1-28), or the murder of Bergetto (III.vii).

a) The marriage banquet and Hippolita's masque.

In the first banquet, a graceful dance of virgins honours the 'virgin' bride:

Enter Hippolita and Ladies in white Roabes with Garlands of Willowes.

Muſicke and a Daunce.

Dance.

SORANZO. Thanks, lovely virgins; now might we but know
To whom we have been beholding for this love,
We shall acknowledge it.

HIPPOLITA. Yes, you shall know; [Unmasks]
What think you now?

CINES. Hippolita!

HIPPOLITA. 'Tis she,
Be not amazed; nor blush, young lovely bride,
I come not to defraud you of your man.

(sig. G3; IV.1.36-41)

As pure theatre, the juxtaposition of an harmonious tribute with the unmasking of evil is effectively thrilling. Emblematically and ironically the effect is also important. The willows of disappointed love⁶¹ silently criticize Soranzo and the perjury of his vows to Hippolita (cf. II. 11.26-41). The white robes of the chief masquer create a disguise that is a simple opposite of truth - she is not entitled to the white either of purity or of virginity. Previously she has worn black, and pointing to that costume she had asked Soranzo,

Seest thou this,
This habit, these black mourning weeds of care?
'Tis thou art cause of this, and hast divorced
My husband from his life and me from him,
And made me widow in my widowhood.

(II.11.52-56)

The sign of widowhood is double - both actual, since his 'death', and figurative, as an indication of the separation of man and wife caused by Soranzo's lust and temptations. A further irony in those black weeds is added when Richardetto reveals to the audience that he is the supposedly dead husband (II.iii.7-10). Richardetto's deceit makes his wife's mourning habit a deceit in a way of which she is not aware. But the black is also a symbol of her evil character, blackened in the past by the sin of adultery and at present by her plots of revenge. Soranzo spurns her, saying:

let her know her monstrous life.
 Ere I'll be servile to so black a sin,
 I'll be accursed. Woman, come here no more.
 Learn to repent and die, for by my honour
 I hate thee and thy lust: you have been too foul.

(II.ii.95-99)

She who is foul and black disguises herself in the virgin's white, disguising also her intentions under pretended amity, joining the hands of "Sweet Annabella" and the groom (IV.i.50-54). But Annabella, for all her loveliness, is similarly ill-fitted to the virgin's marriage robes (which she probably wears), and to the bride's modest blush (40). She has given herself to lust and incest, and now is marrying only for the sake of honour and her swelling womb. In the eyes of the Friar, a spokesman for religion and convention, Annabella has, like Hippolita, been 'foul' (III.vi.2). The willows, fit symbol for Hippolita, have a possible application to Annabella, for she is being married away from the one she loves, who stands melancholy by.⁶²

The harmonious masque is startlingly disrupted as Hippolita unmask. But instead of swift vengeance she offers a false calm, adding her blessing, which she performs in imitation of the church ritual. "[L]end's your hand" (46), she begs Annabella, and drawn close to the bride, she turns to her former lover:

Here take, Soranzo, take this hand from me:
 I'll once more join what by the holy church
 Is finished and allowed.

(52-54)

Like Soranzo, she offers a toast; hers is not to a future union (as is Soranzo's, to Giovanni's marriage, 24-25), but to the end of an old tie. She makes a splendid, dominating figure beside the passive bride and blindly complacent groom, a figure of complete command for the first time, no longer impotently enraged, and Soranzo is completely deluded. She calls for wine, and pledges her former lover:

reach me a cup of wine -
 My Lord Soranzo, in this draught I drink
 Long rest t'ee. - Look to it, Vasques.
 VASQUES. Fear nothing. He gives her a poysond Cup,
 SORANZO. Hippolita, I thank you and (She drinks.
 will pledge

This happy union as another life;
Wine there!

VASQUES. You shall have none, neither shall you
pledge her.

HIPPOLITA. How!

VASQUES. Know now, Mistress She-Devil, your own
mischievous
treachery hath killed you;...

(59-69; sig. G3^V)

The scene is a fine bit of Italianate treachery, created with a sure sense of dramatic timing. The deceiver is deceived, the hypocrite doubly unmasked (literally at l. 38, figuratively by Vasques). For a second time in this scene, the ceremonious offer of wine has been disturbed. Like Fernando (LS, V.iii, p. 105.12-17), she dies in the flames of poison which also represent her burning passion. Richardetto exclaims:

Here's the end
Of lust and pride.

(100-101)

His moral pronouncement draws overt attention to her death as a didactic example. Richardetto is audience to the masque, but in his disguise his rôle is equivocal. While his true identity has been revealed to the theatre audience, it is hidden from most of the play's characters, and he here resembles a presenter figure, observing, commenting, and possessing a special relationship with the audience. In the play's final scene, he specifically, although not quite truthfully, attributes his disguise to his desire

To see the effect of pride and lust at once
Brought both to shameful ends.

(V.vi.153-154)

In the medieval battles between the Vices and the Virtues, Pride or Superbia is often considered the root of all other vices, with Luxuria and Ira in her train.⁶³ Hippolita, characterized by lust (II.ii.95-99) and unger (II.ii.45-51, 104; IV.i.77), is represented as a type of devil (II.ii.28-29; 72; IV.i.68), who would corrupt Vasques to perform her acts of malice (IV.i.77-81). Superbia's opponent is Humilitas.⁶⁴ In her speech at the wedding, Hippolita silences suspicion by masquerading

as an humble well-wisher. She relinquishes her right to Soranzo and offers her

duty to your noble worth,
Sweet Annabella

(IV.i.50-51),

quite the opposite mood to her sneering proud boast made earlier to Soranzo that "Madam Merchant" shall not 'triumph' over her (II.ii.48-49). But her deceptive act fails, and Pride falls in a 'moral' masque. The theme of Hippolita's entertainment and fate is an appropriate warning to Annabella: the lust which the bride here disguises as virginity will be discovered by her husband, and the pride with which she 'triumphs' over that discovery (IV.iii.64) will be humbled (129).

Ford arranges the scenes of Act IV in such a way that Lust (Hippolita) is followed by Chastity (Philotis, accepting the life of a virgin in a cloister, IV.ii.25-30), which in turn is followed by apparent lust (Annabella, in the one scene in which she is characterized as 'strumpet', 'whore', 'Harlot', IV.iii.1,4, and the only occasion on which she audaciously revels in her situation).

Hippolita's end is not only a warning and foil situation with regards to Annabella. Dramatically, the impassioned 'widow' is the necessary adjunct to Soranzo's wooing of Annabella, by which Ford restricts the sympathy of our reaction to the gull of the incestuous and pregnant bride. Both Soranzo's 'celebrations' of his love⁶⁵ are interrupted by Hippolita. As he sings Annabella's praises in the peace of his study (II.ii), Vasques' voice is heard offstage, vainly attempting to pacify the enraged Hippolita (19-23). "What rude intrusion interrupts my peace?" asks Soranzo indignantly (21), but for this intrusion Soranzo is morally to blame. Hippolita's recitation of Soranzo's broken vows (26 ff.) cynically qualifies his expressed love for another woman. Her widow's dress of black (52-53) is a sign that his sin is more than perjury and adultery: he has urged her, indirectly, to hasten her husband's 'death' (70-81). Her second intrusion, in the masque, thus reminds the audience of the bridegroom's unsavoury past.

b) Themes of blood and wine.

The "bride-banquet...begins in blood" (IV.i.110), and the final banquet ends in a good deal of stage blood. Blood is naturally a motif in tragedy, and especially when characters are devoted to vengeance; in Ford's tragedies it is a recurrent theme with a variety of significances. In 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, blood is a central concept in the play's dilemma, with shared blood leading to incest; and it is a frequent component of the stage picture - the bloody letter, Bergetto's death steeped in blood, the bloody heart, Giovanni's blood draining out as he dies (V.vi.104). In this play, blood is powerfully associated with wine. The relationship is introduced in the second scene when the scuffle between Grimaldi and Vasques is ended by the law-abiding, peace-loving citizen before whose door the fight had begun. He says to the quarrellers:

I would not for my wealth my daughter's love
Should cause the spilling of one drop of blood.
Vasques, put up, let's end this fray in wine.

(I.ii.60-62)

Blood is to be replaced by wine, violence by peace. But, at the banquets, wine and blood cease to belong to opposite moods. At the celebration of Annabella's marriage, Florio once again offers wine, this time as an alternative to the sorrow which violence has caused through the death of Bergetto in a pool of blood:

Signor Donado, come, you must forget
Your late mishaps, and drown your cares in wine.

(IV.i.21-22)

But this banquet is not a purely profane festivity, and its wine is not merely a source of forgetful solace. The feast is the formal completion of the "holy rites" (1) just performed, and the Friar gives a spiritual sanction to the entertainment, avowing that "the saints" (3) are
 guests, though not with mortal eyes
To be beheld.

(4-5)

(Once again the Friar paints a setting that is more than human, the heavenly guests complementing the wedding

guests, as the sinners in hell invisibly surround the sinful Annabella, III.vi.8-26.)

The pledges in wine offered at the banquet are of more than merely ceremonial significance.⁶⁶ "Reach me that weighty bowl" (23), Soranzo orders Vasques, and turning to Giovanni, the bridegroom pledges the tortured lover, and bids him drink "to your sister's happiness and mine" (26):

GIOVANNI. I cannot drink.

SORANZO. What?

GIOVANNI. 'Twill indeed offend me.

ANNABELLA. Pray do not urge him, if he be not willing.

(27-28)

Giovanni's refusal to drink results from the genuine physical agony of seeing Annabella married - "Clipped by another" (17) - which to him is worse than "ten thousand deaths" (18). But his rejection of the pledge also symbolizes his refusal to sanction by a ceremonious gesture either the marriage or his relationship with Soranzo which is cruelly evoked by the bridegroom's use of that incestuously-charged word, 'brother' (24). And Annabella, supporting her brother here, seems also to be withholding her blessing from the union. Immediately after this exchange the 'Hoboyes' announce the entry of Hippolita and her masque (sig. G3; cf. l. 29), an intrusion that leads to a ceremonious pledge in wine which dramatically and immediately ends in unexpected death. The cup of wine in which Hippolita thinks to drink "Long rest" (61) to Soranzo (meaning, of course, his death) poisons her blood. As she dies, cursing Soranzo and Annabella, she cries:

Burn blood and boil in vengeance - O my heart,
My flame's intolerable -...

(95-96)

The Friar, completing the scene with a sententious couplet, defines the violent death in terms of blood (although no blood has been spilt):

I fear the event; that marriage seldom's good,
Where the bride-banquet so begins in blood.

(109-110)

The banquet has begun "in blood" in the general sense of death, death brought by the wine that should have blessed and unified; and blood in the contemporary sense of passion.⁶⁷ (The verbal picture of Hippolita's death "in blood" persists. Vasques, urging Soranzo on to revenge, bids his master remember his disgraces and "Hippolita's blood", V.iv.23.)

The death of Hippolita and that of Bergetto (with our attention drawn to the quantity of blood spilt, III.vii.11-12 and 30) are both intended for Soranzo, and thus his marriage banquet becomes for him a double celebration of escape (IV.i.7-8 and 104). But to the final scene's banquet it is Soranzo who prepares to bring blood. The birthday feast is to be made glorious and public by the attendance of "The states of Parma" (V.ii.18). The revenge which he intends to hide beneath this celebratory surface is not grandiose but cowardly and ignoble. A hint at this ignobility is given by an echo of Grimaldi's revenge. The soldier had explained that he thought to kill his rival "by way of ambush" (III.ix.45); Soranzo, planning his rival's death, asks Vasques if the bandits are "ready / To wait in ambush" (V.ii.12-13). In this case, the revenger does not even intend to take an active (and therefore dangerous) rôle.

Before the final banquet, Annabella attempts to prevent the bloodshed which she only imprecisely foresees, and the method which she employs is to write a letter in her own blood. The device of the letter owes a debt to Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois. In both plays a mistress writes in blood in an attempt to save her lover, and the letter is delivered by a friar who is also the lover's confidant. (In Bussy D'Ambois it is the husband disguised as Friar Comolet who brings the letter.) Tamyra is forced to write the letter which is intended to bring Bussy into Montsurry's trap, and therefore she determines to write it in her blood,

that he may see,
The \int e lines come from my wounds and not from me.
(V.i; sig. H3)

Bussy fails to interpret her symbolism and accepts the

letter as true. For Annabella also, the blood is a token (of her sorrow and penance, V.i.32-37 and 46-47) and a warning (that Giovanni must protect himself and must repent, 46-52). She seeks the spiritual as well as temporal salvation of her lover, which Tamyra does not. In Chapman's play, this letter in blood is part of an extended use of letters which are part of the stage action where they are written, carried, seen in a magic vision. There is also mention of a letter written in Barrisor's blood (II.ii.202). In 'Tis Pity, the letter is of less plot significance than in the earlier play. Annabella's letter does warn Giovanni that their love has been discovered (V.iii.36-39), but since the Friar, only a few lines later, also warns Giovanni of the danger from Soranzo (56-58), the content of the letter is not critical to future action. It does, like Tamyra's, help to expose the lover's self-confident blindness. That the blood of Annabella's letter is the shared blood which has constituted the condition of her sin, and that Giovanni will, with his own hand, shed the blood of the writer, further contribute to the intricate sense of pattern within this tragedy.

c) The final triumphs.

Throughout the play, Ford uses the word, 'triumph', and informally invokes several of the Petrarchan Trionfi.⁶⁸ Death, personified as the Destinies (V.v.59-62),⁶⁹ triumphs over Annabella, but Giovanni sees his action as one of Fame triumphing over Death (cf. V.vi.9-11, 22-23). Annabella herself foretells a Triumph of Time (V.i.4-8) which will rush the lovers to their tragic end, but which she longs to delay in order that her story may be carried to future ages. Time, in Petrarch's poem and the multitude of later illustrations, triumphs over Fame,⁷⁰ and thus Annabella's fear that her story might be obliterated is consistent with the triumph theme. Annabella describes Time riding "in post / Over the world" (4-5), a description which aptly suggests the passage of time as

marked by the daily movement of the sun's horses and chariot, and the triumphal car of Time, an almost invariable element in the pictorial triumphs (but not found in Petrarch's poem).⁷¹ Hippolita, longing for revenge, warns Soranzo that his "goodly Madam Merchant" (Annabella) shall not "triumph / On my dejection" (II. ii.48-49). But Hippolita's planned triumph, her revenge masque, turns back upon herself and she is defeated. This failure of her triumph is a warning (unheeded of course) of the blindness and overweening self-confidence with which Giovanni prepares for his own triumph.⁷² But before Giovanni performs his fatal triumph, while he still imagines that his affair with his sister can continue unhindered, despite her marriage, he uses a word that suggests already his sense of his own triumph. After misery worse than "the horror of ten thousand deaths" (IV.i.18) which her marriage seemed likely to bring, he finds that life has proved to be Elysium (V.iii.16). In this mood of exultation he greets the Friar, saying,

Father, you enter on the jubilee
Of my retired delights;...

(V.iii.17-18)

Critics find Giovanni's use of 'jubilee' unclear.⁷³ The figure is meaningful enough: it is for him a time of celebration, of triumph over the marriage which seemed destined to end his happiness.⁷⁴ The duality of celebration and triumph, often noticeable in the play, culminates in Giovanni's final triumph - a triumph which exalts his love, and at the same time exposes his moral and intellectual blindness.

The brief dialogue and passage over the stage of the banquet guests at the end of Act V, scene iv leads us, visually and in expectation, towards the birthday feast. The audience has been given such forewarning of the meaning of this feast and the danger to Giovanni, that the next scene, moving instead to the bedchamber and presenting the unexpected threat from Giovanni to Annabella, is a masterly touch. Instead of the expected public and sumptuous banquet, a setting suggestive of private life is

shown, in a restricted and simplified area: "Enter Giouanni and Annabella lying on a bed" (sig. I4). The ambiguous stage direction may mean that the bed is thrust out on the stage, or that it is discovered, by the opening of a curtain.⁷⁵ If the scene is discovered, the enclosing walls would intensify the frightening and claustrophobic atmosphere (as in Annabella's scene with the Friar, III.vi), suitable to both her imprisonment and the murder. The stage direction which ends the scene directs Giovanni to "Exit with the Body" (sig. K^V). Whether the bed is in the discovery space or on the platform, the dead body could be removed without requiring Giovanni to carry it, either by the closing of the discovery space curtain from within, or by the withdrawing of the bed by those same invisible hands which thrust it out. Thus we can imagine that Ford has a dramatic reason for requiring Giovanni to carry away the body, regardless of the necessities of staging the scene. The audience does not as yet know what Giovanni intends to do at the banquet, but we have his word that he intends to act his "last and greater part" (V.v.106). The exit with the body would fill an audience with thrilling expectation concerning Giovanni's final scene, for which he prepares with theatrical language and (apparently) a dead body.

The bed in Annabella's death scene serves both to locate the setting and as a symbol which encompasses the whole of their love and tragedy. After the first consummation of their love, the brother and sister entered "as from their Chamber" (sig. C3^V). The fifth act's bed, Annabella's marriage bed, has been abused by Giovanni, has been the setting for adultery enjoyed by "two united hearts" (V.iii.12). Vasques makes the adultery painfully clear to his master. The strumpet, he tells Soranzo, will "cuckold you in your / bride-bed" (V.ii.3-4). Giovanni twice enters Soranzo's house and exits as to Annabella's bedchamber (IV.iii.241-250 and V.iv.39-43), and each time the audience is made aware that his visit is neither innocent nor free from danger. On the first occasion, Vasques, having just discovered the identity of the lover, informs Giovanni that Annabella is "In her

chamber; please you visit her; she is alone" (IV.iii. 248). But the visit to that chamber is not shown. When Giovanni is next encountered (V.iii) he is soliloquizing on the satisfaction of continuing love, and from his words we are to assume that he has enjoyed his sister after the marriage (4-11). There is no indication that he had found her altered when he reached the chamber, and yet in the interval she has written the letter and confessed (V.i). The logical explanation is that he did not reach her chamber at the end of Act IV, scene iii; the dramatic explanation is that Ford has created a subtle duality in which the heroine's spirit is making its upward flight (symbolized by the upper stage level in V.i), while Giovanni's love and confidence are permitted to thrive, his indulgence in adultery seeming recent and continuous, while hers seems to have been terminated by her imprisonment and her repentance.

The bed is the unseen background to Annabella's penitence when, although she is seen on the upper stage, she speaks of being "mewed up in a cage" where she must "converse with air and walls" (V.i.14-15, and cf. 48). Thus, until the opening of the bedchamber scene, the bed has remained for Giovanni the setting for their continuing love, while for Annabella it has become a part of her prison, and her former adultery upon it is repented.

Probably Annabella wears her wedding garments. Soranzo had earlier planned to make her "deck herself in all her bridal robes" (V.ii10), and the juxtaposition of this idea with his plans for the bandits' ambush (12-13) and his birthday feast (17-20), suggests that he means to make her wear them at the banquet and not merely for their own private 'reunion' (9-11). The white robes of the virgin bride (which could be loosened and adapted to accommodate her new shape) would act as a simple condemnation of the swollen-bellied incestuous adulteress, lying on the adulterated bed. And yet her repentance signifies a return to virtue which makes the white more appropriate than previously.

Giovanni's mood, when he interprets Annabella's contrition as inconstancy, is accusatory and ribald, close

to the mood of Soranzo in the latter's quarrel with Annabella. "What", asks Giovanni,

changed so soon? Hath your new sprightly lord
Found out a trick in night-games more than we
Could know in our simplicity? Ha! Is't so?

(V.v.1-3)

In this scene Giovanni has reached a grand stage of pos-
turing, of theatrical heroism. His marvellous contempt
for danger exposes his blindness:

why, I hold fate
Clasped in my fist, and could command the course
Of time's eternal motion, hadst thou been
One thought more steady than an ebbing sea.

(11-14)

When Giovanni does clasp fate in his fist, the boast
becomes concrete in the dagger with which he stabs
Annabella and which he later flourishes with her heart on
its point. For only thus can his presumptuous control
over time and fate be preserved; only in her death,
having ripped up the heart that entombs his own, can he
make their union eternal, symbolically and spiritually.
Giovanni is not, like Annabella (cf. V.i.4-8), humble
before Death or Time.

Annabella's death is, in all its horror, finely
beautiful. After the first outbreak of anger from
Giovanni, the brother and sister draw emotionally close
together in the face of eternity. Present time seems to
speed past, but both see beyond it to heaven, hell or
nothingness. The inexorability of Time's passage stirs
them (despite Giovanni's flamboyant boast) and gives a
nervous speed to the scene. Annabella warns her brother

that now there's but a dining-time
'Twixt us and our confusion: let's not waste
These precious hours in vain and useless speech.

(17-19)

Her image, ominous because we know that the forthcoming
banquet is meant as the setting for Giovanni's death,
also painfully evokes a picture of life as but a time to
feed and die. And Giovanni, recalling the time "When
first [he] loved and knew not how to woo" (51), cuts short
his own words, aware of the urgency of action:

Fair Annabella, should I here repeat
The story of my life, we might lose time.

(52-53)

This love scene, so ominous with threatening death, is yet so lyrical. The earthly union of brother and sister ends very much as it began, with the same cadence of the words, the joining of hands, the repeated kisses, the sense of farewell, the dagger.⁷⁶

GIOVANNI. One other kiss, my sister.

ANNABELLA. What means this?

GIOVANNI. To save thy fame, and kill thee
in a kiss.

stabs her.

Thus die, and die by me, and by my hand.

Revenge is mine; honour doth love command.

ANNABELLA. O brother, by your hand?

(83-87; sig. K^v)

The kiss is both passionate and ritualistic; their hands are once again joined (74; and cf. I.ii.171), and yet Giovanni's hand brings death. The joining of hands has been a prelude to murder during the first banquet, when Hippolita deceitfully joins and blesses the hands of the wedded couple (IV.i.46-54).

Soliloquizing over the bleeding body of Annabella, Giovanni vows that he has

killed a love, for whose each drop of blood
I would have pawned my heart.

(101-102)

His words have a splendid, noble sound, but their real emptiness once more exposes the theatricality of Giovanni's mood and action. He sees his deed as the perfectly appropriate completion of their love: their "two united hearts" (cf. V.iii.12) must remain united even if total destruction be the only method. He has not pawned his heart to save her blood, but has denied her an earthly salvation in order to 'act' his last great rôle (complete with her heart as an emblematic property), his triumph against an enemy. And in his last act he copies, although in inversion, his original dramatic offer to his sister, that she should take his proffered dagger and rip up his heart (I.ii.203-207).

In the play's final scene, the stage is once again a public, crowded locality:

A Banquet.

Enter Cardinall, Florio, Donado, Soranzo, Richardetto, Vasques and attendants; They take their places.

(sig. K^v)

Churchman, citizens, nobleman, doctor - the upper strata of society are represented, waited upon by Vasques and the attendants (probably in livery). But we already know that the churchman is corrupt, the nobleman seeks revenge, and the doctor, although withdrawn from active vengeance, is (as a doctor) false. The sumptuous surface level of the banquet is further undermined by the opening words, which Vasques hisses in the ear of Soranzo as the other characters are busy taking their places: "Remember, sir, what you have to do; be resolute and wise" (V.vi.1). Openly, Soranzo courteously welcomes the Cardinal (as chief guest), offering him the "coarse confections" (3) of the feast. Then, as in the first banquet, Soranzo turns his attention towards Giovanni:

But where's my brother Giovanni?

Enter Giouanni with a heart vpon bis [sic] Dagger.

GIOVANNI. Here, here, Soranzo; trimmed in roeking blood,
That triumphs over death; proud in the spoil
Of love and vengeance! Fate or all the powers
That guide the motions of immortal souls
Could not prevent me.

(8-13; sig. K2)

Ford knows the value of such a chillingly sensational entrance, but at the same time the tableau formed by Giovanni's presence is the logical if perverse conclusion to all the heart imagery which has originated in the opening moments of the play, when Giovanni "Emptied the storehouse of [his] thoughts and heart" (I.i.14) to the Friar and declared that he and his sister, being linked by blood, should

be ever one,
One soul, one flesh, one love, one heart, one all[.]

(33-34)

He has bid her rip up his heart and read its truth (I.ii.205-207); he has left his heart in her keeping (II.i.32); he has said he would impawn his heart for her life (V.v.101-102), and instead he digs up her heart (V.vi.25-27). For Giovanni there is no contradiction. Their hearts are united (V.iii.12); in digging up her heart he has ripped

up his own. The heart on the dagger is, he tells the startled guests, "A heart, my lords, in which is mine entombed" (V.vi.28). The same idea of a heart entombed in the beloved is used by Ford in Love's Sacrifice. There, too, the figurative statement which represents an emotional condition receives its exact visual completion on stage, when Fernando entombs himself, while living, in Bianca's monument (LS, I.ii, p. 28.19 and V.iii, p. 104; sig. L^V). But the heart and disembodying images are not restricted to Giovanni and Annabella. Grimaldi approaches the disguised doctor to procure a love potion by which to gain Annabella's affection (II.iii.34-41), but is told that he must first remove the man who "hath her heart" (49), and in Richardetto's mistaken view that man is Soranzo. This misunderstanding comes gruesomely true in the final scene when Giovanni presents the ripped up heart to Soranzo, 'exchanging' it for the husband's heart with a stab of the dagger (V.vi.73-75). Soranzo uses conventional heart imagery to woo Annabella, to which she, in her jesting, adds an ominous note:

SORANZO. Did you but see my heart, then would you swear -

ANNABELLA. That you were dead.

GIOVANNI. [Aside] That's true, or somewhat near it.

(III.ii.23-24)

The prospect of seeing a heart seems far from this harsh but gay scene. Soranzo gains the woman, but when he becomes disabused he threatens to "rip up [her] heart" (IV.iii.53). It is a histrionic threat, figurative in detail, but real in the danger of death which it offers, supported by the sword which he is at that moment flourishing. Soranzo, in general, withdraws from action, leaving his battles to Vasques and the Banditti. Only Giovanni, becoming more and more absorbed by his own world of abstracts in which he comes to be Fate and the agent of Death, is capable of ripping out the heart. (The Friar applies the disembodying motif in another context when he tells the repentant Annabella that she has "unripped a soul so foul and guilty" (III.vi.2). The violence of her confession, made manifest in the stage direction - "she weepes, and wrings her hands" (sig. F3^V) -

parallels the violence of her death.)

As the banquet guests stand rivetted with horror before Giovanni and his emblem, he describes in magnificent and theatrical terms the deed - "the rape of life and beauty" (V.vi.20) - which he has 'acted' (21), contrasting that action with this "idle sight" (18) - the mere emblem, the heart. He transforms his action into one of cosmic consequence: where previously he only called upon the sun to hide its beams from his deed (V.v.79-82), he now boasts of a strange victory:

The glory of my deed
Darkened the midday sun, made noon as night,
You came to feast, my lords, with dainty fare;
I came to feast too, but I digged for food
In a much richer mine than gold or stone
Of any value balanced; 'tis a heart,...

(V.vi.22-27)

In giving his action this cosmic nature, he still relates it to the present scene by his application of the word 'feast'. It is interesting, although perhaps a coincidence, that Giovanni, in acting out his highly theatrical triumph, should use the word 'glory' in association with a darkened sun and with a triumph which sends Annabella to a heavenly throne (cf. V.v.64-65). In contemporary court masques (so often taking place in a banqueting hall; so often named 'triumphs') two common sky effects were achieved by the cloud machine and the 'glory'. Both machines could be suspended in the sky regions, the former able to block out the sun, the latter supporting or being the background to heavenly figures in a burst of lights. Figure 55 shows a design by Inigo Jones of Jove "hovering in the ayre with a glory beyond him" for Townshend's Tempe Restored (1632).⁷⁷ If any reminiscence of court theatrical triumphs is intended by Ford, it would contribute to the highly histrionic air that he gives to Giovanni in the last scenes, and to that overweening pride which makes the hero believe that he controls death and fate. At the moment of the murder, Giovanni speaks of "perform[ing] this act, / Which I most glory in" (V.v. 90-91), a sad perversion of his recent confidence when he coliloquized on "the glory / Of two united hearts like



Figure 55. Inigo Jones' drawing of Jove and a 'glory' for Tempe Restored (1631/32). Reproduced from Allardyce Nicoll, Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage (London, 1937), fig. 45.

hers and mine" (V.iii.11-12). Giovanni's theatricality is not Websterian, is not like that of Flamineo or Francisco. Giovanni is self-blinded by his grandiose act; he is not the conscious player and satirist, observing the other players as he manipulates them.

Giovanni does not heed the meaning in his own words: the glory of his action is not bright; it darkens day and plunges the world into night (V.vi.22-23), that time of misunderstanding, murder, and visions of hell (cf. III.vi and III.vii); it robs the world of the sun which is associated with goodness (I.i.9-11). The moral significance of the contrast between fiery light and smoky darkness is portrayed in a painting by Baccio Bandinelli, engraved in 1545. The Combat of Ratio and Libido (see figure 56) is an allegorical battle between mythological figures ranged on the side of Virtue or Vice.⁷⁸ Above the combatants (who are distinguishable by their conventional visual attributes - for example, Jupiter holding the thunderbolt and seated on the eagle), Reason looks down from the sky holding a flaming lamp with which she casts light over her champions, while over the soldiers of passion thick clouds belch from a fiery cornucopia. I do not intend to suggest that there is any direct influence from Bandinelli upon Ford. The dramatist, like the painter, employs a common area of symbolism in aligning reason with light and passionate folly with smoky darkness, and through this symbolism Ford reveals that Giovanni's actions and understanding are destructive, not genuinely triumphant. Ford is not exalting this hero above morality; he shows the gradual extinction of Giovanni's intellectual perception. In Giovanni's battle, the victory is won by Passion over Reason, dark over light. Like Bandinelli's gods and heroes, Giovanni becomes something of an abstraction, with death in his look (V.v.47), with the twists of life (the threads spun by the Parcae)⁷⁹ in his fists (V.vi.72), carrying his emblems - the heart and the dagger.

The conventional figures who gaze at Giovanni (and the Cardinal's worldly corruption and Soranzo's intended



Figure 56. Combat of Ratio and Libido, by Baccio Bandinelli, engraved by Nicolaus Béatrizet (1545). Reproduced from Jean Seznec, La Survivance des Dieux Antiques, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. XI (London, 1940), fig. 38.

vengeance are both conventional) cannot comprehend Giovanni's statements or read the symbol he bears. Probably the heart property was sufficiently stylized to be recognized by an audience as such an object, looking in shape like the innumerable contemporary emblems involving a pierced heart (see figure 57),⁸⁰ but also no doubt lavishly bloody. Giovanni's use of the heart as a property in his triumph recalls Ford's emblematic application of a heart in the title of The Broken Heart, and the exposition of its oracle (V.iii.99-100) and Calantha's funeral song (V.iii.93-94).

When the truth of the murder is comprehended by Florio, the old man dies, and Giovanni speaks his father's epitaph:

O, my father,
How well his death becomes him in his griefs!
Why, this was done with courage; now survives
None of our house but I, guilt in the blood
Of a fair sister and a hapless father.

(65-69)

The united fate of the family is complete. Giovanni, in ripping up his sister's heart to 'save' it from Soranzo, has, as the Cardinal declares, "Broke[n his] old father's heart" (64). Giovanni is 'guilt' in the blood of both sister and father, with a double play upon 'golden' and 'guilt' - the glory and the crime.

V. Blindness.

In his superhuman stance, Giovanni believes that he can withstand any opponents. He stabs Soranzo and fights with Vasques, but then unexpected numbers overwhelm him:

Enter Bandetti.
GIOVANNI. Welcome, come more of you whate'er you be,
I dare your worst -
O, I can stand no longer! Feeble arms,
Have you so soon lost strength?

(81-84; sig. K3)

The Banditti in this final banquet constitute a variation on the conventional murder masque of revenge plays. They enter on the cue word, 'Vengeance' (80), bringing pre-determined action, entering with a sudden rush (cf. V.iv.13-15)



Figure 57. An emblem illustrating a disembodied heart, pierced by a weapon and held in the hand. (The illustration, but not the subject matter of the emblem, is applicable to 'Tis Pity She's a Whore.) From Henry Green and James Croston, eds., The Mirrovr of Maiestie (1618), Holbein Society Fac-simile Reprint (Manchester and London, 1870), sig. E3.

like the unexpected 'masquers' in The White Devil's final scene (WD, V.vi.167-171). Like more orthodox masquers, they come vizarded (cf. V.iv.12), and their action involves one of the banquet guests (Giovanni). The Banditti should, of course, look sufficiently brutal and murderous. A possible suggestion for the appearance of these lawless men who lurk in the "mountains of Liguria" (V.iv.4) is provided by the description of "a lusty strong rogue" in O Per Se O, a 1612 addition to Dekker's English Villainies Discovered by Lantern and Candlelight. This rogue, who wanders up and down the countryside, terrifying women and children, has long unkempt hair, bare arms and legs, and he carries a staff of ash or hazel.⁸¹ Although this rogue is a beggar, he is, like the Banditti, a frightening phenomenon beyond the conventional world of law and order. In view of their actions in the play, the Banditti should carry some brutal weapon which would contrast with the gentleman-soldier's rapier (III.vii, sig. F4^V), the nobleman's sword (IV.iii.3), and Giovanni's dagger (I.ii, sig. C; V.v, sig. K^V; and V.vi, sig. K2). They are a symbol of an underlying and deeper brutality which gradually pushes to the surface in this society (see figure 58).

The bandits are employed as tools, acquiring no independent personality, and consequently the two actions in which they are involved can readily be seen in relation to each other. The first appearance of the Banditti involves action. Without speaking they fulfil Vasques' orders and drag Putana offstage where they will blind her (IV.iii.221-231). Putana is a voyeuse as well as a hopeful bawd. She is an observer and a painter of verbal pictures in Act I, scene ii, concerned only with the physical and immediate, not the moral or eternal. Through her pictures in words she tries to stimulate Annabella's lust; she pries beneath the clothing of society to see the "naked man" (I.ii.96). Her name, in John Florio's Italian dictionary, Queen Anna's New World of Words (1611), means a whore or strumpet.⁸² She is one in thought and word, and would encourage her mistress to be one in deed (II.i.43-45). She does not display a strong sense of affection



Figure 58. Gipsies, from The Brave English Gypsy,
 Roxburghe Ballads, I, 545. Reproduced from
 E.D. Pendry, ed., Thomas Dekker, The Stratford-
 Upon-Avon Library 4 (London, 1967), p. 231.
 Although these men are gipsies, not bandits,
 their generally tattered appearance and long
 sticks may give some indication of a costume
 suitable to bandits, who also exist outside
 the normal conventions of society.

for Annabella, yet her treachery, when she betrays Giovanni, is the deed of an unprincipled and thoughtless woman, rather than a vicious one. She betrays the young lover easily (as she has already been prepared to do for Donado's gold, II.vi.14-22), to make life simpler for both herself and her mistress, trusting to win Vasques as her protector (IV.iii.208) and to gain reward (209-210). She does not look beyond her own self-interest. Her revelation, smug and boastful - "I have known their dealings too long to belie them / now" (219-220) - is greeted with a chilling change of tone:

VASQUES. Where are you? There within, sirs.

Enter Bandetti.

PUTANA. How now, what are these?

VASQUES. You shall know presently. Come, sirs, take
me this old
damnable hag, gag her instantly, and put out her eyes.
Quickly, quickly!

(221-225; sig. H4)

She struggles and shrieks in their grasp as Vasques impatiently orders them to silence her (226-229). The ruffians drag her off to blind her, and Vasques offers them the added advice - "if she roars, slit / her nose" (230-231).

This struggle is like a bitter parody of the quarrel that has just been seen, between Soranzo and Annabella. Here the servant plays out the cowardly attack upon an unprotected woman. Like Soranzo, Vasques abuses her body in both action and words. The servant has the added help of hired villains, to which Soranzo will descend (cf. V.ii.12-13). The vicious and apparently arbitrary punishment inflicted upon the unfortunate woman intensifies for the audience, the awareness of the danger surrounding the lovers. But gradually the significance of Putana's torture, within the larger symbolism of the play, is made clear through a pattern of succeeding entries, exits and comments. Putana has no sooner been dragged from the stage than Giovanni enters. Vasques never loses his composure, fears no detection, and at once acts the pander for gold (247-250), previously Putana's rôle (cf. I.ii.168-170 and II.vi.14-22). Figuratively, Giovanni here

is also blinded, for he does not see the duplicity of the servant he has bribed. But the audience is made perfectly aware of Vasques' ascendancy and his immense enjoyment of Giovanni's inevitable fall (in words highly ironical after the recent exchange of money):

Let my young
 master take time enough, and go at pleasure; he is
 death, and the devil shall not ransom him. sold to

(260-262)

The scene which follows (V.i) introduces Annabella's letter which warns Giovanni of dangers earthly and spiritual. Then follows a brief conversation between Soranzo and Vasques which warns the audience that there is to be a feast to which Soranzo's "brother-rival" will be invited (V.ii.17-20), and that the bandits have been hired to take part in an ambush (12-13), the exact details of which are not explained. But the object of the abused husband's wrath is clear. Vasques bids his master "think upon / incest and cuckoldry" (22-23), and the scene ends with an overtly warning couplet from Soranzo:

Revenge is all the ambition I aspire:
 To that I'll climb or fall; my blood's on fire.

(24-25)

At once, after all this very obvious forewarning, Giovanni enters (perhaps he is seen in, or entering, the discovery space, as having come to visit the Friar's study), exultant, revelling in soliloquy on the delights which continued love with his married sister has brought. When the Friar joins him the young man vows that

The hell you oft have prompted is nought else
 But slavish and fond superstitious fear[.]

(V.iii.19-20)

In answer the Friar exclaims: "Thy blindness slays thee" (21). The voyeuse, who sees only the temporal, who blindly accepts any offer of safety and reward, loses her eyes. (Her habitual response to trouble is, "that ever I was born to see this day", cf. III.iii.4 and IV.iii.177.)⁸³ Giovanni, who, with an intellectual effort, chooses to see only this life, accepting an Elysium of pleasure in place of salvation (V.iii.13-16), choosing not to see the Friar's

arguments, attempting to silence the old man's objections rather than to enter into a debate (cf. II.v.35-36 and 63-67), blinds himself doubly. He relinquishes salvation (and Ford's treatment of Annabella shows that the playwright does not share Giovanni's fatalism) and in exchange places all value upon this world:

My world, and all of happiness, is here,
And I'd not change it for the best to come:
A life of pleasure is Elysium.

(V.iii.14-16)

All the more blind is he, then, to the dangers which threaten to rob him of this world, of which he now receives ample warning, and which he confidently believes he can defeat, not by a plan of attack, but by possessing control over his fate.⁸⁴ But even his atheism is a form of blindness, dependant upon his inability to see proof of an afterlife. He has read, he says,

that all this globe of earth
Shall be consumed to ashes in a minute.

ANNABELLA. So I have read too.

GIOVANNI. But 'twere somewhat strange
To see the waters burn; could I believe
This might be true, I could believe as well
There might be hell or Heaven.

(V.v.30-35)

And his inability to believe in a world to come takes on a true pathos when he asks his sister,

But d'ee think
That I shall see you there? - You look on me?

(38-39)

Giovanni's love of Annabella, genuine and deep though it is, grows through the organ of the eye. The view of her beauty untunes him (I.ii.212-214); like Putana, he is a verbal picture painter, beginning his portrait of Annabella's beauty with the words, "View well her face" (II.v.49-58).⁸⁵ He neatly satisfies his conscience concerning the incest by using the Friar's own principles - that beauty of the body reveals the beauty and virtue of the soul (II.v.14-26), but that he cannot sustain a purely spiritual love of her virtue is obvious in the agony that he feels at her wedding, unable to "endure this sight" (IV.i.16) of his sister "Clipped by another" (17). Soranzo, before he knows the identity of

the adulterer, accuses his rival of loving merely Annabella's beauty:

He doted on the picture that hung out
 Upon thy cheeks, to please his humorous eye;
 Not on the part I loved, which was thy heart,
 And, as I thought, thy virtues.

(IV.iii.125-128)

Soranzo's words are intended to denigrate his opponent and to convince Annabella of his own genuine love, and they only convey a partial truth - that Giovanni loves "the picture", the beauty of his sister. Giovanni loves the heart too, but he loves it with a destructiveness which makes him kill in order to possess the heart 'eternally'.

Annabella's love for her brother is also shown in terms of seeing, and the development of her attitude to outward forms shows the divergence in the insight of brother and sister to the state of their sin. The stage picture presents Annabella first as an observer of her parade of lovers, observing the pantomime of Giovanni's despairing love before she descends to join him (I.ii). After the consummation of their love she vows to him that "all [other] suitors seem / To my eyes hateful" (II.i.29-30). But, alone in her chamber, contemplating her guilt, she now believes that

Beauty that clothes the outside of the face
 Is cursèd if it be not clothed with grace.

(V.i.12-13)

The device of the letter helps to reveal the great gulf which separates the spiritual states of the two lovers by the final act. Annabella gains purification and insight, her letter being an act of penance and a warning of dangers which she does not seek to minimize. Giovanni rejects this document of truth with its warning that the lovers have been 'discovered' (V.iii.35), dismissing the letter as 'forged' (39), the effect of the Friar's "peevish chattering" (40). Vasques' 'news' (41), which comes to Giovanni directly after he has read the letter, contains the invitation to Soranzo's banquet. Giovanni accepts this summons, but with an aggressiveness which indicates that he does suspect a danger but refuses to act

cautiously:

Yes, tell him I dare come.

VASQUES. 'Dare come'?

GIOVANNI. So I said; and tell him more, I will come.

VASQUES. These words are strange to me.

(47-50)

The Friar's advice to shun the feast which is, he feels certain, "but a plot to train [Giovanni] to [his] ruin" (57), is scorned by the young lover in a speech which shows both a grandiose courage and a presumptuous blindness to reality:

Not go? Stood Death
Threatening his armies of confounding plagues,
With hosts of dangers hot as blazing stars,
I would be there.

(58-61)

Increasingly Giovanni sees himself involved in a battle in which abstracts, personifications, fight for or against him. The Friar's reaction to this further proof (for him) of Giovanni's blindness is to abandon the young man and the play's dangerous society, in order to return to Bononia which has become a symbol of a past and harmonious society, an ideal time and place in which Giovanni was an image of the perfectly balanced man. "Go where thou wilt", the Friar tells Giovanni,

I see
The wildness of they fate draws to an end,
To a bad fearful end. I must not stay
To know thy fall; back to Bononia I
With speed will haste, and shun this coming blow.

(V.iii.63-67)

Like Tecnicus in The Broken Heart, the Friar seems to deprive the play's society of intellectual and spiritual strength by his departure, and to increase the sense of inevitable tragedy which is hurrying to completion.

Giovanni, determined to accept whatever may await him, intends nevertheless to make his final actions glorious (71-76) and sweepingly destructive:

If I must totter like a well-grown oak,
Some under-shrubs shall in my weighty fall
Be crushed to splits: with me they all shall perish.

(77-79)

Annabella seeks peace and salvation, and when she dies,

aware that it is by her brother-lover's hand, she calls on Heaven to forgive, first him, and then herself (V.v.92). Giovanni seeks victory and triumph which can only come through destruction - of his sister as well as of his enemies.

In the final scene, the motif of sight and blindness is completed. Giovanni, who wishes to see proof of things spiritual (cf. V.v.32-35), makes his triumph visual, presenting the emblematic heart which is both a proof of his deed and a symbol of his victory over any who sought to take Annabella's love from him. Fighting his rival, Giovanni believes that he holds the strands of Fate (V.vi.71-72). The unexpected Banditti prove him wrong. They enter wearing vizards (cf. V.iv.12-13) and thus present generalized figures who, disinterested in the particular struggles and conflicts of the play, are simple visual instruments of death, that Death which Giovanni had vowed to fight (V.iii.58-62). Because of their masks Giovanni cannot see his opponents' faces, but he has already chosen not to see the threat which they make concrete (V.iii). The fight against overwhelming odds gives a fine touch of heroism to Giovanni, and makes his death glorious, as, for similar reasons, is that of Flamineo. No longer in control of his fate, Giovanni chastizes his own weakness (V.vi.83-84). But as it is death that his destructive triumph sought, he at last welcomes his end in words which are appropriate to this banquet setting, but which ironically question his disbelief in a world to come:

Death, thou art a guest long looked for; I embrace
Thee and thy wounds; O, my last minute comes!
Where'er I go, let me enjoy this grace,
Freely to view my Annabella's face. Dyes.
DONADO. Strange miracle of justice!

(105-109; sig. K3^v)

The retribution, although deserved (and attested by the one remaining character who has never been governed by injustice or the desire for vengeance), only makes more tragic the waste in this potentially magnificent character. From the perfect Renaissance man that he was he has already altered to the untuned lover when the play begins (cf.

I.i.47-52 and I.ii.212-214); from the lyrical lover who offers his life to his sister (I.ii.203-210), aloof from his world, he becomes a man of violent physical action, blinded to the failure of the triumph which kills his love.

In 'Tis Pity, as in The Broken Heart, Ford has treated his stage as both a symbolic and a naturalistic setting, drawing into a fine unity, by means of large, carefully-staged set pieces and of brief visual moments, the plot and thematic motifs of his story. In 'Tis Pity, all the scenes contribute, the comic subplot and the Richardetto plot acting as foils, recalling, emphasizing and contrasting the themes of marriage, vengeance, lust, sickness and violence. The banquet scenes, in their visual elaboration and climactic actions, stand as focal points in which Ford skilfully gathers together and expands the play's various areas of verbal and visual imagery. At the same time, by making use of banquet associations that are long-established as conventions in life and the theatre, the feast scenes strengthen the dramatic, symbolic and moral issues developed in the plot. The banquets are perfect symbols of ceremonial celebration, of civilized society in fact, but civilization which is deteriorating, bringing violence, turning the triumph of love and life to one of death. The banquets are, on the one hand, celebrations of sacraments and rites de passage - marriage, birthday - and on the other hand, images of the play's society itself - complacent, rich and orderly on the surface.

The wine that is drunk at the banquets leads figuratively and in stage action to the blood that is spilt. Blood and heart images culminate in Annabella's disembodied heart on the dagger's point. The motif of a heart taken from the breast yokes love and violence, and is potent as a dramatic threat (from Soranzo, IV.iii.53) before it becomes a stage picture. Marriage, the crucial sacrament in the play, frequently determines the characters' thoughts and actions. Betrothal and marriage, given visual formalization in the Soranzo-Annabella betrothal and the

marriage banquet, have been superseded by the Annabella-Giovanni 'marriage' which gains power and a sense of permanence from its solemn betrothal ritual. Marriage, designed by society to bring stability and further life, is here strongly associated with violence, not only in the main plot's marriage masque intended for Soranzo, but also in the death of Bergetto as he goes to his clandestine marriage, and in the Soranzo-Hippolita liaison where her broken marriage vows have led to her husband's 'death'. Indeed, the duality of violence and civilized politeness permeates the play: this society which seems on the surface peace-loving, businesslike, rather commonplace, seethes with brawls, perjury, injustice and vengeance, and against its crude vulgarity the love of the incestuous pair appears, in the early scenes, as something lyrical, almost divine. And yet, that love is not permitted to exist as a withdrawn and private affair; drawn more and more into their society, the lovers are also plunged into its violence until the final triumph destroys them both. But the beauty and ritualization with which Giovanni endows his murderous act make the deed soar above the crude violence of the other characters, and leave that tawdry society amazed and indignant. It is the final and perfect irony that the Cardinal, who has condoned murder for the base reason that the villain is "Of princes' blood" (III.ix.56), and has confiscated to the church "all the gold and jewels, or whatsoever" (V.vi.149) belonging to the slaughtered, becomes the spokesman of the play's last moral couplets in which he bemoans the incest and murder (157-160). To the end the unique love and life of Annabella and Giovanni is never understood by their 'normal' society, and Annabella, whose spiritual resurrection has been shown in graphic terms, is reduced, by the flawed churchman, to one of whom it can be said, "'tis pity she's a whore" (160).

Love, incest, marriage, repentance - these interwoven elements of the plot are echoed, paralleled, defeated by simple, repeated stage actions - tears, kneeling, kissing, joining hands. Here, perhaps even more than in The Broken Heart, the play's meaning and unity only attain full realization in its staged, visualized form.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Cf. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, A King and No King (1611), V.iv, in The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. II (Cambridge, 1970). In other dramatic treatments of incest, the sin is generally not carried to its consummation. Cf., e.g., Philip Massinger, The Unnatural Combat (V.ii) (ed. Coleridge); and Cyril Tourneur, The Atheist's Tragedy (IV.iii) (ed. Ribner). The incest between Spurio and his stepmother, the Duchess, in Tourneur's The Revenger's Tragedy (I.ii) (ed. R.A. Foakes, The Revels Plays, London, 1966), and between Isabella and her uncle, Hippolito, in Middleton's Women Beware Women (II.i) (ed. Bullen, vol. VI) is allowed to progress, but the theme is not central in either of these plays. Several sources for Ford's play have been postulated, the most serious contender being Sperone Speroni's Italian drama, Canace e Macareo (1546). Cf. Sherman, "'Tis Pity She's a Whore" and "The Broken Heart", pp. xliv-lviii; and Sargeaunt, Ford, pp. 106 and 108-109.
2. E.g., II.vi.1-3; III.ii; IV.iii; and V.iii, esp. 4-8.
3. On the imaginative Italy of great villainy and lurid beauty in which so many tragedies by Ford's predecessors are set, see Vernon Lee, Euphorion (London, 1884), vol. I, "The Italy of the Elizabethan Dramatists", pp. 55-108. Love's Sacrifice, also set in Italy, depicts a society less outstandingly violent and vengeful than that of 'Tis Pity. The fate of some parallel characters presents an interesting comparison: foolish Mauruccio is banished with a strumpet to wife, while simple but kind-hearted Bergetto dies; Morona, old and soiled, departs with her new husband, and Fiormonda, inspirer of revenge, is sent to a convent, while Putana, old and morally lax, a less vicious interferer than Fiormonda, has her eyes put out and is burnt to ashes (offstage, it must be admitted, and therefore without the dramatic horror of King Lear, III.vii). In 'Tis Pity, revenge is constantly plotted or discussed: cf. Hippolita, II.ii.121 ff. and III.viii; Richardetto, II.iii; III.v; Grimaldi, II.iii.51 ff. and III.v; Soranzo, IV.iii.149-162 and 256-264; V.ii; V.iv; and Giovanni, V.v.84-106 and V.vi.9 ff.
4. These settings which are not part of the dramatic picture but which gain something of a symbolic nature are chosen logically. The university at Bologna was famous: cf. Moryson, Itinerary (ed. 1907, vol. I, p. 202); and the religious houses of Cremona were well known: cf. Coryat, Crudities, p. 113 (sig. L2), and Moryson, ed. cit., vol. I, p. 369.
5. Gifford found Vasques particularly offensive, clearly feeling that the brutality was a coarse failure on

Ford's part. Cf. Gifford and Dyce, Works of Ford, vol. I, p. 181 n. 19; p. 186 n. 25; and p. 196 n. 9. But Vasques' brutality fits the play's generally growing bestiality, and helps to create that contrast which separates the lovers from their society until Giovanni gradually grows to share its violence. The popular English attitude towards Spain at this time was hostile, especially after the failure of the marriage negotiations between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta in 1623, and the hatred which the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, inspired. Cf. the anti-Spanish satire of Middleton's A Game at Chess (1624); and on the scandal it caused, see Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. IV, pp. 870-879. Cf., also, Charles H. Carter, "Gondomar: Ambassador to James I", The Historical Journal, VII (1964), pp. 189-208. Ford is unflattering to the Spanish in Love's Sacrifice (I.i, p. 9.8-15).

6. Cf. Vernon Lee, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-72.
7. Cf. quarto titlepage. Ford, in the Dedicatory Epistle, describes the play as "The First Fruits of my leasure" (sig. A2). This statement has led to disputes concerning the dating of this play and its place in the chronology of Ford's canon, although it is exceedingly unlikely that this can mean that 'Tis Pity is Ford's earliest written work. Cf. Sargeaunt, who dates the play c. 1625-1628 (*op.cit.*, pp. 21-23); cf., also, Bentley, *op.cit.*, vol. III, pp. 462-464.
8. Cf. Annabella's lines (V.i.19-20):
 "Would thou [i.e., Giovanni] hadst been less subject
 to those stars
 That luckless reigned at my nativity"
 and Faustus' (Doctor Faustus, V.ii, 1950-1951, in Marlowe, ed. Bowers, vol. II):
 "You Starres that raign'd at my nativity,
 Whose influence hath allotted death and hell[.]"
 Ford applies his borrowing with subtlety. Annabella, throughout this scene aware of death and hell, is less concerned to find an escape for her soul than to save Giovanni from retribution.
9. Early editors set the opening scene in the Friar's cell. Cf. Weber, Dramatic Works, vol. I, p. 9 and Gifford and Dyce, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 113.
10. On discovery space windows, cf. Smith, Blackfriars, p. 352, and Lawrence, Elizabethan Playhouse, 2nd series, pp. 50-52.
11. Cf. Armstrong, "Actors and Theatres", pp. 203-204.
12. Cf., e.g., the titlepage to John Boys, Workes (1622),

engraved by John Payne and reproduced in Corbett and Norton, Engraving in England, pt. III, pl. 9(a). In the two architectural openings the author is seen, on the left writing at his desk, on the right meditating at a table with a book. There is no curtain, but the constricted area, enclosed on three sides, is very like the 'studies' in figure 46. An engraving of Frances Howard, Duchess of Richmond, by Willem van de Passe (died c. 1637) shows the duchess standing at a table on which is a book inscribed "Constantia coronat", while a curtain is drawn back to give again a sense of a study for her contemplation, and the arrangement recalls a theatrical curtained discovery space. Cf. Hind, Engraving in England, pt. II, pl. 178(c).

13. Perhaps Vasques, instead of wearing livery, does wear a "cast-suit" - garments which, ill fitting and worn, would suggest that they had been passed down by Soranzo. It is unlikely that he would wear distinctively Spanish clothing, since he is a servant, has served long in Italy (cf. V.vi.139-140), and does not mention until the final scene his foreign origins.
14. Cf. Perkin Warbeck, III.i: "Enter King Henrie, his Gorget on, his word, plume of feathers,..." (London, 1634; B.M. C.12.g.3(5)), sig. E3; and George Chapman, The Widdowes Teares, IV.ii: "Enter Ly/ander like a Souldier di/guide at all parts, a halfe Pike, gorget, &c" (London, 1612; B.M. 644.d.48), sig. Hv. Gorget plates are illustrated in Morse, Elizabethan Pageantry, p. 94.
15. Cf., e.g., Kelly & Schwabe, Costume & Armour, vol. II, pl. XXXII (baldric), pl. XXXVI, i-iii (helmet at waist, boots); and p. 79 and pl. XII (buff coat).
16. Cf., e.g., Ewing, Burtonian Melancholy, passim.
17. Cf. William Hemminge's Elegy on Randolph's Finger, ed. G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford, 1925), ll. 81-82. Smith (pp. 4-6) dates the poem around 1632 or slightly earlier.
18. Jonson's designation for this character is "A melancholique despairing Louer", cf. Herford, Simpson and Simpson, eds., Jonson, vol. VII, p. 736, l. 43.
19. Cf. Stavig, Moral Order, p. 105. In Richard II, movement from the upper stage to the stage platform is used symbolically. Richard descends to "the base court" as he loses his power, there to meet the ascendant Bolingbroke who kneels, but as Richard knows, Bolingbroke's "heart is up...although [his] knee be low" (III.iii.176-195).

20. The offer of a weapon and a defenceless breast is a popular theatrical flourish. In Richard III, Richard offers his sword to Anne to turn against his breast if she will not forgive him (I.ii.173-185); and in Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's The Spanish Gipsy, Alvarez gives Louis two swords, saying:
- "Now see this naked bosom; turn the points
Of either on this bulwark,..."
- Cf. Middleton, ed. Bullen, vol. VI (1885), V.ii.4-13. It has been suggested that Ford may have had a hand in this play. Cf. H. Dugdale Sykes, "John Ford, The Author of The Spanish Gipsy", MLR, XIX (1924), pp. 11-24.
21. Various forms of needlework were indulged in by girls and women of fashion, and were considered worthy pursuits which banished idleness. Cf. M. St. Clare Byrne, Elizabethan Life in Town and Country, 8th edn. revised (London, 1961), p. 295. The Oxburgh bed-hangings, stitched by Mary Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick, are illustrated in Roy Strong and Julia Trevelyan Oman, Mary Queen of Scots (London, 1972), pp. 44-45. In Robert Greene's The Scottish Historie of Iames the fourth (London, 1598; B.M. C.34.g.20), Ida and the Countess of Arrain are discovered "fitting at worke" (sig. DV), which they perform with their needles, making patterns of flowers and birds (sig. D2^v), and which keeps them from the vanity of time mispent (sig. D2).
22. The concept that music is itself a type of medicine - is healthful - was common and is discussed by Robert Burton in a subsection entitled "Musick a remedy". Cf. Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (first pub. 1621), eds. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (London, 1930), Second Partition, pp. 478-481. Burton also mentions the English fondness for banquetting and feasts attended by musicians (p. 484). King Lear (which, like 'Tis Pity has a blinding incident) emphasizes the healing power of music (IV.vii.12-25).
23. Ford carefully shows us that Philotis, as musician, is not an informed participant in her uncle's plans for revenge (cf. II.iii.5-6), and her ability and honesty as a kindly young woman are never questioned.
24. The doctor in our figure 49(a) carries scissors; that in figure 49(b) carries an hourglass. An engraving of Robert Morton, a quack doctor practising about 1640, shows him with a book and a urinal. Cf. Corbett and Morton, Engraving in England, pt. III, pl. 158(d).

25. Cf. Maurice Maeterlinck, Annabella, (Paris, 1895). The subplot concerning Bergetto is the best of Ford's comic subplots, lively, truly comical, and tightly tied into the movement of the main action. Una Ellia-Fermor's criticism of the Ferentes subplot in Love's Sacrifice - that the unexpectedly tragic conclusion to a comic subplot is in itself a sign of failure from Ford - is unfounded. The unexpected death of Bergetto is movingly pathetic and does not destroy the integrity of that comic subplot. Cf. Ellis-Fermor, Jacobean Drama, p. 232.
26. Cf. Webster's treatment of Brachiano and Vittoria, who, similarly, are not given an intimate scene together between their initial love scene (WD, I.ii) and their quarrel in the house of convertites (IV.ii).
27. See above, pp. 374-376.
28. Cf. the jewel which Brachiano urges Vittoria to wear 'lower' (WD, I.ii.211-218).
29. Cf. the portraits of Cecil in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 536 and 538, and Sir Henry Lee, ibid., pl. 375.
30. On the possibility that Annabella is wearing her wedding gown in V.v, see below, p. 572.
31. In The White Devil, V.vi, Flamineo's verbal picture of hell gains intensity from the impression that we are given that the stage is a locked and therefore restricted space; in 'Tis Pity, the Friar's vision gains power from the visual restriction provided by a discovery space. On the staging of this scene, cf. Markward, diss. cit., p. 289.
32. Morris (TP, p. 58, note to III.vi.24) remarks that the Friar appears "unable to depict a punishment appropriate to incest". But the very difference - between the other sinners' physical torments and the incestuous lovers' curse of each other and longing for a violent end - makes their fate seem more strange and miserable.
33. Cf. the concepts of night and mental agony which combine in Shakespeare's stage picture of Cassius when, dreading the growing might of Caesar, he submits himself "thus unbraced" to "the perilous night" (JC, I.iii.46-71).
34. On the loose and powdered hair of brides, see above, p. 99 n. 35.
35. Cf. the Pilgrim's comment (DM, III.iv.45-47) on a man's own weight causing him to fall.

- performed his first feats of armes, that is to say at Barriers,..." The hall contained "the kings Chaire of State" and "a sumptuous paviour" for the combatants, and a feast followed the action. Cf. Edmond Howes, The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, begun...by...Iohn Stow (London, 1615; B.M. L.7.g.11), p. 897.
49. E.g., Ben Jonson's Neptune's Triumph (1624) and Love's Triumph through Callipolis (1631); Aurelian Townshend's Albion's Triumph (1632); and Shirley's The Triumph of Peace (1634). (New style dates given.)
50. Cf. Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pls. 627 and 632 (detail).
51. For stage directions, cf. The Revengers Tragaedie (London, 1607; B.M. C.34.e.11).
52. The corruption underlying the orderly society which Macbeth tries to re-establish through the ceremony of the feast is made concrete in Banquo's ghost. Degree and order are gradually lost. Macbeth opens the scene saying: "You know your own degrees, sit down. / At first and last the hearty welcome" (Macbeth, III.iv.1-2); but after Macbeth's "most admir'd disorder" (110), Lady Macbeth dismisses the guests with haste: "Stand not upon the order of your going, / But go at once" (119-120).
53. There is also the tradition of banquets for the dead. Enid Welsford, The Court Masque (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 6-7, traces the origins of the masque to sacrificial banquets and banquets for the dead. Ford's final scene is, in a macabre way, a banquet for the dead Annabella, and a triumph for which she has been sacrificed.
54. Cf. The Dance of Death on the Muhlenbruke, in Lucerne, Painted by Caspar Meglinger, 1626-1635, Copied by H. [Jakob] Schwegler ([Lucerne] 1893), no. 53. "The Hunters" (no. 38) shows the huntsmen in the foreground dining al fresco; and "The Bonvivant" (no. 50) includes, in the middle ground, a group of men drinking at an outdoor table.
55. In Marston, ed. Bullen, vol. I.
56. Cf., e.g., Spurio's brilliant speech about his origins: "I was begot / After some gluttonous dinner", etc. (I.ii.180-190); and Vindice tempting his sister (II.i.199-206). (Tournour, The Revenger's Tragedy, ed. Foakes.)
57. T.D. [Thomas Drue?], The Bloodie Banqvot (London, 1639; B.M. 643.c.4). The play may have been staged as early as 1620. On the date and authorship, see Bentley, op.cit., vol. III, pp. 282-284.

58. Cf., e.g., Wickham, Early English Stages, vol. I, pp. 44 and 213 ff. on the movable scenic devices within a hall for medieval mummings and disguisings, some of which were in the form of pavilions (see his fig. 14, p. 214). On tents as banqueting houses, see Bentley, *op.cit.*, vol. I (1941), p. 74.
59. Cf., e.g., figs. 50, 52 and 54. Cf., also, an allegoric banquet scene of Lady World seated between Mr. Reckless (beneath canopy) and Mr. Taste, by Cornelius Tennissen (died c. 1561), reproduced in Günther Schiedlausky, Essen und Trinken (Munich, 1956), p. 43.
60. In the Friar's description of hell, three groups of sinners are forced to eat or drink - the gluttons and drunkards not unnaturally, but also the usurers (III.vi.16-19).
61. N.W. Bawcutt, ed., 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1966), p. 66, compares the willow song in Othello, IV.iii; and Morris (TP, p. 66) adds The Merchant of Venice, V.i.10 ("Dido with a willow in her hand").
62. Later, although technically married, Annabella compares her solitary situation to that of the 'unmated' turtle dove (V.i.14-15).
63. Cf. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art (London, 1939), pp. 10 ff. and 63-67.
64. Cf. Katzenellenbogen, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-12; and figs. 66 and 67 which show twelfth century drawings of the Tree of Vices and the Tree of Virtues, Superbia being the root of the one, Humilitas the root of the other.
65. Soranzo's poetic outpouring to Annabella (II.ii) is a type of celebration because he parallels it to the encomium by which Sannazaro "celebrate[d] / Venice" (13-14).
66. The almost mystic power that a pledged drink could be seen to possess is evident in The Bloodie Banquet where Tymethes and the Young Queen avoid drinking to each other because they fear they are in love and that the drink will be a ritual acknowledgement of their love (I.iv, sig. B3v-B4).
67. Cf. King Lear, IV.ii.63-64: "Were't my fitness / To let these hands obey my blood".
68. The Petrarchan Trionfi were well known in England. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, translated the Triumphs for Henry VIII, but did not publish them until c. 1553-1556. Cf. Lord Morley's "Tryumphes of

Fraunces Petrarcke", ed. D.D. Carnicelli (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), esp. Introduction pp. 54-69. Queen Elizabeth translated the first ninety lines of the "Triumph of Eternity". Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 36-37. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's Fovr Playes, or Morall Repre/entations, in One (dated c. 1608-1613, cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 98) comprise triumphs of Honour, Love, Death and Time. These plays with their masque-like elements reflect the Jacobean fondness for triumphs without any exact adherence to the Petrarchan model. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, Comedies and Tragedies (1647), sig. Dddddd- Fffffff4^v.

69. Giovanni's imagined control of fate (cf. V.v.11-12), while consistent with his developing sense of his own power, also reflects a general Renaissance evolution in the Trionfi by which artists tended to include figures of the Three Fates in the Triumphs of Death and of Fame. Cf. F. Parkes Weber, Aspects of Death in Art and Epigram (London, 1914), pp. 116-120.
70. The order of the triumphs is Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time and Divinity. Cf. Carnicelli, ed., Morley's "Tryumphes", pp. 75-158.
71. The only victor in Petrarch's series to be described as riding in his chariot in a staged, Roman-style triumph, is Love. Cf. Carnicelli, ed., Morley's "Tryumphes", pp. 80-81. The chariots which became such a common feature in the visual renderings of Triumphs can be seen in Carnicelli, figs. 1-4, 6-10, and 12-14.
72. Giovanni three times applies a form of the word 'triumph' to his murder: Annabella's dead body is glorious, "Triumphing over infamy and hate" (V.v. 104); Giovanni with the bloody heart "triumphs over death" (V.vi.10); and he asks whether Soranzo can "credit yet my triumphs" (V.vi.57).
73. Cf. Morris, TP, p. 83.
74. Ford uses the word in a similar sense of general and renewed rejoicing in Perkin Warbeck, I.ii.140-141. It is just possible that the conventional sense of 'anniversary' is meant by Giovanni, his jubilee being in honour of the almost-completed pregnancy of Annabella, for in the final scene he twice iterates that he has enjoyed his sister's body for nine months (V.vi.44-51).
75. Bawcutt (ed., TP, p. 90) compares A Chaste Maid in Cheapside: "A bed thrust out upon the stage; Allwit's wife in it" (III.ii, opening s.d., in Middleton, ed. Bullen, vol. V (1885)).
76. Cf. V.v.74, 78-79 and 83-87 with I.ii.171, 203-205, 258-259 and II.i.32-34.

77. Quoted in Nicoll, *op.cit.*, p. 93. Nicoll also records Jones' numerous applications of the cloud machines in masques, pp. 72 ff. and figs. 26, 61, 63, 77, 82, 84 and 86. An engraving by Jacques Callot of a Combat at Barriers in the palace of the Duke of Lorraine, Nancy, 1627, shows the combat in progress, while overhead is suspended a cloud machine in the centre of which is a glory. (Cf. Wickham, *op.cit.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pl. XXX). Such a combination of battle, triumph and glory is evoked in Giovanni's final scene.
78. The engraving is discussed in Jean Seznec, *La Survivance des Dieux Antiques*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. XI (London, 1940), p. 100.
79. Cf. Bawcutt, ed., *TP*, p. 97.
80. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611; B.M. 637.g.26), a large number of disembodied hearts figure in emblems, usually being held in the hand. Cf. pp. 16, 90 and 169. On the prevalence of heart imagery in contemporary emblem books, see above, pp. 302-303 and p. 393 n. 20-23.
81. *O Per Se O*, in Dekker, ed. Pendry, pp. 290-291. Many such beggars have marks branded upon their arms, made for their own pleasure, according to the author of *O Per Se O* (*ibid.*, pp. 291-292), although in reality they may not have had much choice, as James I demanded that rogues should be branded in the left shoulder. Cf. *Shakespeare's England*, vol. II, p. 491.
82. "Putana, a whore, a *strumpet*". Cf. John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611), A Scholar Press Facsimile (Menston, England, 1973), p. 412. Perhaps the well-known lexicographer's own name suggested to Ford the use of Florio as an Italianate name for the father of his hero and heroine. 'Poggio', which John Florio defines as "a blocke to get on hor/ebacke" (*ibid.*, p. 387), may have suggested to Ford the idea of a servant, or his use of that name may be coincidental.
83. Cf. the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*: "O well-a-day that ever I was born!" (IV.v.15). The two characters and the mood of their exclamations are similar, but from Juliet's Nurse there is no emphasis upon sight.
84. Cf. V.v.11-14 and V.vi.70-72. Giovanni resembles Fernando who (as Ford clearly shows us) ignores the warnings given by Roseilli (LS, IV.ii, pp. 87-88), without either planning a defence or expecting his own destruction.
85. In this speech Giovanni appeals also to the sense of smell and hearing, but he begins with sight, and vision greatly outweighs the other senses in the full description.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PERKIN WARBECK

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The text of the play is quoted from John Ford, The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck, The Revels Plays, ed. Peter Ure (London, 1968) (hereinafter, Ure, PW). The stage directions are quoted from the first edition: THE / CHRONICLE / HISTORIE / OF / PERKIN VVARBECK. // A Strange Truth. // Acted (some-times) by the Queenes / MAIESTIES Servants at the / Phoenix in Drurie lane. // Fide Honor. /// LONDON, / Printed by T. P. for Hugh Beefton, and are to / be sold at his Shop, neere the Castle in / Cornehill. 1634. [B.M. C.12.E.3(5). The Epistle Dedicatorie, sig. A2^v, is signed IOHN FORD.]

PERKIN WARBECK

The last of Ford's plays to be published appeared in quarto in 1634 as The Chronicle Historie of Perkin Warbeck. In the Prologue, Ford draws attention to the special qualities of this play and the "out of fashion" (2) type to which it belongs, insisting that his history is based upon truth (13-16), and claiming credit for choosing an English, not foreign, subject (16-18). Ford here looks back with admiration to the high period of the English historical drama - to the many York-Lancastrian plays which ended belatedly with Henry VIII in 1613.¹ Despite the quarto's designation of the play as a chronicle history, Perkin Warbeck was entered in the Stationers' Register on 24 February, 1633/34, as a tragedy;² and when, nearly a century later, the play was once again published, the titlepage called the drama The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck. A Tragedy.³

The Elizabethans and Jacobean did not regularly make a categorical distinction between 'tragedy' and 'history play'.⁴ For example, when dealing with the works of Shakespeare, Francis Meres and the publishers of the early quarto and folio editions between them display many inconsistencies in classifying some of the dramas as tragedies, histories or chronicle plays.⁵ Dramatists saw history as a possible, even a logical, vehicle for tragedy. Jonson thought that truth (to historical facts) enhanced a tragedy, and in his preface to Sejanus he claims that his play has satisfied one of the requirements of a tragedy through its "truth of Argument".⁶ Most of Jonson's contemporary dramatists had less respect for factual truth, and believed that in a play based upon history, facts could be altered or adjusted for the sake of moral or tragic effect. Sidney voices a representative Renaissance interpretation when he says that "a Tragicke is tied to the lawes of Poesie and not of Historie", and he concludes that tragedy is therefore free "to frame the Historie to the most Tragicall conveniencie".⁷ Dramatic 'decorum' is not dependent upon pure fact, but the treatment of historical subjects as tragedy is accepted as natural.

To his contemporary audiences, Ford's statement that the play is based upon a true history would not suggest that the play is, therefore, not a tragedy. The whole tradition of the de casibus tale is behind the play which Ford creates. The medieval conception of tragedy as a fall from greatness, interpreted both as the individual's fall through pride, ambition, and vice, and as an exemplum of the turn of Fortune's wheel, had infused the early Elizabethan drama,⁸ and as late as 1611, 'tragedy' was still defined as a play which "begin[s] prosperously, and end[s] vnfortunately".⁹ This popular conception of tragedy ignores the nature of the story's source, which may be historical or feigned. For Ford, the reversals and movements in an individual's life reveal the working of Fate (concerning which, Fernando and Giovanni had voiced their opinions), and expose the individual to his great trial of selfhood. The turn of Fortune's wheel lends itself to Ford's emblematic, allegoric method of creation. Perkin Warbeck certainly merits the name of a tragedy in its handling of characters and action, and this is particularly apparent after considering the ways in which Ford has changed the historical 'truth' as it was available to him. To the details concerning Perkin's end, Ford gives a nobility and heroism which allows the character to become a truly tragic figure in contrast to the ignoble pretender found in Ford's sources.¹⁰ Although Ford deals with events under the one king between Richard II and Henry VIII whose life Shakespeare had not dramatized,¹¹ he chooses to write, not the story of the reign of Henry VII, nor even of its highlights,¹² but rather the story of Perkin Warbeck. From the opening moments of the play, until the final great scene of anticipated death and gnomic judgement, Perkin himself is never far from the centre of concern, even when he is not onstage.

Perkin Warbeck is a tragedy; it is also a history play, and Ford's prologue and his choice of historical period encourage an audience or reader to consider the drama in relation to the whole group of plays that dealt with the Wars of the Roses. It might be supposed that

the staging of Perkin Warbeck would owe much to the conventions of those history plays. Certainly, Ford employs a herald, soldiers on the walls, drums and colours, a request for single combat - familiar elements of other chronicle plays. But Ford's use of the staging devices from this tradition are fairly nominal. He includes no great onstage battles, and avoids even the excitement of skirmishes reported amid offstage 'alarums'. Nor does he indulge in the extensive but essentially historical pageantry of Henry VIII. His concern appears to be, as in his other tragedies, mainly with his central characters, and in a stylized depiction of their fortunes and development. In this play, there is nothing quite as visually symbolic or ritualistic as the death scenes of Ithocles, Calantha, Fernando and Giovanni, but the staging nonetheless exhibits Ford's interest in those tableaux in which the stage picture becomes infused with a meaning on more than one plane of reality.¹³ The constant alternation of scenes¹⁴ between the English and Scottish groups could be seen as a symptom of the episodic chronicle tradition in which distant and disparate areas must be drawn into the single fabric of the play. Ford's alternations also allow him to bring Henry onstage several times before the actual confrontation of the rival kings. Whatever damage this scenic movement may cause to the dramatic flow of the play,¹⁵ from the point of view of thematic and atmospheric considerations, the movement, with its juxtapositions of mood and character, gives the play its vital texture through which each event is seen to be qualified and controlled by other events. This alternation undermines, for the audience, the expectation of any success for Perkin by surrounding his every stage appearance with scenes of English preparedness, where spies, action, and armour contrast with the entertainments and love story within the Scottish court.

Perkin Warbeck is often considered to be unlike Ford's 'characteristic' plays, but while some critics, like Havelock Ellis,¹⁶ T.S. Eliot¹⁷ and Muriel Bradbrook,¹⁸ regard it as his best play, others, like Weber,¹⁹ think

it his worst. Alfred Harbage, in an impressionistic article, has suggested that the play is not Ford's alone, but an early product, the collaboration of Ford and Dekker.²⁰ As in the critical discussions surrounding Annius and Virginia, interpretations of Perkin Warbeck tend to be confusing because the different bases of these arguments - the play's apparently uncharacteristic qualities, its merits, and its nature as a history play - are not always distinguished.

I. Sources.

The written accounts of Perkin Warbeck's story are manifold,²¹ and considerable research has been expended upon a consideration of those sources which Ford may have used.²² Of the non-dramatic sources, the two most evidently used by Ford (and also the two most recent renderings available to the playwright) are Francis Bacon's The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry The Seuenth,²³ first published in 1622 and republished in 1629 after Bacon's death; and Thomas Gainsford's The True and Wonderfull History of Perkin Warbeck, 1618.²⁴ The writing in Gainsford's history is emotional, figurative, morally evaluative. Gainsford clearly sees his story as a moral exemplum, and his preface asks:

Wouldst thou see vertue mounted on a pinnacle
of her palace? ... Wouldst thou behold vice in
her deformity?

(sig. A4^v)

Perkin and his supporters are clearly wrong, and a threat to peace; Henry, with few exceptions, is the wise and peace-loving ruler. Bacon, while still highly imagistic, is more reserved, more critical, than Gainsford, painting Henry as wise certainly, but wise with the cunning of the Machiavellian politician, cold and avaricious. Verbally, Ford makes considerable use of both Gainsford and Bacon;²⁵ and in Gainsford particularly, Ford would have found motifs that he adopts both verbally and visually - Fortune's wheel, the throne, entertainments.²⁶ Ford's subtitle - "A Strange Truth" (sig. A) - and his frequent, charged

use of the words 'strange', 'wonder', and 'truth', until they become a type of motif,²⁷ were perhaps originally suggested to him by Gainsford's True and Wonderfull History, which that chronicler calls, in his Epistle Dedicatorie, "this true and strange Story" (sig. A3).

But Ford is a dramatist, not an historian, and he significantly alters history as it was known to him.²⁸ The admirable excision and tightening of details, the rearrangement of time and events, accelerating to a dramatic climax the undramatic span of years which, in reality, divided Perkin's first capture from his death, is a measure of Ford's splendid sense of drama, of the economy so evident in his other plays.²⁹ But where Ford makes his most extreme changes, greatly altering the mood and diametrically opposing the facts of his sources, is in his handling of Perkin. The chronicle narratives of this "Duke of York" leave the reader in no doubt concerning either Perkin's authenticity (he is Margaret of Burgundy's creation) or the justice of his attempted usurpation (he is not presented as a Bolingbroke, as a possibly justifiable opponent to the de facto ruler).

In Ford's play, the truth concerning Perkin's royal birth is left ambiguous. Perkin himself never reveals any doubts that he is Richard, Duke of York. In speech, bearing and behaviour he appears a prince, and Ford gives him no soliloquy (as he does James) by which we could test the character's secret beliefs. He is treated so sympathetically, is so heroic, that the audience is never made to feel that Perkin knows himself to be false. And yet, so heavily is the imagery of the play weighted with words of deception or unreality - counterfeit, shadow, painted, idol - that the possibility of another truth is also kept before the audience - that Perkin Warbeck, although a prince in spirit, by his regal nature able to convince a king, by his noble death meriting respect from his mortal enemy - nevertheless, that Perkin Warbeck is perhaps not the Duke of York. And so Ford invests his play with this ambiguity, allowing an equivocal double reality, a paradox, that "Strange Truth" of the play's subtitle,

instead of the restrictiveness of a clear definition. The multiplicity of potential views surrounds not only Perkin's 'reality', but also the Clifford-Stanley-Henry conflict, and to some extent the question of love and duty which impels Katherine's behaviour.

When the play reaches the end of Perkin's story, Ford creates his own version of history. Perkin's end, as portrayed by his chroniclers, is ignoble. He is cowardly and irresolute in seeking to save his life by coming forth from sanctuary at Beaulieu, and by throwing himself upon Henry's mercy. In recounting this part of the pretender's story, Thomas Gainsford remarks that an honourable death is preferable to an ignominious life, a truth to which Perkin is blind "because he was neuer acquainted with the secrets of maieſty" (sig. P2^v). And this cowardly soul, after cursing his life and fate, writes a full confession of his deceit, and, "mounted on diuers scaffolds he read it in publike" (sig. Q-2^v). Ford sweeps aside the ignominy and the confession. His Perkin does not recant; he does not waver in his superb conviction of the rôle he plays to the finish, responding to the challenge of adversity. There is no whimpering for life, but instead a supreme contempt for the fear of death. Grandly, with gentle audacity, he commands the scene and our sympathy - like Giovanni, careless of mere death:

Death? pish, 'tis but a sound, a name of air,
A minute's storm, or not so much;...

(V.iii.199-200)

The speech as a whole (199-207) is one of Ford's finest passages.

Ford's development of Perkin recalls Webster's treatment of the Duchess of Malfi. Each of these characters is a hunted victim, but neither is merely helpless before Fate, for that would be pathetic, not tragic. There is a sin - a type of wilful passion, a disruption of the hierarchy - which does involve them in the responsibility for their own death, but about which the playwright is not overt. Like the Duchess, Perkin grows in stature, revealing in behaviour and demanding recognition

of that princeliness of which he has been factually deprived by capture, reduction of all support, and the approach of death. To the end, Webster's heroine is "Duchesse of Malfy still" (DM, IV.ii.139), and Perkin imagines himself hereafter styled "King[] o'er Death" (V.iii.207). Perkin makes a good tragic death in Fordian terms - stoical, confident, grand; stoical in the mode of Calantha, grand in the manner of Orgilus and Giovanni, but less sensational, less passionate.

Besides the changes concerning the tragedy's central character, Ford has probably invented the admirably-drawn Dalyell,³⁰ creating the splendidly Fordian trio of father, daughter, and faithful courtly lover; and he has built Perkin's counsellors from mere names into a comic team, thus eliminating the need for any comic subplot.

Whether or not Ford's composition of Perkin Warbeck antedates a revival of Richard II in 1631 is difficult to say.³¹ There are certain parallels between the two plays: each presents a conflict between two types of kingship, two types of heroism - idealism and practicality; a dreamer-poet-courtier and a soldier-politician. Although they approach the subject from different angles, both of these plays deal with the question of usurpation and the power of the de facto king. There are specific resemblances between the two plays too, for example in the scenes in which Richard and Perkin come ashore in England.³² The fall of the hero in Shakespeare's play is given a highly ritualized, symbolic, presentation, involving the attributes of kingship (RII, IV.i.181-221) and the physical placement of characters upon the stage (III.iii). Ford also makes thematic use of royal attributes (especially the throne) and of stage placement (culminating in Perkin's 'fall' to stage level in the ignominious stocks).³³

II. Staging.

In Perkin Warbeck, Ford gives, in a fairly conventional way, a double reality to his geographic settings. For example, when the throne is physically occupied, we must imagine both the known setting (the royal palace in

Westminster or Edinburgh) and the allegoric and eternal seat of kingship. Scotland and England act as poles of opposition in terms of expected behaviour, and this opposition can be explained in terms of national differences and the personal influence of two dissimilar kings. There is not in this play that symbolic use of localities which is found in The Broken Heart and 'Tis Pity, where certain cities are used to represent particular life styles.³⁴

An intricate but still conventional instance of the multiple frame of vision in Perkin Warbeck can be seen when James, on the platform, speaks with Durham, on the upper stage level (III.iv; sig. F4^V). We are shown the historical confrontation of powers - one force standing below the walls of Norham Castle, parleying with those who are atop the walls. But we are also shown a battle of wits and the cunning of the fox (this rebus of his name having been prepared for in the preceding scene, III.iii.39-42 and 61-64). The physical height of Durham suggests the superiority in policy and wisdom of the English bishop to those below him, of England to Scotland. The Bishop is also placed physically above Perkin, whose fall begins at this point, and is followed by the downward movement which leads to the young 'king's' disgrace in the stocks. Dalyell, an observer-presenter of this scene, prays that James' thoughts will be lifted "up / To heaven" (III.iv.48-49): James' lifted eyes see the Bishop, supposedly heaven's representative but currently acting as the English king's representative, and thus a subtle relationship between spiritual and political concerns is introduced.

In Ford's staging of Perkin Warbeck, several of the most highly visualized scenes belong to a pair of scenes - that is, they provide, more or less overtly, parallels to a second scene's stage visualization. Thus, the scene of Stanley in captivity (Ford's own invention) provides a preparation for and foil to Perkin's final appearance. The two men are seen at their lowest ebb, Stanley having fallen from the office of Lord Chamberlain,

represented visually by its attribute, the white staff; Perkin having fallen from his position of respect in the court of Scotland (where, like Stanley, he was placed beside the throne), to that of a common malefactor in the stocks. Both men are baited and debased - the one by the state-informer, Clifford, the other by the servile Simnel; both are surrounded by the officers and trappings of justice and execution, of the legal power that has defeated them. The Executioner's axe (II.ii.110) and the hangman's 'halters' (V.iii; sig. K4^V) are potent visual symbols of the death to which these two men exit. Each leaves a symbolic 'token': Stanley marks a cross upon his betrayer's face, but with his finger only - a visualized, invisible sign (II.ii.83-91); Perkin places a kiss upon his wife's lips, terming it a "sacred print" which will remain until it is 'unkissed' by some other man (V.iii.145-150).

A second visual parallel, also involving the final scene surrounding Perkin in the stocks, is a minor but touching one. Katherine repeats the kiss and vow from the marriage ceremony that had been performed briefly but formally in the presence of King James (II.iii). With a kiss Katherine rewedds her husband, but this second marriage is a marriage to perpetual widowhood (V.iii.140-153), and this widowhood is made verbally complete when Perkin bequeaths her his heart (141-143), for this gift of his heart makes their marriage eternal but also confirms that he must lose it and his life. Both these little rituals, the marriage and the 'widowhood', are consciously viewed by other characters on the stage, and are found to be visually perverse, wrong. In the marriage scene, Huntly, distressed by his daughter's union, reads a paradox into her kneeling gesture of filial obedience: she, a queen (or queen) in anticipation (II.iii.45-47), must not kneel to her father, "a plain subject" (93). And in the ritual of remarriage, Oxford comments with embarrassed amazement upon her "strange subjection in a gaze so public" (V.iii.135), fruitlessly urging her to "come from / That impudent impostor" (111-112). But Katherine confidently

asserts the lasting reality that these two ceremonies represent:

when the holy churchman joined our hands,
Our vows were real then; the ceremony
Was not in apparition, but in act.

(113-115)

III. Rivalry for the throne.

Ford's play begins with a brief pageant of kingship:

Enter King Henry, Durham, Oxford, Surrey, Sir Wil-
liam Stanly, Lord Chamberlaine,³⁵ Lord Dawbny.
The King supported to his Throne by Stanly and
Durham. A Guard.

(sig. B)

Throughout the play, the throne, whether physically present or not, is an object of central significance, and the occupying and loss of a throne are closely bound to the theme of Fortune and its changes. In medieval and Renaissance illustrations of Fortune's wheel, the figure at the top is most commonly a king, often enthroned. The figures seeking to climb up and those tumbling down vary, but often they too are kings in aspiration or dethronement (like Perkin) (see figure 59). One drawing (figure 60) shows, at the bottom of the wheel, a jester with his bauble - the jester being a figure who is at once fool and actor with, often, a place near the king. Henry, when the play opens, is seated upon that topmost throne, yet he fears that he is treated as "a mockery-king in state" (I.i.4) - a player. Towards the end of the play, Perkin, although losing the actual contest, still sees Henry as a player, as a 'zany' to the greatness of true majesty (V.ii.84-87) - a zany being a stage clown who mimics other actors, doing it badly.³⁶ It is an imagistically fitting figure for Perkin to apply to his rival, implying that Henry is mimicking that which is itself a rôle to be played well or ill (kingship). Henry retorts to Perkin's insult in similar terms, bidding him 'shift' his "antic pageantry" (87-88) or bear the consequences "Of fooling out of season" (90). In this image, Perkin is playing the fool,³⁷ for which he will be



Figure 59. Wheel of Fortune, with an enthroned king at the highest point, and other kings climbing and falling. From John Lydgate's The Siege of Troy, B.M. MS Royal 18 Dii, folio 30^v, circa 1450. Reproduced in Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley, 1936), facing p. 16.



Figure 60. Wheel of Fortune, with a jester as the lowest figure. Drawing by Bacchiacca (Francesco Ubertini, 1494-1557), Uffizi 225F. Reproduced by kind permission of the Warburg Institute.

brought to the bottom of the wheel.

The throne becomes the core of recurring imagery and comment.³⁸ By itself, the throne is sufficient to indicate setting - a royal court. The 'state' could be revealed by the drawing of the discovery-space curtain, or, if placed on the stage platform, it could remain visible throughout the action. It might seem logical (although perhaps unwieldy) to hypothesize a second throne, possibly in a temporary onstage booth,³⁹ so that the thrones of England and Scotland remain separate and independent.

The simpler possibility of a single throne, even if visible throughout, need not create any problems, and indeed has its advantages. A permanently visible throne would keep before the audience a symbol of Perkin's aspirations and Henry's defensive actions, and an object which is closely involved in Dalyell's misery, Katherine's marriage and Stanley's fall. Act I, scene 1 presents Henry upon his throne; the Scottish king is not seen in a similar ceremony until the second act, where scenes i and iii probably show James enthroned. By the end of Act II, the character of each king and his attendant court has been sufficiently established to allow the one 'state' to be, with ease, either England or Scotland. In the third act it is probable that we are shown a rapid alternation of the enthroned - Henry (scene i), James (ii), Henry (iii) - an alternation which continuously focuses our attention upon the traditional symbol of the royal status to which Perkin aspires, and upon the very different behaviour around the two thrones, with Henry prepared, in strength of armed forces and political cunning, to defeat threats to his throne, and with James - Perkin's support - withdrawing from the realities of war into the pleasures of entertainment (employing actors, not action). Throughout the fourth and final acts, a visible (but non-localizing) throne would provide a poignant symbol of Perkin's loss and Henry's security.

The speeches of the three 'king' characters are, naturally, filled with references to thrones. But the

throne affects other characters as well. For Simnel, the throne is that which he has been too lowly to attain, and we see him fallen in character to the rôle of falconer, in which costume he appears (V.iii), directly after the exit of the 'true' king, Henry - the latter undoubtedly in splendid regal apparel, for here, formally attended by a guard of soldiers, he is shown daunting the player-king, Perkin (cf. V.ii.67-69 and 87-90), and offering gallantries to Katherine "in her richest attyre" (sig. K^v). As falconer, Simnel descends to the rôle of a servant, and one whose function is related to the imaginatively potent areas of hunting and birds of prey - common symbols of human cruelty and bestiality.

Katherine is constricted yet raised by a throne. Her nearness in blood to the young king who "sits upon the throne" (I.ii.106) qualifies her free choice in marriage, as her father and her lover, Dalyell, see it (12-27); and her marriage is finally settled by a decision from that throne against Huntly's wishes. With the marriage to a king-aspirant, her life aims towards a throne which, however, she does not seek (V.i.25-26). She is brought low to ruin, to her knees before the 'true' king, Henry. Henry raises her physically from her knees (V.ii.146), but it is she who truly raises herself in nobility when physically stooping over her husband in the common male-factor's stocks (V.iii). With this paradox of fallen and risen, of enthroned and dethroned, Perkin creates a worthy evaluation of Katherine:

Even when I fell, I stood enthroned a monarch
Of one chaste wife's troth pure and uncorrupted.

(V.iii.126-127)

The reality of the throne as a symbol of kingship is given an ironical questioning by James - he who is both de facto and de jure king, not an usurper as Henry, however gallantly, has been. When Huntly doubts the royalty of Perkin, James declares:

Kings are counterfeits
In your repute, grave oracle, not presently
Set on their thrones with sceptres in their fists.

(II.iii.37-39)

The struggle becomes one not merely for kingship, for this

world's throne, but for the throne of truth (IV.v.51-59), and it is, as Ford says, a strange truth.

Perkin Warbeck's opening stage picture is formal, with Henry solemnly 'supported' (that is, escorted) to his throne, attended by representatives of power - Durham in robes of the church, Stanley with the white staff of his office as Lord Chamberlain, the nobles Oxford, Surrey and Daubeney, and the mute armed guard (sig. B). The opening speeches concentrate our attention upon the insecurity of Henry's throne, and the disorder that attends upon an unsure monarchy:

HEN. Still to be haunted, still to be pursued,
Still to be frightened with false apparitions
Of pageant majesty and now-coined greatness,
As if we were a mockery-king in state[.]

(I.i.1-4)

But Henry concludes with a profession of strength: "yet we sit fast / In our own royal birthright" (8-9). It is a vital, vibrant speech. Whatever the weakness in his position, Henry shows no weakness of character here - the strong verse and vivid imagery, the anger at the insult to his majesty, reveal a character of decision. And he does "sit fast" on the throne at which we are looking. The conflict of a real and a counterfeit king, a conflict often expressed in the play through imagery of the theatre and of art, is introduced in Henry's words. His majesty is made concrete through pageantry, seated in state and upon the 'state'; the threat comes to him from "false apparitions / Of pageant majesty", from a mere player, a mockery-king who in turn treats Henry as such. The image of Henry as an imitation-king is many-layered: as a counterfeit he would here be a pageant of himself (the enthroned king), as indeed is the actor who plays Henry.

In the opening scene, Ford does not concentrate only upon the immediate setting. Henry claims that the Duke of York, although long ago murdered, has come to life again in Perkin who has vowed to become King of England (68-71). But Stanley quickly gives the answer which is visually true:

The throne is filled, sir.

HEN. True, Stanley, and the lawful heir sits on it;
A guard of angels and the holy prayers
Of loyal subjects are a sure defence
Against all force and counsel of intrusion.

(71-75)

By this image of a heavenly guard, added in imagination to the immediate scene, Ford gives a suggestion of divine sanction to Henry's rule; but this divine guard is claimed by Henry himself. Just as Ford does not allow us to know with assurance whether or not Perkin is a counterfeit, so here he leaves the divinity of Henry's throne unverified. But a guard of angels is not enough; and the subjects' prayers are not all given for Henry. It is the English king's awareness of this truth, his refusal to rest passively upon heavenly aid, that allows him to succeed in the play's struggle, and which proves him in practical terms the abler ruler.

In this first scene, Henry introduces the idea that the external threat might penetrate near to the throne, that some of his nobles might offer aid to Perkin (76-80). This hypothesis of traitors prefigures future developments. Stanley is allowed to condemn himself (as are Henry V's traitor-friends, HV, II.ii), assuring the king that even if duty and allegiance cannot dissuade rebellion, the defeat of the men who aided Lambert Simnel will inspire potential traitors with fear (85-90). The fates of Simnel's supporters, continues the Lord Chamberlain,

Are precedents sufficient to forewarn
The present times, or any that live in them,
What folly, nay, what madness 'twere to lift
A finger up in all defence but yours,
Which can be but impostorous in a title.

HEN. Stanley, we know thou lovest us, and thy heart
Is figured on thy tongue;...

(96-102)

With the hindsight of succeeding scenes, this exchange becomes highly ironical. Stanley who stands beside the throne and vows that it is filled was he, we learn later, who placed Henry upon that throne. Having rescued Henry at Bosworth, Stanley took the crown from Richard and placed it upon Henry's head (I.iii.114-117). And yet Stanley is accused of, and executed for, treachery - for attempting to dislodge Henry and place Perkin upon the throne. The

exemplum which Stanley makes of the defeated abettors of Simnel is an insufficient warning, and he becomes a de casibus figure himself. Before his execution he warns the great lords who surround him:

I was as you are once - great, and stood hopeful
Of many flourishing years; but fate and time
Have wheeled about, to turn me into nothing.

(II.ii.72-74)

The turn of Fortune's wheel has been given visual emphasis - Stanley, beside the throne and distinguished for the audience by his white staff of respectable office in Act I, scene i, is next seen under restraint, accompanied by the voiceless Executioner with his axe (II.ii.110), and after his exit to death the white staff at once is seen again, brought onstage by Henry (sig. D3^V) - an attribute of office which, like the throne or the crown, continues unchanged while its possessor comes and goes, subject to the ascents and descents of Fortune.

But if the opening scene's exchange between Stanley and Henry reveals its full irony only in retrospect, the words contain, in themselves, a tone of foreboding. Henry's image of Stanley's heart "figured on [his] tongue" introduces a note of doubt, coming, as it does, in a scene where appearance has been shown to be often confusing or false. Some at least in Ford's audience would have foreknowledge of the historical Stanley's end.

The opening scene, beginning with its ceremonial entry, proceeds in a discursive and static manner until, with the entrance of Urswick at line 126, a dramatic issue is developed:

URS. Gracious sovereign, please you peruse this paper.

DUR. The king's countenance gathers a sprightly blood.

DAU. Good news, believe it.

HEN. Urswick, thine ear -

Thou'st lodged him?

URS. Strongly safe, sir.

(127-130)

The point of focus shifts and disperses. Instead of presenting a single unified group around the throne, the stage picture breaks into smaller units - Urswick and Henry whisper confidentially, Durham and Daubency draw away from the king, acting as presenters, and Stanley remains

slightly isolated, perhaps away from the presenters on the other side of Henry. Henry's words are quick and secretive, suggesting more than is stated, introducing a note of suspicion and division. When Henry turns back to the group at large he announces his intention to shift the court to the Tower, concluding:

give, lord chamberlain,
A present order for it.
STAN. [*aside*] The Tower! [*Aloud*] I shall, sir.
HEN. Come, my true, best, fast friends, these clouds
will vanish,
The sun will shine at full; the heavens are
clearing. Exeunt.

Flouri^h

(138-141; sig. B3)

Stanley's line in the quarto reads: "The Tower — I ^hall ^{ir}" (sig. B3). With neither the 'aside' direction nor the exclamation mark, it is possible that Stanley speaks aloud, simply voicing undisguised surprise (indicated by the italicized emphasis) at the move. But, assuming that the quarto reading may reflect Ford's own intentions,⁴⁰ Stanley's broken utterance is probably meant to indicate that he speaks with an alarmed gasp. Whether overheard by the other characters or not, it is a spontaneous reaction to Henry's order, and as such is our first overt intimation that something could be wrong. It is a good closing to the scene - unsettling, exciting, with an element of suspense and a hint of duplicity. In juxtaposition with the whispered exchange with Urawick, Henry's grand concluding lines with their conventional sun symbol for the king seem calculated and watchful, with a faintly overloaded insistence on the "true, best, fast friends".

The second scene in this play, as in The Broken Heart and in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, presents an effective counterpoint to the opening scene. Here scene ii introduces Scotland, private concerns, gentle informality, love, and a family relationship. But the throne as image (whether visible or concealed) remains thematically potent, intruding into the personal concerns. The conflict between desire and duty, between blood of passion and blood of family, is expressed with recourse to the

(recently) visualized stage property. The question worrying Dalyell and Huntly is that of Katherine's marriage. Dalyell loves her, but while she is by birth "placed near the crown", he is but a subject (I.ii.26-27). Dalyell and Perkin, two of the most heroically chivalrous characters in the play, are of fallen or doubted stock, and thus Dalyell's lengthy genealogy (29-38), although creating an unwelcome hiatus in the action, is at least relevant in a play so concerned with the relationship of birth, nobility, and the success of one's fortunes. Dalyell is the perfect courtly lover. His behaviour throughout the play is constant to his ideal of service and loyalty to the woman he loves (cf. I.ii.39-42), but his passive idealism makes him unsuccessful in his quest for Katherine's hand, just as Perkin's romantic idealism makes the hopeful king, from the very beginning, the undoubted loser in the battle for Henry's throne.

Huntly does not arbitrarily refuse the union between Dalyell and his daughter. He presents her with the right to choose between Dalyell's offer of love and the responsibilities of her family, making the alternatives equal pleaders by the simple device of arranging his 'scene' symmetrically: he stands on one side of Katherine, Dalyell on the other, so that the girl is placed

between a father and a suitor,
Both striving for an interest in thy heart.
He courts thee for affection, I for duty[.]

(95-97)

The throne rises as an imagined element of the scene, both as obstacle (to Dalyell's hopes) and as potential help (to family fulfilment and ambition): "The king that sits upon the throne is young / And yet unmarried", Huntly reminds his daughter (106-107).

Old Huntly's character is skilfully and individualistically drawn. He becomes a presenter and observer of Dalyell's wooing - an action which deeply affects him. With some excitement he introduces the worthy young lover to his daughter -

The gallant -
This, this, this lord, this servant, Kate, of yours
Desires to be your master

(65-67)

- then draws back to comment, in asides, on Dalyell's progress. His generous heart is aware of the young man's merits, and he displays a comical enjoyment of his own discomfiture when he thinks his daughter will be won over (69-70, 79). But his sense of tradition, order, and family duty will not let him be Dalyell's overt champion, and when the suitor suggests that Huntly has encouraged him (84-89), Huntly loses the slight distancing of his presenter's rôle and leaps into the fray with a broken speech of interrogatives and accusations (89-92). Huntly's language in this scene provides an example of Ford's psychological insight into his characters, and of the potent ambivalence that tempers so many areas of the play. Part of the intensity of the father's reaction can be explained by his own equivocal feelings - his admiration for Dalyell and his hopes for his royal offspring.

In Act II, scene 1, Ford presents James and his court, as a parallel to the English throne scene that opens the play.⁴¹ This scene, which brings before us the pretender about whose character and history we have heard much from the English courtiers, is given heightened artificiality: the onstage pageant, with mimed greetings, is a stage spectacle viewed from above. The scene opens with the entry of five or more ladies onto the upper stage (sig. C4). They discuss the entertainment which James has planned for Perkin, and conclude that it would be a "pity now if a' should prove a counterfeit" (4). The pageant in which one king greets a brother king is not played out in an atmosphere of unquestioned confidence, but against a background of sarcasm and doubt (1-16).

A flourish announces the entry of the court figures on the stage platform below (sig. C4; 17). The king's entrance, as in the parallel scene in the English court, is followed at once by a discussion of kingship. The duty of a king, says James, lies not only in conserving his own kingdom, but also in aiding unfortunate allies (18-23). James is prepared to be magnanimous, to reveal his kingliness through his reception of an unfortunate brother king. He supports his action by historical example (24-28) and by

an allusion to the conventional image of fortune which can fling a king down from his crowned height (21-23).

The reception of Perkin is given two-fold emphasis, for the action is described by the king and then is performed in dumb show (35-39; sig. C4^V). Perkin is greeted by a succession of courtiers as he proceeds from the stage door to the focal centre of the stage platform near the king, greeted in turn by Dalyell, Crawford, and Huntly who presents him to James' embrace, after which "Perkin in state retires some few paces backe" (sig. C4^V). Throughout the greeting, the 'Hoboyes' play, fulfilling the order with which James gives grandeur to the ceremony, saying, "sound sprightly music, / Whilst majesty encounters majesty" (38-39). The stage direction also specifies action which James has not prescribed: "the Noblemen lightly salute...Perkins followers" (sig. C4^V). Ford supplies Perkin with his followers from his first entry, but because the counsellors have been jested at before they appear (8-16), and are now accorded this mimed snubbing, they are set apart from Perkin and his apparent nobility, and thus Ford intensifies the young man's solitary helplessness.⁴² Except for Frion, whose character is in other ways unattractive, the counsellors can offer their king-candidate no genuine help and support. The slighting greeting is consistent with the aristocratic tone of the Scottish court and of Ford himself.

In the long and dignified speech by Perkin which follows (40-102),⁴³ the young man genuinely appears kingly, and Ford gives no indication of hypocrisy. At the same time, we are made aware that James' conviction of Perkin's claim is based largely upon appearance:

He must be more than subject who can utter
The language of a king, and such is thine.

(103-104)

And later, when he chooses Perkin as a husband for Katherine, James again places his faith in Perkin's appearance: "How like a king a' looks" (II.iii.73).

The stage 'state' is undoubtedly visible as in Act II, scene 1, for here we find James formally receiving a royal visitor, and verbally taking his place within the

international ranks of kings (24-32). The staged presentation of the meeting between James and Perkin before the Scottish throne can give us, as a written account cannot, a simple visualization of the struggle for kingship. This court scene recalls the earlier scene where the English throne was visibly filled by Henry. Thus the Scottish reception of Perkin, who calls himself "sole heir / To the great throne of old Plantagenets" (47-48), necessitates an eventual confrontation between those two thrones as representatives of their respective countries.

In Perkin's speech to James, the throne and crown, not the land and people, are objects and symbols of his aspirations and fate (II.i.47-48; 71-72; 78-79). The story which he tells, of childhood, helplessness, and violence, gives a poignancy to the young man's situation, and reveals a character of youthfulness and unpreparedness which will contrast with and be defeated by the mature realism of Henry.

Physically, the play's kings differ. Henry is a man of maturity and a soldier, his fondness for martial arts (IV.iv.76-86), his dedication to action, not words (e.g., II.ii.160-161), and his characteristic decisiveness all contrast with the pleasure loving, dallying Scottish king. The face of the historical Henry VII would be well-known from published collections of engravings, such as the Baziliologia (1618), from book illustrations, from Pietro Torrigiano's tomb in Westminster Abbey, and, to a smaller public, from Holbein's fresco (1537) in the Privy Chamber, Whitehall.⁴⁴ Although the portraits of Henry do not show a robust and physical man, they portray a piercing gaze which suggests the astute watchfulness of Ford's character, and it is this intelligent, crafty face which acts as frontispiece to the 1622 edition of Bacon's Henry VII (see figure 61).

Ford's Perkin has a young and delicate beauty which contrasts with the mature and calculating wisdom of Ford's Henry. This beauty (cf. II.i.115-116, and IV.iii.37-39), like the physical loveliness of Giovanni and Annabella, contributes to the poetic quality of the character and



Figure 61. Henry VII. Frontispiece to Francis Bacon's The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry The Seuenth (London, 1622; B.M. C.38.h.1).
 Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

sets him apart from the more coarse realists of the play. A fair wig and light, shining, expensive garments could give to the actor an air of youth and splendour. Figure 62, a fine sixteenth century drawing of Perkin Warbeck (which Ford probably never saw), shows that, to the artist, cloth of gold and silver seemed the natural drapery for the pretender. Written on the fur-trimmed surcoat are the words, "Drap Dor", and on the inner garment, "Drap Darget [sic]". He wears a chain collar, an ornament (probably of jewels) on his cap, and his long hair is marked 'blon'.⁴⁵ For his two appearances in Act II, Perkin in all probability does wear garments of some richness. A hint, if such were needed, would have been afforded the playwright by an incident recorded in both his main sources concerning the protagonist's earlier history: on his arrival in Cork Perkin was believed by the Irish to be of royal blood because he "was somewhat hād/only apparrelled".⁴⁶

Ford's James is, like Perkin, young (o.g., V.ii.18). Throughout the play this contrast between the two youthful 'brother' kings and the mature, pragmatic Henry continues to be important, and this difference would be enhanced in production by the appearance of the actors. Figure 63, a fairly standard version of James IV of Scotland,⁴⁷ depicts a youthful king.

Perkin flatters and praises James, whom (he claims) heaven has chosen to restore the "Duke of York" to his kingdom. The ultimate aim represented is not the achievement merely of Perkin's personal ambition, but also of unity, which will

marry these two kingdoms in a love
Never to be divorced while time is time.

(II.i.88-89)

The image provides a subtle foreshadowing. James prepares for this marriage of kingdoms by arranging the marriage of his kinswoman with Perkin; and when Perkin's cause fails, James agrees to improve the relationship between the two kingdoms by a marriage between himself and Henry's sister (IV.iii.19-26 and 56-60).

As the noble group exits from the stage platform, the



Figure 62. Perkin Warbeck. Sixteenth century drawing in the Town Library at Arras. Cf. Freeman O'Donoghue, Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits, vol. IV (London, 1914), p. 398. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum from a photograph in the Department of Prints and Drawings.



IACOBVS IV. An. Christ. 1489.

Et famâ, & meritis, p̄ficeis par Regibus, alto
Pectore, consiliis, imperioq; gravis.

Figure 63. James IV of Scotland. From John Jonston's Inscriptiones Historicae Regvm Scotorvm (Amsterdam, 1602; B.M. 600.g.19(1)).
Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

focus returns to the upper stage audience of ladies on the balcony level. Katherine pities Perkin and his cause, but fears a different pity - that which she would feel "If a' should prove another than he seems" (120). The stage audience, like the theatre audience, is moved by his recital, but uncertain whether it represents truth or a masquerade.

The active steps which are to lead Perkin to his throne are long delayed during the entertainments in the Scottish court. As he and James sit together to watch the marriage masque (III.ii), Perkin thanks James for his bounty in a promise which looks with confidence towards a successful future when Perkin shall occupy his own throne and enclose James in an embrace of gratitude (100-105). The youthful boast is tinged with pathos, for despite the royal support and mood of celebration, Perkin is still the dispossessed, the outsider, who does not "Sit on our own throne" (102), a point particularly obvious if, as is logical, James watches the masque from the stage 'state' and Perkin simply sits on a chair. Ironically, Perkin's described gesture of his arms entwining the Scottish king (recalling the embrace of the brother kings at their first meeting, Act II, scene 1) can only be performed when the present occupier has been forcibly toppled from the English throne. And yet, while Perkin revels in his bridegroom's garments, Henry has been seen in armour (III.i); while Perkin has enjoyed the polite ceremonials of royal brotherhood and marriage, Henry has been shown in council (I.i), decisively searching out traitors (I.iii, II.ii) and preparing for battle (III.i).

IV. Perkin's fall.

Perkin's fall - that is, his ultimate decline, for he is, from the beginning, fallen in fortune from 'his' throne - his fall is in part expressed by his distance from the throne of James as he seeks the throne of Henry. While in Scotland, near the throne, receiving the 'gift' of a royal bride (II.iii.89), and royally entertained, his fortunes seem on the ascendant. As Act III, scene iv

begins, before the castle walls, James is already beginning to lose patience, to regret his chivalrous promises, to doubt the kingly youth. Perkin, in his poetically sensitive plea to save 'his' land (England) from the horrors of Scottish plunder (56-67) seems ridiculous to James (67-69) and "Effeminately dolent" (76) to Crawford. The young 'pretender', in his idealistic, impractical way, wishes to gain his throne by the vague, mysterious, inevitable workings of Necessity (cf. III.ii.100-102) and truth (cf. III.ii.169-172), without the miseries attendant upon civil turmoil and an enforced change of kings. His quiet submission to misfortune and angry reproofs earns the Scottish king's contempt - "An humble-minded man!" (III.iv.83). But Perkin's humility is of a gentle saintliness which past sufferings have taught him (76-82). He draws his moral from a typical de casibus example, that of "other princes cast out of their thrones" (78), but his example is also a clever one, for it keeps him firmly within the class of princes.

For this confrontation scene at Norham Castle, James and Perkin enter with their confederates and soldiers (sig. F4^V), presumably all in armour or half-armour, and they face the stage façade which represents "these castle walls" (III.iv.1) against which they have clearly been fighting inconclusively for some time (1-3). A 'Parley' (sig. F4^V; 3) is sounded by a soldier trumpeter, and the Bishop of Durham appears on the balcony level - the top of the castle walls:

Enter about Durham armed, a Truncheon
in his hand, and Souldiers.

(sig. F4^V; foll. 1. 3)

The scene, on two stage levels, is crowded and colourful. Perhaps the Scottish soldiers carry drums and colours, as do Surrey's English troops in the following scene (IV.i; sig. G2). Slight changes in armour might indicate the difference between the English and the Scottish soldiers, but a variety of banners and pennons is probably the most convenient method of individualizing the opposing sides.⁴⁸ Durham, armed and bearing the truncheon which marks him



CLARVS WYNTONIAE PRÆSVL COONOÏE FOXVS
 QVI PIVS HOC OLIM NOBILE STRVXIT OPVS
 TALIS ERAT FORMA TALIS DV̄M VIXIT FMICTV
 QVALEM SPECTANTI PICTA TABEIIA REFERT.

Figure 64. Bishop Fox, in chimere and rochet. The portrait, by Johannes Corvus, is at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reproduced from Roy Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits (London, 1969), vol. II, pl. 249.



*De his erat vultu, sed lingua, mentis, manuq;
 Qualis erat qui vult discere, scripta lesit
 Consulat aut famam: qui lingua mentis, manuq;
 Pinceret hunc, famam iudicet, rarus erat.*

VOERST FECIT

Figure 65. The appearance of a military commander, with armour and truncheon. George Carew, Earl of Totnes, engraved by Robert van Voerst (1633). Reproduced from Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pl. 622.

are told, have disappeared, hiding away from their eager enemies, "Not daring to behold [the English] colours wave" (3).

Durham's place on the balcony level also foreshadows the power which he will soon have to influence James' political decisions (cf. IV.iii.30-32). This power is the correlative of Perkin's loss of influence, a loss which is first made visible in the young man's placement on the stage platform below the bishop. Although James and the Scots are also on the stage platform, it is Perkin whose position is seen as an opposite focus to that of Durham's on the castle walls. Crawford and Dalyell are withdrawn from the central struggle, acting as presenters of the scene (47-49; 75-76), and James is represented as a man caught in a struggle between the two opposing voices which, in some ways, are externalizations of his own inner debate. The physical placement here does not necessarily imply a moral distinction between Durham and Perkin, but instead indicates the direction of their subsequent fortunes.

Later references to Bishop Fox neatly recall the visual configuration of the Norham Castle scene. James, receiving the delegation from Durham and Hialas, accepts the conditions of their embassy, saying,

Well, what heaven
Hath pointed out to be, must be; you two
Are ministers, I hope, of blessed fate.

(IV.iii.30-32)

Durham has literally faced James from on high, like a personification of fate or a spokesman from heaven. We are soon shown, however, that it is not the promptings of heaven, but of policy and self-interest which here determine James' decision. In the short soliloquy that follows the exit of Hialas and Durham, James baldly summarizes the advantages to be won by accepting the offered conditions which allow him to withdraw from an unsuccessful military campaign with (it seems to him) surprising ease (IV.iii.56-61). In a later scene, Henry, richly applauding the Bishop of Durham's abilities as a politician, proposes to raise Fox to the archbishopric of Canterbury when that

see falls vacant through the present occupant's further
'rise' - to heaven:

Should reverend Norton our archbishop move
To a translation higher yet, I tell thee,
My Durham owns a brain deserves that see.
He's nimble in his industry, and mounting[.]

(IV.iv.71-74)

The advancement of Durham is, presumably, a reward for his capture of Frion. The hint that Frion has deserted to the Fox (cf. IV.iii.146-147) and has been 'outreached' in cunning by the Fox (IV.iv.69-74) is Ford's invention.⁵⁰ Ford very subtly draws into association the bishop and the secretary, the two cunning, although very different, agents of a 'king'.

But in the scene before the castle walls, it is from Perkin's point of view, given some wider justification by the costume, that Durham is seen in a disparaging nature. The bishop, in return, sees Perkin as

a vagabond, a straggler,
Not noted in the world by birth or name,
An obscure peasant, by the rage of hell
Loosed from his chains to set great kings at strife.

(17-20)

This allegoric figure whom Durham describes, loosed by Hell to bring discord to the world, recalls the Vice figure of the Morality plays who, being a devil or in the devil's party, was frequently dispatched to create disorder. As late as 1616, Jonson, in The Devil is an Ass, creates the character, Iniquity, a Vice, who is called forth to help in the work of mischief, to "adaunce the cause of Hell".⁵¹ Durham continues his denunciation of Perkin with an emblem. Addressing James he says,

Yet, great king, wake not my master's vengeance -
But shake that viper off which gnaws your entrails!

(32-33)⁵²

Durham's denigrations are acceptable only in the context of those who believe Perkin to be a fraud, causing war against the rightful king. For Perkin himself, as he is characterized in the play, his mission, as "Duke of York", is one to restore peace and liberty to 'his' land (cf. 56-67). Perkin, too, gives his opponent a metaphoric nature:

What shall I call thee, thou gray-bearded scandal,
That kick'st against the sovereignty to which
Thou owest allegiance? Treason is bold-faced
And eloquent in mischief;...

(38-41)

Treason and Vice, Durham and Perkin, are pitted against each other, each trying to gain the king's ear.

Durham and Perkin have been called James' good and bad angels,⁵³ but Ford does not provide any such clear moral evaluation of the two men who war for the king's approval. The tenor of Durham's argument is that Perkin is proved a vagabond and straggler by the failure of the English to rally to his support (21-31). Yet James originally accepted Perkin's cause, not because it evinced practical signs of support and success, but to reveal his own royal compassion for an ally hurled down into helpless misfortune (cf. II.i.18-34), compassion being in his words that "one rich jewel that shines in our crown" (II.i.33).

Dalyell's words, as he and Crawford externalize James' inner struggle, are of multiple significance. Crawford notes that James is "Deep in his meditations" (48), to which Dalyell adds:

Lift them up
To heaven, his better genius!

(48-49)

There is no need to assume that he refers to Durham as James' "better genius", but rather to the king's own inner power for the right. But to lift James' thoughts and eyes to heaven is literally to lift them up to Durham on the walls, 'aboue'. And Durham, as bishop, is (or should be) nearer to heaven in his rôle as official of the Church; yet, ironically, he stands in his physically raised position in armour, not church vestments.

With Durham's allusion to his sleeping master (32) and James' order that the bishop "Set ope the ports" (5), this scene, staged as a type of threshold confrontation, and given devil imagery and Morality play elements, suggests the Hell gate scenes of medieval drama, especially in the Harrowing of Hell, a type of confrontation which is evoked in the Porter scene in Macbeth (II.iii).⁵⁴ But again, this interpretation of Durham as a devil (50) gains

its potency only in Perkin's eyes. Ford allows two opposing viewpoints to exist in dynamic ambiguity.

When Perkin is next shown to us (IV.ii), he has been reduced to despair, and he seems to be hastening his own decline, for he loses control of his own passions, and there follows at once the first rupture with Frion, his own chief minister. Frion, already known to the audience as a turncoat who has deserted Henry (I.iii.49-51), now inflames Perkin by urging him to calm his emotions, if he "will / Appear a prince indeed" (20-21). Such a hint of duplicity naturally infuriates the man whose cause depends upon belief in his royalty, and he reacts with fluent indignation (22-30) and accusation (32-34). The versatile Frion is ready with comforting reminders of support from the Cornish malcontents; and with an excess of excitement, Perkin's mood swings to one of great hope in which he leaves his affairs to Frion and the 'brains' of his foolish followers (51-52), an ironical error of judgement on his part.

Persuading James to abandon the cause of Perkin, in order to gain political benefits, is not a difficult matter for Hialas and Durham (IV.iii). The entry to this scene reads: "Enter King James, Durham, and Hialas on either side" (sig. H).⁵⁵ This grouping, in the rather static scene which follows, probably continues, the stage picture thus strengthening that triangular relationship of two against one (used so effectively by Webster)⁵⁶ and which is here created by the alternating speeches from the Spaniard and the bishop, and the silence of James (1-26). It is significant that for the first time in the play Ford creates a new scene which does not partake of the usual shifts between the Scottish and English groups.⁵⁷ Here the movement is from Perkin (IV.ii) to James (IV.iii), and this subtle change in the consistent rhythm of the play's scene entrances shows how far Scottish support has already moved away from Perkin. After the exit of Hialas and Durham, James delivers one of the play's infrequent coliloquies (56-61), a speech which clearly reveals the Scottish king's motives for abandoning the cause of his 'cousin' (whom he now calls Warbeck, 60) - peace with Spain,

marriage with Henry's daughter, and "release / From restitution for the late affronts" (57-58). And all this is to be achieved, not by turning Perkin over to his enemies, but by dismissing him from Scotland. But in the formal dismissal which follows at once (65-86), when James is once again declaiming before a group (Perkin, his wife, and his followers), the flow of his eloquence dignifies the motives which are expressed in the soliloquy. Now it is the concerns of "mother church" (73), a "country's weal" (74), "The dignity of state" (75), and "an oath of peace through Christendon" (76) which must take precedence over the claims of the "Duke of York". Imbedded in this speech with its reminders of bounties given is a little sentence which exposes the pathetic weakness of the youth: "'Tis you", James tells him,

Must only seek new fortunes in the world,
And find an harbour elsewhere.

(77-79)

Perkin's reply is calm; he has as much verbal command as has James, and he rises again to dignity after the loss of self-control exhibited in the previous scene. In their private conversation which follows the general exits (108 and 120; sig. H2^v), Perkin and Katherine remain constant to themselves despite the inconstancy of their fortune:

WAR. I fear no change,
More than thy being partner in my sufferance.
KATH. My fortunes, sir, have armed me to encounter
What chance soe'er they meet with.

(125-128)

Katherine neither seeks to climb ambitiously to the top of Fortune's wheel (cf. V.i.25-26) nor despairs as her fortunes fall. This stoical reaction, 'armed' to meet any fortune, is employed in a visual wheel which accompanies a fifteenth century French translation of Boethius (see figure 66). Here the usual king figure is enthroned at the top of the wheel, but at the bottom, instead of the more typical falling figure, is a knight in full armour, seated upright, fallen in fact but not in spirit. Such stoicism, displayed by Dalyell as well as by Katherine,

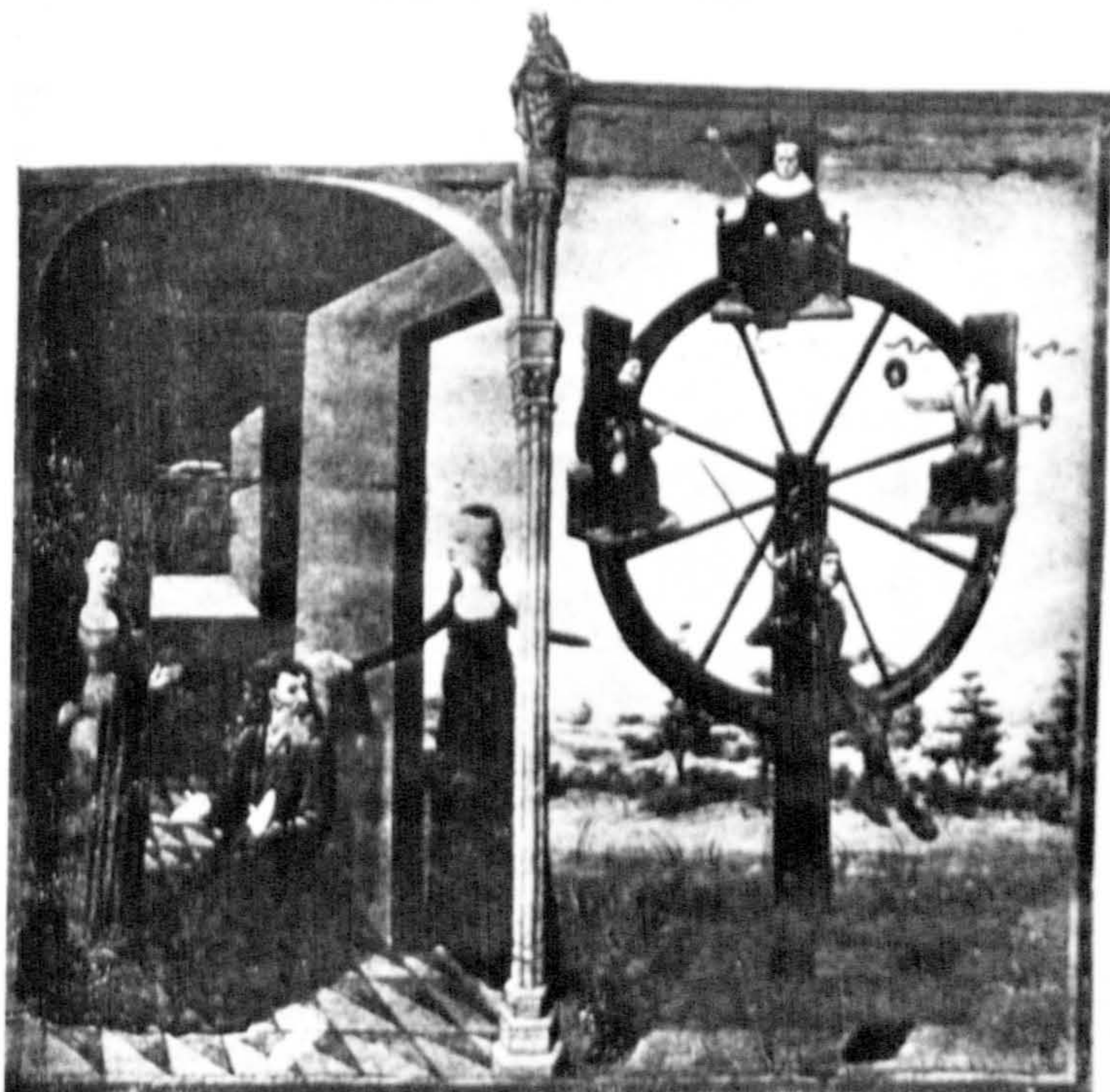


Figure 66. Wheel of Fortune, with an armed knight, seated upright, as the lowest figure. From Jean de Meun's translation of Boethius, fifteenth century. Paris MS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 809, folio 40. Reproduced in Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pl. 1.

is admired by Ford, and finds its finest expression in Calantha.

When Ford next shows us Perkin and Katherine, they have moved southwards to their landing in Cornwall (IV.v). As in the scene of Richard II's return to land (RII, III.ii), we are given the impression of a safe harbour achieved, of the landsman's grateful reunion with terra firma after the threatening storms at sea (storms which echo the growing storms raised by and engulfing man). Perkin rejoices that they have arrived safely "On our dear mother earth" (4), a land which, however, has allowed prosperity to "usurpers of [Perkin's] throne and right" (6). Ford does not invest his scene with as great a dramatic pathos as does Shakespeare, whose returning king bonds down upon this earth, caressing it "with [his] royal hands" (RII, III.ii.11). Richard's more extended paean expresses his much more self-dramatizing, proud nature.

Perkin's campaign is now directed by his amusing yet unworthy counsellors (bereft of Frion) who hail him as King Richard, "king of hearts" (32) - a name expressive of the romantic nature of his quest. Heartened by the enthusiasm of Skelton and Astley, and by the Cornish rebels (who, significantly, remain offstage, heard but not visible, a nebulous, indeterminate support, sig. I and 29-30), Perkin prepares to set forth. His lack of practical insight into the political and military situation is exposed in the language with which he predicts confusion for his enemies. He does not prepare any strategy of action, but imagines an allegorical defeat, when "Pale fear [shall] unedge their weapons' sharpest points" (49), and "Numbness shall strike their sinews" (51).

Act IV ends on a note of brave and victorious hope for Perkin and his party (v. 24-31); Act V plunges at once into their ruin. The contrast in mood is accentuated by Ford's continuing use of movement and travel. A safe return to land after a stormy journey is now followed by a troubled flight and retreat. Hurried travel is revealed in visual stage shorthand:

Actus Quintus: Scaena prima.
Enter Katherine, and Iane, in riding suits, with
one servant.

(sig. I2)

The riding suits suggest homelessness, movement without rest. From the opening words of the act, all seems lost. "It is decreed; and we must yield to fate", says Katherine, even if it brings ruin (1-4). The appearance of a riding suit can only be conjectured. It would include some form of outdoor garment, such as a cloak or gown, but the preceding scene is also out-of-doors, and has included Katherine and Jane. Perhaps they now wear hoods or spurs or carry whips to indicate a pause in the midst of their flight. Like the boots which male characters wore on the stage to indicate a journey, the riding suit must have included some easily recognizable feature.⁵⁸ In Cymbeline,⁵⁹ Imogen calls for

A riding suit, no costlier than would fit
A franklin's huswife.

(III.11.75-76)

And at her next appearance she presumably wears it, adding a verbal hint to remind the audience that she is en route:

Thou told'st me, when we came from horse, the place
Was near at hand.

(III.iv.1-2)

Webster makes figurative use of the riding garment that the Duchess of Malfi would be expected to wear on her flight to Loretto (and in which she possibly appears at the shrine, III.iv). The angry Cardinal asks:

Doth she make religion her riding hood
To keepe her from the sun, and tempest?

(DM, III.iii.72-73)

To the hurried, dangerous journey is added, for Katherine as for Webster's Duchess, a reduction in followers and a banishment (here self-imposed) from home. Katherine finds herself "in a stranger's and an enemy's land" (V.i.5), with her "train and pomp of servants... reduced" to her waiting-woman and a groom (9-10).⁶⁰ Jane advises her to return to the ships, "and turn home", to which Katherine exclaims, "Home! I have none" (12), for she has vowed that

Scotland shall never see me being fallen
Or lessened in my fortunes.

(22-23)

For Katherine, as for the Duchess of Malfi, the supports

of life are gradually pared away - home, 'ceremony', servants. The two heroines are reduced to that nakedness in which the true being of a character is tested.

Katherine, with her stoicism, accepts the ruin which fate has brought, a ruin which brings the "trial / Of a weak woman's constancy in suffering" (3-4).

By turning the focus of attention upon Katherine, denying us any sight of Perkin's battle or even of Perkin himself, Ford reduces the king-aspirant's hopes to the weakest limit. We observe, not the victorious god-king that the final line of Act IV foresees (v.64), but "a weak woman[]", in the land of a stranger and an enemy, not "On our dear mother earth" (IV.v.4) as England seemed to Perkin. Unlike Perkin, whose whole life seeks a progress to a throne, Katherine has felt no ambition for herself, but is aware that she has been manipulated by James, who gave her to Perkin, and then debased them, in the eyes of Scotland, making them "spectacles to time and pity" (V.i.29). Despite the movements, vertically in fortune and terrestrially in fact, she herself remains stable, a 'harbour' for misfortune (35-37).

Against the background of unspecified defeat and Katherine's stoicism, Dalyell enters with news of Perkin's utter vanquishment. Like the recitation of a nuntius, Dalyell's speech summarizes past, offstage action. The Cornish rebels have been repulsed, King Henry has brought forward his army to aid the citizens of Exeter, and then comes the final horror - Perkin has fled the camp before the battle, leaving the English king "Victorious without bloodshed" (61). This degrading flight "without battle given" (58), which seems to Katherine worse than death (61-64), is excused by Dalyell on the grounds that Perkin departed because "he had intelligence / Of being bought and sold by his base followers" (67-68). The sources which tell Perkin Warbeck's story are divided in their opinions as to whether cowardice or intimation of betrayal occasioned Perkin's flight.⁶¹ I do not believe that Ford intends Dalyell's speech to clear Perkin entirely in the opinion of the audience. We are allowed to hear

first of the seemingly ignominious flight, Katherine's horror, and the great victory thus won by Henry, before any mitigating comment is made. And further, before this disclosure Dalyell deliberately inserts into his recital a description of Henry as a soldier, of "The king himself in person" (52) pushing into the battle "On all occasions" (54). The imputation of cowardice is denied by Dalyell, but a slightly embarrassing, uneasy note has been sounded. A contrast is implicit between Henry - competent, mature, soldierly - and Perkin - a pathetic youth who has dreamed of a godlike leadership, but has neither strength nor strategy. A contrast is also implied between Perkin's flight which leaves his supporters to the mercy of Henry (55-61), and Katherine's enforced exile from which she seeks to save her two remaining followers (35-37). Katherine, as her fortunes continue to fall, does not alter; Perkin can be weak; he does decline, but he rises again and becomes a man when he faces death.

Katherine, like Perkin, is 'betrayed' (70). Oxford and his men (probably armed soldiers) rush onstage to take the defenceless girl to the court of Henry. Again one is reminded of The Duchess of Malfi when the Duchess, forlornly journeying, and separated from her family, her retainers and her possessions, is met by Bosola and his masked guard who enter to take her away "To [her] Pallace" (III.v.125) which, as she predicts, becomes her prison. The reality of Katherine's capture is disguised by the English lord; he presents to her, from the king, "The tender of a gracious entertainment" (81). But Katherine sees the entertainment for what it is, a triumph in which she must, perforce, take part.

Ford compresses and alters history to bring Perkin and Katherine before Henry in rapid succession.⁶² By drawing these two events so close together in dramatic time and space, Ford gives a poignant sense of the isolation and powerlessness of the 'pretender' and his wife, captive, and yet denied reunion.

From the opening moments of the play, when we see Henry enthroned and hear of the "false apparitions / Of

pageant majesty" (I.1.2-3), the final act's confrontation of the two rival 'kings' has been inevitable, in terms not only of plot, but also of imagery and themes. When the two opponents meet, Henry is the commanding figure of a crowded stage, his power and security emphasized by the "guard of Souldiers" who attend upon him (V.11; sig. I3^v). The scene takes place in Henry's court, and the throne would logically be present, as an emblematic and actual background to the struggle. Henry is confident that Perkin will soon be captured, for the 'pretender'

is hedged too fast
 Within the circuit of our English pale
 To steal out of our ports or leap the walls
 Which guard our land; the seas are rough and wider
 Than his weak arms can tug with;...

(V.11.2-6)

The speech presents an effective picture of imprisoned weakness. The land itself is a prison whose walls forbid escape; and Perkin's arms are too weak to oppose those "reaching arms" which Katherine attributes, giant-like, to Henry (V.1.82-84).

Henry's confidence is justified, for at once Perkin is brought onstage, a captive:

Enter Dawbney, with Warbeck, Heron, 63
John a Water, A/tley, Sketon.

DAU. Life to the king, and safety fix his throne!

(sig. I4; 31)

Perkin, destitute of power and freedom, is presented to the de facto king by Daubency, the latter probably bearing the white staff of the Chamberlain, symbol of the official power which surrounds the throne, but a reminder also of the fallen Stanley, the other heroic but defeated threat to Henry's security. Daubency's words, as he presents the 'pretender' to Henry, question not only Perkin's identity, but also that 'majesty' of character by which James had recognized the young man's royalty:

DAU. I here present you, royal sir, a shadow
 Of majesty, but in effect a substance
 Of pity; a young man, in nothing grown
 To ripeness but th' ambition of your mercy:
 Perkin, the Christian world's strange wonder.

(V.11.32-36)

Henry bids his youthful opponent look upon himself and
see

What revels in combustion through our kingdom
A frenzy of aspiring youth hath danced,
Till, wanting breath, thy feet of pride have slipped
To break thy neck.

(50-53)

The "revels in combustion" recall both the actual revels through which the Scottish king made concrete his allegiance to Perkin's cause, and the fire imagery of Act I, scene iii - 'meteor' (35), "fiery blaze" (38), 'comet' (40), 'flames' (41) - by which Henry typified Perkin's flashing entry upon the political scene, and which imagery in turn recalls the fireworks sometimes included at courtly entertainments.⁶⁴ Henry's image of the dancing youth, like Brachiano's raving vision of Flamineo as a rope dancer (WD, V.iii. 110-113), is powerfully evocative. The feet that would mount the throne dance at a wild, accelerating speed, until they slip, and in the next scene we shall see Perkin's fall, into the stocks. Perkin will break his neck when he is hanged, as Lambert Simnel warns him, asking Perkin whether it is not better to seek Henry's mercy

than to buffet
The hangman's clutches, or to brave the cordage
Of a tough halter, which will break your neck?
So then the gallant totters;...

(V.iii.47-50)

This speech of Simnel's looks back also to an earlier, related image. Perkin, recognising that the support of James has diminished since the confrontation at Norham Castle and the interview with Hialas and Durham, expresses his fear of his own decline in an image of physical collapse:

I feel the fabric
Of my designs are tottering.

(IV.ii.6-7)

The tottering fabric expressively suggests his precarious position, and a fall that is not single, but a type of chain reaction; and it is a series of defeats that brings Perkin low, his feet figuratively slipping until he sits with his legs trapped in the stocks. But 'totters' could

also mean "to be hanged",⁶⁵ and thus, unwittingly, he has predicted his end at the beginning of his decline.

The accusation of dancing comes appropriately from the essentially practical king, Henry, to one for whom the play's dances have been staged. Perkin counters Henry's image. He may break his neck, "But not [his] heart" (V.ii.53), for it

Will mount till every drop of blood be frozen
By death's perpetual winter.⁶⁶

(54-55)

The defeat of Perkin's political ambitions is, in this scene, complete, but his spirit is undaunted. Throughout the play he has had little strength other than that of words, and now in his speeches to Henry his nobility is undiminished, even audacious. "So brave!" cries Henry, "What a bold knave is this!" (V.ii.99-100). Perkin shows well in situations where words, brave and noble, are the only possible action; it is when practical, physical action must be conceived and performed that he fails. Whereas his followers fall to a whimpering cry for "Mercy, mercy!" (119), Perkin exits to prison with a splendid high-mindedness calculated to annoy Henry, robbing the latter of that moral victory over a base mind which the comparable defeat of Simnel had given him (cf. I.i.64-68):

WAR.	Noble thoughts	
Meet freedom in captivity.	The Tower -	
Our childhood's dreadful nursery!		
HEN.	No more.	

(V.ii.127-129)

With the word 'nursery', Perkin shrewdly implies that he is the true heir, imprisoned in the Tower as a child. This symbolic individualization of the Tower, making it more than merely a place of imprisonment, recalls the scenes concerning the betrayal of Stanley, and enhances the parallel in the fate of the two defeated men.

Garment imagery, which underlines this confrontation of 'kings', is probably supported visually by the contrast between Henry's regal apparel and Perkin's tattered costume which would give evidence of his recent flight and capture.

Scorn, says Perkin, wears the fashions of novelty (81-83), while the true sovereign is distinguished "From zanies to his greatness" (87) by his "proper robes" of "Wisdom and gravity" (85). The robes of kingship, worn by Henry, are to Perkin but the costume of an impostor. The "proper robes" are personal qualities. Perkin's words are noble and heartfelt, yet in a subtle way they undermine his claim to kingship. He has not shown the worldly wisdom displayed by Henry; his 'gravity' has enjoyed the antics of the marriage masque, while Henry was gravely preparing for war. Perhaps the masque is consciously recalled when Henry, censuring what he considers in Perkin's past to be folly and pretense, uses an image suggestive of an absurd theatrical costume:

Sirrah, shift
Your antic pageantry, and now appear
In your own nature, or you'll taste the danger
Of fooling out of season.

(87-90)

Perkin, with the word 'zanies' (87), reverses the implication in Henry's previous speeches; the youth makes Henry the actor. In the Commedia dell'Arte tradition, the zany is a comic, clownish character who awkwardly imitates other performers, and in this sense it is used by Jonson:

Hee's like the Zani, to a tumbler,
That tries tricks after him, to make men laugh.⁶⁷

Florio, in Queen Anna's New World of Words, concludes his definition of 'Zâne' thus:

a /eruile drudge or fooli/h clowne in
any comedy or enterlude play.⁶⁸

Thus, in a single word is contained a complex insult: Henry is an imitator (hence 'counterfeit'), a fool and an actor. The garment imagery of this scene will continue in scene iii, when Simnel appears in the dress of a falconer, his acceptance of the retainer's clothes revealing his base nature, while Perkin's ruined habit and ignominious position (in the stocks) are antithetical to the nobility of his spirit.

Here (scene ii), the slight emphasis laid upon Perkin's dress gains an ironic pathos when, eight lines

after his exit, Katherine enters:

Enter Oxford, Katherine in her richeſt attyre,
Iane, and attendants.

(sig. K^v)

Throughout the play, Katherine's change of garments has helped to express her altered fortunes, as she changes first to the dress of the bride, and later to the riding suit of flight and homelessness. Mildred Struble⁶⁹ draws attention to a sentence in Gainsford's Perkin Warbeck from which Ford may have adopted the idea that Katherine bedecked herself before facing Henry: "they gaue her leaue to adorne her ſelfe, and brought her like a bond woman and captiue to the King" (sig. P^v). For Ford's Katherine, the rich garments are consistent. In her own opinion, she is a princess before the tyrant king (cf. V.1.82-85), and she appeals with royalty of bearing to royalty of power, in no way consciously debasing herself. Ford may, however, intend us to see her more obviously as Henry's captive, bedecked, but not by her own choice, to glorify the king's triumph. The stage direction specifying "richeſt attyre" is impressionistic, and is more likely to derive from the author's papers than from a prompt copy. It would probably be satisfied by the use of gems and glittering fabrics, perhaps simulating cloth of tissue.⁷⁰ But in her finest clothing, her beauty, thus intensified, arouses Henry's emotions and presents a further threat to her precarious state. The king's appreciation of her "Beauty incomparable" (V.11.154) is clearly meant to appear more than purely chivalrous, for Katherine cries, "O sir, I have a husband" (155). Henry answers:

We'll prove your father, husband, friend, and servant,
Prove what you wish to grant us.

(156-157)

His words, graceful on the surface, contain sinister implications, for they suggest that Perkin's rôle in her life is to be denied, and intimate the unnatural extent of power which Henry will henceforth have over her.⁷¹ His final admiration of her loveliness reduces her to despair:

HEN. a goodlier beauty
 Mine eyes yet ne'er encountered.
 KATH. Cruel misery
 Of fate, what rests to hope for?

(170-172)

It is surely impossible for an audience to mistake the nature of Henry's repeated approval of her beauty, or of Katherine's miserable foreboding. The implication that the historical Henry's reception of Katherine was lustful is contained in Gainsford's Perkin Warbeck. After recording the king's pleasure at possessing the lovely Katherine as a trophy, Gainsford concludes: "some say he fantasied her Person himselfe, and kept her neere unto him, as his choise/t delight", and his affection for her made him so forget his other concerns that "many dared to libell again/t him" (sig. P^v-P2).

Katherine kneels before the king, who refuses such submission from a princess (146-147), and as she continues to kneel he raises her saying, "Our arms / Shall circle [your fortunes and honours] from malice. A sweet lady!" (152-153). Presumably Henry makes the appropriate gesture, encircling her in an embrace not altogether dispassionate (cf. 154-155 and 169-172). These are the "reaching arms" that have drawn Katherine into Henry's power (cf. V.i. 82-84). The scene's concluding exit is a type of triumphal progress: "Forward, lords, / To London", says Henry (172-173), and the next and final scene opens in London.

In terms of the play's complex theme of 'entertainment', the celebration which Henry longs to give (and share with) Katherine (cf. V.i.79-81) seems a debasement of his own ideals, and is far removed from the simple, soldierly entertainment he would share with his subjects (IV.iv.76-86). He has refused to 'triumph' over the Cornish rebels (III.i.80-81), but, however graciously he addresses Katherine, he has made her the chief prize in his triumph over Perkin, sending her (against her wishes) to his court (V.ii.161), as much a captive as is Perkin in the Tower.

The scenic alternation that characterizes the first four acts ceases in the fifth as the concentration upon Perkin and Katherine grows to a climax. Perkin is

presented, not in the close, dark solitary confinement of the Tower, but in an open, crowded, outdoor setting, where public infamy replaces secret torture. Any available supernumeraries crowd around the stocks to gape, while the Constable's colloquial prose swells the scene in imagination, so that, in words and stage picture combined, we are given a huge unruly mob as audience to Perkin's ignominy. The mob, the opening language, and the Officers locking Perkin's legs into the holes of the stocks (V.iii.1-9) are all calculated to rob the fallen 'prince' of his dignity. The "twelve foot" of space which, at the Constable's command, separates Perkin from the curious onlookers (1-2), focuses the visual field upon Perkin and the stocks - "his majesty's new stocks" (2), a final and cruelly amusing indignity, somehow reducing Perkin to a spectacle less important than that of the king's new machine. Figure 67 shows an Elizabethan representation of the stocks which would constitute a simple stage property, easily carried onstage (by the Officers). Perkin is a 'malefactor' (3), a common criminal. The ignominy of the stocks is often noted in contemporary writings. In a ballad concerning the notorious Nicholas Jennings, an experienced impostor and thief, we hear of

A stocks to stay sure, and safely detain
 Lazy lewd loiterers, that laws do offend, 72
 Impudent persons, thus punished with pain....

Stow and Speed, in their chronicles of Perkin's life, point to the humiliation of such a punishment for an erstwhile prince. Speed describes Perkin's day in the stocks before Westminster Hall, followed the next day by his exposure in

Golden Cheape, to the basest of all contempt
and /corne, /o fettered, /stockt, &
Scaffolded as before, to the great wonderment
(/aith Stow) of many, ...73

He suggests that Stow's words may mean

that it seemed strange that one lately of
 /o great Prowesse, should vndergoe /o
 despicable a punishment. 74

Since Ford has chosen to compress dramatically the historical time dividing Perkin's capture, his appearance



Figure 67. The stocks. From Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes (Leyden, 1586; B.M. C.57.1.2), p. 202. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

in the stocks, and his execution, eliminating many events altogether, his decision to include the stocks scene is of significance. Not only factually, but also physically, Perkin is at the lowest point of his fortunes. He is seated, and therefore lower than the surrounding characters and than Simnel who 'baits' him as if he were an animal (27). From dreams of that throne which has been a visible symbol of his ambition, he has descended thus. Like Katherine in Act V, scene 1, Perkin here is reduced to the unadorned, essential self. Simnel tries to reduce Perkin further, from the Yorkist prince to the fraudulent would-be usurper, "a loose runagate, / A landloper" (24-25), son of a Jew (25). Here, as throughout the play, Ford denies us any factual evidence as to the truth of these accusations. Whatever the truth, the confrontation with Simnel serves to make plain that the removal of pomp and pageantry does not reveal the base-born nature which the English believe to be hidden beneath Perkin's 'counterfeit' majesty. Instead, it is Simnel, recounting, in vulgar terms, one version of Perkin's history (22-27), who appears base, and he inspires in Perkin a declaration of royalty which, although it also may be the false version, is nonetheless noble in mood (53-75).

Simnel is a foil to Perkin. Their past aspirations are the same (Lambert counterfeited the Earl of Warwick, aiming thus at a throne); their reaction to their fall is opposite. Preparation for comparison of these two characters is given in the play's opening scene, where they are termed the 'twins' of Margaret of Burgundy (I.i.57). There, Lambert's history is viewed with scorn by Henry. Robbed of his pretended rôle, Lambert has been placed in Henry's service,

Preferred by an officious care of duty
From the scullery to a falc'ner; strange example!
Which shows the difference between noble natures
And the base born.

(65-68)

Implicit is the expectation that the other twin will also prove himself basely born.

Simnel, as falconer, is not only a servant, but also the trainer of birds of prey, training to the hunt, to the

kill. Perkin draws this animal, hunting imagery into his own situation, greeting Lambert's jibes with "Baited to my death?" (27), implying that Simnel himself is the animal, a dog trained to attack a bear. The English king's pursuit of Perkin has several times been expressed in imagery of the hunt (I.i.103-104; 121-122; IV.iv.27-31); here Simnel is, appropriately, Henry's huntsman (hunting a confession). The costume of a falconer can be seen in George Turberville's The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking (1611), with its distinctive single leather glove (on which the bird perches when at rest) and a satchel hanging from the girdle (see figure 68). Such a costume would help to identify the rôle to which the aspiring Lambert has fallen.

Lambert Simnel resembles the tempter figures of Morality plays. By portraying the easeful life allowed the repentant (41-46) and the death which awaits the unrepentant (47-49), he tempts Perkin to confess to being a fraud. Like the medieval tempter he jeers at his victim, asking "Where's now your kingship?" (27), and his identity is treated somewhat allegorically, as an exemplum:

LAMB. You will not know who I am?
 URS. Lambert Simnel,
 Your predecessor in a dangerous uproar[.]
 (31-32)

The captive Perkin's scorn for Simnel is heroic, and verbally he creates an inversion of the stage picture - Simnel, standing upright, becomes a "poor vermin" who "creep[s]...near" the man of royal blood (55-56, cf. 65-68).

In words reflecting a conventional Elizabethan and Jacobean attitude to fame after death, Perkin prepares for his own martyrdom:

let the world, as all to whom I am
 This day a spectacle, to time deliver,
 And by tradition fix posterity,
 Without another chronicle than truth,
 How constantly my resolution suffered
 A martyrdom of majesty.
 LAMB. He's past
 Recovery; a Bedlam cannot cure him.

(70-76)

To Urswick and Lambert, convinced that the prisoner is a

The Third Part, or Booke, of this collection
of Falconrie.



Before I deale with diseases of Hawkes, and cures due to
the same, (which is the subiect of this third and later part of
my collection of Falconrie) I hold it very necessary, and of im-
portance,

¶ 2

Figure 68. A falconer, from George Turbervile's The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking, 2nd edition (London, 1611; B.M. 987.h.1), p. 211. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.

fraud, Perkin simply appears a mad fool. Lambert's last line, spoken emphatically as he exits, is a warning both emblematic and real: "Perkin, beware the rope; the hangman's coming" (78).

But instead of the hangman, Katherine enters, bringing loyal courageous love. As she takes her place near the stocks, probably kneeling, longing to share her husband's physical ignominy (84-86), exposed before the gaze of common curiosity seekers (which scandalizes Oxford, 111-112; 133-137), she presents a spectacle which is in contrast to the nobility of her spirit. Like her husband she has been offered temptation (to deny him), but she refuses to fall morally. "Harry Richmond", cries Perkin, "A woman's faith hath robbed thy fame of triumph" (101-102). In his lyrical appreciation of her loyalty, Perkin remains a king and ceases to be a trophy in Henry's triumph:

Even when I fell, I stood enthroned a monarch
Of one chaste wife's troth pure and uncorrupted.

(126-127)

Like Annabella, Katherine first views her future lover (within the bounds of the play) from an elevated position on the stage balcony, and, again like Annabella, she is moved by the young man's appearance and mood (cf. II.i.117-120 and TP, I.ii.126-138). When we next see Katherine she has descended to the stage platform where she joins Perkin physically and in the bonds of marriage (cf. II.iii and TP, I.ii.158 ff.). But whereas Annabella's downward movement represents and accompanies a moral fall, from which she later ascends to the balcony level and repentance (TP, V.i), Katherine's descent is in fortune only. Her downward movement contrasts with her spiritual nobility and loyalty. In her final scene, probably kneeling by the stocks, joining her husband in degradation in the public eye (V.iii.134-137), her fortunes are at their lowest ebb, but spiritually she is elevated, in Perkin's words, to a position analogous to that of an angel or saint (V.iii.128, 131).

Perkin is freed from the ignominy of the stocks by an order from Daubeney. Urswick tells the newly entered

lords that Perkin has not confessed, "But still a' will be king" (156), at which Surrey bids Perkin

Prepare your journey
To a new kingdom, then.

(156-157)

As he travels to his kingdom, that of death, Perkin does not turn from the struggle as he did after the journey to Exeter. Indeed, death seems to be the only possible kingdom for Ford's Perkin: by virtue both of his own idealistic, poetic nature, and of the world of policy and realism, his form of heroism seems doomed throughout the play.

Lambert's warning of the hangman's rope intrudes into the stage picture not in a rope for Perkin, but for his lowly followers:

Enter Sheriffe, and Officers, Sketon, A(tley, Heron,
and Mayor with halters about their neckes.

(sig. K4^v)

When Oxford mockingly calls the men Perkin's "followers, appointed / To wait on [him] in death" (185-186), the young man accepts the intended insult with dignity, saying, "We'll lead 'em on courageously" (187). Emboldening the timid-hearted men (cf. V.ii.119), he bids them

Be men of spirit,
Spurn coward passion! So illustrious mention
Shall blaze our names, and style us Kings o'er Death.

(205-207)

It is bitterly ironical that Perkin's rousing speech is for followers who have been consistently treated with a contempt of which Ford seems to suggest they are worthy.⁷⁵ Perkin's royalty is that of character, and it remains barren of any physical strength.

The halters are both real and symbolic, like the rope which kills the Duchess of Nalvi (DM, IV.ii.164-166, 211). Like the Cornish rebels whose defeat is recounted in Act III, scene 1, the men are "Railed in ropes, fit ornaments for traitors" (III.i.77). But these halters are also representatives of the hangman's rope that awaits them. Simnel uses the word 'halter' to mean the hangman's rope (V.iii.49), as does Brachiano when he says that Flamineo should have cut capers "in a halter" (WD, V.iii.115-116).

Figure 69, from John Derrick's Image of Irelande (1581), shows a bare-legged, long-haired Irishman (of an appearance which may be similar to that of Perkin's Irish followers)⁷⁶ being led in a halter. Hanging, a base death unlike the beheading reserved for nobles, is promised for Perkin if he persists in claiming his noble birth, his kingship. But his execution takes place offstage and he goes to it with perfect conviction of his own majesty, while only his followers (his inferiors) are haltered together. After he rises from the stocks, no mention is made, either in the final farewells or Henry's speech after Perkin's exit, of the means of his death. Associating his end with that of the Earl of Warwick, Perkin alludes to the more noble form of execution: "Our ends, and Warwick's head" (190), he says, will remove Henry's fears. The historical nature of Perkin's death is not denied, but disregarded, leaving no imputation of baseness.

After Perkin's exit, Henry enters, brisk and decisive as always. He has learned that Perkin "is armed to die" (214), for which he will honour the youth, and he concludes the play with a gnomic statement:

public states,
As our particular bodies, taste most good
In health, when purgèd of corrupted blood.

(217-219)

Perkin finally gains 'honour' from the de facto king, but only for his noble death, his life being still of "corrupted blood". Like Katherine (IV.iii.127-128), Perkin is at last 'armed' against adversity; like the Boethian knight, he is fallen to the bottom of the wheel, but unflinching.

V. Stanley's fall.

The minor but powerfully-drawn tragedy of Stanley (I.iii and II.ii) constitutes a preparation for and parallel to the fall of Perkin, while at the same time the two scenes contribute to the depiction of Henry's character and increase the onstage action in which the English king is involved. The de casibus nature of Stanley's death is touched with that duality which also surrounds the 'truth'



Figure 69. An Irishman led in a halter. From John Derrick, The Image of Irelande (London, 1581), pl. 5, detail. These woodcuts are missing from most extant copies of the original edition, and are here photocopied from the facsimiles in The Image of Irelande, ed. John Small, notes by Sir Walter Scott (Edinburgh, 1883).

concerning Perkin. That Stanley is guilty is a belief voiced by other characters as strongly as that Perkin is a counterfeit. But the playwright does not make the pronouncement in propria persona, and he allows a suspicion of the opposing view (that Stanley is a victim of Clifford's self-preservation and Henry's desire for security) to take form. Whatever the factual truth,⁷⁷ the noble fortitude of Stanley and of Perkin makes them immeasurably superior, in heroic spirit, to the base foils who plague their final moments (Clifford and Lambert Simnel) and inspires the admiration of the audience. In the scenes concerning Stanley, a number of effective gestures contribute an element of ritual which increases the impression of Stanley as victim.

Stanley's fall, like Perkin's, is in part configured by physical placement. He begins physically close to the king and the throne, bearing the white staff of his office.⁷⁸ The lord chamberlain's position was one of particular importance, for his power was both domestic and political; his office would be particularly familiar to contemporary audiences because of his responsibility for entertainment, including some control over playing in the theatres.⁷⁹ But Stanley is not long shown in his honourable office. Soon, in a scene in which he does not appear, he is accused of treachery (I.iii), and his name, his character, his past actions all give to the scene its mood and meaning. Finally he is seen again, now without the honourable white staff, flanked by the Executioner with his axe (II.ii).

Act I, scene iii is a scene of nighttime and darkness. The stage direction calls for the entry of Durham, Clifford, Urswick and 'Lights' (sig. C2). These latter, perhaps torches carried on by supernumeraries who then withdraw, or brought onstage by the actors themselves, would intensify the viewer's impression of surrounding darkness. At once there is a reference to the lateness of the hour (5), and to the privateness of the setting, which is the king's 'closet' (6). The discovery space could logically be used for this scene, and its restricted area in relation to the

open platform would strengthen the secretive and confessional nature of the meeting. We are made aware also of a spiritual, intellectual, darkness - of the witchcraft that has clouded Clifford's mind. Urswick warns the traitor-turned-informer to forget "the witchcraft or the magic" which "the sorceress / Of Burgundy hath cast upon [Clifford's] reason" (12-14). This darkness of the spirit is affirmed in Clifford's exposure of his "leprous...treacheries" (22), his "bruised soul" (27), his "infected honour" which he wishes were "white again" (34).

Clifford is offered forgiveness for past follies if he will divulge the names of all others involved with him in treacherous plots. When Henry enters, Clifford falls down before the king in a cringing fashion, wishing that his "weak knees [might] rot on the earth" (21) if he appears as vicious to Henry as he does to himself. The king bids Clifford rise, and offers his hand, which the informer kisses, receiving the hand as "A sovereign balm" (25-27). The kneeling posture, the proffered hand, the kiss from this blackened soul in the dim, night setting, all contribute to the slightly disquieting mood, suggestive of a Judas about to betray his one-time companions. Clifford's admitted "breach of truth" (24) and the king's hand offered as proof of safety (25-26) provide a faintly ironical background to Henry's next question, asked as he produces Clifford's written statement:

Is every circumstance thou hast set down
With thine own hand within this paper true?

(29-30)

Clifford's 'true' hand robs others of safety in order to win his own escape.

The moral darkness of the scene seems to spread in the exposure of enveloping villainy - of Frion, the "Pestilent adder" (67), and in the catalogue of traitors culminating in ecclesiastics ("Churchmen are turned devils", l. 80). Finally, worst of all, comes the accusation of Stanley, the king's close friend, an accusation which seems to blacken further the scene and to transform Henry. The king cries:

Urswick, the light!
View well my face, sirs; is there blood left in it?
DUR. You alter strangely, sir.
HEN. Alter, lord bishop?
Why, Clifford stabbed me, or I dreamed a' stabbed me.

(87-90)

The call for light effectively focuses attention upon the king's face, which by verbal suggestion appears bloodlessly pale, as if drained of blood by the 'stab' which Clifford has thrust home. Three times, like a ritual incantation, Clifford condemns the chamberlain (84, 98, 102); three times Henry exclaims the name of his friend:

Sir William Stanley! Who? Sir William Stanley,
My chamberlain, my counsellor, the love,
The pleasure of my court, my bosom friend

(104-106),

and again, "Sir William Stanley!" (113).

As in Shakespeare's Henry V, it is the treachery of the bosom friend that is incomprehensible to the king. But where Henry V sees Lord Scroop's fall as another Fall of Man in a speech that is highly artificial in its rhetorical balance (HV, II.ii.93-142, esp. 127-131), Ford's Henry VII responds much more briefly, with an incredulity which sounds genuine. The upsurge of emotion in the king is emphasized by Durham (113) and Urswick (120) who comment on his passionate loss of self-control. But after his outburst, Henry capitulates quickly on hearing Urswick's brief advice:

Provide against your danger.

HEN.

Let it be so.

Urswick, command straight Stanley to his chamber.

'Tis well we are i' th' Tower; set a guard on him[.]

(121-123)

The king's thankfulness that they and Stanley happen to be in the well-guarded Tower sounds a trifle too ingenuous: by drawing attention to the Tower as location here and in Act I, scene i (135-139), Ford appears to suggest more than a mere statement of setting. The apparently fortuitous move makes plausible the suspicion that Henry had foreknowledge of Stanley's crime.

When Act II, scene ii opens, Stanley has already been arrested and, we are told, has confessed (3-6). The discussion between Henry and his counsellors concerning the punishment to be inflicted upon Stanley is rich in

ambiguities. The counsellors may be chiefly concerned with the political questions of Lancastrian and Yorkist claims, of legitimate ruler and pretender, of treachery to the crown, but we are made aware that for the king there is also a very personal battle between himself and Stanley. Although Henry allows himself to be guided by the decisions of his advisors, his own sorrow at Stanley's behaviour cannot conceal a variety of reactions to the 'guilt':

Stanley was once my friend and came in time
To save my life; yet to say truth, my lords,
The man stayed long enough t' endanger it.

(28-30)

By creating a time sequence he puts Stanley's heroism, and even their friendship, firmly into the past, so that Stanley now appears to have been plotting and betraying for a long while. The debt which gratitude imposes upon Henry is a difficult one - there is, legitimately, no means whereby an usurper can fully reward the man who has captured for him the crown, unless he shares that crown (36-37). Hence this defection of Stanley's is convenient, providing an opportunity to rid the kingdom of dangerous ambitions and allowing the king to emerge from his debt of gratitude. The heroism of the deed at Bosworth Field is now clouded by the shadow of greedy ambition (33-38). However, the audience can recall the king's earlier speech describing his battlefield 'coronation' when Stanley, having rescued Henry in the midst of the fight, snatched for him the crown from Richard (I.iii.114-117). Because the earlier speech places Stanley's action in an admirable light ("He never failed me", Henry there concludes, I.iii.118), we are left conscious of two reports conflicting not in detail but in mood and suggestion. It is Henry who, in the later scene (II.ii), appears ungenerous and very sensitive about the crown he wears, by good fortune and Stanley's aid, not by peaceful inheritance (a point of which Perkin later reminds the king, V.ii.69-74). There is something of cold calculation in his necessary removal of the friend who "came in time / To save [his] life".

Henry, claiming that his compassion and friendship for the traitor would overcome his sense of strict justice if he faced Stanley (42-44), withdraws, presumably stepping

behind the discovery space curtain, not through one of the stage doors,⁸⁰ for he is an unseen audience to the succeeding confrontation of Clifford and Stanley, able to make a dramatically-timed entry on an unintentional cue from Clifford (112; sig. D3^V).

Stanley enters to this scene, shortly after Henry's exit, attended by the Executioner, Urswick and Daubeney (sig. D2^V). Stanley's exit line reads: "Come, confessor; on with thy axe, friend, on" (110), and hence Gifford has added a non-speaking Confessor to the entry stage direction.⁸¹ Perhaps we should visualize Stanley thus, flanked by silent, impersonal representatives of religion and death. But perhaps the words, "Come, confessor", are addressed to Urswick,⁸² for Urswick is Henry's chaplain,⁸³ and unlike Daubeney who has also accompanied Stanley onstage, Urswick does not speak again after the 'Exeunt' of line 110 (sig. D3^V). Such an arrangement would provide a further irony: the Lord Chamberlain traditionally had a certain power over and responsibility for the royal chaplains and chapel⁸⁴ (which would include Urswick).

The details of Stanley's crime are left vague. He has confessed (but not before the audience), and he does not plead innocence. But he appears dignified, wishes well to the king (97-98), stoops to no accusations or pleas, and takes no moral responsibility for his fall, saying only that "fate and time / Have wheeled about, to turn [him] into nothing" (73-74). When he brands Clifford with "the traitor's infamy" (86), he may be implying that Clifford has been treacherous to him, Stanley, and not only to Henry. Truth remains equivocal. Dramatically, Stanley is made heroic before the base cowardice of his foil.

At Stanley's request, Clifford is brought before him. The informer, after grovelling before Henry, has now become self-righteous, declaring that Stanley's confession is a proof of

How far I have proceeded in a duty
That both concerned my truth and the state's safety.

(80-81)

As in the Prologue (26), 'truth' and 'state' are yoked, but now debased by the ignobility of the speaker and his

recently-avowed "breach of truth" (I.iii.24). Truth is here modified, becoming "my truth" - one instance of the several conflicting, personal, truths which the play reveals. Clifford's facts may be correct (Ford does not inform us), but they are the words of a "state-informer" (II.ii.90), a term of opprobrium.⁸⁵

Stanley draws his accuser towards him, and "Makes a Crosse on Cliffords face with his finger" (83-84; sig. D3). This 'token' (83) he defines as

a holy sign,
The cross, the Christian's badge, the traitor's infamy.
Wear, Clifford, to thy grave this painted emblem.

(85-87)

This ritual gesture, an effective dramatic moment, also serves to continue the ambivalence concerning 'truth'. Stanley's 'token', with its particularly Christian significance, seems to complete the gestures beginning when Clifford kneels and kisses the king's hand as prelude to his betrayal of the Lord Chamberlain.

Clifford is indignant at the treatment he has received from Stanley, and after the latter's exit he complains self-righteously that

the king shall know it.
Enter King Henry with a white staffe.
HEN. The king doth know it, sir; the king hath heard
What he or you could say.

(112-114; sig. D3^v)

The entry is well-calculated to display Henry as the far-sighted king, with eyes and ears (and spies) everywhere. The condemnation to death by law of an accused traitor, and Brachiano's secret murders of Isabella and Camillo, are certainly poles apart; but in means of staging they share one dramatic feature. The two men responsible for the decision, not the execution, of death are distanced from the event, transformed into an audience (Henry is not even a spectator). Ford's arrangement of his scene fosters the ambivalence in the situation: Henry is saved from squalid denunciations and accusations, but we are very aware that he has chosen to make himself an audience, and is in fact the director, entering brilliantly on cue. In the case of Brachiano, it is the playwright who has

arranged the distancing, and the self-consciousness of the stage audience is diminished.

Henry further distances himself from the condemnation of Stanley by using Clifford's information, while treating the informer with contempt. Holding the chamberlain's staff, Henry dismisses Clifford from court. The staff remains unassigned while Henry addresses Clifford, and thus it appears still to symbolize Stanley, who in this way passes silent judgement on the informer. The man who 'hug[s]' life (cf. 82) is aptly disgraced. But the staff is not merely a convenient identifying symbol. Wands of office were objects which partook of an almost mystical relationship with the sovereign, being broken over the bier of the king.⁸⁶ The delivery of this staff by the ruler was sufficient to establish appointment (hence the transfer to Daubeney, ll. 123-125, constitutes a legitimate ceremony); and a demanded relinquishment of it could betoken a great disgrace.⁸⁷ Thus Ford's seemingly slight use of the white staff would add poignant finality to Stanley's fall and Henry's exorcism of this one-time friend:

HEN. Die all our griefs with Stanley! Take this staff
Of office, Daubeney; henceforth be our chamberlain.

(123-124)

The Stanley episode is closed, and the scene at once looks to the future, with plans to fortify the north against Scottish incursions. The decisive and aphoristic final lines epitomize the hard-headed and wise realism of the English king:

'tis now a time
To execute, not talk. Heaven is our guard still.
War must breed peace; such is the fate of kings.

(160-162)

The ironical double interpretation implicit in the word 'execute' dismisses the whole 'talking' interlude with Stanley, and forewarns that Henry will now proceed straight to action, and indeed, when next seen, he is in armour (III.i).

VI. Ceremony, entertainment, and war.

The ritual elements evident in the scenes concerning Stanley's fall are part of a major area of staging and verbal imagery in Perkin Warbeck which involves ceremony, entertainment, dance and music. This whole field allows for rich ambiguity, for it combines the artificial, stylized action of legitimate rôle playing (that of being, for example, a king) with the artificiality and theatricality of false appearance, of performing a deceitful rôle.

Civilized social behaviour is treated ambivalently in the play. The ceremony and music which welcome Perkin to the court of James are chivalric and harmonious, symbols of peace and concord. But these very symbols of peace are unrelated to the harsher realities of war and practical politics with which Henry (by a juxtaposition of scenes) is meanwhile occupied. Furthermore, music, dance and ceremony are at times viewed as frivolous and debased. For Huntley, dance and entertainment seem almost evil - at first they are a sign of reckless irresponsibility (I.ii. 47-50); later they appear as a prolonged witness of James' abuse of Katherine's freedom of choice (III.ii.1-44) and of Huntley's own frenzied disharmony in sorrow, until Dalyell can calm him into 'consort' (77-78).

This ambivalent attitude towards ceremony helps to define the character of James. He can be chivalrous, but he is also changeable, and can use entertainment as a manifestation of his own authority and power. In Henry's court, the great opposite to courtly entertainment - war - is the norm, for Henry is at all times prepared to defend his throne, and does not pass his relaxation in courtly revelry, but with his soldiers (cf. IV.iv.85-86). When Henry does seek more courtly entertainment (cf. V.i.79-81 and V.ii.138 ff.), the change is, I think, 'intentional on Ford's part: in Henry's suspiciously lascivious response to Katherine, the king desires a frivolous entertainment which makes him sink, in spiritual worth, beneath his defeated but triumphing opponent.

Imagery drawn from the theatre is frequent in this play,⁸⁸ and in structure several of the scenes are overtly theatrical. Many of the characters are shown to be actors, figures in a pageant, but we are seldom permitted to see the characters from within as we are so often in Webster's plays. Henry and Perkin, accusing each other of being players in a pageant of kingship, are not, themselves, given those self-revealing soliloquies that are spoken by such conscious actors as Flamineo or Bosola. Nor are we made to feel that Ford's characters in this play are highly conscious of acting a rôle, of playing a clever and deceitful part of their own devising. Instead, in Perkin Warbeck, the questions about appearance and reality are never finally resolved, and a rich ambiguity characterises the theatre imagery. From the play's opening lines, Perkin is seen by the English in terms of a player, a "false apparition / Of pageant majesty" (I.1.2-3), and references to him as an actor are frequent. But Henry also expresses fear that he (Henry) is thought by others to be but a pageant king (1-4). This use of the actor metaphor need not imply falsehood or pretense; in the final scenes where an increase in theatrical images draws particular attention to Perkin as actor, the hero is nonetheless shown to be acting his life well, a committed actor, suffering for his lack of self-knowledge and knowledge of the world at large, but remaining true to his rôle. Related to the stage imagery is the repeated use of the word 'counterfeit', used to describe Perkin, (e.g., I.iii.56), but used also by Perkin to describe Henry (III.ii.171), and used by the 'pretender' to define a damnable denial of his own royal identity (IV.ii.26-30). In this shared usage of the word can be seen the duality of truth as it exists for the play's characters: Perkin as king is a counterfeit to the English; Perkin as not-king is a counterfeit to himself.

'Counterfeit' carries with it, for Ford's contemporaries, the connotation of a portrait⁸⁹ (portrait and actor bearing similar relationships to the 'real' person), and other words such as 'painted', 'idol' and 'statue',⁹⁰ enlarge this field of imagery - imagery of unreality, of appearance, of pretense. In large measure the player and counterfeit

imagery surrounds the figure of Perkin, mainly (but not exclusively) in the speeches of his antagonists, the English. Perkin's first appearance on the stage after two English scenes have insistently styled him prodigious, strange and counterfeit (I.i and I.iii), is as a pantomime actor, viewed by an audience on the balcony level (II.i). And yet, in every way, this first 'actor' appearance contradicts the English assumptions of a base, monstrous pretender, for Perkin is noble in bearing and speech, and is nobly received by an undoubted king.

The concept of player-king is bound up with the whole enigmatic question of Perkin's identity; it also befits the character of Perkin as created by Ford - the play's hero is 'unreal' only in the sense that he is a contrast to his great opponent, the realist, Henry; Ford's Perkin is a romantic hero, an idealist, a portrait of high chivalric heroism which, however, never has any real strength as the non-existence of English followers, and his flight from Exeter show.

Whereas the language of Act I, scene 1 begins in terms of perverted pageantry, of pageantry gone wrong, with Henry 'frighted' by false pageant kings, and treated as if he, himself, were but "a mockery-king" (I.i.2-4), the verbal and mimed reception of Perkin (II.i) is a picture of courtly civility, smoothly arranged by James (35-39), and given the harmony of music.

The alternation of scenes in the first two acts means that we reach the next entertainment of Perkin, which gives him his bride (II.iii), after scenes in which Henry and the English courtiers have attended to the removal of threats to the English king, or have prepared for action calculated to secure their victory (I.i; I.iii; II.ii). Henry's words at the end of Act II, scene 11 - "'tis now a time / To execute, not talk" (160-161) - at once give place to Scottish entertainment for the "dukeling mushroom" (II.iii.5), as Crawford calls Perkin in the conventionally denigrating image of the upstart.⁹¹ Perkin, says Dalyell,

courts the ladies,
As if his strength of language chained attention
By power of prerogative.

Perkin's power is that of words, and later he recognizes that words, all he at present possesses, are not enough (III.ii.96-99).

The impression that the betrothal is an entertainment arbitrarily arranged by James is fostered by the premonitions of disaster and the mood of bitter anger that introduce the ceremony itself. The ceremony is formal and the stage crowded. Perkin enters "leading Katherine, complementing" (sig. E), accompanied by a group of seven characters who, with Huntly, Dalyell and Crawford already on stage, form an audience to the event over which James presides.

The playwright has not given us any onstage meeting between the two young characters who are about to marry. The only slight indication of Katherine's feelings for Perkin is in her brief expression of sympathy for the stranger's recitation of his past - a narration of which she is a distanced observer, unseen by him (II.i.117-120). And just as the marriage begins, a hint of Katherine's more than formal acquiescence is given in the stage picture to which her old father draws attention when he sees the young couple entering:

Look, lords, look,
Here's hand in hand already!

(II.iii.71-72)

This reticence and economy of handling recall Ford's treatment of the growth of love between Calantha and Ithocles. In each case, the absence of overt declarations of shared love contributes dynamically to the charged atmosphere of the union itself. The elements of royal duty, filial obedience, and personal preference remain in suggested, but unstated, tension. However mitigated later by Katherine's loyalty and Perkin's devotion to his wife, the marriage is here performed because the king wills it so.

Like most stage marriages, the union of Katherine and Perkin is brief.⁹² They are "hand in hand" at their entry (cf. 72), but can probably be imagined to have dropped hands while they speak, so that James can later take the hand of his kinswoman and present it formally to Perkin (86). As he does so, the king intimates the sacred inviolability of the sacrament:

And may they live at enmity with comfort
 Who grieve at such an equal pledge of troths.

(87-88)

These words, a logical part of the ceremony, are important later when Katherine upholds the sanctity of her marriage in the face of her English captors (V.iii.112-119), but at the same time, on a personal and immediate level, James' wish constitutes a cruel affront to poor Huntly, visibly grieving. During the ceremony, Ford restricts Katherine's utterances to a minimum - to expressions of formal and conventional duty. Thus her personal response to her husband is not revealed to us until Act III, scene ii, after all the staged nuptial celebrations. A multiplicity of truths is allowed to exist: James is tyrannous in enforcing the union, but the play gives no indication that the young couple were forced against their desires; Huntly's ambition has helped to bring about this 'disgrace' and Dalyell's loss, and yet he has ever appreciated the unsuccessful suitor's merits, and is now a solitary champion against James; and Katherine, caught between the conflicting duties of daughter and subject, creates of this enforced marriage a lasting loyalty based upon devotion as well as duty.

As Perkin's wife, Katherine kneels before Huntly to ask his blessing. This simple stage picture presents the natural order of things, the daughter dutifully kneeling before the father. But to Huntly, the gesture has become perverted by the recent union. He is, he says, "a plain subject" (93), and she "must bend [her] knees to heaven" (95) to seek a blessing. His words expose his anger and sorrow that he, the subject, has been made to bow figuratively to the king and the earthly throne, probably now visible. In the heated quarrel between him and James which precedes the marriage, Huntly has described himself as an ever loyal subject who now, in old age, reaps disgrace (26-31). James, through his manipulation, has (it seems to Huntly) upset the normal order, uniting royal blood with a counterfeit (31-35), causing the father to make "congees to [a] daughter-queen: / A queen, perhaps a quean" (46-47). Failing to dissuade James, Huntly

declares that

Some of thy subjects' hearts,
King James, will bleed for this!

(66-67)

Again the emphasis upon subjects reminds us that Huntly's sorrow is caused by the power of the king and the throne. Huntly bids his absent daughter farewell (69-70), and thus when she seeks his blessing some lines later, she is no longer 'his', but heaven's.

Huntly and Dalyell "steal away" from this scene of solemn festivity, to "cry together" (101). James' words, as he observes this retreat, are marvellously cynical: "Good kind Huntly / Is overjoyed" (102-103). But the presence of the anguished father and lover, and the quarrel between the staunchly royalist Huntly and his king, give to the marriage itself a mood of dissention, uncertainty and foreboding. There follows a general exit which moves in expectation towards further entertainment (103-105). As in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, Ford gives a double celebration to marriage - the brief formal exchange of hands is followed by festivities which give emphasis to the reality of the union.

The stage is now left in the possession of Frion and Perkin's clownish supporters. In this, their first opportunity to display themselves, the comical counsellors are individualized through their language. In contrast to Frion, they speak in colloquial and loquacious prose. The effect of this interchange, in which they discuss the forthcoming 'solemnity' (103), is to deflate the lofty and aristocratic tone of the court delights that are to follow, and to introduce a note of upheaval and disharmony as they vow to surpass the Scots in honouring the marriage feast. (This disharmony in the lower ranks of the court is a crude echo of the more serious discontent voiced by Crawford, Huntly and Dalyell at the beginning of the scene.) The discussion of their planned masque is more important as a comic interlude and a qualifier of the proposed solemnity than as an actual preparation for action. Nothing is made, in the ensuing masque, of the counsellors' acting rôles (which seems a pity), nor of the antagonism between the

supporters of the bride and the groom. The dancers in the masque are attired as four Scots and four Irishmen. Perhaps the Irish are played by the Mayor of Cork and his three friends. (Astley, at least, is presumably also Irish.)⁹³ The first point in Perkin's progress to Scotland was Ireland - "The common stage of novelty", as Henry tells the audience (I.1.105-106) -, and Perkin can thus perhaps be associated with Ireland, as James is with Scotland and Henry with England.

Frion, as a secretary (I.iii.48-51), a self-pitying malcontent (II.iii.181-188), and one already defined by the English in the character of a "subtle villain" (I.iii.48-68), could fittingly appear in black garments. He is (and considers himself) superior to the four comical counsellors and should be set off from them in dress as he is in speech. The comic followers are base born and base by trade (cf. II.1.8-16 and II.iii.181-183), and their transformation into advisers to a 'king' is seen satirically. In the quarto's list of characters, John a-Water's name is not given, but instead he is designated simply by his office - "Mayor of Cork" (sig. A^v). He may wear his chain of office (whatever the historical chronology)⁹⁴ for in character he reveals the bustling self-importance of the pompous official. Perhaps it is more important simply to show that he is Irish, with the unkempt, wild appearance and long hair which the English seem generally to have attributed to the Hibernians.⁹⁵ Perhaps the other three wear garments suggestive of their trades - the mercer (Heron) in the dress of a trader (coarser and less costly than the costumes of the Scottish courtiers), the tailor (Skelton) in an apron, the scrivener (Astley) with pens and knives at his belt. Conversely they could be given robes of some grandeur which seem ill-fitting and inelegant, betokening the men's borrowed greatness. (The Countess of Crawford slightly calls them "disguisèd princes, / Brought up... to honest trades", II.1.13-14.) They should be easily distinguishable from the truly courtly figures, by gesture and movement as well as by speech, and by accent if all four are meant to be Irish.

A Fordian dichotomy of triumph and ruin runs through the play, the two words frequently in use.⁹⁶ In the 'spousal' scene these opposites are already linked. Huntly and Dalyell fear that the marriage will lead to 'ruin' (II.iii.15), and it plunges Dalyell's hopes into 'ruins' (102); but in Frion's words (and in the ensuing action), the marriage is "a time and cause of triumph" (126). In Ford's plays, 'triumph' is a highly evocative word, often involving a ritualized celebration and victory which is also a grandiose destruction: Orgilus, as eulogist of the man he has murdered, glorifies Ithocles' "undaunted spirit" which has "Proclaimed his last act triumph over ruin" (BH, V.ii.42-43); Giovanni transforms the dead Annabella and his murder of her into a 'triumph' - "over infamy and hate" (TP, V.v.104), and "over death" (V.vi.10). Perkin's triumph does not partake of the blood-soaked flourishes which make of Orgilus and Giovanni such magnificent, damned, heroes. But his own death (which is couched in imagery of the player) he sees as an ultimate 'triumph' (V.iii.188), and of course he has contributed to his own destruction, through his blindly impractical attack on Henry. He makes Katherine's loyalty into a victory, too, for it is a defeat of Henry's 'triumph' (V.iii.102). Their triumph represents an heroic ascent after 'ruin' has threatened (V.i.1-2). Thus the curve of their united fate is from triumph (marriage) to ruin ("spectacles to time and pity", V.i.29) to spiritual triumph.

From the preparation for courtly triumphs in Scotland we move to England and the achievement of martial triumphs. This opposite mood is given a simple and immediate visualization:

Enter King Henrie, his Corget on, his sword, plume of feathers, leading Taille, and Vrswicke.

(III.i; sig. E3)

Henry is the warrior king (although his armour proves to be unnecessary in this scene, and we are not shown him, as we are shown Shakespeare's Henry V, actually leading his soldiers into battle). Time accelerates here, pressing on to action, while in the preceding scene time pauses,

awaiting "a fit solemnity" (II.iii.103) without reference to the external world. "How runs the time of day?" asks Henry (III.i.1), and Urswick replies,

Past ten, my lord.

HEN. A bloody hour will it prove to some[.]

(1-2)

It is the Cornish rebels against whom Henry is armed, but his speeches draw Scotland and Perkin, his "competitor, / The Flemish counterfeit" (29-30), into his general plans and preparations. Henry expresses the belief that he can never fail on a Saturday,⁹⁷ a superstition immediately proved reliable as a flourish announces the entry of Daubeney and Oxford with Attendants (41-42; sig. E3^v). The first words from these lords report victory (triumph over ruin):

DAU. Live the king,
Triumphant in the ruin of his enemies!
OXF. The head of strong rebellion is cut off,
The body hewed in pieces.

(42-45)

This body imagery, continued in Daubeney's description of the rebels as "heads / Of this wild monster-multitude" (90-91), is relevant also to Perkin's story. The young aspirant is, in the English view, the prodigious offspring of a "woman-monster" (Margaret of Burgundy) who "has been with child / Eight or seven years at least" before giving Perkin birth (I.i.49; 56-58). In a play where actor images abound, references to the physicality of these characters - their birth, their clothing, their monstrosity - all contribute to the (often-conflicting) portraits which are gradually being created.

The military victory does not allow a relaxation amongst the English. Henry keeps his army in readiness until all foreign enemies shall be stilled, generously and cunningly disbursing a 'largesse' amongst his soldiers, to "hearten / And cherish up their loyalties" (III.i.112-113). From this restoration of civil peace by military means, and from this sight of a king in armour, we return to Scotland and courtly celebrations, to the 'antic' costumes of the masquers and the rich fashionable garments of the guests. After the report of English rebellion put down, this next scene (III.ii) opens in an atmosphere of internal Scottish

dissention.

Huntly scornfully describes to Dalyell the noisy music and dances with which the court abounds (III.ii.1-12) - the "Hotch-potch of Scotch and Irish twingle-twangles" (5). His attitude towards these excesses is certainly aggravated by his disapproval of the marriage, but the words also recall his early taunt to Dalyell (a taunt he knows to be unworthy of the chivalrous lover), as he bids the young suitor steal Katherine,

And run away with her, dance galliards, do,
And frisk about the world....

(I.ii.48-49)

Later, when James will hear no counsel and insists upon Katherine's marriage despite Huntly's entreaties, the old father cries:

Farewell, daughter!
My care by one is lessened; thank the king for 't,
I and my griefs will dance now.

(II.iii.69-71)

From the beginning, Ford makes Huntly use dancing imagery in a critical fashion, and this criticism throws doubt upon the entertainments in which James and his court indulge. Surrounded now by the jigs and frisks and discords of the marriage celebrations, Huntly seeks to disguise his grief in careless merriment. He assures the solemn Dalyell that suffering makes him laugh, sing, caper (III.ii.33-41). The pathos of this attempted levity is enhanced by Dalyell's refusal to judge or condemn the man who has stood between him and a marriage with Katherine. Dalyell offers Huntly love, service and friendship (74-75), saying,

I'll lend you mirth, sir,
If you will be in consort.

(77-78)

After the disharmony attributed to the court festivities and the discord of Huntly's mood comes this harmony of grieving fellowship, 'bankrupt' as they are of Kate (cf. 70-73). It is a quiet, Fordian, melancholy. At once this emotional harmony is jolted by a musical announcement - an offstage flourish (81)⁹⁸ which, Huntly predicts, is the forerunner of "a meeting / Of gaudy sights" (82-83).

"[T]his day's the last of revels", continues the old courtier:

Tomorrow sounds of war; then new exchange:
Fiddles must turn to swords. Unhappy marriage!

(83-85)

This yoking of revelry and war, with the temporal progression from fiddles to swords, forms an overt omen concerning the future of the "Unhappy marriage". The entry of the masque guests brings dignity, as do the elegant speeches of the two brother 'kings'; but in James' gracious words a further reminder of the threatened change, to swords, lies cloaked. After the "pleasures of repose, / Or amorous safety", says James (90-91), they must seek a greater glory

Than sloth and sleep can furnish. Yet, for farewell,
Gladly we entertain a truce with time
To grace the joint endeavours of our servants.

(93-95)

The words conjure up a striking contrast to the activities of the English king and courtiers. The Scots can ill afford "a truce with time", for Henry has made no such truce. This desire that time should be stilled while one loves and enjoys is found in many contemporary plays; Ford exploits it with great delicacy and poignance in the love of Annabella and Giovanni. The desire exposes both a longing for a private, immutable world of loveliness, and also a foolish confidence that one can govern time and events. Perkin's following speech in which he envisages Necessity seating him upon his throne "in the fulness of our fate" (100-102) shows the same blind confidence: he believes that the passage of time will inevitably place him on his throne. Only Henry grasps the passing time and acts.

The masque which follows is wild and uncouth, an anti-masque as is that in Love's Sacrifice, and one which makes the Perkin-Katherine exchange which closes the scene appear all the more delicate and lyrical.⁹⁹ Ford does not use the masque as a source of plot development as he uses those which involve Ferentes and Hippolita. This masque seems, at first glance, to be pure spectacle, the wedding guests and the theatre audience watching from very similar

viewpoints:

Enter at one dore foure Scotch Antickes, accordingly habited;
Enter at another foure wilde Irish in Trowes,
long hayred, and accordingly habited. Musicke.
The Maskers daunce.

(sig. F2^v)

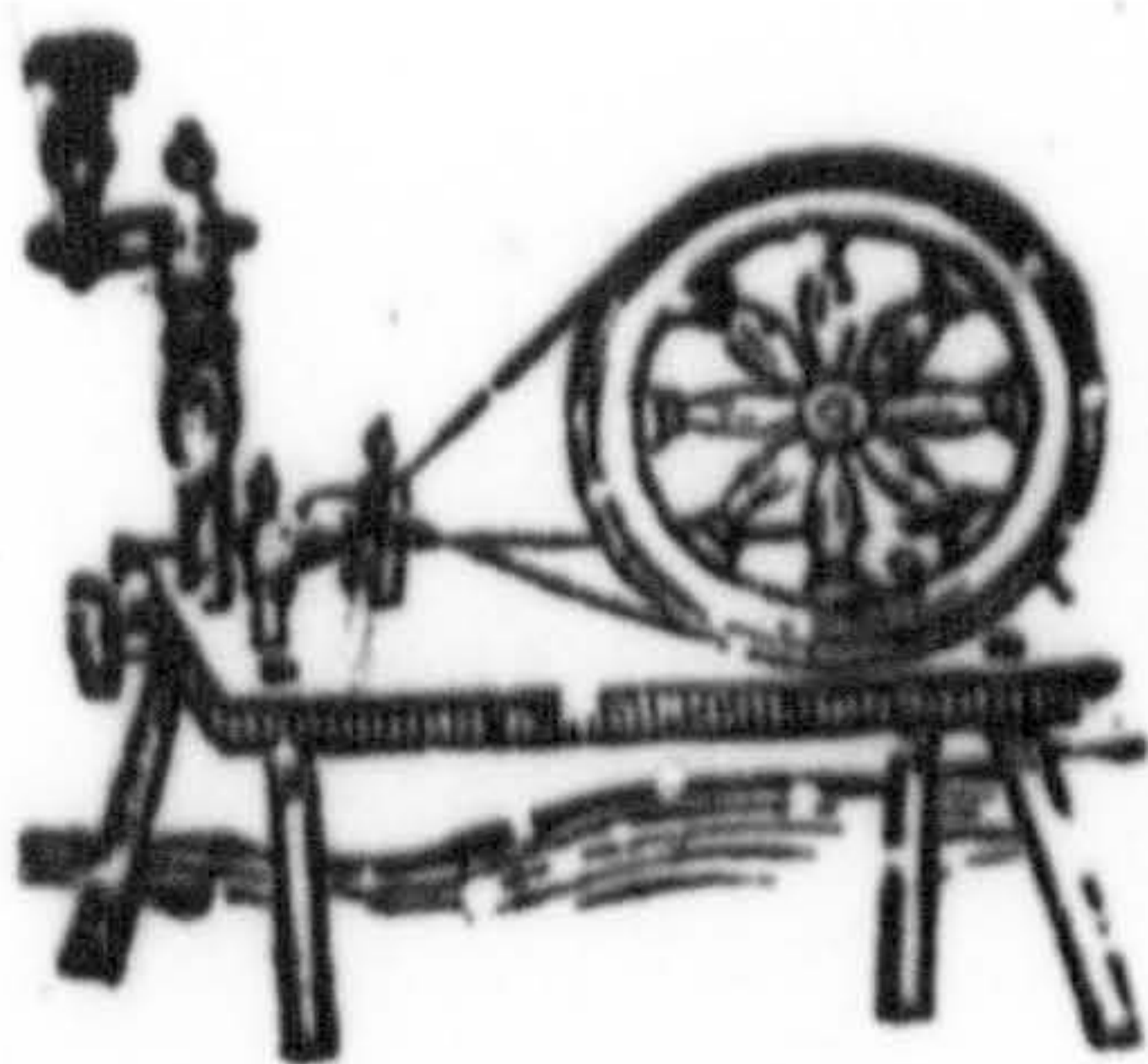
However, the 'antic' uncouthness does accord with the developing attitude which shows spectacle and entertainment to be somehow tainted, unworthy.

How the Scotch Antics are "accordingly habited" can only be surmised. Traditionally the Scot appears to have worn a flat blue cap or bonnet (and Scots were sometimes known as "blew caps"). J.O. Bartley, in Teague, Shenkin and Sawney, having collected together the meagre evidence, concludes that stage Scots probably wore, besides their blue bonnets, clothes of hodden gray (coarse undyed woollen cloth) and a whinyard (a short sword or hanger).¹⁰⁰ Figure 70, from a broadside entitled The Bonny Scot, includes the cap and sword. Elizabethan and Jacobean descriptions of Irish appearance frequently mention the shaggy hair and 'trowses' of the play's stage direction, as well as bare legs, an Irish dart, and an all-enveloping mantle,¹⁰¹ any of which may be included in the vague additional direction, "and accordingly habited". In The Misfortunes of Arthur, performed before Elizabeth at Greenwich by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn (1588), one of the dumb shows describes the entry of an Irishman who is "bareheaded, with blacke long shagged haire / downe to his shoulders", and is armed with "an Irish dagger...and a dart".¹⁰² Jonson's Irish Masque at Court (1613) was, like the masque in Perkin Warbeck, performed in celebration of a marriage (that of Robert, Earl of Somerset) and presented before another Scottish King James. Jonson's Irishmen dance "to the bag-pipe, and other rude musique",¹⁰³ as presumably do Ford's performers, to judge from Huntly's sarcasm concerning the discordant music currently enlivening the court (III.ii.4-7). One of the long-haired Irishmen in figure 71, from Derrick's Image of Irelande, is playing the bagpipes. (For illustrations of Irishmen see also figures 12 and 69.) The wildness of Irishmen was, to the

THE
Bonny SCOT:
 OR,
The Yielding LASS.

To an Excellent New Tune.

This may be Printed, R. P.



As I sat at my Spinning-Wheel,
 a bonny Lad there pass'd by,
 I turn'd him round, and I lik'd him well,
 gud faith he had a bonny Eye:
 My heart new panting, 'gan to feel,
 But all I turn'd my Spinning-Wheel.

Most gracefully he did appear,
 As he my presence did draw near,
 And round about my Under Cloak,
 He clasp'd his Arms and me embrac'd:
 To kiss my hand he down did kneel,
 As I sat at my Spinning-Wheel.

Figure 70. A Scot with his cap and sword. The Bonny Scot, from The Bagford Ballads (B.M. C.40.m.9/60), vol. I, number 60. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.



Figure 71. Irishmen with long hair, mantles, and bagpipes.
From John Derrick's The Image of Irelande
(1581; Edinburgh 1883), pl. 2, detail.

disapproving English, proverbial: stage Irish characters are generally uncouth,¹⁰⁴ and Gainsford and Bacon both comment on the disorderly nature of the Irish involved in Perkin's history.¹⁰⁵ The 'antic' nature of the Scots in Ford's masque may reflect a mood of hostility in evidence amongst the English under James and Charles.¹⁰⁶

That the characters in this 'antic' masque are Scots and Irishmen. is fitting. Perkin has had to seek support first in Ireland, now in Scotland, for his attempt to gain England. (And the Irish maskers may perhaps be played by Perkin's comic counsellors, the Scots by supernumeraries already seen as Scottish courtiers.) But Perkin's preparations are themselves impractical, having their 'antic' element (as Henry later implies, V.ii.87-90), and they contrast with the practical preparations of English Henry, which have been given visual evidence in the king's armour and leading staff of the preceding scene (III.i; sig. E3). Whereas James presumably watches the masque from the stage 'state', Perkin would simply be seated like the other guests on the chairs or stools which are either discovered or carried onstage for the entertainment (cf. III.ii.108). Perkin has just spoken of the moment when fate will seat him upon his own throne (100-102), but we are made aware that it is this Scottish and Irish support, here given an 'antic' representation, on which he must depend in order to mount that throne.

The conclusion of the masque ends the "truce with time". There is a sudden change in mood and tempo as the point of focus shifts and James becomes an actor again instead of a spectator. The king's thoughts move from the maskers to the army which is in readiness at Heydonhall (114-117):

JA. Crawford, tonight
Post thither. We in person, with the prince,
By four o'clock tomorrow after dinner
Will be wi' ye; speed away!

CRAW.

I fly, my lord.

(117-120)

As in the case of the maskers who have been told to "Take [their] own shapes again" (113), there is here the sense of a return to reality - to matters of numbers and distances

(115-117), and to the active, impermanent time scheme of tonight, tomorrow, and after dinner.

After the exit of the maskers and most of the stage audience, Perkin bids Jane "set the lights down" (136), and she too leaves the stage.¹⁰⁷ This mention of the lights (presumably candles that Katherine's maid has taken from a table or wall bracket), while establishing a stage image which allows Perkin to call his bride's eyes "Love's precious tapers" (140), also draws attention in a conventional fashion to nighttime and darkness. This darkness seems to enshroud the lovers as thoughts of death momentarily possess Perkin (150-158), but he attempts to shake them from him with hopes of good fortune (159-162). Katherine, a greater fatalist than her husband, poignantly continues the yoking of love and monarchy which he has introduced (161-162):

You must be king of me [says Katherine], and my poor
heart
Is all I can call mine.

(168-169)

The loneliness of the girl, choosing to follow her husband in any fortune (175-178), foreshadows her eventual fate, stripped of her father, her country, and her freedom. As king of Katherine, Perkin is, materially, as poor as he is in being king-aspirant of England.

The bridal couple's farewell is itself a ceremony (cf. 139-141) into which the newly-experienced flight of time intrudes, but transformed by young Warbeck's characteristic lyricism to a matter of sad but heroic loveliness:

Swift as the morning
Must I break from the down of thy embraces
To put on steel, and trace the paths which lead
Through various hazards to a careful throne.

(III.1.143-146)

Poetical, not physical, is his anticipated journey to that throne. Their "parting ceremony" (141) puts Perkin in mind of a final parting in which, at the moment of death, Katherine's name "shall sing a requiem to [his] soul" (156). Perkin's music is holy and sweet, in stark contrast to the jangling masque music.

Taking his farewell of court delights and love, Perkin tries to banish his forebodings of death, hoping for

"fortune of a sprightlier triumph" (160). But when he is next seen (III.iv), when entertainment has given way to the action of war (the seige against Durham and the English), and fiddles have become swords, the desired triumph begins crumbling into defeat. However, James, despite his altering evaluation of the now "humble-minded man" (83), agrees to try one final tactic in his fight for Perkin's cause, offering to oppose himself in single combat against the English commander, Surrey (97-103). The offer of single combat is presented by Marchmount, the herald, to Surrey in the following scene (IV.1) - presented and accepted in the spirit of epic chivalry. But by Act IV, scene iv, after the visit of Hialas and Durham to James, and the dismissal from Scotland of Perkin and his bride, the single combat still has not been fought. To the staunch English supporter, Dauboney, this delay confirms James a coward. "The Scottish king", says Oxford,

showed more than common bravery
In proffer of a combat hand to hand
With Surrey.
DAU. And but showed it;...

(IV.iv.10-12)

The accusation of false appearance spreads widely through this play; but as usual, Ford does not give us any facts by which to judge this accusation, leaving our judgement suspended between two 'truths'.

When Henry and Urswick enter to Oxford and Dauboney, the discussion continues to be concerned with the state of the English army. As the border with Scotland is no longer in danger, the army is not at present required to take action. But Henry will not let his soldiers become idle. He orders them to Salisbury, where he will join them, wishing to "Partake the pleasure with [his] subjects' ease" (86). The pleasure which Henry will take with his subjects is not the entertainment that the Scottish king enjoys, but warlike ease - 'exercise' that is both pleasure and a prevention of "The rust of laziness" (77-80). However, as Katherine and Perkin move farther away from the court delights they experienced in Scotland, the English king begins to taste such delights. Oxford brings to Katherine Henry's offer of "a gracious entertainment"

(V.i.81), which she interprets as tyranny on the king's part (82-85). When, later, Katherine is presented to the English king, Henry deploras the lack of ceremony (otherwise chiefly a Scottish characteristic) in the reception she has been given by the English (V.ii.140-145). Hereafter, the ceremonial elements in Perkin's story are not signs of ease and entertainment; instead, ceremony becomes ritual by which the fallen couple ennoble their defeat, transforming Henry's triumph into their own, and making of their story a chronicle of constancy to be remembered in after times (cf. V.iii.92-102). The ritual of remarriage and the final 'act' by which Perkin goes forth to be king over Death make permanent the union between Katherine and her husband, and bear witness to Perkin's inner nobility which this chronicle, this play, records (cf. V.iii.208-209), unqualified by any of the story's ambivalent 'truths'.

In their final meeting, Katherine and Perkin solemnly perform a type of remarriage, with the disapproving Oxford as witness. Perkin offers his heart as a final legacy to Katherine.

KATH. Confirm it with a kiss, pray.

WAR. O, with that

I wish to breathe my last! Upon thy lips,

Those equal twins of comeliness, I seal

The testament of honourable vows.

Whoever be that man that shall unkiss

This sacred print next, may he prove more thrifty

In this world's just applause, not more desertful.

KATH. By this sweet pledge of both our souls, I swear

To die a faithful widow to thy bed -

Not to be forced or won. O, never, never!

(V.iii.144-153)

Like Stanley's "painted emblem" (II.ii.87), the kiss is ritualized into a type of permanence ("This sacred print") as if it were concrete. Like the more elaborate divorce in The White Devil (II.i.193-211; 255-265), this little ceremony makes use of all the elements necessary to a stage marriage - the kiss, the willing acceptance by both lovers, the exchange of hearts and pledge of souls. Here the ritual is a poignant recollection of the earlier betrothal ceremony, when James presented Katherine as wife to Perkin and the couple were united physically, in an embrace and

probably a kiss, as Perkin's words there imply: "Thus I take seizure of mine own" (II.iii.90). And the specific association between this renewed pledge and their formal marriage is strengthened by Katherine's realization, several lines earlier, that the English do not wish to recognize her union with Perkin. She tells Oxford that

when the holy churchman joined our hands,
Our vows were real then; the ceremony
Was not in apparition, but in act.

(V.iii.113-115)

She refers to the church wedding that would have completed the secular betrothal, and she draws it into the general theme of appearance and reality, insisting upon the reality of their marriage. And to Perkin she continues:

no divorce in heaven
Has been sued out between us; 'tis injustice
For any earthly power to divide us[.]

(117-119)

The remarriage is also an eternal separation, and in making her vow of faithful widowhood she defeats any lascivious illusions which Henry might be suspected of harbouring. Gifford disapproves of Katherine's protestation of widowhood, calling it "a speech for which there was not the slightest occasion".¹⁰⁸ But the speech is important to the depiction of their loyalty: since Katherine (unlike Calantha, whose ritual marriage-funeral this smaller scene recalls) cannot die in the play, only through her vow of widowhood can she be faithful unto death. Her cry - "O, never, never!" (153) - seems, in context, not an excessive protestation, but a cry of deep despair. Perkin's speech in this ritual is skilfully worded. If a man should break their love-bond, should 'unkiss' the "sacred print" (148, 149), that man may prove more successful, but "not more desortful" (149-150). The movement of fortune appears arbitrary - the man who thrives is not necessarily the man who is most worthy.

VII. 'Truth'.

When Perkin exits grandly to death, accompanied by his haltered followers and the armed Officers, Daubeney totally dismisses Perkin and his life's 'truth':

Away - imposter beyond precedent.
 No chronicle records his fellow.

(208-209)

The words appear those of a mean and commonplace mind. This chronicle - this play - has recorded Perkin's majesty in dying, and Henry honours the courage with which, he learns, Perkin "is armed to die" (214). That the kingdom has been restored to health by the removal of rebellion, as Henry concludes (216-219), is not disputed. But Ford does not resolve the ambiguous question of Perkin's identity, nor does he finally pass judgement on the opposing truths, the conflicting ways of life and of heroism, which the play has revealed.

The words 'strange' and 'wonder' occur frequently in the play,¹⁰⁹ and are yoked in the person of Perkin when Daubeney presents him to the successful king as "the Christian world's strange wonder" (V.ii.36). The careers of Perkin and Simnel, the treachery of Stanley, the 'subjection' of Katherine before the stocks, all seem strange to their observers. This frequent mood of amazement, of wonderment, contributes to the creation of an enigma, of a multiplicity of realities. Perkin's truth - a type of poetic, idealistic heroism expressed through a determined but dream-like quest - clashes with political truth - the reality surrounding state and war. This second truth wins, and purges "corrupted blood" (V.iii.219). But this final, moralizing statement comes from Henry, not from an impartial viewer as, for example, in The Duchess of Malfi where the summarizing speech comes from the consistently objective Delio. The blood purge requires a 'corruption' of its own. The fates of Perkin and the Earl of Warwick are conspicuously drawn together. When Urswick carefully lays the blame for the young earl's death on plots fomented by Perkin (V.iii.13-20), the audience (helped by visual recollection, as a reader is not) should recall that Urswick has participated in an earlier scene where the political reasons for Warwick's inevitable death are intimated long before Perkin and his plots could have interfered (III.iii). In that earlier scene, Urswick, in a secretive exchange which follows the exit of the Spanish agent, recites for Henry

the condition which King Ferdinand has imposed, if the desired Spanish-English marriage is to proceed: that no present Earl of Warwick shall live (53-58). The excited manner of the two English speakers - the broken lines, the questions, the emphatic repetitions (51, 52), the reiterating of the Earl of Warwick's name (57, 60, 64) - gives to their response a very personal, greedy, note not entirely consistent with the picture of the wise, cool, impartially pacific king that Henry's English followers consciously create elsewhere in the play (e.g., IV.iv.66-68).

Mildred Struble insists that Ford's contemporaries would not blame Henry for the earl's execution, an action more expedient than just. The audience, she says, "would not find him merciless but gladly tender the acclamation which true majesty always must claim".¹¹⁰ But John Speed, in The History of Great Britaine (1611), shows that not everyone judged the historical Henry so kindly. Speed is highly critical of the unjust death of Warwick, declaring gnominically that

sinne was euor an vnſure baſis to
ſettle laſting workes vpon.¹¹¹

He calls the act a "formall murder of this harmleſſe Gentleman" which God was afterwards stirred "in iuſtice to reuenge".¹¹² In Act III, scene iii, Ford does not exonerate his Henry.

The Earl of Warwick is never brought before Ford's audience. By leaving Warwick offstage and periodically introducing his name, Ford gives a sense of the earl's passive innocence, of his political helplessness. By sometimes linking the earl's name and fate with that of Perkin, the dramatist gives the impression that Perkin too is a helpless pawn in the larger political game (cf. III. iii.46-60). But Perkin is not passive. Whereas the mock-Warwick, Simnel, is a base foil to Perkin's nobility of spirit, the passive earl is a foil to Perkin's proud defiance as he faces death. The various 'truths' - about Henry's treatment of Warwick, about Perkin's identity, about Stanley's guilt - are never stated baldly by the dramatist. They are shown from more than one point of view, and allowed to remain unresolved. It is perhaps

because Ford in this play does not judge overtly, because he creates an aura of wonderment and ambivalence, that critical interpretations of the play have been so varied. To see Perkin Warbeck only as a political study of kingship¹¹³ or a study in madness¹¹⁴ is to limit the playwright's view and intentions in a play which he leaves so dramatically open.

This examination of the staging and imagery of Perkin Warbeck reveals that Ford's method of portraying his historical subject encourages us to view the conflict, not so much as an historical battle for a throne and the rule of a people, but as a conflict of two ways of life, and of a character at war with his fate. Particularly noticeable in Ford's construction is his use of parallels and contrasts. The fall of Stanley prefigures that of Perkin: both men are treated as exempla, both defeats are given ritual and theatrical elements, both characters are seen as noble, yet as defeated within the realm of the law. Simnel and Perkin are foils to each other, the one born base and base in character, the other of questionable birth, but noble in adversity. Henry is a king of action and councils, ready with his armour, his soldiers, his agents. Perkin is a "king of hearts" (cf. IV.v.32), a youth of the world of love, talk, and courtly pleasures. This contrast in the two rival 'kings' is economically and forcefully exposed by the alternation of scenes which provide rapid antitheses in costume and behaviour. The opposition between entertainment and war which is thus established helps us to view Henry as the able ruler and inevitable victor, and Perkin as a chivalrous but ineffectual youth. The doubt cast upon the value of courtly ceremony by means of Huntly and the 'antic' masque of the non-English elements proves justifiable when Perkin shows himself to be effeminate before Norham Castle and when he flees from the battle at Exeter. And yet, at last, Perkin is able to create the tone of his own ceremonies, turning ignominy to triumph, and playing his last kingly rôle well, as the leader of base men into the kingdom of Death.

The alternation of scenes and the use of a nuntius to report offstage action certainly derive from the history

play tradition, but Ford uses both to personal advantage. Although Perkin Warbeck does not have such overtly and visually ritualized scenes as those which present the deaths of Ithocles, Calantha, Fernando and Giovanni, there is to the play as a whole an unmistakably Fordian tone. The stoicism and loyalty of Katherine and Dalyell, the quiet melancholy that infuses the love scenes, Perkin's lyrical utterances and his very lack of any real understanding of the world at large - all these show resemblances to Ford's other tragedies. The theatrically and allegorically effective use of two levels of the stage (III.iv) corresponds to Ford's staging in 'Tis Pity (I.ii) and Love's Sacrifice (V.i). Perkin Warbeck's final scene is an example of Ford's customary method of construction whereby a stage visualization draws together and completes themes and imagery which the play has introduced: in the stocks, Perkin, who would have climbed the throne and Fortune's wheel, who has (figuratively) danced (V.ii.50-53), and has been danced to (III.ii), is fallen in fortunes and is physically low, his legs trapped. The strong scene, with its moral victory, which Ford stages around this simple property completes Perkin's story in a way analogous to the altar scene which concludes the tragedy of Calantha.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The history play had not disappeared altogether after its period of greatest popularity. For a list of the history plays dating between Henry VIII and Perkin Warbeck, see Mildred Clara Struble, ed., A Critical Edition of Ford's Perkin Warbeck, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature 3 (Seattle, 1926), pp. 111-112, n. to Prologue, 1-2.
2. Cf. Edward Arber, ed., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, vol. IV (London, 1877), p. 288.
3. Cf. The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck. A Tragedy (London, 1714; B.M. 11773.b.16).
4. For modern discussions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean history play as 'history' or 'tragedy', see, e.g., Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare's "Historios", Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy, Huntington Library Publications (San Marino, California, 1947), pp. 8-17, and Irving Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (Princeton, 1957), esp. pp. 7-14 and 27-30.
5. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 8 and 306; and Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia (London, 1598; B.M. G.10375), p. 282.
6. Cf. Jonson, eds. Herford and Simpson, vol. IV (1932), p. 350, II. 18-21.
7. Cf. Sir Philip Sidney, The Defence of Poesie, in The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat, vol. III (Cambridge, 1923), p. 39.
8. On the de casibus elements of Elizabethan tragedy, see Farnham, Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, chaps. III and IV, pp. 69-172.
9. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words, p. 571, and cf. Randle Cotgrave, Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, sig. Hhhh6v.
10. On the sources of Ford's play, see below, pp. 607-610.
11. Cf. Weber, Dramatic Works, vol. I, p. xxxv; and Struble, Critical Edition, p. 16.
12. Cf. Oliver, Problem of John Ford, p. 100. Weber believed Ford's plot to be "perhaps the only occurrence of that period capable of dramatic effect" (op. cit., vol. I, p. xxxv).

13. Clifford Leech, Ford (1957), pp. 74-75, sees as typically Fordian "static groupings" the entry of Perkin to the Scottish court, and Perkin in the stocks confronting Sinnol.
14. The quarto edition divides the play into five acts, but not into scenes, but most exits and entries are carefully marked and the complete emptying of the stage indicates the location of new scenes.
15. Oliver (op.cit., pp. 104-105) complains that, because the conflict between Henry and Perkin is external until late in the play, "there is an over-extensive use of alternating scenes in the early acts".
16. Cf. Havelock Ellis, ed., John Ford, The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists, The Mermaid Series (London, 1888), pp. xii-xiii.
17. Cf. T.S. Eliot, Selected Essays, 3rd edn. (London, 1951), p. 200.
18. Cf. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions, p. 260.
19. Cf. Weber, op.cit., vol. I, p. xxxvi.
20. Cf. Alfred Harbage, "The Mystery of Perkin Warbeck", Studies in The English Renaissance Drama, ed. Josephine W. Bennett, Oscar Cargill, Vernon Hall, Jr. (New York, 1959), pp. 125-141. Cf., also, Sidney R. Homan, Jr., "Dekker as Collaborator in Ford's Perkin Warbeck", ELN, III (Dec. 1965), pp. 104-106. For a summary of Ford's probable collaborations, see Sargeaunt, Ford, pp. 32-66 and Frederick E. Pierce, "The Collaboration of Dekker and Ford", Anglia, XXXVI (1912), pp. 141-168 and 289-312.
21. Gerard Langbaine lists "Caxton, Polidoro Virgil, Hollinghead, Speed, Stow, Salmonot, Du Cho/no, Martyn, Baker, Gaynsford... &c.", omitting Bacon. Cf. An Account of the English Dramatick Poets (Oxford, 1691; B.M. C.57.1.12), p. 221.
22. See J. Le Gay Brereton, "The Sources of Ford's Perkin Warbeck", Anglia, XXXIV (1911), pp. 194-234; and Mildred C. Struble, "The Indebtedness of Ford's Perkin Warbeck to Gainsford", Anglia, XLIX (1925-26), pp. 80-91. John J. O'Connor suggests that William Warner's Albion's England may have influenced Ford in the creation of Katherine and Dalyell. Cf. "William Warner and Ford's Perkin Warbeck", N&Q, CC (1955), pp. 233-235. See also John J. O'Connor, "A Lost Play of Perkin Warbeck", MLN, LXX (1955), pp. 566-568. Robert Greene's play, The Scottish History of James the Fourth (Q1598) has nothing to do with the historical matter of Ford's play, being a rich romance.
23. Francis Bacon, The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry The Souenth (London, 1622; B.M. C.38.h.1).

24. The True and Wonderfull History of Perkin Warbeck (London, 1618; B.M. 10815.b.18). The dedicatory letter is signed "Thomas Gainsford", sig. A3.
25. Cf. Brereton, art. cit., pp. 196 and 231, and Struble, Critical Edition, pp. 117-118.
26. Cf., e.g., Gainsford's imagery of a player prince (a puppet) threatening the throne and falling when Fortune's wheel has turned (op. cit., sig. F3^v). Gainsford also mentions the "shewes, masques, and sundry deuises" which James offers to Perkin, and portrays the pretender as happily partaking in the dancing and gaiety of the Scottish court (sig. L-L^v).
27. Cf. Ford's frequent use of these words: 'strange' - subtitle, I.i.66; I.iii.89 ('strangely'), 101, 126; II.i.57; II.iii.1; IV.iv.45; V.ii.36 and V.iii.135; 'wonder[s]' - I.i.53; I.ii.42; III.i.85; V.i.109; V.ii.36, 37; V.iii.173 and 192; 'truth[s]' - subtitle; Prologue 8, 26; I.ii.20, 125; I.iii.17, 24; II.i.67; II.ii.29, 81, 135; III.ii.151; III.iv.60; IV.ii.28; IV.v.53; V.ii.18, 79, 80, and 164.
28. Ure, PW, pp. xxxviii-xxxix, summarizes, in chart form, the historic and the dramatic sequence and location of events.
29. The rightness of Ford's excisions and inventions, and the significance of symbolic stage visualizations become strikingly evident when one wades through a nineteenth century ten-act play on the subject - a marathon of faithful but flabby historic inclusion. Cf. John William Aizlewood, Warbeck, A Historical Play, In Two Parts, Partly Founded on The Perkin Warbeck of Ford (London, 1892). Aizlewood's excessive use of asides to reveal motives or opinions means that the exact 'truth' about the characters is spelled out. The 'clarity' thus gained is undramatic, contrasting with the dynamic human paradoxes of Ford's play. The danger inherent in following all the disparate facts of history is apparent, for Aizlewood's result is dramatically loose and lacking in climax.
30. O'Connor ("Warner and Perkin Warbeck", p. 234) suggests that Ford "derived the idea for...the person of Daliell from William Warner's Albion's England".
31. On the dating of the play, see Bontley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, vol. III, pp. 455-456. He suggests a possible connection between Perkin Warbeck and Massinger's Believe as You List (1630/31) (p. 456). The idea has been expanded in an intelligent study by Philip Edwards, "The Royal Pretenders in Massinger and Ford", Essays and Studies, n.s., XXVII (London, 1974), pp. 18-36. Richard II was revived in June, 1631, at the Globe; cf. the New Variorum Edition, ed. Matthew W. Black (Philadelphia and London, 1955), Appendix, p. 568.

32. Cf. PW, IV.v and RII, III.ii. See, also, Donald K. Anderson, Jr., "Richard II and Perkin Warbeck", SQ, XIII (1962), pp. 260-267. There seems to me to be also a similarity between the ritualized final parting of Katherine and Perkin (V.iii.140-153) and that of the Queen and Richard (RII, V.i.71-102).
33. Marlowe's Edward II also presents some parallels to Perkin Warbeck, notably in the strong character contrasts of rivals for power, and in the use of the stage throne as a symbol both of royalty and of the dramatic struggle which is enacted. As in Ford's play, courtly entertainment is seen to have a potentially wanton and effeminate quality; cf. EII, I.i.51-71, in Marlowe, ed. Bowers, vol. II, and PW, III.ii.1-12, 82-85, and 90-95.
34. Cf., e.g., the association of Tecnicus with both Athens and Delphos, and of Friar Bonaventura with Bononia.
35. "Lord Chamberlaine" in the stage direction refers to Stanley, as the dialogue at I.i.138-139 makes clear.
36. See below, p. 648.
37. The words 'fool' and 'jester' were sometimes used synonymously. Cf. TN, II.iv.11-13: "Foste, the jester, my lord; a fool / that the Lady Olivia's father took much / delight in".
38. On the use of the stage throne as a symbolic property in Shakespeare's plays, see Honor Matthews, Character & Symbol in Shakespeare's Plays (Cambridge, 1962), "The Usurped Throne", pp. 26-43; and William A. Armstrong, Shakespeare's Typology: Miracle and Morality Motifs in 'Macbeth', An Inaugural Lecture delivered at Westfield College, May 2nd, 1968 (London, 1970), p. 18.
39. On the possible use of stage booths, see above, p. 286 n. 27; and Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare's Wooden O (London, 1959), chap. 5: "Houses Transparent", esp. pp. 141-147.
40. The first quarto's preponderance of italicized words (a Fordian characteristic) may indicate that the quarto depends directly upon Ford's manuscript or that he supervised the printing. Cf. Ure, PW, pp. xviii-xix.
41. This scene of kingly greeting would surely include the stage throne, since that property is already required in the play (cf. sig. B).
42. In the sources, Heron, Skelton, Astley and A-Water do not appear until later in Perkin's story, and of them only A-Water shares Perkin's death. Cf. Bacon, op. cit., pp. 179 and 195; and Gainsford, op. cit., sig. 02.

43. This speech closely follows Bacon, op.cit., pp. 148-153. The relevant passages in Bacon are quoted in Struble, ed. cit., pp. 29-30.
44. For the Baziliologia engravings, see Hind, Engraving in England, pt. II, pls. 60(d) and 61(a) and (b). The cartoon for Holbein's fresco is illustrated in Strong, Tudor & Jacobean Portraits, vol. II, pl. 305. Pietro Torrigiano's effigy (1512-1519) is illustrated in Strong, op.cit., vol. II, pls. 295 and 298. On the contemporary fondness for observing tombs, cf. DM, IV.ii.102-103.
45. The drawing, in the Town Library at Arras, is in a sixteenth century manuscript of pencil and chalk portraits which includes drawings of Henry VII of England and James IV of Scotland. The drawings are presumed to be copies of painted originals. Cf. James Gairdner, History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, 3rd edn. (Cambridge, 1898), pp. v-vii. The drawing is reproduced in Gairdner, facing p. 282, and in Ure, PW, frontispiece.
46. Gainsford, op.cit., sig. Q; cf. Bacon, op.cit., p. 117.
47. For portraits of James IV, see Freeman O'Donoghue, Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits, vol. II (London, 1910), pp. 613-614.
48. An Elizabethan English army on the march is depicted in John Derrick's Image of Irelande (1581) and reproduced in Shakespeare's England, vol. I, facing p. 138, and shows how a few pikes and colours could easily give an exciting military air to the stage. The habit of a Scottish soldier, depicted in Caspar Rutz, Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium (1581), is also reproduced in Shakespeare's England, vol. II, facing p. 114.
49. The rochet and chimere continued to be the distinctive dress of English bishops. Cf. the triptych, "King James' Visit to St. Paul's" (painted 1616), in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. A detail, showing the bishops, is reproduced in John Nichols, Progresses of James, vol. IV, frontispiece.
50. Cf. Ure, PW, p. 103 n. to 136-145. Frion plays only a minor rôle in the sources.
51. Jonson, eds. Herford, Simpson and Simpson, vol. VI (1958), p. 166, I.i.79. Cf., also, Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, pp. 130-150.
52. Cf. Ford's use of the viper image in BH, II.ii.1-2 where it specifically represents ambition.
53. Donald K. Anderson, Jr., "Kingship in Ford's Perkin Warbeck", ELM, XXVII (1960), p. 181.

54. Cf. Armstrong, Shakespeare's Typology, pp. 10-11.
55. The Phoenix appears to have had three doors; cf. Markward, diss. cit., p. 329 and Bentley, op.cit., vol. VI, pp. 50-51. With a three-door stage, James could enter from the centre (a door at the rear of the discovery space), the bishop and the ambassador from the outer doors. But it is more probable that Ford simply intends the latter two actors to be one on either side of the king.
56. E.g., DM, I.i.318-368.
57. In III.iv, Durham is present as representative of the English, but the general alternation is not thus destroyed, for there is a strong shift from Henry and the English (III.iii) to James and the Scottish campaign (III.iv), back to the English forces under Surrey (IV.i).
58. Cf., e.g., the Duke of York's insistent calling for his boots (which are brought onstage by his servant) before he rides off with a message for Henry IV (RII, V.ii.77, 84 and s.d., and 87). Contemporary illustrations of women on horseback do not reveal any specific riding suit. Cf. the anonymous engraving of Charles I's queen, Henrietta Maria, reproduced in Corbett and Norton, Engraving in England, pt. III, pl. 183.
59. Cf. Ure, PW, p. 115, n. to line 1.
60. Cf. DM, III.v.1, 4-5.
61. Cf. Ure, PW, p. 118, n. to 67-68.
62. Cf. Ure, PW, pp. 120-121.
63. Skelton is spelt Sketon in the quarto.
64. E.g., fireworks were part of the celebrations presented before Prince Henry in 1610, and at the marriage of his sister Elizabeth in 1613. Cf. the contemporary accounts quoted in Nichols, Progresses of James, vol. II, pp. 323 and 530. It is not necessary with Ure (PW, p. lvii) to associate Ford's imagery (I.iii.35-42) with "popish firework[s]".
65. O.E.D., lb. Cf. Donald K. Anderson, Jr., ed., Perkin Warbeck, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1966), p. 97.
66. Cf. Orgilus' imagery of death, BH, V.ii.152-155.
67. EMOH, IV.ii.44-45, in Jonson, ed. cit., vol. III (1927), p. 532. The comparison is made in J.P. Pickburn and J. Le Gay Brereton, eds., Perkin Warbeck (Sydney, 1896), notes p. 142, but incorrectly cited.

68. Florio, *op.cit.*, p. 619.
69. Struble, Critical Edition, p. 156.
70. Cloth of tissue is a symbol of great expense in WD, II.i.56-57.
71. Cf. Brachiano to Vittoria, WD, I.ii.257-258.
72. From Thomas Harman's A Caveat for Common Cursitors (1566-1573), quoted in A.V. Judges, The Elizabethan Underworld, 2nd edn. (London, 1965), p. 118.
73. John Speed, The History of Great Britaine (London, 1611; B.M. 9502.i.5), p. 745, para. 55.
74. Speed, *ibid.*
75. Cf. II.i.8-15 and s.d. foll. 39 (sig. C4^v); II.iii.181-183 and V.ii.119, as well as the comic and foolish utterances of the counsellors themselves.
76. See below, pp. 673 and 678-681.
77. William Warner, for one, voices an overt disapproval of Stanley's death in Albion's England, revised edn. (London, 1612; B.M. C.71.c.11), sig. N5^v:
 "Sir William Stanley dide for this (oft King-law
 is done thus)
 Deseruing better of the King: but what is that
 to vs?"
78. The Lord Chamberlain contemporary to Ford's first audiences was Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, who held his post from 1626-1641. In a portrait by Van Dyck (c. 1628) the Earl is holding the white staff. Cf. Millar, The Age of Charles I, fig. 104.
79. Cf., e.g., Bentley, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 8. The plentiful entries under "Lord Chamberlain" in Bentley's index (*op.cit.*, vol. VII (1968), pp. 275-276) indicate the importance, to the theatre, of this official.
80. I suspect that Webster's Cardinal similarly steps into the discovery space on the word 'withdraw' so that he can be imagined spying thereafter on Julia and Delio. Cf. DM, II.iv.56.
81. Gifford and Dyce, Works of Ford (1869), vol. II, p. 144.
82. Cf. Anderson, ed., Perkin Warbeck, p. 36.
83. Cf. PW quarto, "The Persons presented" (sig. A^v):
"Vrswicke Chaplaine to King Henry".
84. Cf. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, vol. I, p. 38 n. 3 and p. 48.

85. The insult comes from Stanley, but Henry also treats Clifford with little respect (II.ii.113-122). Cotgrave (Dictionary, sig. Aa2^v) puts informers into an unpleasant group of rogues in his definition of "Delateur: n. A Promoter, Informer, Complainer, Pickthanko, Tell-tale, or Tale-bearer;..."
86. Cf. Nichols, Progresses of James, vol. IV, p. 1048, and Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, vol. I, p. 40 and p. 40 n. 1.
87. In 1614, the Earl of Somerset, disgraced by the Overbury scandal, was visited with an order to return his chamberlain's staff, and shortly thereafter he, like Stanley, was removed to the Tower. Cf. Allen B. Hinds, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1615-1617, vol. XIV (London, 1908), p. 65 number 95, Nov. 20, 1615.
88. Imagery from the stage is plentiful in Bacon's telling of Perkin's story in Henry VII. Cf. J. Le Gay Brereton, art. cit., p. 251.
89. Haydocke, in his translation of Lomazzo, speaks of "the colour which the painter useth, giving thereby the true similitude and proper resemblance to his counterfeit". Richard Haydocke, A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Caruing, Buildinge (Oxford, 1598; B.M. 561^a c.2), p. 18. Hamlet, showing the two portraits to his mother, calls them "The counterfeit presentment of two brothers" (Hamlet, III.iv.54).
90. E.g., 'painted' - I.i.43; I.iii.44; II.iii.64; 'idols' - I.i.62; and 'statue' - I.i.109.
91. Struble (Critical Edition, p. 131) notes that Bacon uses the mushroom image (cf. Bacon, Henry VII, p. 138), but the idea was proverbial. Cf., e.g., BH, IV.i.98.
92. Like the betrothal of Webster's Duchess, this onstage ceremony is a sponsalia de presenti, and we are to imagine that the church solemnization follows later; cf. PW, V.iii.113.
93. Cf. II.iii.168-169. Heron (or Horne) was a bankrupt London merchant (cf. Ure, PW, p. lxxxv), but the play makes no mention of his connection with England, and it is Heron who refers to his recent departure, with his fellow counsellors and Perkin, from Ireland (cf. IV.ii.71-72).
94. A-Water was Mayor of Cork in 1494-95 and 1499. Cf. Ure, PW, p. lxxxiii.
95. See below, pp. 678-681 and p. 698 n. 104.
96. The catalogue of examples is long: 'triumph' (or 'triumphant') - II.iii.126; III.i.43, 81; ii. 160;

iv.108; IV.v.30; V.iii.102, 188; 'ruin[s]' - I.i.22, 95; II.iii.15, 102; III.i.43; V.i.2; iii.95.

97. The superstition concerning Henry's fortunate Saturdays is not Ford's invention. Cf. Struble, Critical Edition, p. 136.
98. The quarto places the 'Flourish' after line 85 (sig. F2), but Huntly hears it at line 81.
99. Cf. Ure, PW, p. lxx.
100. J.O. Bartley, Teague, Shenkin and Sawney (Cork, 1954), pp. 80-81 and pls. 18 and 19. Falstaff is speaking of Scots when he mentions "a thousand blue-caps". Cf. I Henry IV, II.iv.346-347.
101. Cf. Bartley, op.cit., pp. 10-11 and pls. 2-4. There is a masque drawing by Inigo Jones of an Irishman and a Scot for Davenant's Salmacida Spolia (1640). The details are indistinct, but the long hair and mantle of the Irishman and the cap of the Scot are evident. Reproduced in Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, vol. II, p. 767 number 422.
102. Hughes, The Misfortunes of Arthur, sig. B2^v.
103. Jonson, ed. cit., vol. VII (1941), p. 403, l. 136.
104. Cf. J.O. Bartley, "The Development of a Stock Character, I. The Stage Irishman To 1800", MLR, XXXVII (1942), p. 440, and Florence R. Scott, "Teg - The Stage Irishman", MLR, XLII (1947), pp. 314-320 passim.
105. Cf., e.g., Gainsford, op.cit., sig. F4, and Bacon, op.cit., p. 138.
106. Cf. Bartley, Teague, p. 79.
107. The quarto s.d., following l. 135, reads Exeunt omnes, Manent, Warb. & Katherine (sig. F2^v). The dialogue necessitates Jane's exit at l. 138.
108. Gifford and Dyce, op. cit., vol. II, p. 214 n. 13. The historical Katherine made three subsequent marriages. Cf. Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., The Scots Peerage, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1907), pp. 530-531. But the published contemporary sources do not mention the widow's later marriages, and Gainsford states that for some reason she could or would not remarry; cf. Gainsford, op.cit., sig. P2. Sir Robert Gordon's A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, From its Origin to the Year 1630 mentions one husband after Perkin; Sir Robert's work, although known to Weber, (op.cit., II, p. 17), remained in manuscript until it was published in Edinburgh in 1813. Hence

Clifford Leech may well be imposing his own knowledge upon the playwright when he says that "Ford departs from his sources when he tells us that Katherine will 'die a faithful widow', overlooking her historically subsequent marriages..."; cf. Leech, Ford (1957), p. 92.

109. See above, p. 692 n. 27.
110. Cf. Struble, Critical Edition, p. 19.
111. Speed, op.cit., p. 745, para. 60.
112. Ibid.
113. Anderson, "Kingship in Ford's Perkin Warbeck", p. 177, summarizes the views of critics who distinguish or deny a political aspect in the play.
114. The main studies which consider Perkin a portrait of madness are: Lawrence Babb, "Abnormal Psychology in John Ford's Perkin Warbeck", MLN, LI (1936), pp. 234-237; and Winston Weathers, "Perkin Warbeck: A Seventeenth-Century Psychological Play", SEL, IV (1964), pp. 217-226. Cf., also, Stavig, Moral Order, pp. 180-183. Two recent articles have questioned the opinions of the madness and political schools, and give clear and sensitive readings of the play; cf. Jonas A. Barish, "Perkin Warbeck as Anti-History", Essays in Criticism, XI (1970), pp. 151-171, and Edwards, art. cit.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have tried to show that the tragedies of Webster and Ford disclose their rich and subtle meaning, their power, their beauty, most fully when their dramatic structure - their dramaturgy - is considered in its entirety. Certain scenes or moments are enriched - clarified, intensified, given dynamic and ironic ambiguities - by the interplay of their visual and verbal elements; groups of scenes, of actions, of themes are linked together, becoming part of a dense web, by the help of visual repetitions and comparisons. Moral judgements, dramatic retributions, foreshadowings - all can be underlined by the stage picture.

Although all seven of these tragedies display rich internal relationships, not all (at least in their extant versions) exhibit the same degree of careful and mature composition. The construction of the most finely created - The Duchess of Malfi, The Broken Heart, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, and perhaps Perkin Warbeck - leaves one, at each re-examination, further astounded by the intricate involvement of the imagistic elements, further enlightened as to the themes.

And yet, for all the imaginative power that has been expended on the visual realization of these tragedies, the simplicity of the staging (of the public and the private theatre plays) is repeatedly apparent. Few difficulties are presented to the ingenuity of the contemporary playhouse and its company. Even The Duchess of Malfi's false hand, wax bodies, and (perhaps) some lighting effect which reveals the heroine's face after her death - effects not unique at the time to The Duchess of Malfi¹ - demand only a minimum of invention. (Indeed, as the wax bodies are discovered, they could easily be represented by the actors themselves.) The properties required by these seven tragedies, although sometimes large, are simple, requiring only extra muscle power to move them, and in most cases are conventional items of the contemporary theatre. Beds, chairs, the 'state', tables, bars, altars are the common properties of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays;²

a tomb, a hearse, the stocks, and Orgilus' trapping chair appear in other dramas of the time.³ The White Devil's vaulting horse, if not a common element on the stage, is a normal property of gymnastics and gentlemen's recreations.⁴

It is by no means a paucity of invention or even an acquiescent acceptance of playhouse limitations which governs this choice of properties and staging. Instead, the creation of very basic stage patterning is integral to the themes of the plays. On the one hand, the simplified staging is organically related to the universal themes of which these plays are composed, and this simplicity of basic themes related to life's major events, sacraments and passions does not require the more elaborate and fantastical trimmings of the court masques with their more narrow appeal to a coterie audience. On the other hand, the very simplicity and repetition of these visualizations makes them easily recognized as motifs which are used for moral, ironic, or dramatic purposes.

In staging and visual imagery, Webster and Ford share certain features. At the simplest level, this similarity can be explained by nothing more significant than the sharing of inherited traditions and the playhouse milieu. The affinities are slightly accentuated by Ford's overt admiration for Webster, and his consequent exploitation of some of Webster's devices. The similarities are also evidence of the highly visual sensibility of these two dramatists. Ultimately, however, the overall effect of their plays differs. These differences are most obvious when comparing their 'characteristic' plays - The White Devil and The Duchess of Malfi; The Broken Heart and 'Tis Pity She's a Whore (those plays which possess, not necessarily all the elements most common to their author, but those elements which are in some measure unique to the works of that dramatist).

One raw ingredient of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama is its verbal structure; the other most vital element is the actor himself (rather than any elaborate setting as in later days). The actor, for Webster and Ford, is not merely the instrument through which the words are transmitted; the actor's voice, body, costume, gestures, and placement

within the stage picture are all elements of the changing, often symbolic, stage scene.

Costume and disguise are eternal elements of the drama, and may be used simply as necessities of plot. But for Webster especially, ever conscious of hypocrisy, deceit, and ambition, costume and costume changes are frequently thematically meaningful. In The White Devil, the inversion of natural order is economically conveyed by a confrontation of the 'manly' child, Giovanni, in armour, with his luxurious father, Brachiano, who is probably dressed in ducal splendour, and to whose morals a garment image has just been applied: he "shift[s his] shirt" at Vittoria's "When [he] retire[s] from Tennis" (WD, II.i.54-55). Brachiano's adultery is revealed by the splendour of Vittoria's gowns (cf. II.i.56-57), which Brachiano, and not her impecunious husband, has lavished upon her. The duke's perversions of natural and family order are requited in simple visual terms when Brachiano does don armour, but the armour of a game, not of war, and of a tournament in honour of a "whores triumph" (cf. II.i.241), the marriage of the excommunicate adulteress and the murderer. Brachiano has made himself unworthy of the armour of honourable manhood, and the helmet burns him, as a symbolic (but also factual) representation of his burning lust.

A costume change paralleling a personality change is a characteristic of the medieval theatre, and one which Webster uses to effect in the ritual divestiture of the Cardinal (DM, III.iv). The Cardinal's change of garments, from religious robes to armour, represents an alteration in his personal position and power, but it also reveals the brutal character that always existed beneath the outer church robes. The whole exchange of church symbols for military insignia is, as we have seen,⁵ a pantomime expressing the new relationship of the Cardinal to his victim sister.

Disguise is charged with fairly obvious irony when the murderers of Brachiano don spiritual robes (over armour, we are told, WD, V.i.23-24), but Webster gives this disguise great power and subtlety by relating it to his themes and

stage pictures. The play's motifs of witchcraft and the perversion of religion reach one peak in the Capuchin conspirators: they vow their devilish deed with a ceremony at once reminiscent of satanic rites and a perversion of church rites, and they kill their victim in a parody of the extreme unction and with all the trappings of an ars moriendi scene.

The multiplicity possible in a disguised character is splendidly manipulated in Francisco. At first he is clothed in the black of mourning, melancholy, and tragedy (as a self-conscious director of Brachiano's death) (cf. WD, IV.i.102-124); then he becomes a black Moor, but a Christian (by choice), so that the new character, Mulinassar, seems a holy contrast to the play's main vicious society - a black Christian amongst these "white devils". At the same time he partakes with them of hypocrisy, but of a more vicious, ingenious and successful variety; and yet, while posing as a soldier, he does (through the murder of Brachiano) succeed in avoiding war for his people, the horrors of which he appears genuinely to have dreaded (cf. IV.i.7-13).

In the classical tragedy, Appius and Virginia, the clear division of vice and virtue is given concrete existence in the wealth and ease of the senators (with Appius at their head) in their scarlet robes trimmed with furs and gold chains, and the poverty and misery of the unappreciated protectors, Virginius and his soldiers, in their soiled and battered armour. Webster gives to this contrast a contemporary and ironic twist by dressing his senators in the garments of London aldermen. The movement of Fortune's wheel is also supported by a simple costume change - Appius is given rich robes with his new power, and his fall is accompanied by the fetters of prison; Virginius, already undervalued when the play begins as his poor armour shows, falls further to the habit of a slave, worn by choice to express a condition which Appius' corrupt power has enforced, but at last he is given the wreath of consul as he rises to a position of justifiable and virtuous power.

Ford also uses costume, costume change and disguise in dramatic ways, often effectively, but he does so with

seemingly less interest than Webster in the inherent significance of the garments for the character who wears them than in the relationship of costume or disguise to the wider themes of the play. Thus in Perkin Warbeck, Ford makes a fairly simple yet telling contrast between the poetically beautiful Perkin and the practical Henry (armed in preparation, not just in battle, III.i), and between Perkin and the base Simnel in the servant-huntsman's clothes of a falconer. These foil contrasts befit Ford's historical subject and the ultimate, inevitable defeat of Perkin; they also enlarge the character of Perkin and the ambiguities surrounding him: Perkin is not a practical or worldly king like Henry; he may not even be a royal competitor; but he is certainly not base in character (like Simnel) if he is base in birth. The costume changes of Katherine reveal her altered fortunes but also her stoicism - from free courtly maiden, to bride, to the homeless and fleeing exile in her riding suit, to Henry's trophy in the rich robes which also reveal her determination never to be less than herself, a princess. Durham's change from bishop's robes to those of a military commander recall the change in Webster's Cardinal. Ford gives a subtle ambiguity to the change: Durham professes to regret the enforced donning of a habit and character not befitting him, while at the same time we are made aware that he has a cunning which is well capable of exploiting his change. But we are not, as with some of Webster's characters, made to see him clearly as a hypocrite.

The disguises of Orgilus as the scholar, Aplotes; of Roseilli as the fool; and of Richardotto as the physician, are all useful to Ford's plot and involved in his themes. There is irony in the contrast between a scholar's supposed moderation and Orgilus' disruptive passion (cf. BH, I.iii. 136-140 and 91-92); the character of fool draws attention to the whole subject of foolish lovers and of the widely spreading propensity of the characters to misinterpret what and whom they see; and the doctor, instead of bringing health to his diseased society, prescribes death (for Annabella's bridegroom). But with these disguises, Ford

seems less interested in the intrinsic personal hypocrisies of the characters who wear their false appearance than is Webster. This lack of interest is especially true in the case of Roseilli who exists more as a thematic than as a dramatic character.

The body of the actor (and its condition) is itself a potent object. Changes in that body (which include costume changes) help to tell the character's story. The Duchess of Malfi is led by the hand ('blind') by Antonio when first she loves (DM, I.1.565-568); she is led by the hand and blind to reality by Bosola when he begins to gain power over her (III.ii.395-360). She begins as a creature of "flesh, and blood", full of life, embracing her lover, a visual contrast to her verbal picture of the alabaster figure kneeling at the tomb of her first husband (I.1.519-521); visible proof of her living flesh comes, when she would hide it, in the fruitfulness of her womb revealed by the loose gown which Bosola suspects. This fruitfulness is further revealed at the shrine of Loretto when she is first seen with her children, fittingly at a shrine of the Madonna and Child, but here she is robbed of the supports of life, and next of her husband and eldest son. She becomes truly a funereal weeper when Ferdinand shows her the figures of Antonio and her children, 'dead'; at last, kneeling and praying to heaven, she becomes her own monument, in contrast to the pompous and hypocritical monuments of princes which Bosola describes (IV.ii.153-159). In death her body becomes a powerful property. Ferdinand is drawn irresistibly to see her, but the sight disturbs him and he orders Bosola to cover, then uncover, her face (IV.ii.276, 281, 291). The resulting mental blindness is fit retribution for his cruel trick of forcing her to view the 'dead' Antonio. Although Ferdinand becomes a wolf only in his sick imagination, Webster gives the duke the actions of a brute as Ferdinand falls upon his own shadow to throttle it, and will stand upright like a man only when forced (V.ii.34-50). The body of Antonio twice becomes a stage property, first imitated in a trick, when the wax body drives the Duchess to despair, then the dead Antonio

becomes Bosola's justification for his murder of the Cardinal (V.v.47-51). In Appius and Virginia, the blood-stained arms of Virginius become a double symbol - of his destructive act, a murder for which his own body suffers when the offending hand, shaking and palsied, is unable to hold the cup of life-giving wine (V.i.79-94); but a symbol too of his sufferings as the 'protector' of Virginia's innocence, and of the soldiers' misery as protectors of a diseased and cruel Rome. His bloody arms become the military 'colours' which the soldiers follow as they proceed against Appius, true murderer of Virginia, he whose hand should have supported Rome and the army (cf. II.iii.7). Virginia's body becomes a property, affecting the offstage mob, then brought upon the stage where it condemns the murderer (Appius) by bleeding anew in his presence (V.ii.99-101),⁶ and where it steels the too-merciful father to pronounce the sentence of justice.

If Ford is not as interested as Webster in costume, he is exquisitely capable of manipulating the body and gestures of his characters. Fenthea, in her complex state of widow (to her first betrothed) and enforced strumpet (as wife to Bassanes), sees herself as an abused bride, and in her madness her torn hair expresses despair, but it also presents a pathetic reminder of the flowing hair traditional to the bride on her wedding day. This torn hair also foreshadows the disfigurement of her death, when her starved and withered face is revealed by the removal of a veil, a beauty withered by her brother's past cruelty. A chain of simple movements and postures unites the fates of Fenthea, Amyclas, and Ithocles. When Fenthea goes mad, her roaming progress about the stage platform gradually weakens until she has to be supported from the stage (BH, IV.i). Next the king enters, also too weak to walk unaided, supported by his courtiers; but this weakness progresses (effectively telescoping his deterioration) and he is carried from the stage in his chair to die offstage (IV.iii). When Fenthea is next seen she is already dead, seated in a chair, and beside her is Ithocles, now caught in the 'engine', to die in expiation for his sins towards his sister (IV.iv).

This configuration of characters recalls that earlier scene when brother and sister sat side by side in melancholy sorrow, in close kinship and affection mixed with bitterness and remembrance of sin (III.ii). Their passive posture is a concrete expression of their repression - of Penthea's imprisoning marriage, and Ithocles' inability to move openly in his pursuit of the princess. The seating of Ithocles also shows the relationship of the king (old and ill) and Ithocles (ill with a moral stain), both incapable of renewing the health of the kingdom by their rule. Ithocles' dead body becomes an object of veneration at Calantha's shrine when, cleared of sin through expiation, he can become the noble prince that the dramatic living character never was.

Part of the effect achieved by Ford is by means of placement of these characters and bodies. Placement, gesture, grouping - these elements are important throughout the seven plays. Ford makes his effect often with very quiet, subtle, gestures - the Duke of Pavy laying his hand upon the tomb of his wife, Euphranea 'supported' by the man she loves, Calantha quietly completing the dance in the interests of decorum while her heart is breaking. The arrangement of two characters pitted against one which Webster uses to effect achieves a dual result: the one figure may be overpowered, or the placement may prefigure his eventual defeat, but at the same time his solitary position can confer an aura of heroism or attract our sympathy to him. Ford also uses the two against one arrangement, especially effectively in Love's Sacrifice (Fiormonda and D'Avolos baiting the Duke, IV.i), a play with strong echoes of Webster. He uses it again in Perkin Warbeck, with Hialas and Durham attempting to win James from his support of Perkin (IV.iii), and with Perkin and Durham fighting (although separately) for supremacy with James (III.iv). In the latter case, placement in vertical terms is also important, with Durham above, Perkin on the stage platform below, foreshadowing the supremacy of Durham and the English, the declining fortune of Perkin.

In the story of Annabella, vertical placement silently expresses her moral development: she is innocent and aloof

above, then lowers herself into the arena of her suitors and accepts the incestuous love, but eventually returns to the upper stage level when with genuine repentance she attempts to save her brother's life and soul. Perkin, who seeks to mount the visible throne, is defeated utterly when he is placed in the ignominious stocks; but this physical decline contrasts with a spiritual ascent, and he exits to death, but, in spirit, a king over death. Perkin's decline, visualized in terms of the state and the stocks, is related to the old theme of Fortune's wheel, although given a mature psychological interpretation; the rise and fall of Appius is a more unambiguous and conventional rendering of the Wheel of Fortune and Fall of Princes themes. Appius mounts the venerated judgement seat, pronounces corrupt judgement from it, and sinks to the stage level, seated in fetters in the dungeon which (verbally) is 'deep', a fall into the depths of the earth (A&V, V.ii.42).

Some characters are associated with certain properties or stagings. The whole story of Brachiano's passionate love, his disruption of family order, his audacity, courage and crime, and his deterioration into suspicion and bestiality in the house of convertites is encompassed by a series of related properties - cushion, carpet, gown (as chair), and bed. The cushioned carpet on which the wooers sit in their first scene together suggests lechery and foreshadows the bed of lust; Francisco then accuses Brachiano of abandoning his place upon the throne for the bed of lust (WD, II.i.31-33); the gown which Brachiano spreads at the trial recalls the carpet of the love scene, but also exposes the ungracious pottiness of his adversaries; the bed in the house of convertites represents the bed of his shame and lust, a lust now robbed of its beauty, becoming crude and merely physical, but this bed also represents the abused bed of his rightful wife whose death at her husband's instigation has occurred as she was going towards her bed (WD, II.ii; sig. D4^V). After his abuse of the bed and his choice of the sinful bed over the responsibilities of the throne, Brachiano's death on a

bed is entirely fitting, ironical too, since here he is offered the extreme unction which should transform the bed into a setting of holy peace. But in death he finds no rest, and as a ghost he is seen walking, while the innocent Marcello, when dead, lies peacefully, surrounded by his mourners. The costumes of these two dead men and of the other ghost, Isabella, complete the web of relationships - Brachiano in the costume of the ever-roaming and histrionic ghost; Marcello in the peaceful, impersonal shroud; Isabella in the garments of her innocent life.

In a similar, if simpler way, Bosola's attempt to alter his behaviour after the death of the Duchess is doomed to be a failure by certain visual and verbal associations. He has accepted Ferdinand's bribe with its implied duty to wield a sword (DM, I.i.263-268), and thus when he tries to support the sword of Justice he cannot. He has been associated with the dark lantern, as a spy and murderer; like the lantern he is a false friend (cf. II.iii.71), and changes too late in his attempt to help his erstwhile enemy. He stabs Antonio with the sword of 'Justice', and at once the dark lantern lightens the scene (V.iv.47-60).

An intricate mesh of symbolism can be established by the use of small properties or tokens combined with verbal references: the ring which signals the unjust divorce between Brachiano and Isabella is returned to him in revenge as the "true-love knot" which is both the knot of wedlock (normally symbolized by the embrace of the betrothed) and the knot of hands which strangles Brachiano (V.iii.175-176; sig. K3). Similarly, the ring which the Duchess gives to cure Antonio's eyesight leads to the circle of their arms in an embrace of wedlock. The marriage ring is cruelly torn from her hand by the Cardinal as he also puts off the ring of his religious rôle, 'divorcing' her from her husband and himself from piety and pity (DM, III.iv). Antonio's ring is returned to the Duchess on the dead man's hand, completing the 'divorce' (seemingly) by death (IV.i). Like Brachiano she receives a knot of death,

in this case the executioners' cord which strangles her (IV.ii). But for her, with her Christian confidence, the cord does send her to heaven where she believes she will be reunited with Antonio.

Ford's use of recurring motifs is slightly different from Webster's, and is most evident as a form of culminating imagery, whereby final scenes visually complete earlier verbal and visual images. The dance in the final act of The Broken Heart is the perfect realization of themes of harmony, decorum, and moderation, although it is not until the following scene, when we discover that griefs have broken Calantha's heart, that the full significance of the completed dance is known. That final scene at the altar draws together a multitude of earlier images and themes - those concerning worship, a proposed temple, faith to vows of marriage, and the oracle which now is unravelled. In Love's Sacrifice, the final scene, with Fernando rising in his winding sheet from within Bianca's tomb, is theatrically startling, but appropriate to his character, and the logical completion of earlier images. The first act has closed with Fernando's admission that his heart is 'entomb'd' in Bianca, whom he terms a 'shrine' (LS, I.ii, p. 28.19). Bianca's husband and lover make her tomb into a type of shrine by their veneration there of their 'saintly' heroine, and thus Fernando is entombed in her shrine. The heart on Giovanni's dagger, dramatically startling and, like Fernando's histrionic flourish in the winding sheet, an appropriate revelation of the growing irrationality of the histrionic Giovanni, is a perfect completion of the play's heart and disembowelling images, as well as a perfect expression of the decline of Giovanni into the destroyer of that beauty which he adored, blind to his own weakness in attempting to control fate.

Most overtly obvious of visual stagings are the major spectacles, pageants, tableaux which transform the stage from a mere location or placeless background to action, to a picture, sometimes active and changing, sometimes a static tableau, often ceremonial or ritualized, often

drawing attention to itself as a picture, a work of art. These rituals give permanence, enact basic sacraments.

These pageants or ceremonies are of several different types. Some are entirely or largely visual, such as the passage over the stage which opens the final act of The White Devil. In this silent procession the pride and confidence of the newly married pair is expressed, showing their flouting of the papal excommunication, their marriage in the face of recent murder and judgement, their security soon to be shattered. And this passage recalls a similar progress which first introduced these characters, when Vittoria was still wife to Camillo (I.ii). Some pageantry may in large measure add excitement and colour to the dramatic action, but it is usually also related to the play's themes, as is the case with the fighting of the barriers - a warlike game, but a chivalric game for which Brachiano is no longer fit and which he will not survive. Many of the ceremonies involve a simple playing out of the basic sacraments or ceremonies of life: the wooing or betrothal scenes of The White Devil (I.ii), The Duchess of Malfi (I.i), 'Tis Pity (I.ii), and Ferkin Warbeck (II.iii); the divorce of The White Devil (II.i); the mourning scenes of The White Devil (V.iv) and Love's Sacrifice (V.iii); the extreme unction of The White Devil (V.iii); the 'executions' of The White Devil (V.vi), The Duchess of Malfi (IV.ii), and The Broken Heart (V.ii); the trials of The White Devil (III.ii) and Appius and Virginia (IV.i); and the more elaborate wedding, coronation, mourning scene which closes The Broken Heart (V.iii). Each of these scenes is endowed with at least some measure of formality which gives a concrete reality to the changes which the ceremonies occasion, giving thus a permanence or dignity to the event as far as the characters are concerned (and this is true too of those who make of their own death an execution rather than merely a single action of defeat). These scenes which I have called ceremonies may involve nothing more than the words and gestures of the characters, as in the Duchess' espousal of Antonio: in such cases the characters attempt to give greater weight and significance

to the important step which they are taking, and the dramatist thus emphasizes the action for the audience. Some of these scenes are given their formality by being largely in pantomime, with presenters who interpret for the audience (and who may, thereby, present a dual interpretation of the visual scene): such is the elaborate ritual of banishment at the shrine of Loretto, commented upon by the Pilgrims, and the staging of the murders of Camillo and Isabella, with the Conjuror as presenter, not only to the audience, but also to the instigator of the murders, a very skilful and ironical detail. Webster is able, in this visual and formalized fashion, to express with economy and clarity symbolic relationships which would be more difficult and unwieldy in the greater naturalism and verbosity of speech - the Loretto dumb show expresses the symbolic relationship between the Cardinal's assumption of military power and his personal battle with his sister, his casting aside of not only his specific church rôle but also his Christian virtue in order to persecute the Duchess who, by association with the altar of the Madonna and the altar of his revenge, becomes something of a Christian martyr. Webster also achieves a great degree of distancing, of impersonality through his dumb shows. We view the death of the two basically innocent characters, Isabella and Camillo, not in the immediacy of their suffering, but at one remove, through the magic picture show of the Conjuror. And we view them with Brachiano (seated, like him, as an audience), so that, in a subtle way we are involved in some complicity with him. The distancing diminishes our emotional reaction to the deaths, and Brachiano's audience position slightly diminishes the sense of his guilt.

Strictly speaking Ford does not make use of dumb shows, although the final scene of The Broken Heart has dumb show elements. But he and Webster both employ a device with a strongly visual nature and which continued popular throughout the plays of their time and later - the masque within a play. Webster's masque of madmen which precedes the Duchess' death draws upon all the features

of the independent masque genre, and at the same time manipulates them ironically to make the Duchess' death a tragic perversion of a marriage entertainment. Ford uses his masques more perfunctorily. That which brings death to Ferentes gains its power from the unexpectedness of the grotesque action, and the lesson it seems to present to the jealous Duke of punishment for lust. The masque enlivening the marriage of Perkin is appropriate to the theme of national differences which shows Henry to be the ablest king, and which here shows the Irish and Scottish groups to be 'antic', unable to offer Perkin serious support in his challenge for kingship. The masque in 'Tis Pity is perhaps the most effective of the three, with its multiplicity of reversals. The graceful episode of dancing virgins gives way to the startling unveiling of the spiteful discarded mistress, but she reassures everyone with her gestures of goodwill, only to die miserably in the trap she had set for Soranzo.

These ceremonies and pageant scenes, especially where they are in the service of the various sacraments or rites de passage, punctuate the human journey through life. Journeys, physical as well as spiritual or psychological, are very frequent in these plays, not just as passing actions, but as factors which help to shape the plot and the development of characters. The White Devil opens with an enforced journey - the banishment of Lodovico. There are important flights and movements in the play - the reported activities of Lodovico as pirate, and his eventual return to 'honour' and crime; the 'escape' of Vittoria and the general movement of her party to Brachiano's dukedom; the journeys of the ambassadors from the trial to the papal election to the marriage of that whore whom they have judged and whom the judge, now newly pope, has excommunicated. In The White Devil these journeys remain basically separate effects, but in The Duchess of Malfi, the theme of a journey is united into a structural motif. The play opens with two returns - those of Antonio and of Bosola, the one bringing the wisdom of the healthy French court, the other bringing the bitterness of the malcontent

and the vice of past crimes. These returns are followed by immediate changes in the position and relationships of the two characters, changes which initiate all future action. But the first act also brings a departure - of the two brothers, thus leaving the Duchess free to carry out that marriage which her brothers have forbidden. The second act is encompassed by the journey of the news of the Duchess' pregnancy to her brothers in Rome. The following two acts open with a return, and these returns poignantly reveal the altering situation - the return of Delios recalling the play's opening exchange but bringing now the imbalance of Ferdinand; the return of the Duchess to her palace, which is now her prison and death cell. The journey to the shrine and sanctuary of Loretto which terminates in banishment parallels the Duchess' journey of life, especially in a medieval sense. She is stripped of all support until she stands alone to face her death, the end of the journey. The final act is a journey for all the characters into a chaos of misdirected movement in the dark caused by the extinction of the light of the Duchess' goodness.

In The Broken Heart and 'Tis Pity, Ford uses journeys in an important way, and here the geographic place to and from which the characters travel is given psychological and symbolic significance. The Broken Heart opens with scenes which contrast private family departure with triumphal public return. Each journey proves futile or false. Orgilus does not go to Athens, and even his disguise as Tecnicus' scholar, a disguise which brings a symbolic Athens into the immediate setting, is in vain, for he cannot leave behind his melancholy and anger at his loss of his betrothed, nor can he win Penthea to accept his resumption of a husband's rôle. Ithocles, a hero at his return, comes home to the remembrance and evidence of past sins. Tecnicus, when he forsakes Sparta (the immediate stage world) for Delphos (a world of spirit and reason), abandons the play's world and its characters to madness and revenge. Movement and place have similar characteristics in 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, although of not

such central importance. The return home of Giovanni at the beginning represents a completed change - from the former ideal gentleman and scholar to the impassioned lover, at discord with himself. Here too the figure of wisdom and spiritual strength (the Friar) forsakes the play's world, in this case returning to that Bononia from which Giovanni first had come. Harmony, in the person of the musician, Philotis, withdraws to Cremona with the clear indication that virtue can only be preserved by a retreat from 'this' world (the immediate stage world, which here is Parma) to that of a convent. Love's Sacrifice also opens with the journeying theme, although the device here - of Roseilli's banishment and Fernando's return - is somewhat forced and ultimately is not integrated into the fabric of the play.

Appius and Virginia and Perkin Warbeck are tied more closely to historical locations than are the other five plays. The former play opens with a theme of (false) banishment which is given ironic power through the contrast of the hypocritical Appius who pretends to be banished from comfort by the assumption of a public life, and the genuine banishment of Virginius (from the pleasures of his family's activities) by his sense of public duty and Rome's ill-treatment of the army. Journeys between the camp and Rome are not just factual necessities of plot. The very Websterian sense of a state as a living body, of a web of interdependence connecting the various places and members, is established, and the two localities are visually contrasted by the rich luxury of senatorial robes on the one hand, the poor rags of the starved soldiers on the other. In Perkin Warbeck, the setting changes logically from England to Scotland (and the battles involving the two nations), but the order of these alternating scenes is chosen by Ford, to present a contrast between Henry and Perkin and to expose the futility of Perkin's idealistic hopes. As Perkin, and then Perkin and Katherine, set forth upon their journey towards his desired throne, they move away from the security and chivalry of the Scottish court, and are gradually robbed of retinue and strength (as is Webster's Duchess).

In a sense, the scenes of ceremony and the theme of a journey are related opposites, for while the ceremonies add a dimension to the lives of the characters, making some crucial step or action seem permanent, the journeys usually strip off the supports and trappings of life, reducing the character to his essential self.

Sometimes in these tragedies the stage picture, or the combination of stage and verbal imagery, makes reference outward to some external convention or image. In Webster's papal election, a whole ceremonial pageant is imitated (WD, IV.iii). But equally interesting are the more subtle references to conventions, often from some field of art. This technique is particularly evident in Webster's tragedies, in the ars moriendi which encompasses the death of Brachiano, and in the more sustained contrast between art and life to be found in the story of Malfi's Duchess. Here a potent ambivalence runs through a series of images - the Duchess as a medal and as an alabaster weeper is depersonalized; she chooses instead the life of flesh and blood and love, but in order to follow her desires she must hide from the world her love for Antonio. But Ferdinand, too, has tried to hide her away from life, "cas'de-up, like a holy Relique" (DM, III.ii.162). He makes her a living tomb weeper before the stylized scene of her husband's wax body; he makes her a player in the masque of her execution. Dying, she is superior to the many works of art, to the monuments mentioned, because she can suffer and because she adopts a humble posture in the face of heaven. Even after death she exerts her living power, as the lovely ephemeral Echo, not as a cold figure in marble. Ford's reference outward is often to emblems, and to the popular tradition of triumphs, both of the Petrarchan and of the more general Elizabethan-Jacobean varieties. The triumph (and its opposite, ruin) helps to shape The Broken Heart, where the triumphal entry of the victorious Ithocles is one factor which unleashes the subsequent action which at last leads to the Triumph of Time - the inevitable destruction of the vine, the trunk and the grape. This Triumph of Time, with its obvious relation to the powers of fate, leads

logically to the very static, ritualized final scene where it is as if Time itself has been fulfilled.

Already in this brief summary certain differences between the dramaturgy of Webster and Ford can be seen. Perhaps the most basic and pervading difference is one which involves the exploitation of overt theatricality, of the stage as life and the world as a stage. For Webster the theatre-life metaphor is of central importance, frequently determining the shape or nature of the action. Webster makes some of his characters manipulate the theatricality of their existence when they address us directly in asides that shatter the boundary between stage and audience, or serve as directors of action and of their fellow characters. Webster often draws attention to a scene as a scene: for example, the introduction of the characters at the beginning of The Duchess of Malfi is to a large extent played out as a pantomime of actors while Antonio describes each to Delio, and the very artificiality of the device is stressed (cf. DM, I.i.153-214). Certain figures, supremely Flamineo, are given characteristics recalling the Vice and tempter figure of medieval drama, acting as self-conscious director and presenter, providing properties and players, controlling action (as in WD, I.ii). This creative characteristic is entirely appropriate to Webster's general themes. On the one hand, hypocrisy and vice are widely distributed in the society of his plays. The 'player' image can reveal this almost universal hypocrisy and the vices which are pursued but cunningly hidden. But on the other hand, Webster, like his medieval predecessors, is concerned to show man as man, to lead his characters through the pleasures and sufferings of life (both of which provide trials to humanity) until the character displays his true grandeur or insignificance when, stripped of support, he stands alone. Here, too, the actor image is important: the image of the actor is not only to be interpreted as a symbol of hypocrisy. Each man, in his life, plays a rôle, and he plays it well or ill. All Webster's great characters are endowed with self-consciousness. In other words they have the power to

view themselves as actors, even as works of art in a tale worth telling. They are often deluded, but ultimately they strain towards self-knowledge in their final moments. Because Webster's heroes must play their lives well, they must have independent power over their actions. Here again the theatre metaphor helps to express a basic theme: characters such as Vittoria, Brachiano, Flamineo think (often wrongly) that they have full power over their own lives; characters such as Camillo abdicate their personal responsibility to be a man and are directed by others (in his case, by Flamineo and Monticelso). Thus they lose their personal integrity of selfhood and Camillo, although technically 'innocent', cannot claim our admiration. Ultimately, too, the theatre image, blurring the boundary between a work of art and life, demands of the audience an intellectual, not an emotional, response, and requires us to be constantly alert to the levels of meaning - for in any single scene we may be given several levels of reality, depending on the honesty or hypocrisy of the characters involved. Characters wear masks over their true feelings, but we the audience are permitted a glimpse behind those masks - dramatic power is achieved by making us aware of the many levels of conflicting reality beneath the surface picture, and we are not left to discover these ambivalences only as the action reveals them. Also, Webster presents us with some characters who, being great actors in the sense that they play their life to the full, are grand heroes in dramatic terms but who, by their placement in a visual field, may be silently damned (as is Brachiano, by recollections of his abuses of the bed).

The theatre-life metaphor, although it is used effectively in Ford's plays, does not become such an integral element of the structure. For Ford and his characters there is not the same satiric consciousness of hypocrisy and false seeming as there is in Webster's plays. Instead there is often a general inability to penetrate the secrets of any heart, partly because of the repression which so often settles upon his characters through sorrow or the past injustices of man and fate, or simply through a reticence that is part of the chivalric mood so admired

by many of his characters. This is most obviously true in The Broken Heart, but it is not unimportant elsewhere.

Villainy in Ford's plays can grow from the good old-fashioned motives of hatred, lust and vengeance, as in the activities of Hippolita, Soranzo, and Fiormonda. With Fiormonda in particular, Ford employs the overtly theatrical mode: he places her 'above' to watch, comment, and direct during the murder of Bianca; he gives her speeches which place her in the traditional class of conscious creators of tragedy (e.g., LS, II.iii, p. 50.14-15). Significantly, this most 'theatrical' of Ford's tragedies is the one which most clearly adapts and borrows from other plays, and does not reveal his own originality to the same extent as do his other three plays examined. Where Fernando, Giovanni, and to a lesser extent Perkin are theatrical in nature, playing a rôle with a flourish, this theatricality reveals their own histrionic natures, blind to their true selves and situations, growing confident against fate. Theirs is not the type of theatricality that defines a Flamenco, where he, like the audience, is distanced, an observer even of himself, thus seeing himself as an actor and carefully manipulating his rôle.

One of the most important pervasive themes in Ford's plays is the misleading nature of vision. While Webster's characters may wear a mask and thus delude the sight of other characters, Ford's characters see only a partial truth because there seems to exist a multiplicity of truths. The scenes which trace the change in Bianca from coldly virtuous to openly lustful are staged as tableaux. Each is a picture (perhaps in each case framed by the open discovery space or booth) - the kneeling lover at the chess game (LS, II.iii), the mistress stooping by Fernando's bed (II.iv), the lovers seated at a table, absorbed in their kisses (V.i). The first and last of these stage pictures is watched and misinterpreted, and although that misinterpretation ironically offers a very strong hint of the truth, the moral crime of misjudging appearances is not diminished. The unreliability of sight in this play helps to expose the mental blindness of various characters,

a blindness which accounts for the Duke's total reversal in his attitude to the dead Bianca, Fernando's refusal to recognize the treachery to friendship which he at first dreaded, and Bianca's inability or unwillingness to recognise her growing baseness. The offstage blinding of Putana (with the onstage struggle which precedes it) is a symbol of the blindness which overwhelms the mind and actions of Giovanni.

In Perkin Warbeck this question of multiple truths is embodied in the person of Perkin, a counterfeit in English eyes and in a proportion of the imagery, and a noble youth in behaviour, especially in adversity. Whereas the stage picture often helps to clarify ambiguities in Webster's plays (as, for example, the presence of the bed in the house of convertites scene cynically undermines Vittoria's professed repentance), and soliloquies or private dialogues between fellow plotters direct the audience towards the truths or dangers hidden beneath the seemingly harmonious surface picture, in Ford's plays we are usually denied these self-explanatory soliloquies and speeches whereby villains share their intentions with the audience, and his stage picture at times intensifies the inherent ambiguities of the action. For example, the scene before the walls of Norham Castle (PW, III.iv) is given a fine multiplicity of possible meanings by the question of our (and James') interpretation of that which we see and hear. Durham may be a virtuous bishop forced to take a warlike rôle, a figure leading James and his thoughts heavenwards; he may be the cunning fox that Perkin sees, manipulating his power (represented by his raised position) to trample down the powerless Perkin. Various scenes also expose the ambiguities in the character of Ithocles. The triumphal entry, with its greetings, praise, chaplet of glory, establishes one aspect of his character; the melancholy seated scene (BH, III.ii) reveals another; and these two elements are never fully integrated or denied. The duality in this character is part of the tragedy of the play. Although the characters ultimately must take responsibility for their actions, (and Ford does

not allow them to escape) the rôle of Fate is more clearly and oppressively felt than in the plays of Webster. Fate may overpower the lives of the characters, but several of the heroes also try to overpower fate: Orgilus, Giovanni and Fernando all think they can control their own fate, and their growing self-confidence exposes their mental blindness.

It is dangerous to attempt any categorical division between the effects of Webster's stagings and those of Ford. In many ways, the two playwrights employ similar techniques. But judging the most extreme examples of their characteristic methods, it is possible to see that where Webster penetrates to the meaning and core of his characters by means of their own theatrical consciousness, by stripping bare the hypocrisies and also the protective coverings that life and power provide, by revealing the characters in stylized actions in which they play a rôle determined by their own desires but related inevitably (and often visually) to the larger stage of their world, Ford seems to show that the heart and soul are secret and hidden places. His stagings, especially those which close his plays, are often more ritualized, less active than Webster's. Inexpressible grief can only be ritually portrayed; the impossibility of altering one's fate leads either to silent, frozen grief or to the self-confident delusion of a Giovanni. In a metaphysical dimension Ford's stagings reveal that which (to him) is inexpressible in mere words, in overt statement.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. Cf. The Second Maiden's Tragedy [1611], for a similar lighting effect (p. 61, IV.iv, ll. 1926-1931); and for the use of an onstage body (of the lady) while the actor of that rôle is required onstage as a ghost (pp. 70, V.ii, ll. 2225-2229 and p. 75, ll. 2383-2387). Titus Andronicus [Q1594] requires an assortment of dismembered heads and hands (cf. III. i, s.d. foll. 1. 234).
2. See, for example, the many entries under these items in T.J. King's compilation of required properties in plays staged from 1599 to 1642. (Shakespearean Staging, "Index of Subjects", pp. 161-165.)
3. E.g., tomb: Second Maiden's Tragedy, p. 55, IV.iii and p. 61, IV.iv, and Romeo and Juliet [Q1597], V. iii; hearse: Two Noble Kinsmen [1613], sigs. C3^v and C4^v; stocks: King Lear [Q1608], II.iv; trapping chair: The Devils Charter [Q1607], sig. C-C3.
4. And see above, figure 9.
5. See above, pp. 132-134.
6. The belief that a body would bleed anew in the presence of its murderer was a traditional superstition. Cf. Lucas, Works of Webster, III, p. 248, n. to l. 100.

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to Law, the / Deuill is full of Buſiſſe. / A
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from the Originall. / As it was approouedly well
Acted / by her Maieſties Seruants. / Written by
IOHN WEBSTER. / / LONDON, / Printed by A.M.
for Iohn Griſmand, and are / to be ſold at his
Shop in Pauls Alley at the / Signe of the Gunne.
1623. / [B.M. 644.f.71.]
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As it was Preſented priuatly, at the Black-
Friers; and publicquely at the Globe, By the
Kings Maieſties Seruants. / The perfect and exact
Coppie, with diuerſe / things Printed, that the
length of the Play would / not beare in the
Preſentment. / VWritten by John Webſter. / //
LONDON: / Printed by NICHOLAS OKES, for IOHN /
WATERSON, and are to be ſold at the / ſigne of

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[woodcut] / (On les vend a Rouen / chez Jean
Creuel / Libraire: tenant / sa boutique / au
portail des Libraires. / [Rouen, 1580?]
[B.M. C.53.c.4.]

_____ . [Everyman.] ¶ Here begynneth a treaty^{se} how
the / hye fader of heuen sendeth dethe / to somon
euery creature to / come and gyue a counte / of
theyr lyues in this / world and is in ma- / ner
of a morall / playe. / [woodcuts] / [London,
?1530.] [B.M. Huth 32.]

_____ . THE / MASKE OF / FLOWERS. / PRESENTED / By
the Gentlemen of Graies-Inne, at / the Court of
White-hall, in the Ban- / quetting House, vpon
Twelke / night, 1613. / // LONDON / Printed
by N.O. for Robert Wilson, and are to be / sold
at his Shop at Graies-Inne / new gate. 1614. /
[B.M. 161.a.57.]

_____ . The most wonderfull / and true storie, of
a certaine Witch / named Alse Gooderige of
Stapenhill, //[woodcut] / Printed at London
for I.O. 1597. / [Lambeth Palace Library 1597.15.]

_____ . A / WARNING / for Faire Women. / Containing, /
The most tragicall and lamentable mur- / ther of
Master George Sanders of London / Marchant,... /
As it hath boene lately diuerse times acted by
the right / Honorable, the Lord Chamberlaine /
his Seruantes. / [ornament] / Printed at London
by Valentine Sims for William Aspley / 1599. /
[B.M. 161.b.13.]

Armin, Robert. THE / History of the two Maids of More-
clacke, / With the life and simple maner of
IOHN / in the Hospitall. / Played by the Children
of the Kings / Maiesties Reuels. / Written by
ROBERT ARMIN, seruant to the Kings / most
excellent Maiestie. / [woodcut] / LONDON, Printed
by N.O. for Thomas Archer, and is to be sold at

his / shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1609. /
[B.M. C.34.c.1.]

Bacon, Francis. THE / HISTORIE / OF THE RAIGNE / OF KING
/ HENRY / The Seuenth. / Written / By the Right
Honourable, / FRANCIS, / Lord Verulam, Viſcount /
S^t Alban. // LONDON, / Printed by W. Stansby for
Matthew / Lownes, and William / Barret. / 1622. /
[All within an engraved border. B.M. C.38.h.1.]

[Bagford, John.] The Bagford Ballads. [A collection of
ballads and fragments, formed by John Bagford,
and commonly known as the Bagford Ballads. 2
vols. B.M. C.40.m.9 and 10.]

[Barnes, Barnabe.] THE / DIVILS CHARTER: / A TRAGAEDIE /
.... / As it was plaide before the Kings
Maieſtic, / vpon Candlemaſſe night laſt: by
his / Maieſties Seruants. / / AT LONDON /
Printed by G.E. for Iohn Wright, and are to be
ſold at / his ſhop in New-gate market, neere
Chriſt / church gate. 1607. / [The dedication
gives the author as "Barnabe Barnes", sig. A^v.
B.M. C.34.c.3.]

Bateman, Stephen. ¶ A chri- / ſtall glaſſe of / chriſtian
reformation, / / ¶ Collected by Stephen
Bate- / man Miniſter. / ¶ IMPRINTED / at London
by Iohn Day / dwelling ouer Alderſ- / gate. /
.... // 1569. / [All in an ornamental border.
B.M. C.37.d.2.]

Beaumont, Francis, and John Fletcher. COMEDIES / AND / TRAGEDIES /
Written by { FRANCIS BEAUMONT }
 AND
 { IOHN FLETCHER } Gentlemen.
/ Never printed before, / and now publiſhed by
the Authours / Originall Copies. // //
LONDON, / Printed for Humphrey Robinſon, at the
three Pidgeons, and for / Humphrey Moſeley at
the Princes Armes in S^t Pauls / Church-yard.
1647. / [All within double rules. B.M. C.39.k.5.]

[Burton, Robert.] THE / ANATOMY OF / MELANCHOLY. / /
BY / Democritus Junior / / The thirde Edition,
corrected and / augmented by the Author. / //


Oxford / Printed for / Henry Cripps. / 1628 /
 [Surrounded by engraved scenes. B.M. C.123.k.28.]

Carleton, George. A / THANKFULL / REMEMBRANCE / OF GODS
 MERCY. / / Collected by GEO: CARLETON, /
 Doctor of Divinity and Bishop of / CHICHESTER. //
 The third Edition revised, and enlarged. //
 // LONDON, Printed by M. Fleisher for Robert
Mylbourne / and Humphrey Robinson at the signe
 of the three / Pigeons in Pauls Church-yard. /
 1627. / [This titlepage is preceded by a less-
 complete engraved titlepage. B.M. 807.c.22.]

Chapman, George. [ornament] / Buffy D'Ambois: / A /
 TRAGEDIE: / As / it hath been often presented /
at Paules. / [printer's device] / LONDON, /
 Printed for William Aspley. 1607. / [B.M.
 C.34.c.12.]

THE / Widdowes Teares / A / Comedie. / As
 it was often presented in the blacke / and white
 Friars. // Written by / GEOR. CHAP. // [ornament]
 // LONDON, / Printed for John Browne, and are
 to be sold at his shop / in Fleet-street in
 Saint Dunstanes Church-yard. / 1612. / [B.M.
 644.d.48.]

[Chettle, Henry.] THE / TRAGEDY / OF HOFFMAN / OR / A
 Reuenge for a Father, / As it hath bin diuers
 times acted / with great applaus, at the Fhenix
 / in Druery-lane. // [printer's device] //
LONDON, / Printed by I.N. for Hugh Perry, and
 are to bee / sold at his shop, at the signe of
 the Harrow / in Btittaines-burfe [sic]. 1631. /
 [B.M. 644.b.11.]

 A Collection in English, of the / Statutes now in
 force, continued from the be- / ginning of MAGNA
 CHARTA, ... / ... vntill the end of the Parliament
 holden in the three and / fortieth yere of the
reigne of our late Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth,
 ... / / ¶ Imprinted at London by THOMAS
 WIGHT. / Anno Dom. 1603. / Cum priuilegio. /
 [B.M. 505.g.12.]

- Cooper, Thomas. THE / MYSTERY / OF / WITCH-CRAFT. /
Discouering, / The Truth, Nature, Occasions, /
Growth and Power therof. // // By THOMAS
 COOPER. // LONDON, Printed by Nicholas Okes.
 1617. / [B.M. 719.b.20(1).]
- Coryat, Thomas. CORYATS / Crudities / Hastily gobled vp
 in five / Moneths trauels... / / [All in
 an engraved surround.] Second titlepage:
 // LONDON, Printed by W.S. Anno Domini / 1611. /
 [B.M. C.32.e.9.]
- Cotgrave, Randle. A / DICTIONARIE / OF THE FRENCH / AND
ENGLISH / TONGVES. / Compiled by RANDLE /
 COTGRAVE. / [printer's device] / LONDON /
 Printed by Adam Iſlip. / Anno 1611. / [All within
 decorative strapwork border. B.M. N.L. 10a.]
- Cramer, Daniel. EMBLEMATA SACRA. / / PARS PRIOR /
 Primò per Reverend. Dn./DANIELEM CRAMERUM, /
 / FRANCOVRTI, / / ANNO M. DC. XXIV. /
 [All in an engraved surround. B.M. 95.a.22.]
- [Daniel, Samuel.] THE / TRVE DISCRIP- / tion of a Royall
 / Maſque. / PRESENTED AT HAMP- / ton Court, vpon
 Sunday night, bo- / ing the eight of Ianuary. /
 1604. / / LONDON / Printed by Edward Alde,
and are to be / ſolde at the Long Shoppe, ad-
 joyning vnto / S. Mildreds Church in the /
Poultrye. 1604. / [Also known as The Vision of
the Twelve Goddesses. B.M. C.21.c.69. Title-
 head cropt.]
- [Davenant, Sir William.] THE / CRVELL / BROTHER. / A
 Tragedy. / As it was preſented, at the / priuate
 Houſe, in the / Blacke-Fryers: / By His Maieſties
Seruants. / [ornament] / LONDON, / Imprinted by
A.M. for Iohn Waterſon, / and are to bee ſolde
 at the ſigne of the / Crowne in Pauls Church-yard.
 / 1630. / [The dedicatory epistle is signed
 "William D'auenant", sig. A3. B.M. 644.b.17.]
- Dekker, Thomas. Satiro--maſtix. / OR / The vntruſſing
of the Humo- / rous Foot. / As it hath bin
preſented publikely, / by the Right Honourable,

the Lord Cham- / berlaine his Seruants; and
 priuately, by the / Children of Paules. / By
Thomas Dekker. / / LONDON, / Printed by
E.A. for Edward VWhite, and are to / be solde at
 his shop, neere the little North doore of Paules
 / Church, at the signe of the Gun. 1602. /
 [B.M. C.34.c.27.]

[? Thomas Drue.] THE / BLOODIE / BANQVET. / A / TRAGEDIE.
 / / BY T.D. / [ornaments] // LONDON /
 Printed by Thomas Cotes. 1639. / [B.M. 643.c.4.
 sl. cropt.]

Elyot, Sir Thomas. The boke / named the Gouvernour, /
 deuised by Tho- / mas Elyot / knight. /
 [ornament] / Londini in edibus Tho. / Bertheleti.
 An. dñi / M. D. xxxi. / [All in an ornamental
 border. B.M. G.735.]

Fennor, William. THE / COMPERS / COMMON-WEALTH, / OR /
 A VOIAGE MADE TO / an Infernall ILAND... / /
 BY /

{ WILLIAM FENNOR
 HIS
 { MAIESTIES SERVANT. }

// [ornament] // LONDON / Printed by Edward
Griffin for George Gibbes and are to be / sold
 at his shoppe in Pauls Churchyard at the signe /
 of the Floure-de-luce. 1617. / [B.M. C.117.b.1.]

Ferne, John. THE / BLAZON OF GENTRIE: / / Compiled
 by IOHN FERNE / / AT LONDON / Printed by
John VVindet, for / Toby Cooke. / 1586. /
 [B.M. 9917.ccc.3.]

Fletcher, John, and William Shakespeare. THE / TWO /
 NOBLE / KINSMEN: / Presented at the Blackfriars
 / by the Kings Maiesties servants, / with great
 applaus: // Written by the memorable Worthies /
 of their time; /

{ M^r. John Fletcher, and
 { M^r. William Shakspere. } Gent..

// [printer's device] // Printed at London by
Tho. Cotes, for John Waterfon: / and are to be
 sold at the signe of the Crowne / in Pauls Church-
yard. 1634. / [B.M. C.34.g.23. Title-head cropt.]

Foxe, John. ACTES / AND MONV- / MENTS OF MATTERS / most
 speciall and memorable, happening / in the Church,
 with an vniuersall / historie of the same. /
 / Now againe, as it was recognised, perused,
 and recom- / mended to the studious Reader, by
 the Author, Maister John / Foxe: the sixth time
 newly imprinted, with certaine / additions
thereunto annexed: Anno 1610. / / AT LONDON,
 / Printed for the Company of Stationers. //
Anno Domini, 1610. / [B.M. 478.i.1-3. 3 vols.]

[Gainsford, Thomas.] THE TRVE / EXEMPLARY, AND / REMARKABLE
 HIS- / tory of the Earle of Tirone: / /
Written by T.G. Esquire. / LONDON, / Printed by
G.P. for Ralph Rowntwaite, and are / to bee
 sold at the signe of the Floure de- / Luce and
 Crowne, in Pauls Church / Yard. 1619. / [The
 dedicatory epistle is signed "Th. Gainsforde",
 sig. A3. B.M. C.21.b.34.]

THE / TRVE AND / WONDERFULL / HISTORY OF /
 Perkin Warbeck, / PROCLAIMING / himselfe RICHARD
 the fourth. / Eurip. Iphig. in Tauris. / Nullus
sibi similis in periculis homo, quoties / ad
audaciam ex metu venerit. // [ornament] //
 LONDON, / Printed by E.G. for NATHANIEL BUTTER,
 and are to bee sold at his / shop in Pauls
 Church-yard, at the / signe of the Pyde-Bull.
 1618. / [The dedicatory letter is signed "Thomas
 Gainsforde", sig. A3. B.M. 10815.b.18.]

Greene, Robert. THE / SCOTTISH / Historie of Iames the /
 fourth, slaine at Flodden. / /
 Written by Robert Greene, Maister of Arts. /
 / LONDON / Printed by Thomas Creede. 1598. /
 [B.M. C.34.g.20. Tit. head sl. cropt.]

[Haydocke, Richard.] A / TRACTE CONTAI- / NING THE ARTES
 / of curious Faintinge Caruinge & Buildinge /
written first in Italian by Io: / Paul Lomatius
painter of Milan / AND ENGLISHED BY / R.H. student
in Physik / In the handes of the skilfull shall /
the worke be approued / Eccl. 9.19. / [All
 within ornamental border. Epistle signed "RICHARD
 HAYDOCKE", sig. ¶ij^v. B.M. 561* c.2.]

- Heywood, Thomas. [ornament] / THE / RAPE OF / LVCRECE. /
 A / True Roman Tragedie. / / Acted by her
 Maieſties Seruants at the Red Bull, / neere
 Clarken-well. / Written by Thomas Heywood. /
 [printer's device] / LONDON / Printed for I.B.
 and are to be ſolde in Pauleſ / Church-yard at
 the Signe of the Pide Bull. / 1608 / [B.M.
 C.34.h.44.]
- Holland, Philemon. THE / ROMANE / HISTORIE VVRIT- / TEN
 BY T. LIVIVS / OF PADVA. / / Translated out
of Latine into Engliſh, by PHILEMON HOLLAND,
 / Doctor in Phyſicke. / [printer's device] /
 LONDON, / Printed by Adam Iſlip. / 1600. /
 [B.M. 1306.m.11.]
- Howes, Edmond. THE / ANNALES, / OR / GENERALL CHRO- /
nicle of England, begun firſt by / maiſter IOHN
STOW, and / after him continued and augmented /
 / by EDMOND / Howes, gen- / tleman. /
 /// LONDINI / /// 1615 / [All in an
 architectural and figured engraving. B.M.
 L.7.g.11.]
- [Hughes, Thomas.] CERTAINE DE- / uiſes and ſhewes
 preſented to / her MAIESTIE by the Gentlemen
 of / Grayes-Inne.... / AT LONDON / Printed by
 Robert Robinſon. / 1587 [1588]/[On the verso of
 the fourth sheet of the first unmarked gathering
 is: "The miſfortunes of Arthur...by THOMAS
 HUGHES..." (and various other hands). B.M.
 C.34.b.3.]
- Jonston, John. INSCRIPTIONES / HISTORICAE / REGVM
 SCOTORVM, / / IOH. IONSTONO Abredonenſe /
Scoto, Authore. / / AMSTELDAMI, // /
 ANNO 1602. / [B.M. 600.g.19 (1).]
- [Kirkman, Francis.] THE / WITS, / OR, / SPORT upon SFORT.
 / BEING A / Curious Collection of ſeveral /
 DROLS and FARCES / // Written I know not
when, by ſeveral Perſons, I know not who; / But
now newly Collected by your Old Friend to pleaſe
you, / FRANCIS KIRKMAN. // London, Printed for
Fran. Kirkman, and are to be Sold by / moſt Book-
 Sellers. 1673. / [B.M. C.71.h.23.]

- [Kyd, Thomas.] The Spanish Tragedie: / OR, / Hieronimo
is mad againe. / / Newly corrected, amended,
and enlarged with new / Additions of the Painters
part, and others, as / it hath of late been
diuers times acted. / [woodcut] / LONDON, /
Printed by W. White, for I. White and T. Langley,
/ and are to be sold at their Shop ouer against
the / Sarazens head without New-gate. 1615./
[B.M. 1076.i.13.]
- Langbaine, Gerard. AN / ACCOUNT / OF THE / English
Dramatick / POETS. / // BY GERARD LANGBAINNE.
// OXFORD, / Printed by L.L. for GEORGE WEST, /
and HENRY CLEMENTS. // An. Dom. 1691. / [B.M.
C.57.1.12. Originally in one volume, modern
rebinding in two vols.]
- Lodge, Thomas. THE / VVOUNDS / of Ciuill VVar. / /
As it hath beene publicquely plaide in London, /
by the Right Honourable the Lord high / Admirall
his Seruants. / VVritten by Thomas Lodge Gent. /
.... / LONDON, / Printed by Iohn Danter, and are
to be sold / at the signe of the Sunne in Paules
/ Church-yarde. / 1594. / [B.M. C.12.e.16 (1).]
- [Mainwaringe, M.] VIENNA / / London - Printed for
GEORGE PERCIVALL / and are to be sold at his
shop at the signe / of the Bible in fleetstreete,
neere the Cunditt / [1628]. [All in an engraved
figured scene. Dedicatory verses by "M.M.",
sig. A2; four commendatory verses by various
individuals calling themselves 'Egnirawnian'
(i.e., Mainwaringe), sig. A3^v-A4^v. B.M. C.40.c.2.]
- Mannich, Johann. SACRA / EMBLEMATA / LXXVI IN QUIBUS
SUMMA, UNIUSCUIUSQ; EVANGELII RO- / TUNDE
ADUMBRATUR / / Inventirt vnd Geprediget /
Durch / M: Johann Mannich... / Nurnberg Anno
Christi 1624. [All in an engraved setting.
Colophon: NCRIMBERGAE, / // Anno M DC XXV. /
[ornament] / [B.M. 636.g.22 (1).]
- Marston, John. PARASITASTER, // OR / THE FAWNE, // AS /
IT HATH BENE DIVERS / times presented at the blacke
Fri- / ars, by the Children of the Queenes /

Maiesties Reuels. // Written / BY IOHN MARSTON.
// [ornament] // AT LONDON / [ornament] Printed
by T.P. for W.C. / 1606. / [B.M. C.34.d.31.]

Marston, John. THE / WVONDER / of VWomen / Or / The
Tragedie of Sophonisba, / as it hath beene
ſundry times Acted / at the Blacke Friers. /
Written by IOHN MARSTON. / [printer's device] /
LONDON. / Printed by Iohn Windet and are to be
ſold / neere Ludgate. / 1606. / [B.M. C.34.d.33.]

Meres, Francis. Palladis Tamia. / WITS / TREASVRY /
Being the Second part / of Wits Common / wealth.
/ BY / Francis Meres Maister / of Artes of both
Vni- / uerſities. / Viuitur ingenio, caetera
mortis erunt. / AT LONDON / Printed by P. Short,
for Cuthbert Burbie, and / are to be ſolde at
his ſhop at the Royall / Exchange. 1598. /
[B.M. G. 10375.]

[Milles, Thomas.] THE / CATALOGVE OF HONOR / //
Tranſlated out of Latyne into Engliſh. //
LONDON* / Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD. / 1610* /
[All in an ornamental ſurround. The dedicatory
letter is ſigned "THO: MILLES", ſig. A5^v.
B.M. G.7256.]

Peacham, Henry. MINERVA / BRITANNA / OR A GARDEN OF
HEROICAL / Deuiſes, furniſhed, and adorned with
Emblemes / and Impreſa's of ſundry natures,
Newly deviſed, / moralized, and published, //
By HENRY PEACHAM, Mr. of Artes. // [woodcut] //
LONDON / Printed in Shoe-lane at the ſigne /
of the Faulcon by Wa: Dight. / [All in an
ornamental border. Colophon of Part II gives
the date 1612. B.M. C.38.f.28.]

[Peake, Robert.] The firſt Booke / of Architecture, made
/ by Sebaſtian Serly, entrea - / ting of Geometric.
/ Tranſlated out of Italian into Dutch, and out of
Dutch / into Engliſh. / [ornament] // LONDON /
Printed for Robert Peake, / and are to be ſold at
his ſhop neere / Holborne conduit, next to the /
Sunne Tauerne. / ANNO DCM. 1611. / [All within a
strapwork border. "Printed for Robert Peake" has
been inked out. This is the titlepage to the whole
work, each book having a ſeparate titlepage.
B.M. C.47.L.1.]

- Perkins, William. A / DISCOVERSE / OF THE DAM- / NED
ART OF WITCH- / CRAFT; SO FARRE FORTH / as it
is reuealed in the Scriptures, and / manifest
by true expe- / rience. // FRAMED AND DELIVERED /
by M. WILLIAM PERKINS,... / / PRINTED BY
CANTREL LEGGE, / Printer to the Vniuersitie of
Cambridge. / 1608. / [B.M. 1607/788(1).]
- Ripa, Cesare. ICONOLOGIA, / OVERO / DESCRITTIONE
D'IMAGINI DELLE VIRTU',... / Opera di CESARE
RIPA Perugino / / In Padoua per Pietro
Paolo Tozzi. M. DC. XI. // / [B.M. 637.g.26.]
- [Segar, William.] [ornament] HONOR / Military, and
Ciuill, contained in / foure Bookes. / /
◀ IMPRINTED AT LON- / don by Robert Barker,
Printer to the / Queenes most Excellent / Maiestie.
/ ANNO DOM. 1602. / [The epistle is signed "W.
Segar Norroy", unnumbered gathering. B.M. 9917.1.5.]
- Speed, John. THE / HISTORY / OF / GREAT BRITAINNE / /
by / IOHN SPEED // IMPRINTED AT LONDON // Anno /
Cum Privilegio / 1611 // And are to be solde by
Iohn Sudbury & Georg / Humble, in Popes-head
alley at $\frac{8}{y}$ signe of $\frac{8}{y}$ white Horse. / [All in
architectural border. B.M. 9502.1.5.]
- THE / THEATRE / OF THE EMPIRE / OF GREAT /
BRITAINNE: / Presenting / AN EXACT GEOGRAPHY / of
the Kingdomes of ENGLAND, / SCOTLAND, IRELAND, /
and the ILES adioyning: / / By IOHN SPEED. //
IMPRINTED AT LONDON // Anno / Cum Privilegio /
1611 // And are to be solde by Iohn Sudbury &
Georg / Humble, in Popes-head alley at $\frac{8}{y}$ signe
of $\frac{8}{y}$ white Horse. / [All in architectural border.
Colophon gives the date 1612. B.M. G.7884.]
- [Swetnam, Joseph.] SWETNAM, / THE / VVoman-hater, /
ARRAIGNED BY / WOMEN. / A new Comedie, / Acted
at the Red Bull, by the late / Queenes Seruants. /
[woodcut] / LONDON, / Printed for Richard Meighen,
and are to be sold at his Shops / at Saint
Clements Church, ouer-against Essex House, and
/ at Westminster Hall. 1620. / [B.M. C.34.b.48.
Title-head cropt.]

- Sylburg, Frederick. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΙ- / ΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΑ
 ΕΥΠΙΚΟ- / ΜΕΝΑ, ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΗ- / ΤΟΡΙΚΑ,
 ΕΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ. / ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΙ ΗΑΛΙΚΑΡ- / ΝΑΣΣΕΙ
 ΣΚΡΙΠΤΑ ΟΥΑΕ ΕΧ- / ΣΤΑΝΤ, ΟΜΝΙΑ, ΕΤ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑ, /
 ΕΤ ΡΗΕΤΟΡΙΚΑ. / / Opera & studio Friderici
Sylburgii Veterensis. / [printer's device] /
 FRANCOFVRDI / Apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, /
 MDLXXXVI. / / [B.M. 585.k.12.]
- The Thomason Tracts. Single Sheets. Aug. 18, 1648 - Mar.
 2, 1648. [B.M. 669.f.13.]
- Tourneur, Cyril. THE / ATHEIST'S / TRAGEDIE: / OR /
 The honest Man's Reuenge. / As in diuers places
it hath often beene Acted. // WRITTEN / By
Cyril Tourneur. // [ornament] / AT LONDON, /
 Printed for Iohn Stepneth, and Richard Redmer,
 and are to / be sold at their Shops at the West
 end of Paules. / 1611. / [B.M. C.34.e.10.]
- [Tourneur, Cyril.] THE / REVENGERS TRAGAEDIE. / As it
hath beene sundry times Acted, / by the Kings
Maiesties / Seruants. / [ornaments] / AT LONDON /
 Printed by G. ELD, and are to be sold at his /
 house in Fleete-lane at the signe of the /
 Printers-Preffe. / 1607. / [B.M. C.34.e.11.]
- [Townshend, Aurelian.] ALBIONS / TRIVMΦH. / PERSONATED
 IN A / Maske at Court. / By the Kings Maie^stie
and / his Lords. / The Sunday after Twolfe /
 Night. 1631. // [ornament] // LONDON, / Printed
 by Aug: Mathewes for Robert Allet [sic] at the
 Blacke / Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1631. [1632] /
 [B.M. 644.c.81.]
- Turbervile, George. THE BOOKE OF / FALCONRIE OR HAVVKING: /
 / Heretofore published by George Turbervile
 / Gentleman. / And now newly reuiued, corrected,
 and augmented, with / many new Additions proper
 to these present times. / / [woodcut] /
 AT LONDON, / Printed by Thomas Purfoot. / An. Dom.
 1611. / [B.M. 987.h.1.]
- Vasari, Giorgio. LE / VITE / DE PIV ECCEL- / LENTI
 ARCHITET- / TI, PITTORI, ET SCVL- / TORI ITALIANI,
 DA CIMABVE / INSINO A' TEMPI NOSTRI: DESCRIT- /

te in lingua Toscana, da GIORGIO VASARI /
 /// IN FIRENZE / M D L, / [All in an engraved
 border. 3 pts. B.M. 132.b.13, 14.]

Vennes, Adrian van de. ADR: vande VENNES / TAFEREEL /
VAN DE BELACCHENDE / WERELT, / / IN
 'SGRAVEN-HAGE, / Gedruckt voor den Autheur, ende
 by hem ende de ſijne te koop, / op de Turf-Marct,
 inde drie Leer-Konſten. 1635. / [B.M. Cup.
 403.n.35.]

Warner, William. ALBIONS / ENGLAND. / / Firſt penned
 and publiſhed by WILLIAM WARNER: / and now
 reuiſed, and newly enlarged a little be- / fore
 his Death. / // LONDON / Printed for G.P.
 and are to be ſold by Richard Moore at his /
 Shop in Saint Dunſtons Church-yard in Fleet-
 ſtreete. / 1612. / [B.M. C.71.c.11.]

Weever, John. ANCIENT / FNNERALL MONV- / MENTS WITH IN
THE / vnited Monarchie of / Great Britaine,
 Ireland, and / the Ilands adiacent,.... /
Compoſed by the Travels and Studie of John Weeuer. /
 / London Printed by Tho: HARPER / M. DC. XXXI.
 / And are to be ſold in Little Britayne by Laurence
 / Sadler at the ſigne of the Golden Lion. / [All
 in architectural border. B.M. 578.i.5.]

Whitney, Geffrey. A CHOICE / OF EMBLEMES, / AND OTHER
DEUISES, / For the moſte parte gathered out of
ſundrie writers, / Engliſhed and Moralized. /
AND DIVERS NEWLY DEUISED, / by Geffrey Whitney. /
 ... [printer's device] / Imprinted at LEYDEN, /
 In the houſe of Chriſtopher Plantyn, / by Francis
Raphelengius. / M. D. LXXXVI. / [All within
 decorative border. B.M. C.57.1.2.]

Wither, George. ABVSES / STRIPT, / AND / WHIPT. / OR
SATIRICAL ESSAYES. / By GEORGE WYTHIER. / /
AT LONDON, / Printed by G. ELD, for FRANCIS /
BVRTON, and are to be ſolde at his ſhop / in
Pauls Church-yard, at the ſigne of / the Green-
Dragon. 1613. / [B.M. 1076.c.1.]

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