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# Wildernesses, Islands, and Domestic Spaces: Social Attitudes to Magical Practice in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama

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# Abstract

Conspicuous 'markers' are often understood to structure early modern dramatic English illustrations of magic: such activity is thought to be introduced through strange-sounding incantations or transgressive rituals, or it is linked to a site underneath the stage. But in several plays, as this thesis demonstrates, magic escapes these conventions. In *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *The Witch of Edmonton*, rites, distinctive speeches, under-stage spaces and anarchic ceremonies do not always govern 'supernatural' occurrences. Instead, characters often encounter magical phenomena or meet otherworldly beings when they venture into secluded, hidden, and anarchic spaces *within* their dramatic worlds. Spaces such as the lands lying behind city or castle walls, territories beyond shorelines and across mysterious oceans, and private spaces within the early modern home unsettle conceptions of an 'otherworld' as a spatially separate place, upsetting the borders that separate the world of the play from its supernatural counterpart. These accessible yet mysterious spaces constitute potent locales where characters can encounter entities 'beyond the real world' as they can conceive of it. This shift is bound up in wider historical and theological contexts and shifts, including the changing attitudes towards magic effected by the Reformation. This thesis, then, shows how an 'otherworld' seeps into the everyday spaces of early modern plays, expanding our sense of what magic could be in the early modern period.

# Acknowledgements

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: **Edward Bertrand Montague Rendall**

DATE: 21st February, 2022

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# *Introduction: Liminal Spaces and Magic in English Drama*

In 1559-1560, Andrew Oxenbridge organised a production of Seneca's *Oedipus* at Trinity College, Cambridge.[1] In this play, Tiresias seeks to resurrect a dead Laius, the late king of Thebes, with a ritual. Even with the assistance of his daughter, Manto, this resurrection is particularly difficult, and both practitioners run into several problems: in this rite, the form that the fire takes impedes the success of this ceremony, and the behaviour of the bull – which both practitioners sacrifice during the rite – does not help things, either. This play was performed in Latin, and I give John G. Fitch's translation of these proceedings in the extract below:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tiresias.* | What of the flame? Is it already catching hold of the plentiful nourishment? |
| *Manto.* | It suddenly shone out, and suddenly died down. |
| *Tiresias.* | Did the fire rise bright and clear? Did it lift a pure peak straight towards the sky, and extend tall plumes into the air? Or creep around the sides without direction, and falter with murky colour and billowing smoke? |
| *Manto.* | The flame was changeable, with more than one appearance. As Iris shower-bringer weaves various colours into herself, when she spans a great section of sky and heralds storm clouds with her variegated bow (you would hesitate to say what colour is or is not there), so it shimmered, its bluish colour mottled with yellow, and then blood red; at the end it trailed into blackness. |
| | But oh! The combative flame is separating into two halves, the embers of a single ritual dividing in hostility. Father, I shudder to watch! The libation of wine changes into blood; dense smoke surrounds the king's head, and settles even thicker around his very eyes, blocking the light in the murk of a dense cloud. What is it, father? Tell us. |
| *Tiresias.* | What could I tell, lost in a turmoil of amazement? What am I to say? Terrible evils are here, but deeply hidden. Divine anger is usually shown by unmistakable signs. What is this that they both want and do not want disclosed, disguising their fierce anger? The gods find something shameful. Quickly, bring the cattle here and sprinkle their |

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[1] See Andrew J. Power, 'What the Hell is Under the Stage? Trapdoor Use in the English Senecan Tradition', *English* 60, no. 231 (2011), pp. 276-96 (p. 279).

|  |  |
|---|---|
|  | necks with the salted meal. Do they bear the ritual handling with calm expressions? |
| *Manto.* | The bull raised his head high; when stationed to face the East, he flinched from the sunlight and shunned its rays, averting his gaze in fright. |
| *Tiresias.* | Was a single wound sufficient to fell each of them? |
| *Manto.* | When the blade was held out, the heifer thrust herself against it and fell from a single wound. But the bull, after suffering two blows, plunges erratically here and there, and though weakened can scarcely yield up his struggling life. |
| *Tiresias.* | Does the blood spurt out quickly from a narrow wound, or well up gradually in deep gashes? |
| *Manto.* | This one's pours in a flood through the path opened in her chest, but that one's heavy wounds are stained with just scanty drops. However, much blood turns back and flows over the eyes and face. |

(307-50)[2]


I start with this extract from *Oedipus* because it explores an issue crucial to this thesis's concerns: the relationship between quotidian worlds and otherworlds. In *Oedipus*, the otherworld is particularly difficult to access; messages from this world refuse to be fully disclosed, and the bull's sacrifice, to quote Andrew J. Power, becomes 'more and more hideous and calamitous'.[3] Chaos threatens to upset the precise choreography of this ritual: the 'flame [is] changeable' (314), and the bull 'flinch[es] from the sunlight and shun[s] its rays, averting his gaze in fright' (337-9), as both practitioners struggle to breach the barriers that enclose the 'deep Stygian world' (401-2).

As I shall show in this thesis, the native plays performed in the commercial theatres in England at the turn of the seventeenth century challenge this separation, since an 'otherworld' diffuses into the worldly spaces of a play instead. In such plays, the boundaries that otherwise

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[2] See Lucius A. Seneca, 'Oedipus', in *Oedipus; Agamemnon; Thyestes; Hercules on Oeta; Octavia*, ed. by J.G. Fitch (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 1-112.
[3] See Power (2011), p. 280.

enclose *Oedipus*'s supernatural areas are not so secure, nullifying the need for sophisticated magical ceremonies. Mephistopheles implies as much in the A-text of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1589-92) when he speaks with the play's protagonist for the first time:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Faustus.* | Where are you damned? |
| *Mephistopheles.* | In hell. |
| *Faustus.* | How comes it then that thou art out of hell? |
| *Mephistopheles.* | Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it. |
| | Think'st thou that I, who saw the face of God |
| | And tasted the eternal joys of heaven, |
| | Am not tormented with ten thousand hells |
| | In being deprived of everlasting bliss? (1.3.74-81)[4] |

An infernal climate encroaches on quotidian space, here, and the 'this' in 'this is hell' (77) counters Faustus's conceptions of hell as a distant space elsewhere. Those areas *within* Faustus's world house the devils which the scholar tries to conjure instead. Mephistopheles, moreover, does not require a rite to intrude into this play's everyday spaces. When Faustus asks Mephistopheles whether Lucifer 'charged' him 'to appear' before him due to his 'conjuring speeches' (1.3.44, 46), the scholar is told that, in fact, one need only 'wrack the name of God' and '[a]bjure the Scriptures and his Saviour Christ' (1.3.47-9) to invoke a devilish power.

There are also more subtle instances of this kind of effect, where the infernal seems to intrude on the everyday. In 4.2 of *Twelfth Night* (c. 1601-2), for instance, Malvolio, incarcerated, calls out to Sir Toby Belch, a kinsman of Olivia, and Feste, masquerading as a

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[4] See Christopher Marlowe, 'Doctor Faustus A-Text', in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 137-83. *Faustus*, however, is not a single entity, and another text of the play, titled B1, appears in 1616 with substantial revisions.

curate, Sir Topas, from 'within' a private dwelling (4.2.20.SD).[5] They 'have laid me here in

hideous darkness' (4.2.29-30), he says, and Feste responds from onstage:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Feste.* | Fie, thou dishonest Satan! I call thee by the most modest terms, for I am one of those gentle ones that will use the devil himself with courtesy. Sayst thou that the house is dark? |
| *Malvolio.* | As hell, Sir Topas. |
| *Feste.* | Why, it hath bay-windows transparent as barricadoes, and the clerestories towards the south-north are as lustrous as ebony, and yet thou complainest thou of obstruction? |
| *Malvolio.* | I am not mad, Sir Topas. I say to you this house is dark. |
| *Feste.* | Madman, thou errest. I say that there is no darkness but ignorance, in which thou art more puzzled than the Egyptians in their fog. |

(4.2.31-44)

Malvolio is, of course, not within an authentic 'hell'. He is the subject of Feste's pretence. It is

worth considering, though, how this 'pretence' takes shape, since the 'house' seems

constructed on paradoxes. Its 'bay-windows' (34), for instance, are as 'transparent as

barricadoes [barricades]' (36-7): casks 'filled with earth and stones' form these *fenestrae*,

making them 'decidedly untransparent'.[6] Feste goes further: the 'clerestories (37) – the 'upper

part of the nave, choir, and transepts of a cathedral . . . containing a series of windows [that

admit] light to the central part of the building' – are as 'lustrous as ebony' (38).[7] But the ebony

dulls the light that, presumably, shines through these apertures, and its proverbial blackness

reverses their function. Feste thus describes a set of cathedral windows that exacerbates – rather

than reduces – the darkness within the private abode.[8] These architectural characteristics ramp

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[5] See William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night,* ed. by K. Elam, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).
[6] See Elam (2008), p. 309.
[7] See Oxford English Dictionary, 'Clerestory, n., 1., a.' < clerestory, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oclc.org)> (Accessed 5th October, 2021).
[8] 'Ebony' describes blackness in many contemporaneous texts. John Weever (c. 1576-1642) spoke of 'the worlds mother, shaddow of the earth . . . mounting her chariot of darke ebony' in his *The mirror of martyrs, or the life and death of that thrice valiant captaine, and most godly martyre Sir Iohn Old-castle knight Lord Cobham*

up the sense of contradiction, since infernal characteristics seep –absurdly – into the climes of a church. To Malvolio, then, a 'hell' (39) lies ironically within a holy house.

Such dichotomous language untethers the dwelling from the world of the play, since terms that oppose one another form a space that troubles the consistencies of the play's everyday spaces. Shakespeare thus invokes an 'other' kind of space, which behaves – albeit briefly – in ways that distinguish it from quotidian areas. These kinds of spaces, I shall show throughout this thesis, unsettle conceptions of an 'otherworld' as a spatially separate place, and they upset prior conceptions of there being impermeable borders that separate the world of the play from a supernatural counterpart. Instead, an 'otherworld' seeps into the everyday spaces of the play. Indeed, porous boundaries take the place of nonporous ones; the waving of a wand, the enunciation of a peculiar incantation from an occultic text, and the perverse blood-letting rituals that emerge in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pamphlet discourse about witchcraft no longer seem necessary as activities that elicit an interaction with the supernatural. Instead, these accessible  yet mysterious spaces constitute potent locales where characters can encounter entities beyond the real world as they can conceive of it.

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(London, 1601). In Michael Drayton's *The Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* (c. 1605), too, '[o]n [Fame's] faire breaſt ſte two broad tablets wore. / Of criſtall th'one, the other Ebony'. See John Weever, *The mirror of martyrs, or the life and death of that thrice valiant captaine, and most godly martyre Sir Iohn Old-castle knight Lord Cobham* (London, 1601); Michael Drayton, *Poems: by Michaell Drayton Esquire* (London, 1605), D, d, 4.

*1.0. An Otherworld Elsewhere: The Closed Afterlife in Greek, Hebrew, and Christian Traditions*

A discussion about this kind of interaction requires a brief survey of how an 'otherworld' took shape. The Doom image on the wall of a church of St. Peter at Wenhaston, Suffolk, a well-preserved panel painting dating to the late-fifteenth century, seems a suitable place to begin (Figure 1).



*Figure 1. Medieval rood painting depicting the Day of Judgement, c. 1480 (2022), which decorates the walls of St. Peter's church, Wenhaston, Suffolk, England.* Photo: Jonathan Alder (reproduced with permission).

The figures of Christ, St. John the Evangelist, and the Virgin Mary overlook the judgement of souls in this image. St. Peter plays a part in the process, too: a king, a queen, a cardinal, and a bishop stand before him naked in the centre-left side of the picture, while two unclothed figures move up the stairway to a heaven in the far-left. The archangel, St. Michael, appears as well, grasping his sword in one hand and a set of scales in the other, weighing a soul who has his hands clasped together in prayer. Satan, a massive, blackened demon with a second face on his belly, observes these proceedings, and a chaotic scene unfolds behind him as, in a disorderly

fashion, a nightmarish creature drags those souls unable to enjoy heaven through its gaping

mouth to an infernal domain.

There is a wide range of scholarship on how late-medieval Christians would have

interpreted this image, concerning in particular the soul's movement to heaven or hell.[9] But

what interests me here are those spaces that the viewer does *not* see in the painting. The walls

of the tower in the far-left side of the article, for instance, obscure the pathway to a heaven

beyond, while the gaping mouth of the hellish creature in the far-right corner does not reveal

the scale nor the environment within which tortures await those with sin outweighing their

virtue. What lies within these areas seems to exist just beyond the vision of the viewer, and we

have to imagine a space that exceeds the very limits of pictorial representation.

The afterlife within this image echoes inter-cultural conceptions of an afterlife that is

distant and apart from everyday space. Indeed, as Alan E. Bernstein has shown, those who

resided between the Euphrates and the Tigris in the third millennium B.C.E. believed that the

dead resided in a faraway place. Providing the earliest evidence of this phenomenon, *The Epic*

*of Gilgamesh* speaks about a 'land of the dead at great remove from the human communities

of Babylon'.[10] In Greek epic poetry, those who reside within an afterlife also seem separate

from quotidian space. In some cases, they can only appear as a fleeting imitation. Thus, the

dead Patroclus can only appear in a dream in Homer's *Iliad*, while 'vows and prayers'

supplicate 'the tribes of the dead' (11.33-4) in Homer's *The Odyssey*, and the flow of 'black

blood' (11.35) into a pit grants Tiresias – a spirit – passage into everyday space.[11] Orpheus, on

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[9] See Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 216-7; Diana W. Pasulka, *Heaven can Wait: Purgatory in Catholic Devotional and Popular Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[10] See Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 3-4. Also see Jeffrey S. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

[11] Homer, *The Odyssey*, ed. by B.P. Powell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

the other hand, *journeys* to a distant afterlife, when he tries to reclaim his wife, Eurydice; a viper had bitten her heel as she fled from the advances of a satyr, killing her. Orpheus then journeys to a space below, charming Hades and his wife – Persephone – with music from his harp, and Hades grants Orpheus's wish, allowing Eurydice to return to the land of the living. A condition complicates things, however: Orpheus cannot look back at the underworld on his return journey. But he does so, and Eurydice – who follows Orpheus from the underworld – is forced to return there, remaining incarcerated within an otherworld that Orpheus cannot access again.[12]

Hebrew traditions, too, detached an underworld from quotidian space. In Amos 9: 2 and Isaiah 7: 11, for instance, the Hebrew *Sheol* (תשאול) is a place below. It is, Dominic Rudman observes, thus 'hard to escape the conclusion that *Sheol* is depicted as a geographical location'.[13] Water, Rudman notes, is evident in this landscape, and he recalls a passage from the Old Testament that recollects Jonah's encounter with a tempestuous ocean:

> Then Jonah prayed unto the LORD his God out of the fish's belly, And said, I cried cried by reason of mine affliction unto the LORD, and he heard me; out of the belly of hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice. For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas; and the floods compassed me about: all thy billows and thy waves passed over me. Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight; yet I will look again toward thy holy temple. The waters compassed me about, even to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head. I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her bars was about me for ever: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O LORD my God.

> (Jonah 2: 2-6)[14]

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[12] See Walter Burkett, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* trans. by J. Raffan (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1985), p. 195.

[13] See Dominic Rudman, 'Mitteilungen: The Use of Water Imagery in Descriptions of Sheol', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 113, no. 2 (2001), pp. 240-44 (p. 241).

[14] All biblical extracts are taken from the King James Version of the text.

This 'belly of hell', Rudman notes, is a telling expression, since a descent into *Sheol* 'typically use[s] the image of violent waters closing over the individual'.[15] This movement into water chimes with accounts from the book of Genesis. Prior to the flood, God withdraws the barriers that restrain the waters from dry land at the time of creation (Genesis 1: 9), and the waters flood the world once more (Genesis 6: 17). Rudman thus sheds light on a particularly rich metaphor in his exploration of *Sheol* in Old Testament texts: the chaotic waters, which are associated with a Hebrew underworld, symbolise the '*absence* of order and creation'. They encroach on the very foundations of God's world, engulfing the dry land. The dead, who become un-created, sink – fittingly – into these 'waters of chaos', since they are no longer part of that created world.[16]

Scholarship has shown how these traditions, coupled with the cultures that sourced them, shaped early modern literary culture. Indeed, the hallmarks of classical poetry are particularly obvious; the Latin epigraph from Ovid's *Amores*, James P. Bednarz notes, adorns the title page of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (c. 1593), demonstrating the bard's 'prestigious classical learning through Latin quotation, even as he balances his ostentatious Ovidian rhetoric with an accompanying act of humility by leaving his name off the poem's title page'.[17] There has been a long history of scholarship on how the styles and themes that proliferate across classical literature are echoed and transformed in the works of early modern writers: John Milton, argued A.E. Housman, was 'steeped through and through with classical literature', and G. K. Chesterton considered an indulgence in the 'classical tradition' on the part of early modern authors as 'the popular thing, the common thing; even the vulgar thing'.[18]

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[15] See Rudman (2001), p. 243.
[16] See Rudman (2001), p. 244.
[17] See James P. Bednarz, 'Shakespeare and the Early Modern Culture of Quotation', in *Shakespeare and Quotation,* ed. by J. Maxwell and K. Rumbold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 31-45 (p. 35).
[18] See A.E. Housman, 'Introductory Lecture' (1892) in *A.E. Housman: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. by C. Ricks (London: Allen Lane, 1988), p. 265; Charles Martindale and Michelle Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity: An Introductory Essay* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 1994), pp. 3-4; Gilbert K. Chesterton,

Latin, rhetoric, and (to a lesser extent) Greek were core subjects in the Elizabethan schoolroom, and pedagogical models were constructed 'with the aim of transmitting knowledge, making the wisdom of the past available in the vernacular'.[19]

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

It is my interest in this thesis to see how such religious and cultural traditions manifest in the early modern playhouse. The processes that I shall explore, here, sometimes have to do with staging or with plot: for example, characters who conjure demons from hell, or episodes that allude to classical myths concerning witchcraft. But they also have to do with a specific form of language. My curiosity is in how figurative language allows playwrights to think about 'otherworldly' places and, more generally, how their texts gesture towards the difficulties language has in capturing and pinning down such places. As we shall see in chapter 3, for example, 'tongue nor heart cannot conceive nor name' the awful sight that Macduff encounters within Duncan's bedchamber in *Macbeth* (2.3.64).[20] Metaphorical devices seem more suitable forms of communication when the sight communicated lies outside the normal parameters of language: Macbeth's dagger, which punctured Duncan's body the night before, is said to have broken 'ope / The Lord's anointed temple, [stealing] thence the life o'th' building' (2.3.67-8). A 'new Gorgon' (2.3.72), Macduff exclaims to his fellows onstage, resides within the bedchamber instead; the corpse resembles the hideous creature in Greek myth, 'destroy[ing] [the] sight' of those who arrive to see the grisly scene (2.1.61-2).

Events that seem *outside* the course of nature take shape in the unusual type of language that Macduff uses, and his quotidian form of speech cannot otherwise express the sight that he reports to his fellows onstage. This treatment of the unspeakable features both in literature and

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'English Literature and the Latin Tradition', in *Chesterton on Shakespeare,* ed. by D. Collins (Henley-on-Thames: Darwen Finlayson, 1971), pp. 13-25.

[19] See Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 6.

[20] See William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* ed. by S. Clark and P. Mason, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

in theological discourse. As Peter Marshall has shown, writers vied with one another to 'evoke the almost unimaginable horror of *eternal* torment' within a Protestant hell.[21] Time spent within this place exceeded the capacities of mathematical theory: all the arithmeticians, Arthur Dent suggested, could spend a lifetime writing the largest numbers they could think of and, later, add them all together, but they would still not come 'neere to that length of time wherein the wicked shall be tormented'.[22] Those unfortunate souls within this area, John Denison claimed, could be reassured if their years in damnation added up to the total number of 'grains of sand on the shore, fish in the sea, or stars in the firmament'. But, he mused, this idea was merely wishful thinking.[23]

These writers, like the playwrights with which this thesis is concerned, try to convey the unconveyable. Both parties see hell as a space that operates beyond contemporaneous ideas of a material world. The iconoclastic sentiments of early modern English Puritans complicated and unfixed descriptions of hell, too. As Marshall has shown, Protestant reformers removed the 'prominent and striking image of the prospect of hell, part of the last judgement or 'doom' painted on the tympanum above the chancel arch'.[24] But, again, portrayals of a locale that lay *beyond* the remits of pictorial illustration proved problematic: Richard Bernard's *Contemplative Images* (c. 1610) portrayed mental pictures 'for divine contemplation' instead, stepping back from the vivid images that appeared in medieval Christian iconography. Hell, Bernard argued, hinged on the mind of the Protestant; the imagination of the worshipper replaced the brush of the medieval iconographer, since the painter seemed no closer to an

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[21] See Peter Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England, c. 1560-1640', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61, no. 2 (2010), pp. 279-98 (p. 284).
[22] See Arthur Dent, *The plaine mans pathway to heauen* (London, 1601), p. 392; Marshall (2010), p. 284.
[23] See Marshall (2010), p. 284.
[24] See Marshall (2010), pp. 287-8.

objective representation of a "'wofull, doleful, horribly fearefull, insufferably painefull'" prospect.[25]

These writers saw an otherworld to lie beyond description. Neither pictures nor words could delineate this area. As we shall see in chapter 1, in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, this indescribable otherworld took shape as an unseen space beneath the stage: the stage trap, argued Tiffany Stern, 'retained bad or hellish associations'. Thus, 'whenever the hole [trapdoor] gaped open onstage, the audience knew that something evil or with deathlike connotations was happening, or about to happen'.[26] In an early example of this process, the dumb show of Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *The Tragedie of Gorboduc* (c. 1561) features furies from hell, which ascend from a hidden space below.[27] In a later and more sophisticated case, Thomas Kyd's enormously influential *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1588), the floor of the dais screens an anarchic and inscrutable locale beneath, as Hieronimo – who grieves over his son, Horatio – tries desperately to excavate the floor of the stage with his dagger in an attempt to acquire his late child from the afterlife within which he resides (3.12.70.SD).[28]

## 2.0. Definitions of Magical Belief in Early Modern England

I am particularly interested in this thesis to see how these hidden spaces shape conceptions of magical practice in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. There is already a rich body of scholarship that explores magical practice on the stage. Many of these works have focused on strange-sounding invocations; as George T. Wright noted, 'tetrameter couplets' signified the 'peculiar nature' of a space set apart from a play's material world.[29] And, as we shall see in

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[25] See Marshall (2010), pp. 287-8.
[26] See Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 25-6.
[27] See Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The Tragedy of Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex,* ed. by I.B. Cauthen Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).
[28] See Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. by C. Calvo and J. Tronch, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
[29] See George T. Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (London: University of California Press, 1988), p. 114.

chapter 2, trochaic lines form Oberon's magical charm in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1596).[30] In *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596), the Prince of Morocco receives a scroll – in trochaic verse – from beyond the grave; a 'carrion death [a skull]' offers an 'empty eye' (2.7.68) in which the cryptic message nestles, and the Prince seems to prise the letter from an undead messenger within the golden casket.[31] In a parodic version of this effect, and one that indicates its widespread nature, a trochaic structure underlies the 'scornful rhyme' (5.5.91) in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c. 1597); those children who encircle and punish Falstaff in the concluding moments of the play disguise themselves as fairies, their speech echoing those incantations spoken by other plays' practitioners of magic.[32] These lines clash against characters' exchanges in blank verse and prose. As Robert Stagg has argued, they draw on a general unease about certain types of verse. This wider discomfort of 'lines with an odd number of syllables' exacerbates the eeriness of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*, since their lines 'are a metrical version of the deformity they render, where syllable counting is less important than the gruesome shape made during (and by) the counting'.[33] This kind of language, to quote Malcolm Gaskill in his *Witchcraft: A Very Short Introduction* (2010) embodies the 'opposite of an ideal', since these strange-sounding trochaic verse lines jar conspicuously with more conventional prosodic structures.[34]

Scholarship has shown how these kinds of lines distinguish, linguistically, the quotidian from the extraordinary, reflecting a wider pattern of thought evident in early modern English

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[30] See William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* ed. by S. Chaudhuri, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

[31] See William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* ed. by J. Drakakis, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

[32] See William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* ed. by G. Melchiori, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000). Also see the hags in Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Queens', in *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques,* ed. by S. Orgel, The Yale Ben Jonson (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 80-100; and the witches in Thomas Middleton, *The Witch,* ed. by E. Schafer, New Mermaids (London: A&C Black, 1990).

[33] See Robert Stagg, 'Shakespeare's Bewitching Line', in *Shakespeare Survey 71: Re-Creating Shakespeare,* ed. by P. Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 232-41 (pp. 233-4).

[34] See Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchcraft: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 1.

society. As we shall see in chapter 3, post-Reformation sentiment exacerbated the dichotomous relationship between an ideal and its opposite; as Alan Macfarlane, James Sharpe, and Gary K. Waite have highlighted, post-Reformation reformers' urgency to 'eradicate any hint of the diabolical from Christian society' drove forward major witch panics in Essex, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Suffolk in the seventeenth century.[35] These intolerant approaches elicited an expansion of what constituted the opposite of the divine; instances of divine intervention, which were salient as the products of previously accepted Christian practices, became mere 'delusion[s] of the devil'.[36] Elements of a Christian Mass thus seep into the incantation that allegedly brings Mephistopheles – a devil – onstage in the A-text of *Doctor Faustus*, although – as I noted earlier – it turns out that this ritual is not necessary to conjure diabolical forces:

> *Sint mihi dei Acherontis propitii! Valeat numen triplex Jehovae! Ignei, aerii, aquatici, terreni, spiritus, salvete! Orientis princeps Lucifer, Beelzebub, inferni ardentis monarcha, et Demogorgon, propitiamus vos, ut appareat et surgat Mephistopheles. Quid tu moraris? Per Jehovam, Gehennen, et consecratam aquam quam nunc spargo, signumque crucis quod non facio, et per vota nostra, ipse nunc surgat nobis dicatus Mephistopheles!* (1.3.16-22)[37]

> [be propitious to me, gods of Acheron! Let the threefold spirit of Jehovah be strong! Hail to thee, spirits of fire, air, water, and earth! Lucifer, thou prince of the East, Beelzebub, thou monarch of fiery hell, and Demogorgon, we beseech you that Mephistopheles may appear and rise. Why do you delay? By Jehovah, Gehenna, and the holy water I now sprinkle, and by the sign of the cross I now make, and by our prayers, may Mephistopheles himself arise at our command!]

[35] See Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 173-4. Also see Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 1999); James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550-1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1996).

[36] See Harman Bhogal, 'Miracles, Cessationism, and Demonic Possession: The Darrell Controversy and the Parameters of Preternature in Early Modern English Demonology', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 4, no. 2 (2015), pp. 152-80 (p. 163).

[37] I use David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen's translation. See Bevington and Rasmussen (2008), p. 435.

Eamon Duffy has shown how the 'catenas of the various names of God, repeated incantatory or manual invocations of the cross, the invocation of the saints, and the ubiquitous plea for protection from the devil or evil spirits' figured often in Christian traditions, taking shape in personal prayers.[38] These characteristics became the subjects of scrutiny: Protestant polemicists, Barbara L. Parker argues, denounced 'conjuring, making the sign of the cross, the invocation of the saints and the veneration of their relics, and the use of holy water'.[39] Reformers, John N. King observed, saw the Mass, in particular, as a 'theatrical performance akin to magic, trickery, or juggling'.[40] Thus, as Parker observes, Faustus 'precedes his ritual with a "sacrifice" (1.3.7), a term profoundly identified with the Roman-rite Mass'; *et consecratam aquam quam nunc spargo* [and the holy water I now sprinkle]', alongside '*signumque crucis quod non facio* [the sign of the cross I now make]', conclude his incantation. A 'prayer, in Latin, that includes a catena of "holy" names (Beelzebub, Demogorgon, Gehenna)' also features, as Faustus allegedly summons a devilish agent from a place elsewhere using forms and language linked to England's Catholic past.[41]

Faustus, Paul H. Kocher argued intriguingly in 1940, thinks and acts in ways that are 'unmistakably those of the witch of European tradition'; Kocher's approach – rightly, I think – eschews specific distinctions of the witch-figure as a 'conjuror', 'black magician', or 'enchanter'. He treats these categorisations as 'loosely synonymous', following the Puritan William Perkins' broad categorisation of the witch-figure as a 'Magician, who either by open or secret league, wittingly and willingly consenteth to use the aide and assistance of the Deuill,

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[38] See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 276.
[39] See Barbara L. Parker, 'Cursèd Necromancy: Marlowe's *Faustus* as Anti-Catholic Satire', *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 1, no. 1 (2011), pp. 59-77 (p. 62).
[40] See John N. King, *Milton and Religious Ceremony: Satire and Polemic in* Paradise Lost (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 102.
[41] See Parker (2011), p. 63.

in the working of wonders'.[42] As I shall explore in chapter 3, this consequential ambiguity of the witch-figure becomes clear in contemporaneous pamphlet literature. This term covers several activities in early modern English society, which nestled uncomfortably alongside Protestant biblicism: a bill appeared in 1542, which spoke against those who used 'witchcrafts, enchantments, and sorceries to the destruction of their neighbour's persons and goods'.[43] But, as Owen Davies notes in his seminal work *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History* (2007), 'cunning folk and learned occultists . . . were the principal targets'.[44] Hence, the wise woman Mother Bombie, who spearheads the plot of John Lyly's play of the same name (c. 1594), reprimands Silena after the latter cites others' labels of Bombie as a 'witch' (2.3.98): Bombie insists that she is a 'cunning woman' (2.3.99).[45] Shakespeare, I shall argue in chapter 3, also reflects the indistinct definitions of such figures; in a comic scene in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Falstaff – who enters the stage disguised as a cunning woman – meets a vengeful Frank Ford, who drives the 'witch' offstage and out of his door (4.2.174). In *The Winter's Tale* (c. 1610), Paulina comes onstage to 'purge [Leontes] of that humour / That presses him from sleep' (2.3.37-8). But her 'medicinal' (2.3.36) works invoke the ire of Leontes, who orders this 'mankind witch' out of his sight as she pleads for Hermione's life (2.3.66).[46]

Scholars have shown that rural festivities, like traditional folk-practices, clashed with Protestant ideals; post-Reformation apologists' suppression of churchyard ales and seasonal festivals, Ronald Hutton has observed in *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year,*

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[42] See Paul H. Kocher, 'The Witchcraft Basis in Marlowe's *Faustus*', *Modern Philology* 38, no. 1 (1940), pp. 9-36 (pp. 9-10); William Perkins, *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1608), p. 167.

[43] See Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 4.

[44] See Davies (2007), p. 4.

[45] See John Lyly, *Mother Bombie,* ed. by L. Scragg, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

[46] See William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* ed by J. Pitcher, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

*1400-1700* (1994), were commonplace in the seventeenth century.[47] More recent scholarship

has meanwhile shed light on how the ceremonial dances within these festivals acquired

diabolical connotations. Seth Stuart Williams, for instance, quotes Reginald Scot's *Discoverie*

*of Witchcraft* (c. 1584) in arguing that dances facilitated 'key transaction[s] in the economy of

demonic magic'.[48] Such revelry was tempting and, as Nathan Johnstone observes, it played

into 'the single most important aspect of [Satan's] urgency'.[49] Theatre often drew on such

cultural ideas. Thus, as I discuss in chapter 3, a 'confused noise' and 'strange gestures' (30)

bring the devilish hags onstage in the opening moments of Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*

(c. 1609); a chaotic choreography jars against any sense of order, as an inscrutable and hellish

place, which operates in ways that differentiate it from the vernacular world, sustains the power

of the magical ceremony that takes place onstage.

It is, then, unsurprising to see how such controversial and 'other' behaviour becomes

associated with rituals that drove forward maleficent forms of magic. In many cases, such

behaviour took shape in sexual transgression: James Sharpe, in his introduction to Robert

Poole's edited collection *The Late Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (2003), touches

on a particularly unpleasant set of diabolical activities outside Samlesbury, Lancashire, in 1612,

when Grace Sowerbutts spoke against four women who took part, supposedly, in sexual

intercourse with 'four blacke things'.[50] More recently, Charlotte-Rose Millar has uncovered

the sexual overtones within twenty-three pamphlet discourses describing witchcraft. Ten of

these texts, she shows, refer to 'carnal intercourse', and the other thirteen illustrate a 'range of

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[47] See Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 201-3.
[48] Seth S. Williams, '[They Dance]: Collaborative Authorship in *Macbeth*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Dance,* ed. by L. McCulloch and B. Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 237-60 (p. 247).
[49] See Nathan Johnstone, 'The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England', *The Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 2 (2005), pp. 173-205 (p. 176).
[50] See James Sharpe, 'Introduction', in *The Late Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories,* ed. by R. Poole (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-19 (p. 4).

sexual behaviour': demonic companions that sucked 'at teats in a witch's genitalia or anus' seemed particularly common forms of maleficent ceremony.[51] Blood-letting rituals figured in contemporaneous witchcraft literature, too, and Hutton has conducted a thorough survey of such practices. He cites a service magician from Dorset, who testified to a church court about a 'familiar spirit', who had at times taken the shape of a 'dog'; the dog could 'trace stolen goods', but it required a 'drop of his blood in order first to bind it to him'.[52] Blood-letting, Hutton notes, became an expected activity in the late 1570s and the 1580s, becoming 'more regular in the reports' as 'an ongoing and sometimes even daily tribute' to a familiar spirit.[53] The witch Ellen Shepherd, John Davenport and – more recently – Emma Wilby observe, also recalled a conversation with four grey rats in 1646, who claimed that a gift of blood could elicit 'all [her] happinesse'. Shepherd granted their wish, and these spirits 'sucked her upon and about her hips'.[54] And, as we shall see in chapter 3, a pact that took a particularly disturbing form figured in Henry Goodcole's interrogation of Elizabeth Sawyer – another alleged witch – in 1621; the devilish companion extracts Sawyer's blood from a place 'a little above [her] fundament', as Goodcole sheds light on a kind of rite that combines bestiality, sexual gratification, and the shedding of bodily fluid.[55]

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

An 'otherness' thus characterises the kinds of ceremonies that I have described above, and those inscrutable forces that manipulate the world to 'produce specific effects' required a set

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[51] See Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 117-8.

[52] See Ronald Hutton, *The Witch: A History of Fear, from Ancient Times to the Present* (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 274.

[53] See Hutton (2017), pp. 274-5.

[54] See John Davenport, *The witches of Huntingdon* (London, 1646), pp. 9-10; Emma Wilby, 'The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland', *Folklore* 111, no. 2 (2000), pp. 283-305 (p. 295).

[55] See Henry Goodcole, 'The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch (1621)', in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing,* ed. by M. Gibson (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 299-316 (p. 310); Julia R. Garrett, 'Witchcraft and Sexual Knowledge in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2013), pp. 32-72 (p. 34).

of behaviours or activities that went beyond the normalcies of the material world.[56] Such ideas find their way into the theatre: as this thesis will argue, those hidden areas that lie outside characters' conceptions of familiar space are fitting areas where such 'other' comportments can take shape. These kinds of behaviours – or rituals – form our current definition of what magic is. The Oxford English Dictionary, for example, considers 'magic' as follows:

> The use of ritual activities or observances which are intended to influence the course of events or to manipulate the natural world, usually involving the use of an occult or secret body of knowledge; sorcery, witchcraft.[57]

'Magical' forces appear in literature across a range of cultures and epochs, and conspicuous activities elicit its transgression into the everyday. In Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm's *Little Snow White* (1812), for example, a strange-sounding chant commences the evil queen's discourse with her mirror, which conveys its omniscient knowledge about those events that take place around her. An ambiguous 'Deplorable Word' likewise concludes a bloody civil war in C.S. Lewis's *The Magician's Nephew* (1955), one book within his *The Chronicles of Narnia*; the Word invokes magical forces that end all life on Charn save that of its speaker – Jadis, the White Witch. J.K. Rowling, in her influential *Harry Potter* books, also constructs a magic that relies in part on ritual; the waving of a wand operates alongside the utterance of a strange-sounding incantation, and words – such as *Expelliarmus*, *Stupefy*, *Impedimenta*, and *Avada Kadavra* – recall the sophisticated invocations that we have seen in Marlowe's *Faustus*. Gandalf, too, uses magic at times in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*; his magical staff 'renders . . . [Wormtongue] unconscious' when the counsellor challenges him at the court of Théoden, and it channels 'his brilliant white magic', saving Faramir from the Witch King

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[56] See Mark A. Waddell, *Magic, Science, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 6.
[57] See Oxford English Dictionary, 'magic, n. 1., a.' <magic, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> (Accessed 19 October 2021).

before the gates of Minas Tirith.[58] Other ubiquitous tools and actions bridge curious forces to the everyday in more recent works of popular fiction, and individuals communicate with Dust using alethiometers, Ching divination, and a sophisticated computer program in Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials*.

These popular works echo and inform, I think, current conceptions about what magic might be, since the staff, the wand, and the strange-sounding incantation transmit magical forces into an otherwise non-magical space. Early modern scholars, we shall see in chapter 2, have explored this distinction. Frances Yates, in her work *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), saw the discovery of the *Corpus hermetica* – a codex that derived from the teachings of Hermes Trismegistus – as a work that drove forward the European Renaissance, and the foreign writings that lay within this work acquired magical properties.[59] Pico della Mirandola's translation of the Hebrew *kabbalah*, Joseph Dan suggested in his introductory study of this Jewish tradition (2007), likewise integrated 'Christian theology, philosophy, science, and magic'.[60] As we shall see in chapter 2, these texts – along with a collection of other, magically-charged items – appear in early modern drama; Miles holds strange-looking volumes when he follows Friar Bacon onstage in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (c. 1590), and 'necromantic books' (1.1.52) facilitate Faustus's sorcery in Marlowe's *Faustus*.[61] Virginia M. Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan also comment on those objects that shape Prospero as a magical practitioner in *The Tempest*, noting that 'the signifiers a Jacobean

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[58] See Frank P. Riga, 'Gandalf and Merlin: J.R.R. Tolkien's Adoption and Transformation of a Literary Tradition', *Mythlore: A Journal of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and Mythopoeic Literature* 27, no. 1 (2008), pp. 21-44 (p. 35).
[59] See Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
[60] See Joseph Dan, *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 61.
[61] See Robert Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay,* ed. by D. Seltzer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

audience would have associated with [magical] power' can be found in his 'books, staff, and robe'.[62]

Importantly, the occultic text, the staff, and the strange-sounding incantation anchor magical practice within worldly parameters. In fact, it was the existence of such 'magical' objects and speeches that led to magic's 'eradication'. These components became the subject of investigation by those who doubted their authenticity. Thus, as Keith Thomas notes in the concluding chapter of his monumental *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (1971), 'contemporaries could laugh with Reginald Scot' when they considered 'certain magical pebbles' that – in the hands of a practitioner – could prevent sea-sickness during a crossing of the Channel.[63] Several other early modern scholars questioned magical practices: Isaac Casaubon, Thomas observes, scrutinised occultic texts, re-dating the hermetic tracts in 1614, while Marin Mersenne and Pierre Gassendi refuted Robert Fludd's magical animism at some point during the decade after 1623. Established conceptions of magic, in other words, met the falsification principles of scientific thought; the 'new science' insisted 'that all truths be demonstrated . . . emphasis[ing] . . . the need for direct experience, and there was a 'disinclination to accept inherited dogmas without putting them to the test'.[64] Hence, Robert Boyle's chemical investigations upset 'many of the assumptions on which the alchemists had rested their speculations, and little could demonstrate the principles of astrology', leading Henry Briggs – a respected mathematician – to renounce the practice. The physician, William Harvey, also dissected a toad, which others alleged to be

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[62] See William Shakespeare, *The Tempest: Revised Edition,* ed. by V.M. Vaughan and A.T. Vaughan, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 64.
[63] See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), p. 642.
[64] See Thomas (1971), p. 644.

a witch's familiar, and this creature's physical anatomy dispelled any sense that the creature was an incarnation of an entity that resided elsewhere.[65]

The apparatus that figured in magical ceremony seemed to provide 'magic' with a particular 'definition'. Scientific enquiry discredited the authenticity of these objects; particular magical methodologies dissipated, and new ways of thinking took their place. The scepticism that came about as a result of this discreditation, Max Weber argued in his famous *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5), drove forward a 'great historic process', which he later termed 'the disenchantment of the world'.[66] Magic, then, had become a thing of the past, and scientific developments, Thomas notes, 'robbed the old magical systems of their capacity to satisfy the educated elite'.[67]

In fact, however, magical belief persevered, and its practices and ceremonies, which were otherwise associated with the late-medieval world, continued, defying the strict biblicism set out in post-Reformation ways of thinking.[68] Relics, which figured extensively in pre-Reformation traditions, persevered in a post-Reformation world: Alexandra Walsham speaks about William Tessimond, who was summoned before the High Commission in York in 1572 after he acquired hair 'from the beard of the disgraced Earl of Northumberland'.[69] Sympathetic spectators of executions likewise 'scramble[d] to dip handkerchiefs and gloves in blood, rescue scraps of bone, muscle and flesh', gathering 'up the discarded clothes and possessions of their heroes'.[70] Such activities settle uncomfortably within a general model that advocates a 'decline' in magical belief: Thomas notes – astutely – that too 'many of the participants in the story

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[65] See Thomas (1971), pp. 644-5.
[66] See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* trans. by T. Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1950), p. 105.
[67] See Thomas (1971), p. 645.
[68] See Alexandra Walsham, 'The Reformation and "The Disenchantment of the World" Reassessed', *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 2 (2008), pp. 497-528.
[69] See Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 147.
[70] See Walsham, (2014), p. 147.

remain hidden from view'; the 'only identifiable social group which was consistently in the van of the campaign against certain types of magic [was] the clergy'.[71] A complete coverage of social beliefs, in other words, is difficult to obtain. As James Sharpe noted in *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550-1750* (1996):

> Reconstructing the mental world of illiterate people who lived three or four centuries ago is, clearly, no easy matter. Most of what we know of the beliefs or ordinary people in the Tudor and Stuart periods comes to us through sources which have been mediated by interested parties. Very few non-élite people from this period, at least before that flurry of pamphleteering which accompanied the Civil War, have left us with much by way of direct evidence of their beliefs. Thus practically all our information on thinking about witchcraft comes from two potentially biased sources of information: the records of courts and the opinions of educated observers, most prominently the clerical writers of demonological tracts. Not until the second half of the seventeenth century, when antiquaries like John Aubrey (1626-97) set about describing popular mentalities and customs, do we get much by way of a sympathetic account about popular culture.[72]

These 'biased sources' figure extensively in Thomas's work. But, as Thomas observes, they reveal only part of the picture. In other words, the writings of those sceptical about witchcraft, such as Reginald Scot, Thomas Ady, Francis Hutchinson, and John Webster, reflect the 'Protestant fundamentalism' of an early modern English élite.[73] It is, then, a broad stroke of the brush to suggest that the ideas within these writings represent the thoughts of early modern society as a whole. Thomas's work, which rests on the writings of those individuals who professed scorn against such magical belief, thus seems only to scratch the surface as far as an exposition of popular belief is concerned.

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[71] See Thomas (1971), p. 666.
[72] See James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550-1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1996), p. 58.
[73] See Thomas (1971), p. 570.

### 3.0. Why Plays? Theatre as a Source of Popular Thought in Early Modern England

Why, then, is this thesis interested in *dramatic* representations of the otherworld – and how people interacted with it – in early modern England? How may such a study contribute to current scholarship about magical belief? While literary critics have drawn on the work of social historians to explore plays featuring supernatural elements, it has been less common for social historians to use plays and their performances as primary evidence for the nature of supernatural belief in this period. But I would suggest that plays offer a valuable resource to work with for such historians because they reflected early modern culture back to itself. Works performed in the playhouse held an advantageous position over the pamphlet literature of the time; spoken dialogue and spectacle replaced written text as a communicative medium, as early modern English playgoers *experienced* – rather than read – a play. Motifs that figured in drama also emerged in popular discourse: as Jeffrey S. Doty and Musa Gurnis have shown, audiences imitated their favourite scenes to their friends in taverns after performances. Members of the playgoing public, they argue, participated in the creation of plays, and drinking houses and playhouses themselves became 'symbiotic performance spaces in which actors and audiences restaged each other to each other'.[74] Audience capacities also enhanced the theatre's communicative capacity: Johannes de Witt, Andrew Gurr notes in *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (1987), observed 3,000 people who attended a performance at the Swan Theatre, Southwark, in 1596, and '3,000 persons' watched Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chesse* at the Globe in 1624.[75]

These social pastimes became subject to significant levels of anxiety from critics, and the discourses of anti-theatricalism, I argue, shed light on the specific forms of beliefs and

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[74] See Jeffrey S. Doty and Musa Gurnis, 'Theatre Scene and Theatre Public in Early Modern London', *Shakespeare* 14, no. 1 (2018), pp. 12-25 (p. 13).
[75] See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 21. Different playhouses, however, catered to very different audiences: larger amphitheatres, such as the Globe, the Swan, and the Red Bull, entertained a far more 'popular' audience than St. Pauls or the Blackfriars.

behaviour associated with the theatres. They are of interest to social historians of the supernatural for this reason. Furthermore, it is not only what is *in* the plays that I find interesting. Indeed, playhouses' locations within the city and their methods – that is, the whole culture of playing – can provide evidence for early modern forms of popular belief and those who opposed them.

This anti-theatricalism is the subject of considerable scholarly debate: in the 1980s, scholars produced a 'quite straightforward and uncomplicated story' that narrated attacks on playing which eventually led to the closure of the theatres in 1642. As Gabriel Egan has summarised:

> The story is that the English monarchs loved theatre and formed a power bloc with senior aristocrats who shared their relatively moderate religious views, while the English public, many of whom also enjoyed theatre, were riven by religious factionalism between secret Catholics who still cherished the old ways and rabid Puritans who hated theatre and thought the Roman religious ceremonies little better than public spectacles (and vice versa).[76]

But more recent scholarship has complicated this story. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, for instance, discuss the case of Sir Francis Walsingham, a dedicated Protestant who resided in exile during the reign of Mary I; Walsingham fled England alongside other wealthy Protestants John Checke and John Foxe, studying law at Basel and Padua.[77] He created, McMillin and MacLean show in *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (1998), the Queen's Men – a theatre company – in 1583, upsetting the perceived polarity that made a clear distinction between Puritan sensibilities and courtly counterparts. Walsingham, they argue, was not a fan of theatre, but he saw its potential, since drama strengthened moderate forms of Protestantism

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[76] See Gabriel Egan, 'The Closure of the Theatres', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 44 , no. 1 (2014), pp. 103-19 (pp. 103-4).
[77] See John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), pp. 26-8; Scott Macmillan and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 18-36.

against the surge of anti-theatrical ideology. Such antipathy was, perhaps, threatening to Walsingham and others who sat on the Privy Council, since anti-theatricalists were particularly disapproving of iconography, which took shape in Renaissance music, art, and drama. Such enmity, McMillin and MacLean suppose, threatened to 'drive the reform movement apart from a developing English culture'.[78]

David Scott Kastan (1999) also complicates the established notion of a divide between Puritan and royalist attitudes towards the theatre. Building on Margot Heinemann's seminal study *Puritanism and Theatre* (1980), Kastan points out that, while plenty of non-Puritans despised the theatre, there were other Puritans who enjoyed it.[79] Thus, the third Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Herbert, patronised Ben Jonson, contributing to Shakespeare's Second Folio of 1632 as well. The fifth Earl of Huntingdon, Henry Hastings, was also a radical Puritan, but he patronised John Fletcher as the house dramatist of the King's Men and the successor to Shakespeare.[80] To some Puritans, then, the theatre offered political advantages; Walsingham, Egan argues, was in a complicated political position, balancing the extremities of post-Reformation ideology with royal support, and he used the theatre to 'reconcile religion and royalism', since extreme forms of Puritanism had 'no place for a monarch-primate'.[81]

But what fed such resistance to theatre? Jonas A. Barish, in his seminal work *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (1981), traces such sentiment to the anti-theatricalism in Platonic philosophy. A 'haunting acknowledgement of the potency of the theater', which leads to 'an all the more stinging repudiation of it', he argues, is evident in Plato's work; for Socrates, those who listen to poetical imitation require prior philosophical insight since, otherwise, they 'are

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[78] See McMillin and MacLean (1998), p. 31.
[79] See David S. Kastan, *Shakespeare after Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 201-20; Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
[80] See Egan (2014), p. 105.
[81] See Egan (2014), p. 104.

liable to have their understandings ruined by it, for reasons inherent in the nature of imitation itself'.[82] To Plato, then, works within the theatre could mislead individuals from truth. This form of critique, Barish shows, is also evident in early Christian sentiment: Salvianus, a follower of St. Augustine, claimed that the 'theater defiles those who merely see or hear it', and the 'indecencies of the spectacles . . . involve actors and audience in substantially the same guilt'.[83] The preacher Bordaloue also expressed this opinion at the end of the seventeenth century. He sought to curb both gambling and playgoing among his followers. But gambling received less of his ire. It was, Bordaloue argued, 'sinful in excess, when it involve[d] ruinously high sums, or [became] frenzied, so that it [drew] the Christian away from the cares of business or family'. Playgoing, on the other hand, 'remain[ed] evil under all circumstances'. It encouraged a 'settled hardness of heart, a defiance akin to that which produced the revolt in heaven, and enlist[ed] its adherents in the ranks of the damned'.[84]

To these anti-theatricalists, the early modern playhouse offered a particularly unstable kind of space: spectators within the building could, easily, slip free from their strict Protestant moorings, and the activities within these spaces encouraged, according to the pamphleteer Philip Stubbs, playgoers to 'contemn God and all His laws'.[85] These buildings had a particularly vibrant atmosphere; 'linked entertainments – food, drink, books – were marketed' there, and ballad-singers or ballad sellers, Stern suggests, 'were found wherever crowds gathered'. These individuals, she argues, were likely to 'have stationed themselves around theatres'.[86] Considerable disorder also took place in the auditoriums of these spaces; Peter Hausted's seven-hour play, *The Rival Friends*, took place when the Caroline court visited

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[82] See Jonas A. Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (London: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 5-6.
[83] See Barish (1981), p. 80.
[84] See Barish (1981), p. 81.
[85] See Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 3-4.
[86] See Tiffany Stern, 'Shakespeare the Balladmonger?', in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 215-37 (p. 231).

Cambridge in 1632, and the university authorities prescribed a set of conditions for the behaviour of the play's spectators:

> Item: That no tobacco be taken in the Hall nor anywhere else publicly, and that neither at their standing in the streets, nor before the comedy begin, nor all the time there, any rude or immodest exclamations be made, nor any humming, hawking, whistling, hissing, or laughing be used, or any stamping or knocking, nor any such other uncivil or unscholarlike or boyish demeanour, upon any occasion; nor that any clapping of hands be had until the *Plaudite* at the end of the Comedy, except his Majesty, the Queen, or others of the best quality here, do apparently begin the same.[87]

The terms of this legislation cover the kind of activities that may have taken place during a performance; 'rude or immodest exclamations', 'humming', 'hawking', 'whistling', 'hissing', and 'stamping or knocking' construct a particularly 'uncivil . . . demeanour', rebelling against the strict choreography that sought to contain anarchic behaviours and bawdiness. These university authorities were fearful that the kind of behaviour associated with public theatres in London would infiltrate their pristine academic environment, and their anxiety about such spaces provides indirect (and valuable) evidence of what these playhouses were like or, at least, what others presumed them to be like.

An 'effective if anarchic regime of self-regulation' also governed these spaces, and civic authority – notes Gurr – 'was signally absent'.[88] In 1600, for example, William Kemp recollected cutpurses 'being tied to one of the stage pillars' for all fellow spectators to see. Brawls were common, too; there were, Gurr supposes, 'no doubt many [affrays] besides the noted ones with swords at the Blackfriars in 1632 and the quarrel over a key in 1636'. Groups of apprentices also battled one another on several occasions outside the Rose in the 1590s; the 'throngs gathering outside a playhouse provided an obvious opportunity for gangs to

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[87] See Gurr (2004), p. 54.
[88] See Gurr (2004), p. 56.

foregather', and these riots' leaders may have 'laid their plans to rally the gangs while inside'. But records do not reveal whether these conflicts occurred inside the playhouse itself.[89]

The civic authorities took steps to restrain the anarchic and ungodly shows of lawlessness within and around these buildings. Legislation prevented the staging of plays within the City of London in 1594. This ban, notes Dennis McCarthy, was 'almost certainly the result of a compromise between the Lord Mayor of London and the all-powerful Privy Council', and senior playing companies – including Shakespeare's Lord Chamberlain's Men – may have met severe penalties if they continued to stage performances in the City.[90] As we shall see in chapter 3, patrons took steps to escape this legislation; the Theatre and the Curtain, two amphitheatres, stood in Shoreditch, and another theatre, the Red Bull, was located at Clerkenwell.[91] The Rose, the Globe, the Hope, and the Swan, three more amphitheatres, likewise lay across the Thames in areas that lay beyond the City walls, as patrons sought to avoid persecutions by the City authorities (Figure 2).[92]

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[89] See Gurr (2004), p. 56.

[90] See Dennis McCarthy, 'Harvey's 1593 '*To Be* and *Not To Be*': The Authorship and Date of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*', *Critical Survey* 31, no. 1/2 (2019), pp. 87-100 (p. 94).

[91] See Valerie I.J. Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 40-1.

[92] See, too, Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
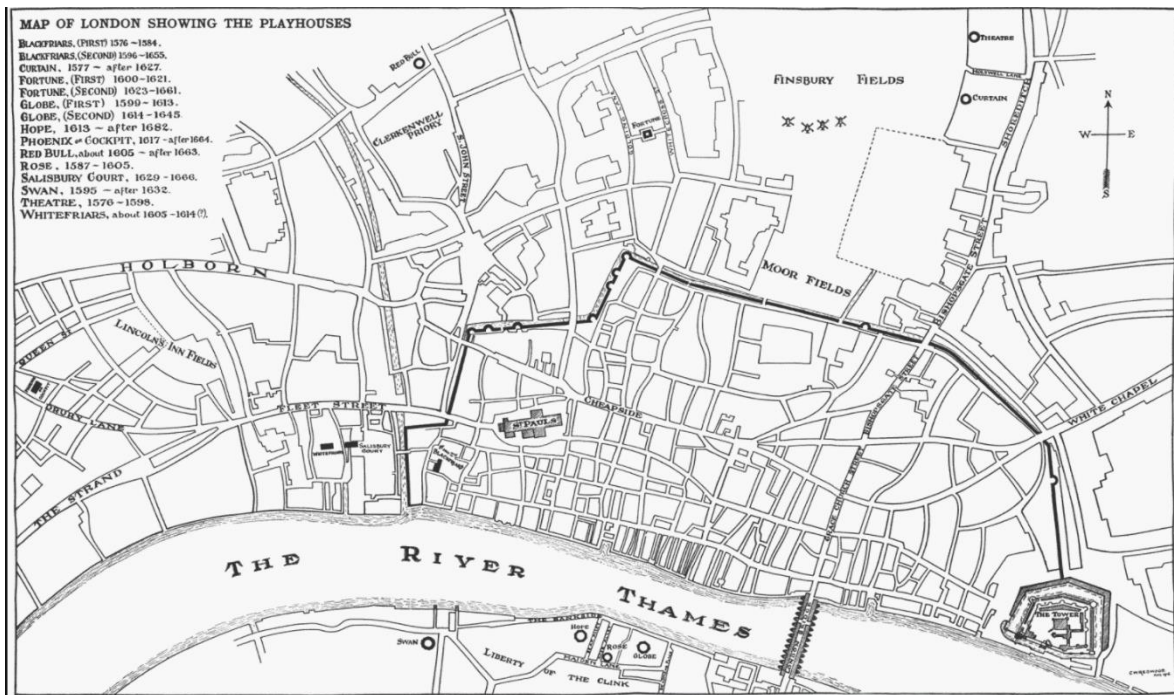
*Figure 2.* Joseph Q. Adams, *Map of London Showing the Playhouses*. See Joseph Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses: A History of English Theatres from the Beginnings to the Restoration* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1960). [The Project Gutenberg eBook of Shakespearean Playhouses, by Joseph Quincy Adams](#) (Date Accessed: 09/12/2021).

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To religious reformers, then, the spaces within these buildings, which lay beyond the City walls, were dangerous, encouraging a deviation from post-Reformation ideals. Such figurations of uncivilised spaces, scholars have shown, resound within Shakespearean drama, escaping and resisting the order that otherwise governed the normalcies of life within early modern London. As Tom Macfaul has claimed, opening his *Shakespeare and the Natural World* (2015):

> The natural world in Shakespeare's time was conceived as a complex and tangled system of sympathies and antipathies, and man's place in it was highly questionable; everything in life was seen as connected, but this was the source of worry and wonder rather than of complacency. New religious, philosophical and scientific ideas created uncertainty about how the natural world worked, and about its relationship to the divine. Those ideas created anxiety: as we'll see, there was even a worry that how people thought about nature might have an effect on how the world really worked. The sense of order in the natural world was becoming increasingly provisional, slippery and complex, having to accommodate more and more strange phenomena, which challenged the belief in man's centrality and his ability to comprehend and master the world.[93]

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[93] See Tom Macfaul, *Shakespeare and the Natural World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 1. Macfaul's work compliments an established history of thinking about 'green space' in scholarship on Shakespearean comedy. See Northrop Frye, *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy*

These unpredictable and contrarian spaces do not confine themselves to the rural world alone; imaginary islands, Brigitte le Juez and Olga Springer argue, 'exist as temporary paradises where contemplation and self-reinvention may happen, or as false havens where conventional laws and moral codes are put to the test'.[94] Thus, as we shall see in chapter 2, the nature of those landscapes across tempestuous oceanic spaces defy characters' perceptions of worldly space. They resemble, and in some cases draw on, those outside areas found in prior literary and cultural traditions; otherworldly forces, Barbara Hilliers observed, control those terrestrial locales on the other side of anarchic seas in early Irish *immrama*, and Glyn S. Burgess spoke about 'trains of angels' residing in a space across 'a mighty intolerable ocean', who welcomed Brendan, an Irish saint.[95] Similarly, in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (c. 1595), Ireland accommodates a bard who predicts ominously and correctly that Richard shall 'not live long' (4.2.104-5). This individual has powers of foresight that exceed the king who resides within a worldly England.[96] And, as I shall show in chapter 3, those hidden spaces within the playhouse acquire similar levels of mystery; the sites beneath the stage and the backstage spaces of the theatre hinge, to quote Erwin Panofsky in his seminal *Perspective and Symbolic Form* (1991), on a 'purely functional and not a substantial reality'.[97] These hidden areas that exist beneath – and behind – the stage seem untethered from the visible spaces of the theatre. They lack material substance, and they seem excluded from the parameters of a material world.

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*and Romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); Harry Berger Jr., *Second World and Green World: Studies in Renaissance Fiction-Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[94] See Brigitte le Juez and Olga Springer, 'Introduction: Shipwrecks and Islands as Multilayered, Timeless Metaphors of Human Existence', in *Shipwreck and Island Motifs in Literature and the Arts,* ed. by B. le Juez and O. Springer (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2015), pp. 1-13 (pp.1-2).

[95] See Barbara Hilliers, 'Voyages between Heaven and Hell: Navigating the Early Irish *Immram* Tales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 13, no. 1 (1993), pp. 66-81 (p. 66); Glyn S. Burgess, 'The Life and Legend of Saint Brendan', in *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the English Legend*, ed. by W.R.J. Barron and G.S. Burgess (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 1-12 (p. 6).

[96] See William Shakespeare, *Richard III,* ed. by J.R. Simeon, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).

[97] See Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. by C. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1991), pp. 29-30.

### 4.0. A New Direction: Agoraphobia, Magical Belief, and Encounters with the Otherworldly in Drama

Lisa Hopkins, in her work *Shakespeare on the Edge: Border-Crossing in the Tragedies and the Henriad* (2007), explores the fluid representation of outside space in the early modern theatre. Focusing on the geographical borders that separate England from its neighbours, she demonstrates how Shakespeare 'use[s] the residual mediaeval allegorization of the stage space to make spatial choices carry heavy symbolic meaning'.[98] Hopkins explores a rich collection of Shakespearean texts, which probe 'the physical frontiers of Shakespeare's England not only in [their] own right[s] but also as . . . potent imaginative tool[s] with which to probe [their] spiritual state[s]'.[99] These plays, she shows, reveal a 'radical uncertainty and a shifting conception in their attitude to borders'. And her comments on The Henriad, I think, chime with what this thesis shall go on to explore: Wales, she argues, seems 'a liminal but fundamentally unthreatening neighbour, a locus of fantasy and experiment analogous to the initially menacing but ultimately benign green world of plays like *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'. Such spaces highlight a wider concern in Shakespeare's work – and early modern drama more generally – about those territories that lie beyond established national borders.[100]

But little scholarship explores how, in a more general sense, the uncertainty and otherness of a hidden space can shape conceptions of magical practice in late-Elizabethan- and early-Jacobean drama. Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (c. 1613) offers an instance of where magical practice is shaped in this way. It displays, to Barbara H. Traister (2014), 'the period's most overt dramatic scepticism about demonic power'. No magical practitioner figures in this drama, and its young devil – Pug – cannot 'lure men and women into evil acts'.[101] But those

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[98] See Lisa Hopkins, *Shakespeare on the Edge: Border-Crossing in the Tragedies and the Henriad* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), p. 3.
[99] See Hopkins (2007), p. 9.
[100] See Hopkins (2007), p. 137.
[101] See Barbara H. Traister, 'Magic and the Decline of Demons: A View from the Stage', in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. by L. Hopkins and H. Ostrovich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 19-30 (pp. 27-8).

partitions that separate this play's infernal climes from their vernacular equivalents seem disturbingly permeable; nothing seems to solicit Pug's entrance from a space elsewhere, as Jonson portrays a kind of magical interaction that takes place *without* the aid of an explicit, magical ceremony. There is, in other words, little sense of a seam that divides traditionally a spatially distant and 'other' area from those quotidian regions that figure in Jonson's play; sinister and hellish characteristics seep into the everyday, as Pug moves unsolicited into the world of the play to do mischief.

Jonson's play mocks beliefs in magic. But, in other plays that take such belief very seriously, we find a similar oblique magical interaction; as I shall show in my subsequent chapters, those unseen, uncharted, and inscrutable spaces *within* the everyday worlds of a play's non-magical characters work in similar ways, nullifying a character's need to partake in a transgressive magical ceremony. Such spaces, I shall show in chapter 1, figure extensively in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The play's heathland becomes a quasi-purgatorial landscape, as Shakespeare evokes the chaos and mystery of an uncharted landscape that lurks just beyond the doorway of Macbeth's castle. The play's landscapes, I shall go on to show, can be profitably compared with those liminal spaces that appear in the Pearl Poet's *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, echoing, too, the mysteries of the outside in Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Titus Andronicus*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. Those impermeable partitions visible in the Doom image discussed at the opening of this introduction, which prevent the seepage of hellish characteristics into quotidian worlds, are absent in these plays, and both characters and playgoers are compelled to come to terms with an accessible 'otherworld' that resists the dictums of the everyday.

Another liminal space, I shall go on to show in chapter 2, appears in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. In this chapter, I investigate the apparent ambiguity of the magical almanac. The term

'book' (3.2.95) in this play, I shall show, envelops items that do not figure traditionally in magical ceremonies; Caliban may refer to Prospero's texts in 3.2, but the term 'book' covers, also, the sack of wine of the play's drunken butler, Stephano (2.2.139). These non-magical items, I shall show, seem magical to the play's islanders at other moments: the freshly-laundered ceremonial dress, coupled with the robes that Prospero wears when he converses with Ariel in 1.2, elevate the play's non-magical characters to godlike statuses, and the traditions and customs of a familiar world settle uncomfortably within a new, unfamiliar locale. Those characters – who reside within this transgressive, island landscape – also categorise the castaways – along with the items that they bring – as 'otherworldly'. One kind of culture thus clashes with another, since the castaways do not lodge easily into the islanders' world. This process constructs a hierarchical relationship between different sets of characters, as the play produces a sophisticated dramatological version of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century colonial discourse; 'otherworldly' agents encounter one another in the island landscape, driving forward a particularly nuanced kind of magical interaction.

Those areas that lie beyond familiar space seem closer to home in Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton*. As I shall show in chapter 3, they mutate the nature of the very events within the world of the play, rendering obsolete the traditionally perverse ceremonies that construct maleficent kinds of magic. A more accessible ritual takes the place of these rites: those who stand onstage cannot see the hidden spaces within this play, and the very dispositions of those characters who interact with one another within such ambiguous areas become 'otherworldly'. Devilish agents, I argue, are not so clear-cut in this play: manifestations of diabolism take shape as virtuous persons, as the drama incarnates chillingly a devil's capacity to take any shape 'to blind such silly eyes as thine' (5.1.124). Interactions with other characters within such hidden spaces thus invoke diabolical aid, and the

play conveys an accessible and inscrutable kind of magic that wriggles free from the rituals described within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pamphlet literature.

Crucially, the unfamiliar spaces within these plays behave in ways that challenge recent scholarly works exploring magic within the early modern English theatre. Indeed, to return to Stern's work, an otherworld no longer lies strictly incarcerated beneath the stage, since such hidden and inscrutable areas encroach on those accessible climes *within* the world of these dramas. Thus, as we shall see in chapter 1, those spaces outside the walls of Macbeth's castle secrete otherworldly qualities, since the stage door replaces the 'trap-door in the centre of the stage' as the entrance to a purgatorial existence elsewhere.[102] In *The Tempest*, the anarchic oceanic expanses beyond the restraining boundaries of the shoreline diffuse similar levels of mystery. Such unstable locales defy the order that otherwise governs characters' conceptions of the everyday, and the characters who reside initially within foreign landscapes exceed conceptions of worldliness. Those private and secluded areas within *The Witch of Edmonton* also resist the rules of the play's everyday landscapes, and those characters who find themselves within them seem untethered from the world of the play, as Dekker, Ford, and Rowley shed light on a kind of diabolical invocation that focuses on the vices of those who interact with one another within private environments.

As we have seen earlier in this introduction, Stagg and Wright consider the strange-sounding speeches in *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Macbeth* as 'markers' that expose an otherworld outside the remits of a play's everyday spaces. But, as I shall show in what follows, these markers do not confine consistently the magic in these plays. Instead, the supernatural breaks into those chaotic, inscrutable, and

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[102] Stern traces the ominous characteristics of the under-stage space across three of Shakespeare's plays. This hidden area below accommodates 'the bloody hole in which Lavinia is raped in *Titus Andronicus*, the grave in *Hamlet*, [and] the place from which the apparitions in *Macbeth* come and go'. See Stern (2004), p. 25.

yet accessible areas that lie beyond characters' conceptions of reality. The plays that figure throughout this thesis thus question the very definitions of magical interaction that recent scholarship has employed: extending Stagg's findings, I aim to show how the supernatural emerges *without* the elaborate language or a marked rhythmic change, since even the breakdown of iambic language can point towards supernatural activity of some kind.

The magical interactions within the plays in this thesis, then, squirm free from current scholarly definitions of 'magic'; otherworldly agents transgress into the quotidian spaces of the plays' worlds in various ways, and those sophisticated ceremonies no longer seem so important as a means to invoke a supernatural companion. In this sense, my thesis arrives at different conclusions concerning the relationship between contemporary belief and dramatic presentation from those made by Diane Purkiss, one of the most prominent critics in the field. Purkiss has argued that the 'witch' plays of the early modern English theatre present a form of witchcraft that is 'less complex, less fascinatingly ambiguous, less surprising in plot, less conceptually lucid' than the 'original discourse' surrounding witchcraft. She argues that a 'sense of decorum, constraints of genre, questions of plot and plausibility, and commercial considerations' characterise dramatic representations.[103] In various ways, Purkiss suggests, theatre softens the edges of the popular print and oral culture concerning the supernatural, drawing it into structures in a way that made it less shocking and interesting. While agreeing that supernatural activities and figures are accommodated into dramatic worlds and structures, I would contend that such accommodation in fact makes those activities and figures even more unsettling, since the plays present worlds in which conspicuous rites and ceremonies no longer incarnate magical practice, and the magic encroaches instead on the day-to-day activities of these plays' characters.

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[103] See Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 180.

I shall argue that access to the mysteries of a hidden and 'otherworldly' space within the world of a play does not require a sophisticated ceremony, an occultic item, or a strange-sounding speech. These hidden areas function in ways that resist characters' conceptions of reality. Worldliness becomes – simultaneously – otherworldliness within such spaces, as these dramas convey hidden landscapes that trouble the consistencies of a play's vernacular world. The behaviour of such spaces, I shall go on to argue, embodies the wider mutability of magic in the early modern English theatre. In these plays, supernatural agents slip free from the spells, charms, and particular objects that sculpt magical practice, and those inscrutable spaces – coupled with the 'things' that operate within them – invoke a more terrifying (because more distinct) kind of 'magic' in their place. In these plays, the wands, incantations, books, and staffs that feature in popular notions of what 'magic' may be are largely absent; in their place comes an agoraphobic fear of and fascination with those inscrutable spaces that lurk beyond the walls, the sea, and the very doors of the Elizabethan playhouse, perhaps causing playgoers to wonder about the various 'things' they might encounter after straying unsupervised into a space alone, away from those individuals, customs, and traditions that formed their conceptions of everyday life. As I shall show throughout this thesis, this anxiety constructs an enigmatic kind of magical invocation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English drama.

## *Chapter One: Purgatorial Spaces Beyond the Walls: The Curious Exit of Banquo's Ghost in 4.1 of* Macbeth

An 'evolution of Christian eschatology in the first centuries of our era', argued Daniel P. Walker, reduced the 'orthodox afterlife' to an 'untidy, evidently botched form', and Peter Marshall suggested more recently how the 'polemical and strategic requirements of Reformation theology' precipitated a 'process by which hell could become less emphatically "real"'.[1] Early modern drama, however, still offers compelling images of the afterlife, but often these are relocated to familiar, vernacular spaces which trouble any clear boundaries between this life and the next, offering a vision of hell that seeps into the everyday. In particular, wildernesses, forests, woodlands, and rural landscapes in early modern English drama sometimes convey an 'afterlife' that escapes the vivid pictorial representations of pre-Reformation cosmology, vividly conjuring a 'hell' much closer to home. These spaces flit free from the remits of a play's present, and those individuals who venture into them settle in an 'afterlife' within the everyday spaces of a play's world.

A meeting with a 'show of eight kings' (4.1.110.SD) within a wilderness outside the walls of a castle in *Macbeth* (c. 1606) provides a good example.[2] The ghost of Banquo comes onstage with this group, and its presence onstage unsettles greatly the play's protagonist:

> Thou art too like the spirit of Banquo; down.
> Thy crown does sear my eyeballs. And thy hair,
> Thou other gold-burned brow, is like the first.
> A third is like the former. Filthy hags,
> Why do you show me this? – A fourth? Start, eyes!
> What, will the line stretch out to th' crack of doom?

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[1] See Daniel P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 34; Peter Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England, c. 1560-1640', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61, no. 2 (2010), pp. 279-98 (p. 298).

[2] See William Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. by S. Clark and P. Mason, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

Another yet? A seventh? I'll see no more;
And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass
Which shows me many more; and some I see
That twofold balls and treble sceptres carry.
Horrible sight. Now I see 'tis true;
For the blood-boltered Banquo smiles upon me
And points at them for this.

*Exeunt kings and Banquo.*                                    (4.1.110.SD-23.SD)

There is something unsettling about the stage directions that conclude this passage: the first apparition 'descends' (4.1.70.SD) to an enclosed space beneath the stage. The second and third apparitions follow suit, sinking through the central stage trap (4.1.79.SD). The spectre of Banquo should descend to this spatially distinct area as well; he is dead, after all. But the Folio text seems ambivalent about where this show of kings travel; the cordoned-off locale below loses none of its potency, but the 'Exeunt' (23.SD) in the final line of the passage suggests that other spaces can receive the ghost and its companions. The nature of these phantoms confuses things further. Macbeth may demand Banquo to go 'down' (110.SD) in the first line of the passage, but the descent of this entourage seems unlikely; a region that hosts simultaneously the sisters' devilish apparitions and those spirits holding 'twofold balls and treble sceptres' (120), which represent the ancestors of James VI, the king of both Scotland and England, would hardly have pleased the king and his courtiers.

If Banquo and his companions do *not* exit through the trapdoor, then where is the otherworld to which they head? The ambivalence of the 'Exeunt' is telling, here; the stage door may replace the stage trap, offering Banquo and his wraithlike entourage an exit offstage. The otherworldly connotations of the offstage had already been suggested when the Porter answered the persistent knocking of Lennox and Macduff at the 'south entry' (2.3.37) of Macbeth's castle at Inverness. 'Otherness', I shall go on to show, bleeds notably into the backstage space in this scene; to the Porter, those thresholds that – traditionally – separate an

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otherworld from the worlds of this play's characters are no longer obvious, as the front porch of the keep becomes the gateway to an infernal dominion. This hellish space lurks close by. The normalcy of the stage door further unsettles things, since the gaping jaws of the hell mouth – which authenticate the sinister status of those spaces behind it – do not decorate the doorway. This aperture seems indistinctive and quotidian, and an alternative idea about where this play's 'otherworld' may lie comes into view. As a portal to hell, the gateway reveals that such a space, strange as it is, remains troublingly accessible, lying *within* the vernacular world of the play's characters.

'Otherness' in this play, I shall show, thus entwines with conceptions of vernacular space, as otherworldly characteristics seep into thoese environments that lurk beyond the portcullises of Macbeth's castle. These outside areas resist the realities of the play's non-magical characters. They operate in ways against (what I shall show in what follows to be) medieval conceptions of an otherworld located – reassuringly – elsewhere. Shakespeare sheds light on an otherworld closer to home, here, as the castle gateway connects seamlessly worldly climes with their otherworldly counterparts.

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Hellish imagery diffuses conspicuously into the landscape of the play in other moments. A cauldron containing a 'hell broth' (4.1.19), which the weird sisters stir within the heathland in the opening moments of 4.1, is a striking example, resonating with the cooking pots within a Christian Hades in a mural at Chaldron church, Surrey (Figure 1).
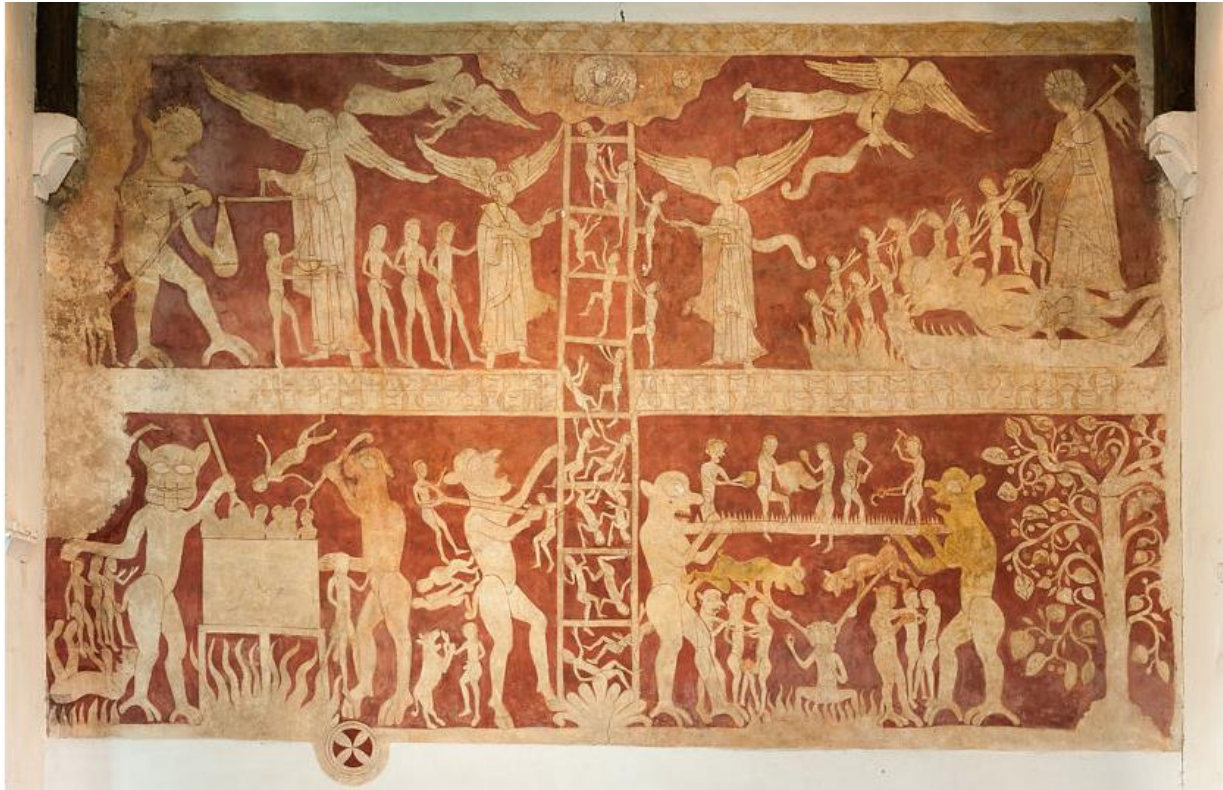


*Figure 1.* R. Reed, *Chaldon, Surrey c. 1200: The Purgatorial Ladder, or Ladder of Souls, with the Seven Deadly Sins* (2019), Church of St Peter and St Paul, Chaldon, Surrey, England. https://reeddesign.co.uk/paintedchurch/chaldon-seven-deadly-sins.htm (Date accessed 22/02/2021).

Cooking pots figure, too, within the Hours of Cordier de Bingan, a manuscript stored at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, while, in Jean-Baptiste Poquelin's *L'Ecole des Femmes* (c. 1622), Armolphe speaks about the cauldrons in hell that await 'those women who besmirch their husbands' honour'.[3] The cooking pot that lies within *Macbeth*'s heathland, then, could invoke imagery that confuses where the heath may be; the play breaks down the thresholds that distinguish infernal environments from the play's quotidian spaces, portraying a kind of quasi-

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[3] See Deborah Steinberger, 'Moliére and the Domestication of French Comedy: Public and Private Space in *L'Ecole des Femmes*', *Les Cahiers des dix* 6, no. 1 (1992), pp. 145-53 (p. 148).

otherworld that lurks within an accessible landscape outside the castle walls. Vernacular characters encounter and interact with the otherworldly, too: Macbeth and Banquo encounter the weird sisters for the first time in 1.3, but they do not perform the elaborate rites that precede immediately the arrival of Mephistopheles onstage in the A-text of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1589-92).[4] Their encounter contrasts strikingly with the magic at play in *King Henry VI Part 2* (c. 1596-9) as well. In this play, written around a decade before *Macbeth*, an otherworld elsewhere, removed from vernacular climes, manifests when Asnath, a spirit, answers Bolingbroke and Jourdain's Latin incantation from a place below.[5] These strange-sounding incantations, which figure, too, in Marlowe's *Faustus*, provide the characters who speak to them access to an area located beyond the parameters of these plays' vernacular spaces. But the idea of a spatially distant otherworld is not so consistent in *Macbeth*; Macbeth and Banquo merely *encounter* those who 'look not like th'inhabitants o'th' earth' (1.3.41) in the wilderness, while Banquo and his spectral companions exit the stage in a strange way in 4.1. Both incidents, I shall show, reveal a wider apprehension about the unstable nature of those areas that lie beyond the borders of familiar space.

'Otherness' transgresses into the everyday in other early modern English plays: Barabas, a manipulative and bloodthirsty Jewish merchant, complains about the 'extremity of heat . . . pinch[ing] me with intolerable pangs' (5.5.86-7), as he roasts within a cauldron, into which he has fallen, in the concluding moments of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1590).[6] Marlowe constructs a vivid parallel with Scripture, here; the cries for help to those who watch Barabas burn onstage (5.5.86-7) recall how Dives calls for 'water . . . [to] cool my tongue'

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[4] See Christopher Marlowe, 'Doctor Faustus A-Text', in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays,* ed. by D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 137-83.

[5] See William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI Part 2,* ed. by R. Knowles, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1999).

[6] See Christopher Marlowe, 'The Jew of Malta', in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays,* ed. by D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 247-322.

from an impassive Abraham and Lazarus, who overlook his torment in hell (Luke 16:24). Barabas, however, does not burn in a remote and hellish clime elsewhere; the play, in the words of Cecile W. Cary, 'shows Barabas' death, not his punishment afterwards'. Barabas, in other words, experiences biblical torment *before* he moves to an afterlife elsewhere. He boils in a 'hell' beneath the 'homely stairs' (5.5.58) of his house, as Marlowe 'visually recapitulates medieval pictures of sinners falling into hell'.[7]

A space that resembles the 'hell' in Poquelin's *L'Ecole des Femmes* thus figures in Marlowe's play, since the cauldron within this area invokes the cooking pots within the mural at Chaldron church, which I discussed above (Figure 1). But, as in *Macbeth*'s Porter scene, there is no partition that separates an otherworld from vernacular spaces within the play. The basement, albeit briefly, seems a hellish clime that figures in Christian traditions. Explicit frontiers, which enclose an otherworld from the spaces within the world of a play, no longer seem necessary, as an easily-accessible and *inclusive* supernatural environ takes the place of reassuringly distant spaces. The dangers of such spaces, I shall go on to show, lie in the ease in which they can be accessed and the proximity of the quasi-otherworldly entities that lie within them.

## 1.0. Spatially Separate Hells in Late-Medieval Imagery

I will explore the significance of these quasi-otherworldly environments later. I can only uncover their threats if I begin with a survey of where the underworld lay in late-medieval discourse. The biblical passage from Luke, which I touched upon a moment ago, provides a good starting point. Here, Dives, a rich man, pleads with Abraham, standing confined within a space of eternal punishment:

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[7] See Cecile W. Cary, ''It circumscribes us here': Hell on the Renaissance Stage', in *The Iconography of Hell,* ed. by C. Davidson and T.H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 187-203 (p. 194).

> And it came to pass, that the beggar [Lazarus] died, and was buried, and was carried
> up by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried; and
> in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham far off, and Lazarus
> in his bosom.

> (Luke 16: 22-3)

This rich man converses with Abraham and Lazarus from a space below. He 'lift[s] up his eyes'

to face both figures, as hellfire consumes him in a space that seems spatially apart from those

who overlook his punishment.

As we saw in my introduction, this idea of a hell set apart is not a new one. The deep

place of *Sheol*, for instance, figures in Hebrew traditions, although the immortality of those

souls who reside within this space may derive from Greek customs as well.[8] Good individuals

who died went straight to heaven, where torment could not touch them. More nefarious persons

descended to *Sheol* instead, where retribution for their sins awaited them.[9] This underworld,

along with the severity of those punishments that took place within it, became problematic

under Christian law and, by extension, so did the intercessory practices within late-medieval

Catholic traditions.[10] The fates of those long-dead Christian holy men were a particular sticking

point. Baptism, which elicited access to heaven in Christian belief, was important: these

individuals' deaths prior to the resurrection of Christ meant that they were denied baptism and,

by extension, a passage to paradise. Thus, to return to Luke 16: 24-6:

> And he [Dives] cried and said, 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send
> Lazarus, that he might dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I
> am tormented in this flame'. But Abraham said, 'Son, remember that thou in thy
> lifetime receivedst good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things, but now he is
> comforted, and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you, there is

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[8] See Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

[9] See Henry A. Kelly, 'Hell with Purgatory and Two Limbos: The Geography and Theology of the Underworld', in *Hell and its Afterlife: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,* ed. by I. Morreira and M. Toscano (London: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 121-36 (p. 122).

[10] For Catholic concepts of sainthood, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

> a great gulf fixed: so that they which pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from hence.

<div align="right">(Luke 16: 24-6)</div>

Dives can still speak with Abraham and Lazarus. This verbal exchange reveals much about how close these characters stand to one another; Dives is near enough to interact with those who watch him burn, talking with them across 'a great gulf fixed'.

We thus have a worrying problem, since the space that contains Dives' hellish retribution also includes the space where Abraham and Lazarus stand. This sinister space seems to accommodate those who follow God. But the passage calms things: the rich man cannot access the 'water' that can 'cool [his] tongue', and he requests that Abraham 'send Lazarus' to acquire this liquid; the torture continues, as Dives screams in vain for a substance that he cannot obtain for himself. Lazarus, however, can access the water that Dives so desperately needs. Two distinct areas thus construct the landscape; the gulf between them denies absolutely the comforts of one space, preventing any who would 'pass from hence [Abraham and Lazarus] to you [Dives]'. Dives, then, is an isolated figure: the tortures of his hell cannot traverse into the more pleasant area lying close by and, likewise, the barrier prevents any manifestation of comfort from reaching Dives.

The residence of Abraham and Lazarus within this space reveals the wider significance of baptism. This sacrament was important, since the 'Pauline reference to baptism from the dead' prevented those who followed God from reaching paradise.[11] Those unbaptised individuals may have resided within a hellish alternative, as their deaths took place before Christian teachings established baptism as a condition that granted access to heaven.[12] How,

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[11] See Allen Cabaniss, 'The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24, and Pliny the Younger: A Note', *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, no. 1 (1953), pp. 65-74 (p. 64). Also see 1 Corinthians 15: 29.
[12] See Cabaniss (1953), p. 67.

then, did these righteous departed reach heaven? Matthew 27: 52 may answer this question. It speaks about the resurrection of the dead, whereby the righteous leave *Sheol* after Christ's crucifixion, returning to the land of the living. Other biblical passages tell a similar tale; the Lord recovers prisoners from a dungeon, presumed to be *Sheol*, in Isaiah 42: 7 and, in the New Testament, in the first Epistle of Peter (Peter 3: 19). An early Christian creed, which Rufinus uncovered from his native Aquileia, also speaks about Christ's descent to hell after his crucifixion, where he confronts and binds Satan, converses with the 'righteous departed . . . presumed to be languishing in *Sheol*', and brings them to paradise.[13] This movement to a spatially separate region below figures in versions of the Apostles' Creed, which emerge after the Fourth Declaration of Sirmium in 359 and, later, in a document published at Constantinople in 381.[14]

Christ's venture to hell reveals much about where heaven and hell lie in relation to their worldly equivalents; an infernal area lies beneath vernacular space, while heaven seems to overlook it. Christ traverses the boundaries that distinguish these areas; the partitions have considerable strength, since divine power alone facilitates any migration from one world to another. This spatially distant underworld may have reassured the late-medieval English Christian; boundaries ensure that such formidable territories – and those entities who reside within them – remain remote, and travel from one world to another seems difficult.

This kind of partitioned otherworld elsewhere appears in theological accounts: the surface of the earth, the English Jesuit Robert Persons suggested in his *The Christian Directory* (c. 1607), was one example of a border between the living world and its otherworldly equivalent. Robert Bellarmine, an Italian cardinal, followed suit. Hell, he argued, lay 'certainly

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[13] See John J.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 378-82; Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski, *The Apostles' Creed: The Apostles' Creed and its Early Christian Context* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), pp. 56-7; Kelly (2010), p. 124.
[14] See Kelly (1972), pp. 378-82.

thousands of myles' beneath the ground, and Jean Pierre Camus came to a similar conclusion in 1632.[15] The craters of volcanoes, which smoke and foul-smelling gases shrouded, were posited as entrances to this place.[16] A monk, who narrates affairs in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (c. 1219-23), speaks, too, about the calderas of Etna, Gyber, and Stromboli as the 'jaws of hell'. The 'wicked only are sent' into these areas, since they 'may not see the light of heaven'.[17] Mount Hecla, a volcano in Iceland, offers another example. '[M]iserable sound[s] and noise[s]' echo from the slopes and from the craters of this mountain in William Cuningham's *The cosmological glasse conteiyng the pleasant principles of cosmologie, geographie, hydrographie, or navigation* (c. 1559). These uncomfortable noises, Cuningham supposed, came from the 'soules of men & women' tormented within the depths of the volcano.[18] We are not, in other words, speaking of a hell cut off entirely from the vernacular world. But the borders that separate worldly space from its otherworldly counterpart remain obvious. These calderas, which housed the excruciating temperatures of a purgative landscape, are clear thresholds that mark entry to another space elsewhere.

Another ambiguous entrance appears in Hildegard von Bingen's *Liber divinorum operum* (c. 1163-73): the abysses that appear 'towards the west outside the curve of the earth', split 'like a terrible mouth that was flung open for the purpose of engulfing', enclose an infernal clime from vernacular space.[19] A 'dragon-like head with glowing eyes and sharp teeth, spread wide against the circle that . . . represents the cosmos' also figures in a thirteenth-century

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[15] See Robert Persons, *The Christian directory* (London: St. Omer, 1607); Robert Bellarmine, *The art of dying well* trans. by E. Coffin (London: St. Omer, 1622); Jean P. Camus, *A draught of eternitie*, ed. by M. Carr (Douai, 1632).

[16] These Sicilian volcanoes drove forward the synonymy of the phrase 'Sailing to Sicily' with one's passage to the underworld. See Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* trans. by J.M. Bak and P.A. Hollingworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 183.

[17] See Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles* 2 vols trans. by H. von E. Scott and C.C.S. Bland (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), 2, p. 302.

[18] See Kristen Poole, *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England: Spaces of Demonism, Divinity, and Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 183.

[19] See Hildegard von Bingen, *Welt und Mensch: Das Buch 'Das Operatione Die' aus dem Greater Kodex*, ed. by H. Schipperges (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1965), p. 188.

manuscript of Hildegard's work, now found at Lucca, Italy.[20] A gaping maw appears, too, in Gregory the Great's *Moralia, sive Expositio in Job* (c. 578-95): as Joyce R.N. Galpern has observed, the mouths of the 'Behemoth, or huge land beast, and . . . the Leviathan or sea monster' conveyed fittingly the evil nature of Satan.[21] This representation became varied in medieval England, as Viking invasions – coupled with monastic reforms in the tenth century – brought about a 'search for an iconography of hell that could be understood by pagan and Christian alike'.[22]

The mouth of the dragon and the sea monster thus remained popular images. But the disembodied head appears in other illustrations; the nightmarish concept of ingestion, which is invoked when these heads devour the damned souls who journey to hell, appears across the board. Medieval iconography may have found this particular kind of threshold convenient; along with the fall into a caldera, the quaffing of the unfortunate sinner by a monstrous mouth illustrated the horrors of an infernal landscape and the retribution found therein. This second type of threshold figures extensively in church imagery; a hell mouth devours a group of sinners

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[20] See Pamela Sheingorn, 'Who can open the doors to his face?': The Iconography of Hell Mouth', in *The Iconography of Hell,* ed. by C. Davidson and T.H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 1-19 (p. 3).

[21] See Joyce R.N. Galpern, 'The Shape of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England', Unpublished PhD thesis (California: University of California Press, 1977), p. 142.

[22] See Galpern (1977), p. 3.

in an image from the west front of the cathedral at Lincoln (Figure 2), and the Doom image at Wenhaston, which I spoke about in my introduction, is another example.



*Figure 2*. R.F. Wilson, *Lincoln Cathedral in Lincoln, England, is an amazing frieze (c. 1150 AD, restored in 2009) known as the Harrowing (or Plundering) of Hell,' that shows the conflict with Satan in graphic terms. The man with the crown is, of course, Christ. The man to the right seems to be John the Baptist. Both have their feet on the devil, bound hand and foot. Christ is grasping those enslaved souls who are reaching out for his help,* Lincoln Cathedral, England. 3. Paul in Cyprus, Antioch of Pisidia, and Galatia (Acts 13-14, 47-49 AD) - Apostle Paul: Passionate Discipleship (jesuswalk.com) (Date accessed 11/05/2021).

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The thresholds in late-medieval church imagery, unsurprisingly, inform the staging of medieval cycle drama: in the Mercers' Last Judgement, performed as part of the York Cycle in 1433, an iron swing bridges the spatially separate locales of heaven, hell, and the vernacular spaces of the play. Deus may have used this device to 'fly vppe to heauen'.[23] But the swing may also have offered travel to a space below since, in the drama, the device may portray the descent of

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[23] See Alexandra Johnston and Margaret Dorrell, 'The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers, 1433', *Leeds Studies in English* 5, no. 1 (1971), pp. 29-34 (p. 31); Sheingorn (1992), p. 6.

Lucifer to hell in the Fall from which he never returns.[24] A conspicuous hell mouth figures in the pageant staging as well.[25]

An afterlife also appears cut off in the stage directions of the Paris Resurrection, a play for a fixed stage. It lurks within the walls of a tall, covered, and netted tower; the nets of the prop enclose the expanses of an otherworld from those areas where spectators stand to watch the play:

> Limbo . . . should be made like a tall square tower surrounded by nets so that through the said nets one can see from the audience the souls who are inside when the Anima Christi has forced his way inside there. But before his coming the said tower shall be provided with black cloth curtains all round which will cover the said nets and prevent [the souls] from being seen until the entrance of Anima Christi, and then the said curtains shall be cunningly pulled aside on small rings so that the people in the audience can see inside the said tower through the said nets.[26]

The partitions that enclose this space collapse only when the 'Anima Christi . . . force[s] his way inside'; the gates shatter, and those incarcerated within this previously closed space acquire an exit from the tower. The Harrowing play at the Chester pageant also seems to have a closed space as hell; a 'netted enclosure for the souls' and a 'hell mouth with collapsing gates' figure in accounts of the performance (Figure 3). The authentic hell lurks beyond the doorway to the wagon structure, and the souls, who reside within the netted enclosure of the wagon,

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[24] See Peter Holding, 'Stagecraft in the York Cycle', *Theatre Notebook* 32, no. 2 (1980), pp. 51-60.

[25] Such thresholds appear in other late-medieval religious imagery. Take, for instance, an illustration within the Fitzwilliam Psalter, a fourteenth-century English manuscript, where the jaws of the hell mouth integrate into the architecture of the performance space. An English alabaster panel from the late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth century, stored at the Castle Museum at Carcassonne, France, shows this construction of the hell mouth (Sheingorn 1992, p. 8). These structures made the staging of events in hell profound: the teeth that adorned the entrance to the performance space, M.D. Anderson argues, would have 'made it possible for the lesser demons in the *Towneley Plays* . . . to "go spar the gates [and] set watches on the walls"' (Anderson 1963, p. 127). Records from a Passion Play performed at Metz in 1437 reveal an even more elaborate stage design: actors entered through a hell mouth that opened and closed 'at its own accord' (Meredith & Tailby (ed.), 1983, p. 90). Another hell that 'opened and closed when necessary' appears in the Rouen Passion play while, in 1564, another play put on at Lincoln used a 'hell mouth with a neithere Chap' or jaw (Stuart 1913, p. 339; Karhl (ed.), 1974, p. 67).

[26] See Peter Meredith, 'The Iconography of Hell in the English Cycles: A Practical Perspective', in *The Iconography of Hell,* ed. by C. Davidson and T.H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 158-86 (p. 160).

escape this space through the broken entryway, following Christ to paradise.[27] The netted enclosures, tower walls, and conspicuous hell mouths in these plays thus separate the climes of an infernal locale from everyday space, distancing conspicuously an otherworldly area from the environs of vernacular space and constructing a sinister landscape otherwise difficult to reach.
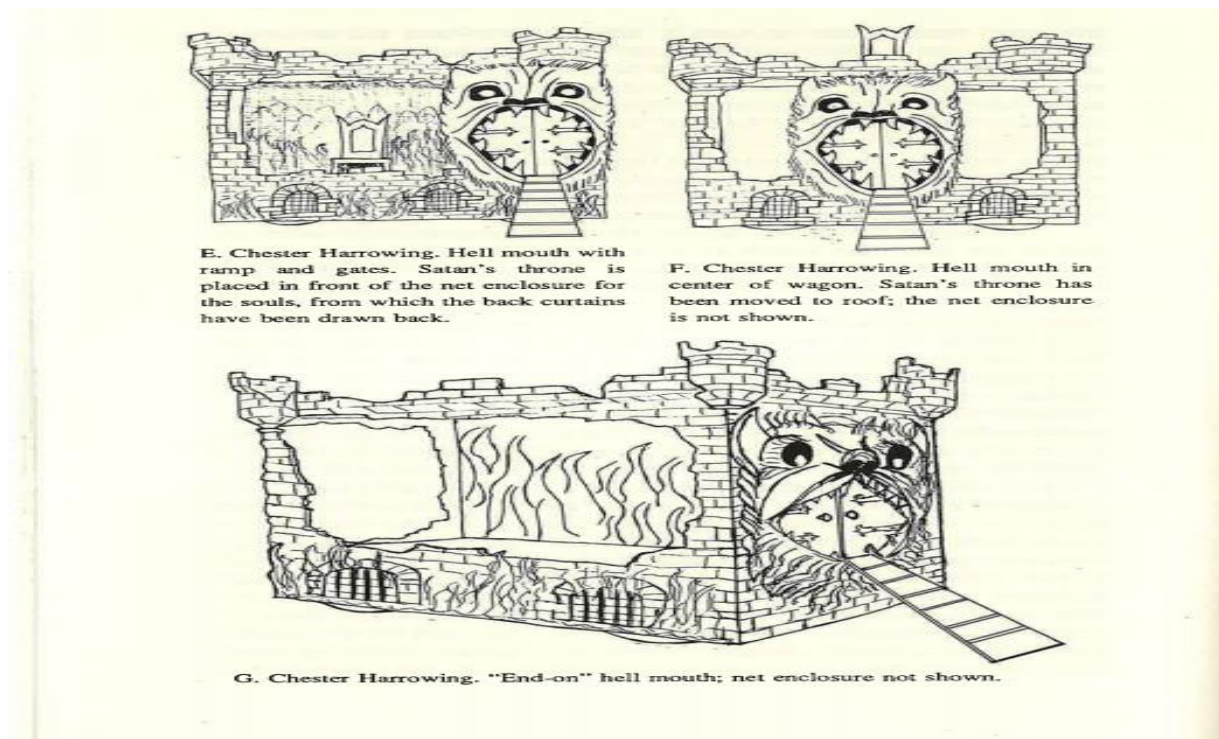


*Figure 3.* Peter Meredith, *Possible appearances of the pageant wagon for the Harrowing of Hell performed during the Chester Cycle.* Figure E shows the incarceration of the souls in a netted area within the wagon, with Satan's throne located immediately in front of this enclosure. More importantly, note how the edges of the wagon contain the environs of this infernal dominion. See Meredith (1992), p. 162.

This spatial separation lingers in Protestant texts. The creed of St. Athanasius, which was visible in Thomas Cramner's *The Book of Common Prayer* (c. 1549), speaks of another journey to a 'hell' below:

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[27] See Meredith (1992), p. 161.

> For as reasonable soule and fleshe is one man: So God is one man and man is Christ. Who suffered for our salvacion; descended into hell, rose agayne the third day from the dead. He ascended into heaven, he sytteth on the right hand of the father, God almighty: from whence he shall come to judge the quicke and dead.[28]

A journey from one space to another manifests, here, in the word 'descended', which describes the travel of Christ from his tomb to a world below. The expression 'rose agayne from the dead' refers to the return journey, indicating that Christ *ascends* from the place of the dead: he returns to the vernacular world, where he converses with his disciples, resolving the doubt of Thomas (John 20: 14-21). Another vertical journey begins, as Christ is 'carried up to heaven' while his disciples watch (Luke 24: 51).

Protestant iconoclasm, however, suppressed 'actual representations of divine mysteries', and 'non-literal conceptions of hell' replaced the sophisticated images that figured in Catholic illustrations and in medieval theatre.[29] In early modern theatre, those unmarked spaces beneath the stage provided an alternative that suggested but did not directly *stage* hellish landscapes: as Tiffany Stern suggests, the trapdoor that led to those spaces beneath the stage seemed an 'entrance to hell'.[30] Furies, for instance, rise from beneath the stage in Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *The Tragedy of Gorboduc* (c. 1561) and, in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1592), Hieronimo – who grieves over his son, Horatio, to the point of madness – promises to 'rip up the bowels of the earth', bringing his son to 'show his deadly wounds' (3.12.70-2).[31] He imagines Horatio, who has died prematurely at the hands of Lorenzo, Bel-Imperia's brother, and Balthazar, the son of the Portuguese viceroy, to reside

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[28] See 'The Book of Common Prayer, 1549', in *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. by B. Cummings, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-98 (p. 18).
[29] See Cary (1992), p. 187.
[30] See Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 25.
[31] See Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. by C. Calvo and J. Tronch, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

beneath the stage, attempting unsuccessfully to dig through the floor of the dais to reach his son beneath (3.12.70.SD).

In Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1594), Martius 'descend[s] into [a] gaping hollow of the earth' (2.2.249).[32] He discovers the bloodied corpse of Bassianus, a Roman senator and the brother of the new emperor – Saturninus – below, describing the scene to his brother, Quintus, who stands looking down from onstage:

> Upon his bloody finger he doth wear,
> A precious ring that lightens all this hole,
> Which like a taper in some monument
> Doth shine upon the dead man's earthly cheeks
> And shows the ragged entrails of this pit.
> So pale did shine the moon of Pyramus
> When he did lie bathed in maiden blood.
> O brother, help me with thy fainting hand –
> If fear hath made thee faint, as me it hath –
> Out of this foul devouring receptacle,
> As hateful as Cocytus' misty mouth.                    (2.2.226-36)

To be sure, this space is not hell; the under-stage space seems no more than a 'loathsome pit' (2.2.193), offering the 'proudest panther' – the prey of the imperial hunt – with a place of residence (2.1.21).[33] It is part of the wooded landscape. But otherworldly characteristics bleed into the pit, as Martius confers with his brother from below. This space accommodates the deceased: the 'precious ring' of Bassianus shines 'like a taper in some monument' (227-8), while the 'earthly cheeks' (229) of the corpse, robbed of blood, may resemble the stone effigies that decorate the tomb. The body of the senator, in other words, resembles the tomb that will

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[32] See William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus: Revised Edition,* ed. by J. Bate, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

[33] Jonathan Bate places the phrase 'from below' in square brackets in the revised version of the Arden edition, since the stage directions in the Quartos and the Folio do not offer an explicit space where Martius stands. As such, John Payne Collier's manuscript (c. 1842-4) offers the first case of Martius speaking from beneath the stage. But the later entry of Saturninus, I think, resolves any ambiguity. Saturninus proclaims, here, that Martius 'didst descend into this gaping hollow of the earth' (2.2.249); the word 'descend' reveals Martius within a space under the stage.

encase it, as Bassianus takes up his new place of residence among the dead. The otherworldly nature of this space becomes especially clear in the final moments of the passage; the reference to the 'misty mouth' of the Cocytus (236) associates the region beneath the stage within classical conceptions of the afterlife. Elements of a Christian afterlife emerge, too: the 'pit' (230) chimes with motifs in medieval religious drama, recalling the 'hell pitte' to which Satan 'synke[s]' (1.348) in the Saddlers' production of the Harrowing of Hell that took place at York.[34] The hell mouth seeps into Martius's description as well. '[R]agged entrails' (230) are within this hidden space, and Martius seems to stand *within* the monster who devours the damned soul in late-medieval iconography: the 'fell devouring receptacle' (235) engulfs him, and Quintus becomes the figure who drags him from the threshold of an unambiguously hellish space beneath the stage.[35]

As I noted earlier, Asnath also rises (1.4.22.SD) from below to converse with Jourdain and Bolingbroke in *King Henry VI Part 2*, then descending through the trapdoor back to the 'darkness and the burning lake' (1.4.39) – a territory that figures both in scriptural and classical conceptions of hell – shortly afterwards. Scriptural traditions take precedence over their classical counterparts, here; the term 'fiend' (1.4.39-40) sheds light on the place to which Asnath returns, constructing a satanic reference consistent with Christian interpretations of hell.[36] In *Macbeth*, also, an otherworld seems at times separate from vernacular space, as the apparitions descend to an inscrutable region below the dais in 4.1:

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[34] See 'XXXIII: The Saddlers, The Harrowing of Hell', in *The York Mystery Plays,* ed. by R. Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), pp. 333-43.

[35] Martius's dialogue may recall, too, the 'devouring womb', which seemed capable of 'scenting semen and moving down to suck it in hungrily' (p. 443). See Lori S. Haslem, '"Troubled with the Mother": Longings, Purgings, and the Maternal Body in *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Duchess of Malfi*', *Modern Philology* 92, no. 4 (1995), pp. 438-59 (p. 443). Janet Adelman, moreover, links images of devouring and the discourse of sexuality in Jacobean drama. See Janet Adelman, '"Anger's My Meat": Feeding, Dependence, and Aggression in *Coriolanus*', in *Shakespeare: Pattern of Excelling Nature*, ed. by D. Bevington and J. Halio (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1978), pp. 108-23.

[36] See Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's History Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), p. 46.

*Enter* First Apparition: *an armed head.*

*Macbeth.*                    Tell me, thou unknown power –

*1 Witch.*                                          He knows thy thought:
              Hear his speech, but say thou naught.

*1 Apparition.*        Macbeth, Macbeth, Macbeth. Beware Macduff,
              Beware the Thane of Fife. Dismiss me. Enough.

*He descends.*

*Macbeth.*        Whate'er thou art, for thy good caution, thanks;
              Thou hast harped my fear aright. But one word more –

*1 Witch.*        He will not be commanded. Here's another,
              More potent than the first.

*Enter* Second Apparition: *a bloody child.*

*2 Apparition.*        Macbeth, Macbeth, Macbeth.

*Macbeth.*        Had I three ears, I'd hear thee.

*2 Apparition.*        Be bloody, bold and resolute: laugh to scorn
              The power of man, for none of woman born
              Shall harm Macbeth.

*Descends.*

*Macbeth.*        Then live Macduff: what need I fear of thee?
              But yet I'll make assurance double sure,
              And take a bond of fate: thou shalt not live,
              That I may tell pale-hearted fear it lies
              And sleep in spite of thunder.

[*Thunder*].

*Enter* Third Apparition: *a child crowned, with a tree in his hand.*

                              What is this,
              That rises like the issue of a king
              And wears upon his baby-brow the round
              And top of sovereignty?

*All.*                          Listen, but speak not to't.

*3 Apparition.*        Be lion-mettled, proud, and take no care,
              Who chafes, who frets, or where conspirers are.
              Macbeth shall never vanquished be, until
              Great Birnam Wood to high Dunsinane Hill
              Shall come against him.

*Descends.*                                          (4.1.67.SD-93.SD)

These apparitions do not conform with the rules that drive forward the world of the play. They are, as Macbeth observes in the first line of the passage, 'unknown power[s]' (67); Macbeth cannot describe them, and the nature of these apparitions seem to resist Macbeth's conceptions of a material world. They rebel, too, against vernacular forms of conversation. We do not, for instance, know what Macbeth's query will be; '[h]e knows thy thought' (67) completes the line, as the first sister brings Macbeth's turn at talk to a premature end. And, yet, this apparition seems to know what the playgoer cannot. It warns Macbeth to '[b]eware the Thane of Fife' (71); 'thou hast harped my fear aright' (73), Macbeth responds, authenticating the relevance of the apparition's warning, as the play displays a kind of communication that escapes heard speech.

It is also worth noting that rhyme constructs the apparitions' speeches; those characters who speak in rhyme, to quote Katherine Bootle Attie, seem apart from reason, associating instead 'with madness and with the tyrannical rule of passion in the unbalanced soul'.[37] 'Macduff' (69) and '[e]nough' (70) thus clash with Macbeth's blank verse, while 'scorn' and 'born' (78-9) appear in the second apparition's speech. And 'until' and '[h]ill' form the final syllables of lines 92 and 93, as the third apparition gives an ominous portent about the climactic battle to come in the final moments of the play.

These apparitions' speeches do not hinge on the passion of their speakers. But, at very least, they work in ways that resist restrained, quotidian styles of speech. They incarnate, Attie suggests, the wider 'specific link between rhyme and madness', which emerged when 'the aesthetic, cultural, and intellectual value of vernacular poetry became a matter of vigorous debate'.[38] Thus, as Ben Jonson claimed in his *A Fit of Rhyme Against Rhyme* (c. 1637), rhyme

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[37] See William Shakespeare, *Hamlet: Revised Edition,* ed. by A. Thompson and N. Taylor, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); Katherine B. Attie, 'Passion Turned to Prettiness: Rhyme or Reason in *Hamlet*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2012), pp. 393-423 (pp. 393-4).
[38] See Attie (2012), p. 394.

spoils 'senses of their treasure / Cozening judgement with a measure' (2.4-5).[39] And, as we shall see in chapter 2, the trope appears in some of Shakespeare's plays; the ominous sight of a 'carrion death' (2.7.68) exacerbates the otherness of the trochaic message that lies within the golden casket in *The Merchant of Venice*.[40] Rhyme figures in this message, escaping the comprehension of those who watch proceedings from afar.

In the case of *Macbeth*'s apparitions, then, Macbeth's conception of ordered worldliness meets its antithesis, and an 'otherness' takes shape in the rhyming couplets that figure in the apparitions' predictions. We should also consider how these apparitions exit the stage; the under-stage space to which these apparitions return offers 'another kind of space, inaccessible to the play's mortals and to the eyes – and thus the understandings – of the playgoers'.[41] The exclusivity of such spaces is clear; the stage floor screens an 'other' space below from the vernacular locales of the onstage, as *Macbeth* works through the familiar concepts of an otherworld located outside the remits of a material world.

## 2.0. Ambiguity Across the Border: Mysterious and Outlandish Landscapes in Drama

The apparitions, then, move in ways that echo an established tradition, as their descents to a space below invoke a journey to a spatially distant otherworld. But the Folio text, as I remarked in the opening moments of this chapter, seems ambivalent about where the spectral figure of Banquo travels later in 4.1. As I discussed above, a threshold, which appears as a seemingly impregnable stage floor, does not seem to enclose the climes of Banquo's afterlife: it is difficult

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[39] See Ben Jonson, 'A Fit of Rhyme Against Rhyme', in *Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets*, ed. by H. McLean (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), pp. 65-7.

[40] See William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* ed. by J. Drakakis, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

[41] See Laurence Publicover, '*King Lear* and the Art of Fathoming', *Renaissance Drama* 60, no. 2 (2018), pp. 167-91 (p. 187).

to say, exactly, to where the 'Exeunt' (4.1.23.SD) of the ghost and his companions leads, but it is, I would suggest, to a site that is troublingly entangled in the rest of the world of *Macbeth*.

Banquo's unsettling departure offstage may echo those ambiguous outside landscapes that figure in romance traditions. Certainly, a fascination about such liminal spaces was not new. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, a fourteenth-century chivalric romance with an anonymous author, the Green Chapel – the base of this poem's mysterious knight – lies somewhere within an uncharted and unexplored wilderness. Gawain, on his journey to face this otherworldly adversary, enquires as to its location from time to time. But these questions are in vain, and it is – to quote Angela Carson – 'only when he has come to Bercilak's castle that he receives his first assurance that the Chapel is near at hand'.[42] Gawain's navigational tribulations do not stop there:

> Thenne gyrdeʒ he to Gryngolet & gedereʒ Þhe rake,
> Schowueʒ in bi a schore at a schaʒe syde,
> Rideʒ Þurʒ Þe roʒe bonk ryʒt to Þe dale;
> & Þenne he wayted hym aboute, and & wylde hit hym Þoʒt,
> & seʒe no syngne of resette bisydeʒ nowhere,
> Bot hyʒe bonkkʒ & brent vpon boÞe halue,
> & ruʒe knokled knarreʒ with korned stoneʒ;
> Þe skweʒ of Þe scowtes skayned hym Þoʒt.
> Þenne he houed & with-hylde his hors at Þat tyde,
> & ofte chaunged his cher Þe chapel to seche;
> He seʒ non suche in no syde, & selly hym poʒt,
> Saue a lyttel on a launde, a lawe as hit we[re],
> A balʒ berʒ bi a bonke Þe brymme by-syde,
> Bi a forʒ of a flode Þat ferked Þere.'          (2160-73)[43]

[Then he puts the spurs to Gryngolet, and enters on the path. Following the line of
a cliff at the edge of a grove, he rode down the rugged slope toward the dale. Then
he looked about him, and it seemed to him that there was nothing that resembled a
building in the vicinity. There were high and steep slopes on both sides, and rough

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[42] See Angela Carson, 'The Green Chapel: Its Meaning and its Function', *Studies in Philology* 60, no. 4 (1963), pp. 598-605 (p. 600).
[43] See *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by I. Gollancz (London, 1940) for an original transcription. For Ad Putter and Myra Stokes' translation, which contributes significantly to my modernised translation of the poem, see *The Works of the Gawain Poet: Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl, Cleanness, Patience,* ed. by A. Putter and M. Stokes (London: Penguin Classics, 2014), pp. 237-406.

knobbly crags with gnarled stones. The skies seemed to him to be scraped by the jutting rocks. Then he paused and held back his horse at that place, and often looked this way and that in search of the chapel. He saw no such chapel, here, and it seemed strange to him. But there was a mound within a clearing, the bulge of a naked hill [barrow] on a slope beside the water's edge by the channel of a [different] stream that ran there.]

A rugged and unfriendly landscape greets Gawain, here; a 'roȝe bonk [rough bank/slope]' encloses a deep 'dale' (2162), while 'ruȝe knokled knarreȝ [rough knobbly crags]' and 'korned stoneȝ' [gnarled stones]' (2166) overlook the space from above, which 'skayned [scrape]' the skies above (2167). The Chapel, moreover, is nowhere to be seen; there is 'no syngne of resette bisydeȝ [no sign of a building]' (2164): Gawain 'chaung[es] his cher [looks this way and that]' to see 'Þe chappel' (2169), but he 'seȝ non suche [sees no such sight]' (2170).

The suspense strengthens in the latter half of this passage; the crypt of a chapel takes shape as the 'balȝ berȝ [naked hill/barrow]' (2172), which lies on a 'brymme [bank]' (2172) of a 'flode [stream] Þat ferked Þere' (2173). The characteristics of this building come into greater focus later in the poem:

> 'Now i-wysse', quoÞ Wowayn, 'wysty is here;
> Þis oritore is vgly, with erbeȝ ouer-growen;
> Wel bisemeȝ Þe wyȝe wruxled in grene
> Dele here his deuocioun on Þe deueleȝ wyse.'          (2189-92)

['It is certain', said Gawain, 'that desolation is here, since this oratory is sinister and overgrown with weeds. It well befits the man in green to deal here his devotion to the devil's ways'.]

Gawain speaks about an 'oritore' (2190), here; a sacred space, which the walls of a chapel enclose, looms into view, as the knight interprets a 'room or building for private worship'

within this strange landscape.[44] But 'erbeʒ ouer-growen [overgrown grasses]' (2191) encroach on this space; 'wysty [desolation]', Gawain comments, 'is here' (2189), as elements of an anarchic landscape breaches the supposedly safe borders of the space in which he stands. An unpredictable clime thus transgresses into an otherwise enclosed area, and the poem sheds light on a wild, dangerous, and otherworldly exterior that lurks outside the safeties of an enclosed space.

Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (c. 1590), which draws heavily from romance traditions, features another wild and chaotic exterior: a 'hollowe cave / Amid the thickest woods' (1.1.11) accommodates Errour, a creature that defies the foundations of the Redcrosse Knight's world:

> But, full of fire and greedy hardiment,
> The youthfull Knight could not for ought be staide;
> But forth unto the darksom hole he went,
> And looked in: his glistring armour made
> A little glooming light, much like a shade;
> By which he saw the ugly monster plaine,
> Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide,
> But th'other halfe did womans shape retaine,
> Most lothsom, filthie, foul, and full of vile disdaine.          (1.1.14)[45]

Errour is '[h]alfe like a serpent', while the other half takes the shape of a woman. The anatomies of the snake and the human settle uncomfortably alongside one another, here, as the space in which the Redcrosse Knight finds himself in holds an entity that transgresses across contemporaneous notions of worldliness. Similar imagery figures in the battle that takes place afterwards; Errour's vomit is 'full of bookes and papers', combined with 'loathly frogs and toads, which eyes did lacke' (1.1.20). Scholars consider this creature an allegorical illustration

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[44] See Oxford English Dictionary, 'oratory, n. 1., a.', <oratory, n.1 : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> (Accessed 2nd November, 2021).

[45] See Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by W.P. Trent (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers, 1903).

of Spenser's wider, misogynistic concern about the speech of women: its serpent-like form, Alice Leonard argues, resembles – literally – a 'fantastical mother tongue, representing a terrifying alternative for England of Roman Catholic state dominance, with a print culture and scriptural interpretative tradition of its own'. The books and papers, too, which spew 'out of her filthie maw' (1.1.20), 'reinforce [Errour's] personification of multilingualism: written, spoken, plural, and deformed'.[46]

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Those landscapes outside the parameters of characters' familiar spaces, then, seem particularly unpredictable, and ideas themselves take the shape of allegorical creatures within them. In order to consider more fully the unsettling exit of the ghost in 4.1 of *Macbeth*, we might turn to similar portrayals of 'outside spaces' in Shakespeare's plays. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c. 1589-93), the Duke uncovers Valentine's prior attempts to court Silvia, his daughter; Valentine's subsequent exile compels him to come to terms with his new existence outside the walls of Milan:

> And why not death, rather than living torment?
> To die is to be banished from myself,
> And Silvia is myself; banished from her
> In self from self – a deadly banishment.
> What light is light, if Silvia be not seen?
> What joy is joy, if Silvia be not by?
> Unless it be to think that she is by
> And feed on the shadow of her perfection.
> Except I be by Silvia in the night,
> There is no music in the nightingale,
> Unless I look on Silvia in the day,
> There is no day for me to look upon.
> She is my essence, and I leave to be
> If I be not by her fair influence
> Fostered, illumined, cherished, kept alive.
> I fly not death to fly this deadly doom:
> Tarry I here, but I attend on death,
> But fly I hence, I fly away from life.          (3.1.170-87)[47]

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[46] See Alice Leonard, *Error in Shakespeare: Shakespeare in Error* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 103.
[47] See William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. by W.C. Carroll, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).

This landscape of banishment, described only in terms of what it is *not*, seems at odds with Valentine's comprehension of reality. Death is preferable to the 'living torment' (170) within these uncharted regions beyond the walls of the city. And death, the speaker muses, elicits this existence outside Milan's portcullises. Banishment, moreover, fulfils Valentine's idea of death: as death concerns becoming 'banished from myself' (171), the punishment forces him away from Silvia, who has become himself (172). Exile seems 'deadly' (174), here, and an existence outside seems, to Valentine, an existence after death; the 'fair influence' of Silvia that 'foster[s], illumine[s], and cherish[es]' (184) him is taken away, and the protagonist moves reluctantly 'away from [a] life' (187) within Milan to a kind of afterlife just beyond the borders of the city. This existence in an unfamiliar space outside becomes acute, as characteristics of Valentine's familiar space (including 'light' (174) and 'joy' (175)) fall away. Other elements of a familiar world vanish, too; the 'music of the nightingale' (179) does not sound, since Silvia no longer brings about its song. The speaker's conceptions of day are also no longer relevant nor useful: there is, Valentine claims, 'no day for me to look upon' (181), as he contemplates an outside space that boasts instead the 'shadow of [Silvia's] perfection' (179).

To Valentine, then, those spaces outside the city lack the structure of those spaces within Milan. They counteract the order that embeds itself in Valentine's interpretations of familiar space. This disorder manifests conspicuously when the Duke meets Valentine as the prisoner of the latter's fellow exiles; order, which the Duke's secular power represents, dissipates in those strange, outside locales beyond the walls of the city he controls. And the powerless exile acquires this power; the 'overweening slave' (3.1.157), who departs Milan in disgrace in 3.1, becomes a figure 'worthy of an empress' love' (5.4.139), while the 'degenerate and base behaviour' of Sir Turio, a figure who vies with Valentine for Silvia's hand, within this space upsets his prior established position at court and as the suitor of the Duke's daughter

(5.4.134). Turio's fall from grace is all too clear, here; the sense of structure and safety within Milan's court collapses in those areas beyond the walls of the city, and an anarchic region outside upturns any sense of political and social status.[48]

Another outside space rebels against its familiar counterpart in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1597).[49] In this play, Romeo comes to terms with his own banishment from Verona, which comes about after he kills Tybalt, avenging the death of Mercutio, his friend:

> 'Tis torture and not mercy. Heaven is here
> Where Juliet lives, and every cat and dog
> And little mouse, every unworthy thing,
> Live here in heaven and may look on her,
> But Romeo may not. More validity,
> More honourable state, more courtship lives
> In carrion flies than Romeo. They may seize
> On the whole wonder of dear Juliet's hand
> And steal immortal blessing from her lips,
> Who even in pure and vestal modesty
> Still blush, as thinking their own kisses sin.
> But Romeo may not, he is banished.
> Flies may do this, but from this I must fly;
> They are free men, but I am banished:
> And sayest thou yet that exile is not death?
> Hadst thou no poison mixed, no sharp-ground knife,
> No sudden mean of death, though ne'er so mean,
> But 'banished' to kill me? Banished!
> O Friar, the damned use that word in hell;
> Howling attends it. How hast thou the heart,
> Being a divine, a ghostly confessor,
> A sin-absolver, and my friend professed,
> To mangle me with that word 'banished'?          (3.3.29-51)

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[48] This theme appears, perhaps, in other pastoral tales like *As You Like It* and Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: the forests in these works unsettle, disrupt, and stand in contrast to the world of the court. See William Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* ed. by J. Dusinberre, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2006); Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by M. Evans, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin, 1977).

[49] See William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet,* ed. by R. Weiss, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

For Romeo, the walls of Verona contain 'heaven' (29), since paradise is 'where Juliet lives' (29-30). 'Every unworthy thing' (31) close by thus enjoys a state of heavenly bliss. These creatures can 'look on [Juliet]' (32): mere 'carrion flies' (35) boast 'validity', a 'more honourable state', and 'greater courtship' (33-4) than Romeo, and those residing alongside Juliet within the spaces of the city 'seize on the white wonder of Juliet's hand / And steal immortal blessing from her lips' (35-6). The walls of Verona, then, enclose Romeo's paradise, and Romeo likens his departure from this space as a departure from this pleasant space; like Mephistopheles in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Romeo cannot acquire 'everlasting bliss' (1.3.81). He must reside within another kind of space; the barren areas beyond Verona draw parallels with the 'hell' (1.3.77) of a world outside his heaven, since Romeo – who has experienced bliss – now contends with a dark imitation. Hellishness seeps into such a locale, and '[h]owling' sounds from those climes beyond the walls of the city, as Romeo likens an unpleasant kind of existence beyond Verona's familiar spaces to the 'hell' (47) where he must – as an exile – now go (47-8).

To be clear, these landscapes do not represent 'hell'. But both characters draw illuminating parallels, as – to them – such outside spaces seem like otherworldly places. To connect the 'otherworld' with those spaces to which both characters must travel seems fitting in some respects, since these sinister locales demand retribution from two characters who elevate the objects of their desire – blasphemously – to divine proportions. The mere presence of Juliet, for instance, forms Romeo's 'heaven' (29), while Valentine associates Silvia with 'light' (3.1.174), 'joy' (3.1.175), and day (3.1.180-1). Both Silvia and Juliet, in other words, offer worldliness to the spaces outside in which the lovers initially reside; parallels with God, who creates the world, seem particularly potent. These strange landscapes that exist outside Verona and Milan do not contain the 'divine' beings that both lovers crave, and we can recall, again, how Satan departs paradise, sinking into the 'hell pitte' (348) in the Saddlers' Harrowing

play. Romeo and Valentine undertake this journey. They move across the boundaries of their quasi-paradisical spaces to the chaotic, anarchic, and otherworldly spaces beyond them, where they – like Mephistopheles – experience a hell of their own, which lacks the meanings conveyed by a deity.

We encounter another unpredictable and strange space in *Titus Andronicus*; the 'obscure plot' (2.2.84), which Tamora, Bassianus, and Lavinia stand within, lurks outside the safe spaces of Rome. Demetrius and Chiron, Tamora's sons, emerge onstage soon afterwards. They come to 'back [Tamora's] quarrels' (2.2.24), and their appearance elicits a passionate speech from their mother, who urges them to rape, murder, and mutilate:

> Have I not reason, think you, to look pale?
> These two [Bassianus and Lavinia] have 'ticed me to this place:
> A barren detested vale you see it is;
> The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,
> O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe;
> Here never shines the sun, here nothing breeds
> Unless the nightly owl or fatal raven.
> And when they showed me this abhorred pit,
> They told me here at dead time of the night
> A thousand fiends, a thousand hissing snakes,
> Ten thousand swelling toads, as many urchins,
> Would make such fearful and confused cries
> As any mortal body hearing it
> Should straight fall mad, or else die suddenly.
> No sooner they told me this hellish tale,
> But straight they told me they would bind me here
> Unto the body of a dismal yew
> And leave me to this miserable death.
> And then they called me foul adulteress,
> Lascivious Goth, and all the bitterest terms
> That ever did hear to such effect.                    (2.2.91-111)

Tamora is, of course, speaking about a landscape within the play's vernacular spaces. But otherness seeps into the speech. She recalls the mysterious spaces within Senecan tragedy. As Curtis Perry has observed, the 'barren detested vale' (93) resembles the sinister and

supernatural 'secret area that confines an age-old woodland in a deep vale', which lies within the citadel of Atreus in Seneca's *Thyestes*.[50] And those residing within the vale in Seneca's tragedy seep into the space that Tamora speaks about; those 'fearful and confused cries' (102), which sound from within *Titus*'s woodland, resemble the 'death gods [that] groan' and the 'ghosts [that] howl' within *Thyestes*' otherworldly spaces.[51]

The outside spaces beyond Rome's walls seem unstable in other parts of the passage, too; the word 'death' figures frequently in the passage, as Tamora speaks about those who hear the 'fearful and confused cries' (104). These individuals either 'straight fall mad, or else die suddenly' (104), and this wooded region seems to envelop those who venture into it: death, Tamora suggests, replaces the life of those who venture into this space. Tamora, then, offers a dire prediction about those characters who stand onstage with her: death seems to await each of them. Bassianus, whom Demetrius and Chiron execute in bloody fashion later in the scene, thus journeys to a space resembling the hell pit, as we have seen above. Lavinia also meets death at the banquet in the closing moments of the play. She, Saturninus remarks, should not 'survive her shame' (5.3.40), and Titus then slays her in front of his guests. The 'vile heads' of Chiron and Demetrius, which bake in the 'hateful liquor' of their blood, moreover, provide the nauseous subsistence of the cannibalistic feast taking place (5.2.199-200). Tamora encounters death as well, as she meets the 'sharp point' of Titus's knife (5.3.62), concluding this play's destructive quest for revenge.

Facets of a classical afterlife confuse the geography of the wooded glade in the closing moments of the passage, further, and her imprisonment '[u]nto the body of a dismal yew' (106) resembles in ways those punishments within Kyd's classical hell. Indeed, the Goth queen

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[50] See Curtis Perry, 'Senecan Belatedness in *Titus Andronicus*', in *Titus Andronicus: The State of Play,* ed. by F. Karim-Cooper (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 15-36 (p. 23).
[51] See Perry (2019), p. 23.

desires with Aaron, her lover, an erotic embrace 'within a counsel-keeping cave' (2.2.24-5); Tamora conveys passions that butt against her marital bond to Saturninus, and those ugly snakes that restrain 'wantons [sexually promiscuous persons]' (1.1.68) in Kyd's Tartarus in *The Spanish Tragedy* take the shape of the cords that restrain the 'foul adulteress' and '[l]ascivious Goth' (100) within those wildernesses beyond the walls of Rome.[52] She conjures the fate of an unfaithful soul in a classical hell. But those otherworldly punishments, which otherwise await a sexually liberal individual within a spatially distant locale elsewhere, seem to take place within *Titus*'s 'barren detested vale' (93).

The nature of those territories outside Rome, Verona, and Milan in the above plays thus echo those outside spaces in *The Faerie Queene* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*; their otherworldly characteristics untether the space from the world of these play's characters, and an ambiguous locale fraught with a possibility and strangeness lacked by those familiar spaces within a city's walls comes into focus. This space, to cite Tom Macfaul, chimes with contemporaneous ideals of the rural world, enabling 'translations and transformations more radical and potentially redemptive than those of the city'.[53] Such an area appears in another of Shakespeare's plays; otherness seeps into the 'wood' that lurks 'through Athens' gate (1.1.213-4) in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1596), where Robin Goodfellow, a spirit, encounters Lysander and Hermia in states of slumber onstage:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Lysander.* | Amen, amen, to that fair prayer say I, |
| | And then end life, when I end loyalty. |
| | Here is my bed; sleep give thee all its rest. |
| *Hermia.* | With that half wish the wisher's eyes be pressed. |
| *They sleep.* | |
| *Enter* [Robin Goodfellow]. | |

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[52] See Oxford English Dictionary (OED), 'wanton, adj. and n.', (3a), https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225544?rskey=CrjWnY&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.
[53] See Tom Macfaul, *Shakespeare and the Natural World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 1.

<pre>
Robin.                    Through the forest I have gone,
                          But Athenian found I none
                          On whose eyes I might approve
                          This flower's force in stirring love.
                          Night and silence! Who is here?
                          Weeds of Athens he doth wear.
                          This is he, my master said,
                          Despiséd the Athenian maid;
                          And here the maiden, sleeping sound
                          On the dank and dirty ground.          (3.2.35-42)[54]
</pre>

Nothing seems to separate Goodfellow from the play's non-magical characters in these moments, and an explicit magical incantation – which otherwise figures in the spoken Latin charm within Faustus's 'necromantic books' (1.1.52) in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, is noticeably absent, collapsing the borders that, traditionally, separate a supernatural world from its vernacular counterpart. The '[e]nter' in line 69 is also telling, since the Quarto and Folio text seem ambivalent about *where* the sprite may come from; unstable spaces beyond the walls of Athens accommodate activities and entities that escape the dictums of the everyday, and the forest within which Goodfellow resides resembles in ways the heathland in Shakespeare's later *Macbeth*.

These outside spaces, Theseus – the Duke of Athens – remarks in the closing moments of the play, set the scene for 'antique fables' (5.1.3), appearing in the 'seething brains' of 'lovers and madmen', who construct 'such fantasies [that] apprehend / More than cool reason ever comprehends' (5.1.4-6). Theseus may be thinking, here, of those unpredictable landscapes in romance tradition; like those outside spaces in *Gawain and the Green Knight* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, those climes beyond the gateway of Athens teem with entities that can be contrasted with those controlled spaces within the city walls. And those characters who run

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[54] See William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* ed. by S. Chaudhuri, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

amok within the forest can encounter them, as the drama plays on the idea of an unpredictable space outside the borders of the city. It is to these walls, and how they encase the liminal spaces within Scotland – the setting for Shakespeare's *Macbeth* – to which this chapter will now turn.

### *3.0. Unfamiliar Spaces beyond the  Walls: Boundaries and Early Modern Scotland*

How does the discussion above relate to the curious exit of Banquo's ghost in 4.1 of *Macbeth*? English perceptions about the tumultuous nature of Scottish politics may help us answer this question. As we have seen in the plays above, anarchic and unpredictable regions lurk beyond conspicuous borders, which enclose characters' conceptions of familiar space. Thus, in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, the chaotic climes of Tartarus lie behind 'walls of brass' (1.1.74) that secure the court of Pluto, Proserpine, and their court. And hostile political and military powers, Friar Bacon muses in Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, should reside beyond '[b]razen walls framed by Semiramis' (237-40); Greene's play draws on the threats of an invasion from overseas, which the Spanish Armada enacted to terrifying effect in the year that preceded the play's first performance.[55]

Scotland, similarly, lies behind a 'brazen [brass] wall' (4.9.36) in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*; the wall, again, separates the familiar spaces of an early modern England from a chaotic and unpredictable counterpart.[56] Military skirmishes in the sixteenth century informed this conception of Scotland; to the English, Scottish politics seemed an antithesis to a stable Tudor monarchy. Such disorder occurred within the Scottish court; the battle at Fala Muir in 1542, which James V pitched against the Duke of Norfolk after the latter advanced across the English border, proved disastrous, as James's nobles refused to follow Norfolk into England

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[55] See Todd A. Borlik, 'Building a Wall around Tudor England: Coastal Fantasies and Border Control in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*', *Early Theatre* 22, no. 2 (2019), pp. 67-88 (p. 67).

[56] Spenser may recall those *mureus aeneus* [brass walls] that defend Troy in Horace's poetry. See, then, D.E.W. Wormell, 'Walls of Brass in Literature', *Hermanthena* 58, no. 1 (1941), pp. 16-20.

after the devastation of several towns in the Border regions. These nobles, James complained, 'neither loved his honour nor desired his continuance amongst them'.[57] Things were no different when his daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, took power in 1561, nineteen years after her father died of nervous exhaustion after a battle at Solway Moss, and her marriage to Henry Darnley, an English Catholic, sat uneasily with an increasingly Protestant Scottish court. Councillors sympathetic to Mary despised Darnley in particular, since he played a conspicuous role in the assassination of David Rizzio, a court musician and – later – Mary's secretary and close friend, in 1566.[58]

Rizzio's relationship with his queen angered a jealous Darnley. But Darnley's murder the following year made things worse: James Hepburn, the Earl of Bothwell, whom others saw as the architect in the death of Mary's husband, became Mary's subsequent suitor.[59] The new couple were unpopular at court, and Bothwell was driven from the country later that year. Mary, moreover, was escorted to Edinburgh, and she was tried as an adulteress and as an accomplice in the murder of her previous husband.[60] But Mary escaped her subsequent incarceration at Loch Leven Castle in 1568; George Douglas, the brother of Sir William Douglas, the 6th Earl of Morton, helped her escape, and an army of 6,000 persons loyal to Mary received her, clashing with an army led by James Stuart, the Earl of Moray and the regent of an infant James VI, at Langside, outside Glasgow, in May 1568. This battle was catastrophic: Mary's forces, in spite of their numerical advantage, were routed after forty-five minutes, and Mary crossed the Solway Firth into England later that month to seek support from Elizabeth.[61]

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[57] See Caroline Bingham, *James V: King of Scots, 1512-1542* (London: Collins, 1971), pp. 184-5.
[58] See Thomas Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times* 2 vols (London: H. Colburn, 1838), 2, pp. 229-30; Susan Doran, *Mary Queen of Scots; An Illustrated Life* (London: The British Library, 2007), p. 95.
[59] See Jayne Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 18.
[60] See Alison Weir, *Mary, Queen of Scots and the Murder of Lord Darnley* (London: Random House, 2008), pp. 391-3.
[61] See Doran (2007), p. 123.

This appeal for help was not successful, either, since those at Elizabeth's court were suspicious of Mary's links to Catholic powers in France, Spain, and Italy.

The Catholic Mary also held an 'extremely significant claim to the English throne', which perturbed Elizabeth's Protestant-leaning court. This claim took an especially vivid form in *Leicester's Commonwealth* (c. 1584); the text levelled a particularly vicious attack against Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester and Elizabeth's favourite courtier at the time, and it also brought Mary's claim to the English throne into focus. The *Commonwealth* provoked rumours in Parisian circles, and Edward Stafford – the English ambassador to Paris – spoke of 'newly printed libels having been carried into England'.[62] It also caused a stir in the Elizabethan court; a royal decree from Hampton Court condemned the claims within it, promising all those 'possessing copies who did not come forward' with indefinite imprisonment. James VI spoke against this pamphlet as well. He condemned the text as one 'so full of Ignominies and reproachfull calumpnies', which may have settled Tudor anxieties.[63]

An unwelcome transgression into the court of a Protestant queen may have fuelled the English antipathy against Mary. Similar worries manifested in Scotland: resistance against the Protestant James became a popular trope in literature, which had begun to diffuse into Tudor society. Robert Sempill's *Regentis Tragedie*, for instance, lingered on the unpredictable nature of Scottish politics, covering the assassination of Moray, the steward and protector of James VI, in 1570.[64] And William Elderton's *Treason Conspired against the Young King of Scots* (c. 1581) spoke about a bishop's plot to murder a juvenile James with a poisoned posset. This

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[62] See D.C. Peck, 'Government Suppression of Elizabethan Catholic Books: The Case of *Leicester's Commonwealth*', *The Library Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (1977), pp. 163-77 (p. 170).

[63] See Peck, (1977), p. 170.

[64] English pamphleteers focused in particular on Scottish affairs, since coverage of the Elizabethan court was a risky business: John Stubbs's unwisely titled *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf* (c. 1579) speculated about Elizabeth's marriage to Francis, the Duke of Anjou and Alençon, and he lost his hand as a result. See Nathalie Mears, 'Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship in John Stubbs's 'The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf', 1579', *Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (2001), pp. 629-50. Also see Amy Blakeway, 'The Response to the Regent Moray's Assassination', *The Scottish Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2009), pp. 9-33 (pp. 31-2).

ballad was fictional, but the well-publicised execution of John Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1571 for the murder of Moray and, by extension, the potential murder of James may have informed the text.[65] Thomas Churchyard, too, wrote about those Marian 'enemies and traitors', who held the walls of Edinburgh Castle in 1573 in his *Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (c. 1575).[66] Dr John Fian and Agnes Sampson likewise starred in James Carmichael's *Newes from Scotland* (c. 1591). They supposedly brought about the tempestuous weather systems in the North Sea the preceding year with maleficent forms of magic, endangering the royal convoy that was returning from Denmark after James's marriage to Anne of Denmark at Oslo. This attempt on James's life was not the only one; Agnes Sampson did 'hang [a black toad] up by the heels for ten days', collecting venom to apply to 'any part or piece of foul linen cloth that had appertained to the king's Majesty'.[67]

Another chaotic event unsettled the rule of the Protestant James in 1600, when John Ruthven, the 3rd Earl of Gowrie, and Alexander Ruthven, his brother, tried to capture or kill the king. Alexander began these proceedings, intercepting James when he was out hunting with his retinue at Falkland Palace, a royal residence, and informing the monarch about a prisoner with a 'large pot of coins apparently of foreign origin' incarcerated at Gowrie House, Perth.[68] James travelled there with his retinue after the hunt concluded. He had dinner and, afterwards, went up the central staircase with Alexander; his companions, who dined elsewhere, rose to go up with him, but John Ruthven intervened, telling them to stay, for 'his Majestie was gane up quietlie sun quiet erand'.[69] John then led the retinue to the garden of the house, where a servant

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[65] See Amy Blakeway, ''Newes from Scotland' in England, 1559-1602', *Huntingdonshire Library Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (2016), pp. 533-59 (p. 548).

[66] See Thomas Churchyard, *The firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes, contayning twelue seuerall labours* (London, 1575), pp. 93-9; Blakeway (2016), p. 522.

[67] See Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's* Demonology *and the North Berwick Witches* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 299-300; p. 316.

[68] See W.F. Arbuckle, ''The Gowrie Conspiracy': Part I', *The Scottish Historical Review* 36, no. 121, Part 1 (1957), pp. 1-24 (p. 18).

[69] See Arbuckle (1957), p. 5.

of the household spoke about the king's early departure from the premises. The king's companions sought to leave Gowrie House in pursuit but, upon exiting the central courtyard, they heard James's screams for help from one of the turrets of the house, seeing him struggle with Alexander. Some of the retinue ran back through the courtyard and up the main stairs of the hall. This first form of rescue, however, seemed unsuccessful initially; a locked door sealed James off from his courtiers, only giving way after thirty minutes of pounding. Another of the king's followers, John Ramsey, had more luck. He had gone to the stables to collect his horse. In the ensuing commotion, he found another way to James; a 'turnpike nearer the gate, referred to as the Black Turnpike', had its door open, offering an entrance up a flight of stairs. Ramsey took this path, breaking through another door into the chamber beyond. James stood grappling with Alexander, and Ramsey stabbed the younger Ruthven brother in the face and neck.[70] John Ruthven, who had run back to the house with two drawn swords and his servant, Thomas Cranstoun, to help Alexander, met a similar fate, and members of the king's retinue met them in the gallery chamber with swords drawn. Ruthven then engaged Ramsey in combat, while the rest dealt with Cranstoun. Both Ruthven and Cranstoun, however, came off worse in the melee; Ramsey impaled Ruthven, while Cranstoun retreated back down the main staircase, leaving Ruthven's dead body – and a few of his own fingers – behind him.[71] The drama did not end, here; Bailie Ray, who saw the king's struggle with Alexander, raised the alarm in the streets around Gowrie House, and several armed townsfolk came to observe.[72] Some went through the turnpike entrance, where they thrust swords and staffs through the sides of the door and into the chamber within. Magistrates, who had come with the townspeople to witness the commotion, dispersed other members of the crowd. A number of Ruthven's retainers, however, continued to resist, levelling threats against the royal party. How long this disturbance went on

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[70] See Arbuckle (1957), p. 8.
[71] See Arbuckle (1957), p. 9.
[72] See Arbuckle (1957), p. 10.

for remains unclear; proceedings, the Duke of Lennox claimed, went on for over two hours, but 'the official narrative says that, "for all the great tumult that was in the towne", it was nearly eight [hours] before the King's party left for Falkland'.[73]

The Gowrie conspiracy, as it became known, is yet another example of the political instability that surrounded a Protestant James in the sixteenth century; turbulent internal politics within a landscape beyond the borders of England threatened to overcome the structure of a Protestant king, and theatre companies were quick to give productions that hinged on the king's close call. Two performances of *The Tragedie of Gowrie*, a lost play, took place in 1604, for example, although the drama did not enjoy a long run:

> The tragedy of Gowrie with all the action and actors hath been twice represented by the King's players, with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people. But whether the matter be not well-handled, or that it be thought unfit that princes should be played onstage in their lifetime, I hear that some great Councillors are much displeased with it, and so is thought shall be forbidden.[74]

For sure, this play touched on sensitive material, and its topic was intriguing. The play provoked 'exceeding concourse' amongst 'all sorts of people' about those events that took place at Gowrie House in 1600. The play appears to have drawn attention to the brittleness of James's kingship, perhaps hastening the decision to cut short any further performances.[75]

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This political turbulence, unpredictability, and instability flavours English perceptions of Scotland as an antithesis of Elizabethan society, and these controversial events may inform those regicidal motifs within Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. A wider sense of instability bled, too,

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[73] See Arbuckle (1957), p. 10.

[74] See John Chamberlain, *The Chamberlain Letters,* ed. by E.M. Thomson (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1965), p. 34.

[75] That vulnerability became very real since, three years after he arrived in England and a year after this play's performances, James was almost destroyed in the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. See Hugh R. Williamson, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Faber & Faber, 1951); Cyril N. Parkinson, *Gunpowder Treason and Plot* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976).

into representations of the Scottish landscape: as Lisa Hopkins has shown, fairies co-existed alongside man in the Induction of Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (c. 1590), in which they are seen resurrecting the Redesdale Man, a Scot, from his tomb. The man then mingles with the otherworldly Oberon and his courtiers in a dance. Supernatural agents thus partake in revelry alongside their quotidian counterparts within a liminal space that conveys the 'remarkable extremes of factuality and fantasy'.[76] This space seems untethered from the familiar spaces of England, and its chaotic characteristics seep into some of the characters in Shakespeare's plays: in *King Henry IV Part 1* (c. 1597), Archibald, the Earl of Douglas, who fights for Hotspur, promises to 'murder all [King Henry's] wardrop, piece by piece' (5.3.26).[77] These ambitions underpin his allegiance with Hotspur. The Scot seeks to destroy the very signifiers of martial order and loyalty, here; many soldiers march in the king's coats, disguised as the object whom Douglas seeks to eradicate. But the clothing of which he speaks also glues Henry's forces together, and their loss – which Archibald seeks to elicit – breaks apart any sense of togetherness. This character 'fights independently of any *servicium debitum* to a sovereign prince'. Instead, he 'fights in strident opposition to one'; chaos, anarchy, and instability drive forward the Scotsman's ambition, as he tries to shatter the structured hierarchy and control that binds together Henry's forces.[78]

In *Henry V* (c. 1599), too, 'pilfering borderers' (1.2.142), 'petty thieves' (1.2.177), and 'weasel[s]' (1.2.170) come from Scotland, and 'good Captain James' (3.3.86) hails from this space.[79] When Jamy converses with his fellow officers, we encounter a suggestion of instability

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[76] See Robert Greene, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth,* ed. by N. Sanders (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Lisa Hopkins, *Shakespeare on the Edge: Border-Crossing in the Tragedies and the Henriad* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), p. 64.

[77] See William Shakespeare, *King Henry IV Part 1,* ed. by D.S. Kastan, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2002).

[78] See Vimala C. Pasupathi, 'The Quality of Mercenaries: Contextualising Shakespeare's Scots in *1 Henry IV* and *Henry V*', in *Celtic Shakespeare: The Bard and the Borders*, ed. by R. Loughnane and W. Maley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 39-56 (p. 53).

[79] See William Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, ed. by T.W. Craik, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1995).

that is not so much physical but, rather, verbal or conversational. This character looks on as Captain Fluellen, a Welsh captain, bickers with his Irish counterpart, Captain Macmorris, during the siege of Harfleur. It will be worth quoting the passage in question at some length:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Fluellen.* | Captain Macmorris, I beseech you now, will you now vouchsafe me, look you, a few disputations with you as partly touching or concerning the disciplines of the wars, the Roman wars, in the way of argument, look you, and friendly communication? Partly to satisfy my opinion, and partly for the satisfaction, look you, of my mind, as touching the direction of the military discipline, that is the point. |
| *Jamy.* | It sall be vera guid, guid faith, guid captains both, and I sall quit you, with guid leave, as I may pick occasion; that sall I, marry. |
| *Macmorris.* | It is no time for discourse, so Chrish save me. The day is hot, and the weather, and the wars, and the King, and the Dukes. It is no time for discourse, the town is besieched, and the trumpet call us to the breach, and we talk, be Chrish, do nothing. 'Tis shame for us all, so God sa' me, 'tis shame to stand still, it is shame, by my hand; and there is throats to be cut, and works to be done, and there ish nothing done, so Chrish sa' me, la! |
| *Jamy.* | By the messe, ere these eyes of mine take themselves to slumber. I'll dae guid service, or I lig i'th' grund for it. I owe God a death, and I'll pay't as valorously as I may, that sall I surely do, that is the breff and the long. Marry, I wad full fain some question 'tween you twa. |
| *Fluellen.* | Captain Macmorris, I think, look you, under your correction, there is not many of your nation – |
| *Macmorris.* | Of my nation? What ish my nation? Ish a villain, a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal? What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation? |

(3.2.95-126)

Captain Jamy speaks out of turn, here; 'it sall be vera guid' (103) may echo Fluellen's request that he and Macmorris engage in a 'few disputations . . . briefly touching or concerning the disciplines of the wars' (96-8), but he is not the one to whom Fluellen speaks. Jamy's interjection is thus unsolicited; Fluellen does not invite Jamy to speak, and Macmorris does not answer Jamy, either. The Scottish captain seems removed from this conversation; the Irishman's '[i]t is no time for discourse' (106) excludes Jamy's speech, responding to

Fluellen's initial question instead. Jamy, moreover, speaks next. He seems to disregard the ordered turn at talk, as he professes – uninvited – his intent to 'dae guid service' (106) and to 'owe God a death' (117). Fluellen takes little notice of this second interjection; Macmorris is, again, the subject of Fluellen's speech, as the Welshman comments about how 'there is not many of your nation' (112-3) present at the siege. Jamy, then, seems impulsive, unrestrained, and disordered.[80] He seems outside the parameters of the conversation, an outsider who is somewhat separate from those bickering individuals who, in spite of their hostility towards one another, battle the French as the subjects of their king; his unprovoked speech splinters the basic model of discourse taking place, rebelling against the cues of dialogical exchange. Jamy, in other words, seems isolated from his fellows, marginalised from those other individuals who form Henry's army.

This disposition becomes more pronounced in the latter moments of the exchange, when Jamy says that he 'owe[s] God a death' (117); something else takes the place of Henry as the overlord of the Scot, substituting any sense of political allegiance. These ambiguous political sentiments appear in other ways. As Vimala C. Pasupathi has observed, Scotland as an established political body does not figure at all when this character speaks:

> Unlike Macmorris, who claims to *have* a nation, Jamy does not use first-person possessives to describe Scotland; in fact, he never says the words 'nation' or 'Scotland' at all. To be sure, Jamy *is* from Scotland, a fact Shakespeare emphasises in Gower's reference to him as 'the Scots captain' and in his dialect. Still, the soldier does not defend Scotland martially or verbally in his brief appearance in the play. Distinct from Macmorris in both temperament and mode of self-fashioning, Jamy

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[80] Jamy's speech resembles the unbridled speech of Mistress Quickly in the grammar school scene in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (4.1.18-27) and Lucio's unwelcome interjections in the closing moments of *Measure for Measure* (c. 1604) (5.1.18-27), when Vincentio – the Duke of Vienna – seeks answers about Isabella's 'madness'. Both characters disrupt the turn at talk in these plays. The 'speak when you're spoken to' model of conversation, Oliver Morgan notes, breaks down, here. See William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure,* ed. by A.R. Braunmuller, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2020). Also see Oliver Morgan, *Turn-Taking in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 36.

serves Henry much like *The Valiant Scot*'s Grimsby initially serves Edward I: as a Scottish soldier, and as such, a Christian soldier and soldier of the world.[81]

Pasupathi, quite rightly, reveals how the play distinguishes the temperaments of both captains; Macmorris descends into a 'frenzy of incoherence' when he considers his 'nation'. A pride about his national identity, perhaps, drives forward this reaction.[82] This Irish captain seems part of a distinct political corpus, although a collective aim to fight against a common enemy nullifies this difference. Jamy, on the other hand, has an ambiguous heritage. But Pasupathi, I think, overstates the allegiance of the Scotsman to Henry. This character does little to soothe 'English anxieties'; 'I wad full fain some question 'tween you twa' (120) encourages the unsettling of the delicate alliance between Macmorris and Fluellen. Jamy, in other words, eggs on the disagreement, elevating the hostility evident in these moments, which becomes clear when Macmorris threatens to 'cut off your [Fluellen's] head' later in the scene (135). The cohesion within Henry's army is thus brittle. It teeters on the edge of collapse, as internal disagreements and rivalries threaten to undo the allegiances at stake. Jamy seems to cultivate this disintegration. He lingers on the pressure points that endanger martial unity, thriving on those points of discussion that elicit the catastrophic implosion of Henry's interests. This figure seems to rebel against the sense of cohesive, political identity in this scene; chaos seems to loom in the background, stopping just short of impeding the martial order necessary for England to defeat France.

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[81] See Pasupathi (2016), p. 55. Pasupathi takes issue with the collapse of the Scots and the Irish 'into a single national character and origin' (p. 55), which underpins Andrew Gurr's study about Captain Jamy in *Henry V*. See Andrew Gurr, 'Why Captain Jamy in *Henry V*', *Archiv fur das Studium der Nuren Sprachan und Literaturum* 226, no. 2 (1989), pp. 365-73.

[82] See Andrew Neill, 'Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1994), pp. 1-32 (p. 20).

Jamy's behaviour bodies forth an anarchic space that lies beyond the familiar, ordered England, and such notions become amplified when Shakespeare stages a play set (almost) entirely in Scotland several years later. In *Macbeth*, there is a sustained sense of the Scottish landscape as threatening in its lack of distinction and its looming threat. There is even a sense of the infernal. Such a notion is perhaps most clearly articulated in the Porter scene, as a figure inside the (relatively) ordered site of a castle draws attention to the confused nature of the site lying just beyond it. This doorkeeper advances across the stage to answer the incessant knocking of Lennox and Macduff at the 'south entry' (2.2.37) of the castle at Inverness, speculating about the identities of those characters who stand outside the castle walls:

> Here's a knocking indeed: if a man were Porter of Hell gate, he should have old turning the key. (*Knock*) Knock, knock, knock. Who's there, i'th name of Beelzebub? Here's a farmer that hanged himself on th'expectation of plenty. Come in time. Have napkins enow about you; here you'll sweat for't. (*Knock*) Knock, knock. Who's there, i'th' other devil's name? Faith, here's an equivocator that could swear in both of the scales against either scale, who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven. O, come in, equivocator.

> (2.3.1-11)

Infernal characteristics seep onstage, here; the reference to the 'porter of Hell gate' (1-2), along with the unchecked battering on the door, resemble – according to Glynne W.G. Wickham – the Harrowing of Hell in late-medieval religious drama.[83] The Porter invokes the temperatures of hellfire, here; 'napkins' soak up the 'sweat' of those who enter (6), recalling the 'extremity of heat' (5.5.86) that tortures Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*'s quasi-hell. Traitors also seem to pass through the door, since Father Garnet, a Jesuit priest who led the Gunpowder Plot against James VI and I, moves towards the doorway as the 'farmer who hanged himself on

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[83] See Glynne W.G. Wickham, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage: Collected Studies in Mediaeval, Tudor, and Shakespearean Drama* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 214-24.

th'expectation of plenty' (4-5); the 'farmer' of whom the Porter speaks derives from the alias that Garnet used during the plot against the king.[84] The 'equivocator that could swear in both the scales against either scale' (8-9) may refer to Garnet as well; the priest's *Treatise of Equivocation* (c. 1598) defended the capacities of a Roman Catholic to 'withhold a part of the truth which might incriminate him . . . as long as he acknowledged the whole of the truth with his heart'.[85]

The mysteries of an inscrutable space *beyond* the gateway are more obvious, however, in the next part of the passage. To be sure, we have a space that lies within the Porter's world. But, at the same time, this space – along with those who stand within it – is difficult to pin down:

> (*Knock*) Knock, knock, knock. Who's there? Faith, here's an English tailor come hither, for stealing out of a French hose. Come in, tailor; here you may roast your goose. (*Knock*) Knock, knock. Never at quiet. What are you? But this place is too cold for hell. I'll devil-porter it no further. I had thought to have let in some of all professions that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire.

> (2.3.12-9)

'Otherness' seeps into the world of the play, here, as the backstage space mutates those worldly characters who stand behind the door. The thanes seem worldly to begin with, as the Porter enquires 'who' (12) knocks. But his sense of certainty dissipates; the anticipation increases as the knocking continues unabated, and the curiosity of the Porter as to who knocks from outside – denoted by the transition of the pronoun to 'what' (15) – overcomes the grounds of his joke. To the Porter, *something* – rather than someone – thus requires entry to Inverness. Lennox and Macduff, then, no longer seem worldly to the Porter. They become something 'other' instead,

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[84] See Garry Wills, *Witches and Jesuits: Shakespeare's* Macbeth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 96.
[85] See Clark and Mason (2015), p. 18.

standing in a location that resists the worldliness of the onstage space. The closed stage door does not help things, either. It screens the bodies of the thanes and, by extension, those who watch the play. I shall return to this point in chapter 3.

While the doors to the offstage remain closed, the outside space behind the stage breaks through the parameters of the Porter's world. And the strangeness of these spaces beyond the walls materialises elsewhere in *Macbeth*. We cannot, for instance, identify *where* Banquo and Macbeth encounter the weird sisters for the first time on the heath in 1.3:

| *Macbeth.* | So foul and fair a day I have not seen. | |
|---|---|---|
| *Banquo.* | How far is't called to Forres? What are these, | |
| | So withered and so wild in their attire, | |
| | That look not like th'inhabitants o'th' earth, | |
| | And yet are on't? Live you, or are you aught | |
| | That man may question? You seem to understand me, | |
| | By each at once her choppy finger laying | |
| | Upon her skinny lips. You should be women, | |
| | And yet your beards forbid me to interpret | |
| | That you are so. | (1.3.38-47) |

'How far is't called to Forres' (39) elucidates both captains' disorientation, and the outside space escapes any navigational solution. Like Gawain's trek across '[m]ony cliff [many a hill] . . . [f]er floten [removed] fro his friends, fremedly [as a stranger] he rides' (713-4), Macbeth and Banquo seem lost within a strange landscape. The playgoer may be uncertain, too: Banquo's question about where they are remains unanswered, as the weird sisters make themselves known to Macbeth and Banquo, interrupting Banquo's train of thought. We are, then, left to wrestle with a space that lies an unknown distance from the town, which lies within the Moray Firth region of Scotland. We do not, in other words, know *how far* – or in which direction – Forres lies from this locale, and the heath seems to resist both characters' conceptions of geographical space. Those entities who stand within the heathland seem unfamiliar as well: there is something confusing about Banquo's description of them, since the

heath, presumably part of the surface world, accommodates those who 'look not like th'inhabitants o'th' earth' (41.2). These beings resist the world of the play: whether they 'live' on a level 'that man may question' (42-3) remains unclear, and they escape Macbeth and Banquo's conceptions of gender. Banquo can only 'interpret' (46) who or what these characters are. He encounters a matter of conceptual difficulty, since the sisters seem physically to be both male and female; their 'beards' (46) impede Banquo's categorisation of them as 'women' (45), as the playgoer comes to terms with three anatomically ambiguous entities within a space beyond the safety of the castle walls.

This outside space, Macbeth muses in the opening moments of the passage, behaves in ways that are – simultaneously – so 'foul and fair' (38). It also envelops Lennox, who converses with Macbeth about his tempestuous night asleep in a dwelling outside the walls of Inverness on the eve of Duncan's murder:

> The night has been unruly: where we lay
> Our chimneys were blown down and, as they say,
> Lamentings heard i'th' air, strange screams of death,
> And prophesying, with accents terrible,
> Of dire combustion, and confused events
> New hatched to th' woeful time. The obscure bird
> Clamoured the livelong night. Some say the earth
> Was feverous and did shake.                           (2.3.54-61)

This weather seems untethered from the worlds of those who sleep within it. The private dwelling in which Lennox sleeps, coupled with its security, crumbles, here; the 'chimneys [are] blown down' (55), extinguishing the sense of pleasantness, warmth, and hospitality from the area. And a chaotic locale takes its place. The 'feverous' earth, for instance, 'shakes' (60-1); portents that associate with the Last Judgement figure, providing an ominous prediction of what is to come a few lines later, as Macduff returns to deliver news of the grim sight within

Duncan's bedchamber. It foretells the turn of events in ways that the play's characters cannot, communicating explicitly the changing tone of the drama.[86]

I would like to linger on this passage for a bit longer, since those 'lamentings heard i'th' air (56) offer a familiar soundtrack. Lennox may refer to the 'obscure bird' (59), the owl, in these moments. This creature held sinister connotations in early modern literature. It figures in Shakespeare's earlier work; in *The Rape of Lucrece* (c. 1594), the 'death-boding cries' (165) of wolves and owls sound as Tarquin journeys to Lucrece to engage in lustful action.[87] And, in *Titus*, the calls of a 'nightly owl' (2.1.97) figure in Tamora's 'hellish tale' (105). These creatures appear in later drama, too: the eggs of the 'scritch owl' (1.170) appear in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* (c. 1609), as those participating in the anti-masque converse with one another within an 'ugly hell' onstage (Dedication. 26).[88] Bosola, too, mentions the cries of an owl as he eavesdrops outside the chamber of the Duchess in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (c. 1613), since the cries of a woman in childbirth resemble the screams of this 'melancholy bird' (2.3.7).[89] But, to Bosola, the sounds seem indistinguishable: Webster plays with the symbolism of the owl as he lingers on the set of events that set this tragedy in motion.

### *4.0. Repentance, the Ghost, and the Heath: Purgatorial Space in* Macbeth

The 'lamentings', referred to by Lennox, which warn of 'dire combustion, and confused events' (58-9), recall the cries of those 'thousand fiends' who 'make such fearful and confused cries' (2.2.100-2) within the forest in *Titus Andronicus*. They chime, too, with the hellish 'howling' (3.3.38) that emanates from those incarcerated outside the walls of Verona in *Romeo and Juliet*.

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[86] See Matthew 27: 7 for a scriptural account about the Last Judgement.

[87] See William Shakespeare, 'The Rape of Lucrece', in *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by R. Proudfoot, A. Thompson, D.S. Kastan, and H.R. Woudhuysen, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 63- 82.

[88] See Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Queens', in *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques,* ed. by S. Orgel, The Yale Ben Jonson (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 80-100.

[89] See John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi,* ed. by L.S. Marcus, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).

One can consider also those unpleasant sounds that echo from the slopes of Mount Hecla in Cuningham's writings: there, the howling wind that rushes about the volcano's slopes become the howls of those 'soules of men & women' who burn in the depths of the volcano.[90] These noises, intriguingly, echo in those spaces outside Inverness: the cries of 'dire combustion' (58-9), which Lennox overhears as he sleeps outside Macbeth's keep, seem particularly close to home.

The peculiar exit (4.1.139.SD) of Banquo's ghost, which I spoke about in the opening moments of the chapter, thus seems fitting: little clearly separates an otherworld from quotidian space in this play, and it is in this sense unsurprising that the ghost of Banquo – and the entourage who exit the stage with him – seem to share the exits of this play's non-magical characters, travelling to an outside space close to where Macbeth converses with the sisters. Why, then, is Banquo's unorthodox departure offstage so unsettling? The spectre that haunts Shakespeare's earlier *Hamlet* (c. 1599-1601) offers an answer to this question when it speaks about its residence within a purgative landscape:

> I am thy father's spirit,
> Doomed for a certain term to walk the night
> And for the day confined to fast in fires
> Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
> Are burnt and purged away. But that I am forbid
> To tell the secrets of my prison-house
> I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
> Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
> Make thy two eyes like stars start from their spheres,
> Thy knotted and combined locks to part
> And each particular hair to stand on end
> Like quills upon the fearful porcupine --
> But this eternal blazon must not be
> To ears of flesh and blood.                              (1.5.9-22)

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[90] See Poole (2011), p. 183.

An explicit purgatory appears in this ghost's speech; Old Hamlet speaks about his 'fast in fires / Till the foul crimes done in my day of nature / Are burnt and purged away' (11-3). The 'prison-house' (14) that incarcerates him is significant as well. It recalls the dungeon within Isaiah 42: 7, when the Lord brings 'out the prisoners from the prison [*Sheol*], and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house'. This prison, moreover, seems set apart from the world of the play; the 'secrets' (14) of the prison, Old Hamlet claims, can unravel the countenance of the play's hero, 'freez[ing] [his] young blood' (16) and '[m]ak[ing] [his] two eyes . . . start from their spheres' (17). This space seems, fundamentally, 'other', since those events taking place within it resist the normalcies of a material world.

What, then, brings about Old Hamlet's residence within this space? The ghost answers this question later in the scene, informing his son about the regicidal activity of his uncle, Claudius:

> Thus was I sleeping by a brother's hand
> Of life, of crown, of queen at once dispatched,
> Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
> Unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled,
> No reckoning made but sent to my account
> With all my imperfections on my head.
> O horrible, O horrible, most horrible!                    (1.5.74-80)

Old Hamlet thus dies in a sudden and unpredictable way, as the treacherous hand of his brother 'cut[s] off' the life of Old Hamlet when he sleeps 'even in the blossoms of [his] sin' (76). Old Hamlet thus dies 'unhouseled and unaneled' (76). The implications are dire, here; last rites, which grant an easier journey to paradise, are absent, and the murder hastens the ghost to face judgement with 'all [the ghost's] imperfections on my head' (79).

This established concept of an unprepared death, coupled with its sinister consequences, appears in other plays. In *Everyman* (c. 1495), one of the most famous English morality plays,

Death enters unexpectedly and in a most unwelcome fashion, conversing with this play's eponymous protagonist:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Everyman.* | Alas, shall I have no longer respite? |
| | I may saye Deth giveth no warninge! |
| | To thinke on the[e], it maketh my herte seke, |
| | For all unready is my boke of rekeninge, |
| | For twelve yere and I might have abidinge, |
| | My counting-boke I wolde make so clear |
| | That my rekeninge I sholde not nede to fere. |
| | Wherfore, Deth, I praye the[e] for Goddes mercy, |
| | Spare me till I be provided of remedy! |
| *Dethe*. | Th[e] availeth not to crye, wepe, and praye; |
| | But hast[e] the[e] lightly that thou were gone that journaye, |
| | And preye thy frendes if thou can; |
| | For, wete thou well, the tide abideth no man, |
| | And in the worlde eche living creature |
| | For Adams sinne must die of nature.     (131-45)[91] |

At the very least, Death unsettles Everyman greatly: the latter's complaint that 'shall I have no longer respite?' (131) reveals the speaker's reluctance to leave the land of the living. Such surprise becomes panic in the subsequent lines; thinking on death, Everyman proclaims, 'maketh my herte seke [sick]' (133), and he complains that his 'boke of rekeninge' is 'all unredy' (134) for judgement. Time seems particularly important, here; 'twelve yere' grants 'abidinge [penance]' (135), offering the remedy. It reduces the severity of punishment, providing a 'rekeninge [Everyman] sholde not nede to fere' (137). But Death is not so willing to grant Everyman with time: there is little time to 'crye, wepe and praye' (141), he claims, since death is a 'tide' that 'abideth no man' (143).

But Death offers the play's hero with a small pause to atone. This brief respite is important. According to Stephen Greenblatt, it grants the penitent individual the time to

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[91] See Anon., 'Everyman', in *Medieval Drama,* ed. by D. Bevington (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2012), pp. 939-63.

scourge themselves in preparation, offering a narrow escape from 'one of the worst medieval nightmares'. Everyman, then, 'alter[s] the "reckoning"', substituting 'penitential pain in this life for the far more terrible pain that lies ahead'.[92] Faustus, too, pleads for time to repent in Marlowe's play, which could spare him the tortures of the hellish space to which he must travel:

> Ah, Faustus,
> Now hast thou but one bare hour to live,
> And then thou must be damned perpetually.
> Stand still, you ever-moving spheres of heaven,
> That time may cease and midnight never come!
> Fair nature's eye, rise, rise again, and make
> Perpetual day; or let this hour be but
> A year, a month, a week, a natural day,
> That Faustus may repent and save his soul!
> *O lente, lente currite noctic equi!*
> The stars move still; time runs; the clock will strike;
> The devil will come, and Faustus must be damned.          (5.2.57-68)

The despair of Faustus resembles Everyman's panic, as the incessant passing of time brings him closer to his residence in a hellish place elsewhere: the 'ever-moving spheres of heaven' (60) continue their journey, as Faustus pleads time to 'cease' (61). The scholar, then, pleads for the hour to be 'but / A year, a month, a natural day' (63-4), as he begs for time to 'repent and save his soul' (65). This show of desperation reaches its climax in the final three lines of the passage; occultic charms are unable to slow the passing of time: 'time runs; the clock will strike' (67), Faustus observes, coming to terms with the inevitability of his damnation.

Othello may recall this speech in what I think is one of the most harrowing scenes in Shakespearean drama. He enquires whether Desdemona, his wife, has 'prayed tonight' (5.2.25) before he 'smothers her' within their bedchamber (5.2.83.SD).[93] Prayer, to Othello, would

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[92] See Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory: Expanded Edition* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 207-8.

[93] See William Shakespeare, *Othello: Revised Edition,* ed. by E.A.J. Honigmann, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

weaken the consequences of her (supposed) sin: her prayer, 'heaven / Have mercy on me' (5.2.34) resolves 'any crime / Unreconciled as yet to heaven and grace' (5.2.26-8). But the conversation becomes heated as the scene progresses to its tragic climax; Desdemona refutes – truthfully – any affair with Cassio, but Othello's fantasy continues, as he sees her expression of innocence as another show of duplicity:

> By heaven, I saw my handkerchief in's [Cassio's] hand!
> O perjured woman, thou dost stone my heart
> And makest me call what I intend to do
> A murder, which I thought a sacrifice!                    (5.2.62-5)

To Othello, Desdemona's denial adds fuel to the (purgative) fire; the show of repentance that takes place before Othello enters the bedchamber becomes insignificant as Desdemona denies Othello's accusation. To Othello, then, Desdemona becomes a 'perjured woman' (63), and her sin requires fresh repentance. But Othello does not grant Desdemona with the time to righten her latest wrong. He denies Desdemona's request to 'say one prayer' (5.2.83), and his suffocation of her cuts short her fresh appeals for mercy, sending her – supposedly unrepentant – as a 'liar gone to burning hell' (5.1.227).

Hippolita, the noblewoman and unfaithful wife of Richardetto – whom Soranzo spurns for Annabella – also seems unrepentant as she dies onstage in John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (c. 1633).[94] Vasquez, Soranzo's servant, offers her poisoned wine at the wedding feast; the plan to 'poison [her] lord [Soranzo]' (4.1.82) backfires, and she succumbs – unrepentant – to the poison, giving an uncomfortable speech onstage:

> O, 'tis true,
> I felt my minute coming. Had that slave [Vasquez]
> Kept promise – oh, my torment! – thou this hour
> Hadst died, Soranzo. – Heat above hell fire! --

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[94] See John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, ed. by S. Massai, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

> Yet, ere I pass away – cruel, cruel flames –
> Take here my curse amongst you: may thy bed
> Of marriage be a rack unto thy heart; –
> Burn, blood, and boil in vengeance! O, my heart,
> My flame's intolerable – mayst thou live
> To father bastards, may her [Annabella] womb bring forth
> Monsters, and die together in your sins,
> Hated, scorned and unpitied – oh, oh . . .

*Dies.*                                                                        (4.92-103.SD)

Her excruciating 'torment' (94) breaks up the passage, shedding light on the space to which she travels; she falters in line 95, struggling against the 'heat above hell fire', and 'cruel' in 'cruel, cruel flames' says something about the horror that greets her in a space elsewhere (96). These 'flames' offer little respite, as Hippolita labours to finish her venomous oration to those who look on. This speaker 'boil[s] in vengeance' (99), and the 'intolerable' (100) fires invoke the unnerving tribulations within an infernal landscape. We may recall the death of Barabas in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* in these moments: the 'intolerable pangs' (5.5.87) do not go so far as to disrupt the vindictive speech of the Jew, but he does speak from within a bubbling cauldron, re-enacting the hells that figure in medieval imagery. In both plays, then, a hideous and hellish form of punishment awaits the unrepentant soul.

In the opening moments of *'Tis Pity*, the Friar also urges Giovanni to repent; Giovanni must spend time 'alone within [his] chamber' (1.1.70) to dispel his desire for Annabella, his sister. Repentance seems the only solution for this sexual attachment; to Giovanni, the beauty of his sister is divine, and he questions whether he should 'not kneel to [Annabella] as I do kneel to [the gods]' (1.1.20-3). A particularly severe form of repentance is required to counter the severity of this sin:

> Hie to thy father's house. There 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.
> Beg heaven to cleanse the leprosy of lust
> That rots thy soul. Acknowledge what thou art:
> A wretch, a worm, a nothing. Weep, sigh, pray
> Three times a day and three times every night.
> For seven days' space do this. Then if thou find'st
> No change in thy desires, return to me;
> I'll think on remedy.                       (1.1.69-80)

Giovanni should 'lock [himself] fast' (69). This form of incarceration seems oddly purgative: Giovanni must 'grovel on the ground / Cry to thy heart', and '[b]eg heaven to cleanse the leprosy of lust' (71-4). The shedding of 'blood' (74), too, will purge Giovanni's sin, washing 'every word [that] thou utter'st' (72).[95] A particularly taxing kind of purgation thus manifests: Giovanni should pronounce himself as a 'wretch, a worm, a nothing' (76), echoing Everyman's tribulations, as he begs the powers of heaven 'three times a day and three times every night' (77) for 'seven days' space' (78).

Repentance resurfaces in the closing moments of the play, when Giovanni speaks with Annabella in her bedchamber before he murders her:

> Never till now did Nature do her best
> To show a matchless beauty to the world,
> Which, in an instant, ere it scarce was seen,
> The jealous Destinies required again.
> Pray, Annabella, pray. Since we must part,
> Go thou white in thy soul to fill a throne
> Of innocence and sanctity in heaven.
> Pray, pray, my sister.                       (5.5.59-66)

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[95] Blood associates with the purgation of sin in another one of Ford's plays: Duke Phiippo encourages Bianca, his wife, to resolve her feelings for Fernando in 'tears of blood' (5.1.2.94) in the concluding moments of Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* (c. 1633), and he later sheds 'bleeding tears' at Bianca's graveside (5.1.34). See John Ford, *Love's Sacrifice*, ed. by A.T. Moore, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Little restrains the sexual desire of Giovanni in these moments; the 'matchless beauty' of his sister reduces any sense of resolve, bringing – instead – his lecherous desire to its peak. Such desire strengthens to unbridled levels: the powers of 'jealous Destinies' (62) replace those of self-control, as Giovanni comes to terms – unsuccessfully – with his sister's marriage to Soranzo. And he is aware of what will happen next. He urges his sister to 'pray', twice, in line 63, and the word appears two more times in line 66. Thus, while Giovanni gives in to his inner jealousy, he encourages his sister to take another path to salvation; a moment spent in prayer grants Annabella time to 'go thou white in thy soul to fill a throne / Of innocence and sanctity in heaven' (64-5).

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Repentance thus offers those characters who have sinned during life with a more agreeable reckoning after death. Sure enough, Annabella requests her angel to 'forgive me' (5.1.31) for her 'black offence' (5.1.21) in a speech from her balcony near the end of the drama. And the Friar, who overhears this conversation, praises her for doing so, since her show of repentance leads to a 'death more blessed' (5.1.57). Note how Annabella's speech lingers, here; an adequate amount of time – uninterrupted – 'prolong[s] my [Annabella's] breath / To this good use' (5.1.58-9). She thus succeeds in a task that Giovanni cannot otherwise complete, as time is granted her to repent for her prior sin. A more favourable reckoning awaits her in turn, while Giovanni, whose desires prevent any show of repentance on his own part, can do little but wait for damnation.

If only Banquo were as lucky as Annabella. The weird sisters unsettle the countenance of this character greatly, and he – according to David Worster – 'really hasn't been himself' after he encounters these strange creatures on the heath.[96] An unstable disposition that teeters

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[96] See David Worster, 'Performance Options and Pedagogy: *Macbeth*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2002), pp. 362-78 (p. 372).

on the very edge of innocence, for instance, is evident in his plea that merciful powers 'restrain in me the cursed thoughts of nature / Gives way to repose' (2.1.7-9). There are traces of these unwelcome thoughts in his actions, too; Banquo urges Fleance to 'take my sword' (2.1.3), taking precautions against his sinister thoughts. Banquo, in other words, cannot trust himself with weapons in this space.[97] This disarmament, I think, distinguishes Banquo from Macbeth. In this setting, Banquo *removes* his weaponry. Macbeth, on the other hand, *retains* his dagger, 'draw[ing]' it as he makes his way to Duncan's bedchamber (2.1.41) to take the king 'to heaven, or to hell' (2.1.64). This removal of weaponry is not pivotal, since Macbeth's unannounced entry onstage a few lines later reverses the process of pacification (2.1.19.SD). Banquo, then, is armed again. He is a man 'ill at ease', needing 'his weapon for protection'.[98] His inner turmoil, however, remains.[99]

Such a disposition exacerbates the horror of Banquo's sudden death later in the play, as he approaches the front gate of Macbeth's castle to participate in the feast:

*Banquo* (*within*).              Give us a light there, ho!

*2 Murderer.*                                   Then 'tis he: the rest,
That are within the note of expectation,
Already are i'th' court.

*1 Murderer.*                         His horses go about.

*3 Murderer.*         Almost a mile; but he does usually,
So all men do, from hence to the palace gate
Make it their walk.

*Enter* Banquo *and* Fleance, *with a torch*.

*2 Murderer.*                    A light, a light.

*3 Murderer.*                               'Tis he.

*1 Murderer.*         Stand to't.

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[97] See Clark and Mason (2015), p. 172.
[98] See Clark and Mason (2015), p. 172.
[99] Shared attributes appear elsewhere. Macbeth, for instance, speaks about "terrible dreams" (3.2.19) as he converses with his wife, echoing Banquo's claim that he "would not sleep" (2.1.7); the encounter with the weird sisters in the opening moments of the play elicits similar levels of decorum in both characters.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Banquo.* | It will be rain tonight. |
| *1 Murderer.* | Let it come down. |
| *Banquo.* | O treachery! |

[*The Murderers attack. First Murderer strikes out the light.*]

Fly, good Fleance, fly, fly, fly.
Thou mayst revenge –

[*Exeunt* Fleance]

O slave!     [*Dies*].     (3.3.9-17)

Little time, if any, grants Banquo an opportunity to repent for those 'cursed thoughts of nature' that seethed within him earlier (2.1.7). The pace quickens, here; half lines construct the first line of the passage (9), and two more half lines – spoken by the First Murderer and Second Murderer – appear two lines later (11). These lines seem metrically incomplete; the turns at talk tumble over one another, denying the time for any speaker to complete a full line of verse. Shakespeare exacerbates this sense of metrical chaos in the latter half of the passage; three turns at talk form line 14, and another three follow in the next line. This sense of choppiness recurs in line 15. Banquo predicts that it 'will be rain tonight', interrupting the First Murderer's request that his associates 'stand to't' (15). But Banquo's turn at talk meets a premature end: we find it difficult to keep up with the pace of the passage, since the First Murderer regains control of the conversational floor. More significantly, the murderer finishes a line Banquo started by responding to what Banquo said, and the shock comes from the fact that he invades – in a sense – Banquo's private space in doing so. The rain that will fall within the Scottish landscape, the assassin quibbles ominously, will resemble the blows that will fall imminently on Banquo's body. The rapid pace in which these activities take place is sustained in the final moments of the passage; the Folio text does not make clear the cause of Banquo's turned lines at 16, but something interrupts the rhythm of his speech. Any clear sense of metrical structure dissipates in Banquo's subsequent turn; the strong and consecutive stresses in 'fly, fly, fly'

spell out the chaos of this situation. Further metric disorder occurs in the final line: Fleance seems to be the recipient of Banquo's '[t]hou may'st revenge' (17), but Banquo struggles to complete his line. The swords of his killers, in other words, pull Banquo's attention from his son, who flees the stage. These instruments cut Banquo to pieces. They also cut short any sense of conclusion.

The murder, then, takes place with alarming rapidity, as those characters onstage interact with one another in ways that cut off one another. Banquo, however, bears the brunt. He is the one who dies, after all. The sense of delay, which would otherwise grant those who die with an opportunity to make their piece with God, seems non-existent as a result; like Old Hamlet, Banquo is (literally and metaphorically) 'cut off . . . in the blossoms' of his sin (1.5.76) and, like the ghost in Shakespeare's earlier play, he experiences a 'most horrible fate' (1.5.80). His corpse now lies 'safe in a ditch' (3.4.24), resembling the 'unhouseled, disappointed, and unaneled' body of Old Hamlet (1.5.77). It rests unceremoniously and abused within a space outside the walls of Macbeth's castle. Banquo, then, journeys to an afterlife with 'no reckoning made' (1.5.78). He moves to face judgement with all his 'imperfections on his head' (1.5.79), and the terms of his sudden death elicit an existence within a purgative afterlife.

### 4.0. Conclusion: Purgatorial Spaces within Wildernesses in Macbeth

But *where* is Banquo's purgatory? I would like to return, again, to the peculiar '[e]xeunt' (4.1.139.SD) of Banquo's spectre in 4.1. For sure, Banquo fulfils the terms of transport to a place of purgation elsewhere. The purgatorial landscape to which he travels, however, lies closer to home. Banquo, then, does not meet closure in a space apart geographically from the vernacular climes of this play. His unorthodox exit offstage – rather than to a space beneath – sheds light on something more unsettling, since the '[e]xeunt' links Banquo's purgatory to those ambiguous spaces within the world inhabited by this drama's vernacular characters. The

spectre of Banquo, moreover, seems more like a walking corpse than the ghosts of the kind seen in *Hamlet*. This mutilated body seems to *persist* in the world of the play.

In such instances, otherworlds do at least remain beyond some clear boundary marker: beyond a national border, or the border of a wood, or beyond a city wall. We do not have the clear demarcation of the hell-mouth or volcanic crater, which – to the medieval observer – divided the spaces of a quotidian world from their supernatural equivalents, but we do have some sense of division. Where such scenarios become especially troubling is when the distance or the strength of the border between the secure and the insecure spaces diminishes. In *Macbeth*, the Porter's gateway constitutes a precarious bulwark to protect against an ambiguous, chaotic, and 'otherworldly' space within the immediate vicinity of its characters. The very fabric of the play's world encounters chaos within those mysterious spaces situated alarmingly close to the characters, mutating uncontrollably within them as a consequence. And, as we shall see in the next chapters, such spaces – and their otherworldliness – figure in other plays. They do not restrict themselves necessarily to a place beyond the gates of the early modern abode.

Some of the magic in this play, then, hinges on the mystery of those wildernesses that lie beyond the borders of the dwelling. These kinds of 'supernatural' encounter step free from scholarly definitions of an 'otherworld' beneath the stage; those spaces beneath the dais, within which this play's apparitions reside, neither enclose the spectre nor those transgressive beings who 'look not like th'inhabitants o'th'earth' (1.3.41), and their transgression into this tragedy's everyday areas construct an 'invocation' that does not seem 'magical' at all. These encounters with 'otherworldly' beings function in ways that escape the fixed structures of metaphysical geography, and those spatial hallmarks that underline an 'otherworld' elsewhere seem to dissipate at certain points in the drama: in the case of Banquo's exit offstage in 4.1, an area *offstage* replaces an infernal clime beneath, and an inscrutable 'otherworld' envelops those

accessible areas outside the walls of Macbeth's castle, as the spectre of Banquo departs the stage space to take up his place in a quasi-purgatorial landscape within the wildernesses of the play's quotidian world. Here, there is a suggestion of an otherworldly space that overlaps with the spaces of the everyday.

# Chapter Two: The Ambiguity of Prospero's 'Book': Islands, Incantations, and Clothing in The Tempest

Those intricate incantations and charms within a book have been understood to facilitate supernatural power; 'magical books' contained the 'secret knowledge' of the necromancer in medieval traditions, and the 'porous nature of the boundaries between literacy and magic' appear within them.[1] But, following on from the findings in chapter 1, I shall show in this chapter how items from distant landscapes fulfil a similar function in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c. 1611), and kinds of mercantile exchange replace the speaking of strange-sounding charms from occultic texts as activities that consolidate collaborations with unfamiliar inhabitants.[2]

Around halfway through Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c. 1611), Caliban – an islander – plots an insurrection against Prospero. In the speech below, he addresses his confederates in this insurrection: Trinculo, a court jester, and Stephano, the drunken butler of Alonso, the King of Naples.

> Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
> I'th afternoon to sleep. There thou mayst brain him,
> Having first seized his books, or with a log
> Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
> Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember,
> First to possess his books, for without them
> He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
> One spirit to command. They all do hate him
> As rootedly as I. Burn but his books.
> He has brave utensils (for so he calls them)
> Which, when he has a house, he'll deck within.          (3.2.87-97)

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[1] Andrew Cambers, 'Demonic Possession, Literacy, and "Superstition" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* 202, no. 1 (2009), pp. 3-35 (p. 18; p. 17).

[2] See William Shakespeare, *The Tempest: Revised Edition*, ed. by V.M. Vaughan and A.T. Vaughan, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

The 'books' (89) of which Caliban speaks echo other representations of early modern magicians, who often have occultic volumes in their armoury. We may, for instance, recall Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1589-92), which I touched on briefly in the preceding chapter, and the episode in which Mephistopheles, a devil, answers an incantation from Faustus's 'necromantic books' (1.1.52). A Latin incantation within Friar Bacon's books also invokes a 'she-devil with a shoulder of mutton' (1.2.118) in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (c. 1590).[3] But, as this chapter shall show, *The Tempest* seems more ambivalent about the 'book' on show. This item is ambiguous. It envelops other objects, since Stephano calls his 'celestial liquor' (2.2.115) a 'book'. This 'book' constructs Stephano's pact with Caliban in a way that may shed light on the structure of Prospero's magical contracts. The liquor, I shall argue, acquires similar levels of power to the books within Prospero's library, constructing an *inclusive* form of magic that hinges on the exchange of worldly items in those unfamiliar, liminal spaces that lurk overseas.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Nathaniel Butler, the governor of Virginia from 1619 to 1622, comments on the strangeness of such foreign landscapes. He speaks about the experiences of some castaways from the *Sea Venture*, who made an unexpected landfall at Bermuda in 1609:

> Being thus gotten on drye-land, with their furnitvre and their prouision euery man begins to play a seuerall part, for their good of the whole: some looked out for fish which euen offered themselues to their hands: other to catch birdes and foules who likewise with their multitudes and tamenesse wearied the catcher with being caught; the rest contriued cabbins to keepe themselues from the weather, which was a taske as easily performed as the other by reason of the store of palmitoe leaues, most propper for that turne, and the nerenesse of woode. The whilst the wisest and most proudient among them bestowed a curious search for fresh water, the which also, haveing digged but a smale depth into the bowells of the earth, at the very first essaye, flowed out upon them, to good satisfaction. And thus rested they the first night during the which wer first found (by such whose turnes fell out to watch whilst

[3] See Christopher Marlowe, 'Doctor Faustus A-Text', in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays,* ed. by D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 137-83; Robert Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay,* ed. by D. Seltzer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

others slept) the wilde natuie hogges of the Ilands; who sentinge thes newe commers and especially some tame lieu swine, that they had preserved and landed with them, by which meanes, the next daye, an eager chase began for the takeing of thes wild game, and therby many of them killed and many more discouered: so that by reason of pleasure of the place, and their present ease and plenty the most of the company began to growe into such a content and careluessnesse, that not only they seemed to forgett all former perills, but even to neglect the cares due to a future return and remoue… .[4]

This maritime expedition sought to supply a starving colony at Jamestown, Virginia. But the voyage was ill-fated, since a powerful hurricane sunk the ship and its cargo off Bermuda. To those who came ashore, however, this stroke of ill fortune seemed a blessing in disguise; the islands seemed the 'nearest they had come to the paradise' of the New World. Food was abundant, there, since 'craw fishes' and 'rocke fische . . . so great two would load a man' could be found in this locale. Castaways could, moreover, find subsistence with relative ease, since wildlife was 'unaccustomed' to them.[5]

Butler's account is one of many early modern texts that exacerbated an English interest about 'strange character types . . . in exotic locales'; the descriptions of 'birdes and foules', which 'wearied the catcher with being caught', along with the 'fish which euen offered themselues to [the castaway's] hands', portray a paradisical landscape beyond the expectations of those European travellers who encountered them.[6] This fascination figures conspicuously in *The Tempest*, a play with its first recorded performance at 'Whithall before the kinges majestie' in November, 1611.[7] William Strachey's account about the *Sea Venture*'s wrecking, Virginia M. Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan suggest, inspired this play, although the biblical voyages

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[4] See Nathaniel Butler, *The Historye of the Bermudaes or Summer Islands,* ed. by J.H. Lefroy (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 13.

[5] See Virginia Bernhard, 'Bermuda and Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative View', *The Journal of Social History* 19, no. 1 (1985), pp. 57-90 (p. 58).

[6] See John M. Demeray, *Shakespeare and the Spectacles of Strangeness:* The Tempest *and the Transformation of Renaissance Theatrical Forms* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998), p. 16.

[7] See Edmund K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 2, pp. 342-3.

of Saint Paul and Desiderius Erasmus's colloquies may have played a part as well.[8] Those mysterious climes figure in the innovative stagecraft of the masque. Several scenes also require music and complex stage actions; Prospero's supernatural companion, the 'heavenly music' (5.1.52), and an islander 'not honoured with human shape' (1.2.283-4) may have demanded steeper costs for costume and musicians. Although *The Tempest* was almost certainly performed in the Blackfriars and the Globe, then, Shakespeare may have written this drama with court performances in mind.[9]

The interest in such otherworldly locales, coupled with those equally otherworldly individuals who reside within them, takes shape in Ariel, a 'fine spirit' (1.2.241). Ariel serves the play's magus figure, Prospero, whose magical practices and contact with Ariel shape the play's narrative. Studies in the 1950s and 1960s, which explored Renaissance occultism, thus label Prospero as a 'magician', noting that he enjoys 'preternatural control' over forces 'more powerful' than him.[10] These scholarly works form part of a wider movement that explored the parameters of magic within Renaissance schools of thought. They established that the magical music in *The Tempest* could be explained through reference to established esoteric traditions. The sorcerer's magic books, meanwhile, were seen to reflect those mysterious tracts that figured in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century studies of the occult.[11] Prospero, we are told, also 'bears the signifiers a Jacobean audience would have associated with [magical] power: books, staff, and robe'; his 'superb combination of power and control' over the play's other characters

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[8] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 64.

[9] See Keith Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 73-86.

[10] See Valerie I.J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 3.

[11] See Daniel P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1958); Charles G. Nuart, 'Magic and Scepticism in Agrippa's Thought', *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 18, no.2 (1957), pp. 161-82; Hardin Craig, 'Magic in *The Tempest*', *Philosophical Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1968), pp. 1-15; Jeanice Brooks, 'Music as Erotic Magic in a Renaissance Romance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2007), pp. 1207-56; Eugenio Garin, *Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance* trans. by P. Munz (Garden City: University of California Press, 1969); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).

displays his wider mastery over the 'natural and supernatural worlds'.[12] This mastery is evident in the play's central plot, when Ariel – commanded by Prospero – helps orchestrate a marriage between Prospero's daughter, Miranda – a 'noble mistress' (3.1.33) – and Ferdinand, the son of the king of Naples, Alonso. To bring this union about, Ariel – at Prospero's behest – begins a cosmic storm that wrecks Alonso's vessel, stranding the ship's passengers on Prospero's island and bringing about Ferdinand's encounter with Prospero and his daughter.

Ariel, however, also interacts with other characters in ways that appear to exceed Prospero's control. He disrupts, twice, the insurrection against Prospero by Caliban, a 'freckled whelp' of the 'damned witch Sycorax' who 'never yields kind answer' (2.1.309-10). Posing as Trinculo, he disrupts the comic conversation between Stephano and Trinculo in 3.2: 'thou liest, thou canst not' (3.2.60) sows the first seeds of discord between these two, and Stephano subjects Trinculo to a physical assault onstage (3.2.74). Ariel also prevents an insurrection against Alonso and Gonzalo by Antonio and Sebastian. He impedes the conspirators' attempts to murder the king and his councillor in states of 'strange drowsiness' (2.1.199) by bidding the latter to 'shake off slumber' (2.1.305).

In *The Tempest*, no distinctive incantations summon figures from a place elsewhere, as is the case in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* or Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. In such plays, a strange-sounding and 'magical' speech summons supernatural figures, but no such speech brings Ariel onstage. We can, then, ask questions about the kind of magic presented in this play: no conspicuous ritual facilitates explicitly an inter-dimensional movement from one kind of space to another, and Ariel flits across the drama's three subplots uninvited. This spirit's actions do not hinge necessarily on Prospero's 'books' (3.2.95). And, as I shall argue in what

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[12] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 64; Coppélia Kahn, 'The Providential Tempest and the Shakespearean Family', in *Representing Shakespeare: New Psychoanalytic Essays,* ed. by C. Kahn and M.M. Schwartz (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 217-43; Barbara A. Mowat, 'Prospero, Agrippa, and Hocus Pocus', *English Literary Renaissance* 11, no. 3 (1981), pp. 281-303 (p. 281).

follows, the 'celestial liquor' (2.2.115), coupled with the elaborate garments of this play's worldly characters, seem to have a similar power. They seem otherworldly to those who reside on the island, and their exchange from one party to another consolidates this play's magical contracts, outlining a form of 'magic' that derives from wider interests about colonial encounters of 'strange' entities overseas. We have, then, another kind of outside, liminal space within the world of the play, lurking across another kind of conspicuous border; those spaces across an oceanic expanse house the 'otherworldly', echoing those wildernesses that lie beyond Macbeth's castle, which I explored in chapter 1.

### *1.0. Supernatural Speech and Incantation in Early Modern English Drama*

*The Tempest* certainly explored controversial themes: in early modern England, strict Protestant biblicism under Elizabeth I made engagements with the supernatural contentious. This school of thought clashed with the diverse traditions and customs in late-medieval life: to the Protestant apologist, Catholic ceremonies became products of diabolical agency, since divine intervention had ceased after biblical times. Humanists also levelled attacks against the 'crude materialism' of such 'superstitious adhesions'; English Protestantism had no need for direct divine intervention in its interpretations of the world.[13] In the words of Helen Parish:

> Reformation criticisms of the miracles of the saints were in no sense a rejection of the possibility that the supernatural might intrude into the material world; indeed the capacity of the devil to work wonders was one of the few areas of common ground among Catholic and Protestant writers. What mattered was the source of supernatural power behind true miracle and diabolic fraud. If true miracles provided evidence of divine approbation, then evidence of false wonders worked by devilish means facilitated the condemnation of the Roman church as the church of Antichrist. The separation of miracle from magic was firmly defended but poorly defined, with the result that the permeable boundary between truth and falsehood became hotly contested ground. Ongoing debates about the nature of miracle and magic, and the capacity of the devil to deceive even the most vigilant observer, encouraged a re-

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[13] See Alexandra Walsham, 'Miracles and the Counter-Reformation to England', *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 4 (2003), pp. 779-814 (p. 784).

evaluation of the miracles that were claimed for the saints and sought at their shrines. With medieval miracles recast as demonic fraud, the Catholic church could be represented as an institution headed by papal conjurors and necromancers, preaching doctrines that were shaped by magic and venerating as its heroes saints whose reputation rested on their ability to work false and diabolic wonders.[14]

Those events that contradicted Protestant interpretations of scripture were, then, regarded as suspicious, and diabolism was seen to have a hand in inexplicable occurrences which late-medieval Catholic practices might have regarded as miraculous events. Indeed, as Keith Thomas observed, 'anything mysterious' became the subject of paranoia, as individuals sought to uncover its 'diabolical origin'.[15] One individual who became the victim of this paranoia was Thomas Allen, an astrologer to Robert Dudley – the first Earl of Leicester; servants threw the astrologer's mysterious ticking watch into the moat at Holme Lacy when he went to visit Sir John Scudamore as a guest, since the watch – these servants believed – was an incarnation of the Devil.[16] Protestant polemicists also levelled attacks against the ceremonial magic of John Dee, and the mathematics of Walter Warner were regarded as 'superstitious algebra' and a 'black art of geometry'.[17]

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Spoken Latin, unsurprisingly, often figures as magical incantation in early modern dramatic performances: late-medieval Christian masses, coupled with the divine intervention that came

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[14] See Helen Parish, *Monks, Miracles, and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 15-6. Works exploring Protestant responses to these ways of thinking include Peter Marshall, 'The Rood of Boxley, the Blood of Hailes, and the Defence of the Henrician Church', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46, no. 4 (1995), pp. 689-96.

[15] See Thomas (1971), p. 363. Also see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 12; Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth Century English Tragedy* (London: John Murray, 2005); Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2017); John D. Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[16] See John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 1, p. 27; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1940), p. 62.

[17] See Glyn Parry, *The Arch Conjuror of England* (London: Yale University Press, 2017); Thomas (1971), p. 363.

about as a result of their practice, became associated with maleficent forms of magic. That, at least, is what Protestant apologists believed. Indeed, the magical rite echoed aspects of the old faith; the spoken prayer, Emma Wilby argues, was no different from the magical charm.[18] Keith Thomas went further: a late-medieval Christian ceremony was little more than an 'organised system of magic designed to bring supernatural remedies to bear upon earthly problems'. These rites were, to Edward Muir, a 'formalized, collective, and institutionalised kind of repetitive action', invoking preternatural aid.[19] As already noted, such rituals were presented onstage in plays including *Doctor Faustus* and *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. As we have seen in chapter 1, Asnath reacts, too, to spoken Latin in *King Henry VI Part 2* (c. 1596-9) and, as we shall see in chapter 3, Elizabeth Sawyer's 'paternoster' (2.1.105) – a Latin version of the Lord's Prayer – appears (initially at least) for summoning onstage an explicitly devilish 'black cur' (5.1.28) in Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton* (c. 1621).[20]

The spoken Latin in these plays is striking and clearly distinguished from the English spoken – whether in prose or in verse – by these dramas' vernacular characters. It is, fundamentally, 'other'. But Latin was not the only way in which supernatural language could be marked out. As I have begun to suggest, variations on blank verse could also carry such meanings: 'brief waves of verse in other metres', George T. Wright argued, 'change[d] the rhythm or . . . provide[d] a verse mode appropriate for other characters'. He elaborates further:

> The fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the witches in *Macbeth*, the caskets in
> *The Merchant of Venice*, and several speakers of Prologues and Epilogues signal
> their peculiar status (at least part of the time) through tetrameter couplets.[21]

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[18] See Emma Wilby, *Cunning Folk and Familiar Spirits: Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic* (Brighton: Sussex Academic, 2013), p. 3.

[19] See Thomas (1971), p. 363; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 3.

[20] See William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI Part 2,* ed. by R. Knowles, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1999); Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton,* ed. by L. Munro, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

[21] See George T. Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (London: University of California Press, 1988), p. 114.

Such language was not, then, exclusive to figures with a taint of the supernatural, appearing in the language of a play's Prologue or Epilogue. But their metrical structure traverses beyond the closed world of the play, revealing a mysterious language that originates from a place elsewhere. Metrically unusual lines, Robert Stagg suggests, thus figured in 'the casting of spells, the application of curses, and the incantation of magic'.[22] It is difficult to disagree: 'other' undertones become evident when we consider the weird sisters' seven-syllable verse lines that, according to Ben Jonson, resembled a hobbling brewers' cart.[23] Macbeth thinks so, too. He calls the sisters' 'imperfect speakers' (1.3.70); their form of speech is perhaps best indicated when they work their charms a few lines before Macbeth's entry in 4.1:

| | |
|---|---|
| *3 Witch.* | Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf, |
| | Witch's mummy, maw, and gulf |
| | Of the ravined salt-sea shark, |
| | Root of hemlock digged i'th' dark, |
| | Liver of blaspheming Jew, |
| | Gall of goat and slips of yew |
| | Silvered in the moon's eclipse, |
| | Nose of Turk and Tartar's lips, |
| | Finger of birth-strangled babe |
| | Ditch-delivered by a drab, |
| | Make the gruel thick and slab. |
| | Add thereto a tiger's chawdron, |
| | For th'ingredience of our cauldron. |
| *All.* | Double, double, toil and trouble; |
| | Fire burn, and cauldron bubble.         (4.1.22-36)[24] |

Strong stresses begin the feet of each line, here, and '[s]cale' (22), '[w]itch' (23), '[r]oot' (25), and '[l]iv—' (26) establish an unfamiliar rhythm. The refrain sounds strange as well: strong

[22] See Robert Stagg, 'Shakespeare's Bewitching Line', in *Shakespeare Survey 71: Re-Creating Shakespeare,* ed. by P. Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 232-41 (p. 236).

[23] See Ben Jonson, *Timber, or Discoveries*, ed. by R.S. Walker (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 202.

[24] See William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* ed. by S. Clark and P. Mason, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

stresses, followed by weaker ones, begin '[d]ouble, double, toil and trouble' (35), and '[f]ire burn, and cauldron bubble' (36), as otherworldly forces shape conspicuously the incantation at play.

Perhaps even more interesting, in terms of *Macbeth*'s language, are the moments where the unusual rhythms associated with the supernatural break up the iambic rhythms of the play's non-supernatural characters. We can re-visit, for example, how Macbeth responds to the apparitions of the eight kings who emerge onstage alongside Banquo's ghost later in this scene:

> Thou art too like the spirit of Banquo; down:
> Thy crown does sear mine eyeballs. And thy hair,
> Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first.
> A third is like the former. Filthy hags,
> Why do you show me this? – A fourth? Start, eyes!
> What, will the line stretch out to th' crack of doom?
> Another yet? A seventh? I'll see no more;
> And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass
> Which shows me many more; and some I see
> That twofold balls and treble sceptres carry.
> Horrible sight. Now I see 'tis true;
> For the blood-boltered Banquo smiles upon me
> And points at them for his.

*Exeunt kings and Banquo.*

(4.1.111-23.SD)

Macbeth does not expect Banquo in this exchange, and his shock at this unexpected encounter seems to affect his language: the first line (111) has no metrical composure, portraying the loss of composure in Macbeth himself, as the spectre vividly reminds Macbeth of his part in its murder. This prosodic irregularity, and the fear that underpins the line, emerges in 'for the blood-boltered' in line 122, when Macbeth turns to face Banquo again. The ghost, however, cannot upset Macbeth's iambic metre for long; Macbeth rightens his iambic rhythm in 112,

speaking to those other, unfamiliar entities who appear alongside Banquo's spirit. In line 123, an iambic rhythm returns, and the sight of an undead Banquo shakes the very conscience of the speaker. But Macbeth steels himself. He confronts – successfully – the unnerving figures that stand before him in this landscape; an iambic way of speaking associated with the speeches of vernacular characters eventually persists in spite of the shocking sights before him; however, just as certain words of the sisters ('fair', 'foul', and 'hereafter') are spoken by *Macbeth'*s non-supernatural characters, so supernatural occurrences can occasionally shake the iambic rhythms of their speeches.

The sisters in *Macbeth*, then, speak in ways that differ from the speech of this play's quotidian characters: an 'other' rhythm structures their verse lines, suggesting powers that exist beyond the world of the play. We encounter a similar effect when Oberon, the fairy king in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1596), utters a charm:

> Flower of this purple dye,
> Blessed with Cupid's archery,
> Sink in apple of his eye.
> When in love he do espy,
> Let her shine as gloriously,
> As the Venus of the sky.
> When thou wak'st, if she be by,
> Beg of her for remedy.                     (3.2.102-9)[25]

This charm is trochaic, since consistent stresses on '[f]low—' (102), '[b]less—' (103), and [s]ink' (104) replace the weaker stresses that otherwise begin an iambic rhythm. And, later in the speech, '[w]hen' (105), '[l]et' (106), '[a]s' (107), and '[b]eg' (109) reveal a curious and inverted metre that rebels against the conventional iambic prosody found in blank verse. Similar strange-sounding verse appears in Shakespeare's later *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c.

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[25] See William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* ed. by S. Chaudhuri, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

1597), when the pseudo-fairies deliver a 'scornful rhyme' (5.5.91).[26] A strong stress forms the

first syllables of line 83 to 91 in this speech:

> Fie on sinful fantasy!
> Fie on lust and luxury!
> Lust is but a bloody fire,
> Kindled with unchaste desire.
> Fed in heart, whose flames aspire,
> As thoughts do blow them, higher and higher,
> Pinch him fairies, mutually;
> Pinch him for his villainy;
> Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
> Till candles and star-light and moonshine be out.　　　(5.5.83-92)

The scroll, which rebukes the Prince of Morocco from within a golden casket in *The Merchant*

*of Venice* (c. 1596), offers another example:

> *All that glistens is not gold*
> *Often have you heard that told.*
> *Many a man his life hath sold*
> *But my outside to behold.*
> *Gilded timber do worms infold.*
> *Had you been as wise as bold,*
> *Young in limbs, in judgement old,*
> *Your answer had not been inscrolled,*
> *Fair you well, your suit is cold.*　　　(2.7.62-73)[27]

A place beyond the quotidian world of the play manifests both in the writing on the scroll and

in the contents of the casket; a 'carrion death' sends the message, delivering the scroll to its

unfortunate recipient through those 'empty eye[s]' in its skull (2.7.68). Of course, the late father

of Portia – the noblewoman of Belmont whom the Prince tries to court – is the architect of this

unnerving sight. But the scroll, and where – to the Prince – it may come from, loses none of its

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[26] See William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* ed. by G. Melchiori, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000).
[27] See William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice,* ed. by J. Drakakis, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

potency; an otherworld elsewhere, reserved for the dead, diffuses into the contents of the casket, manifesting also in the strange trochaic metre that appears in the writing.

A further example, and one closer in spirit to those that I have discussed from *Macbeth*, can be found in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* (c. 1609), as the hags chant an incantation that summons their figurehead onstage:

> Sisters, stay, we want our Dame;
> Call upon her by her name,
> And the charm we used to say,
> That she quickly anoint, and come away.
>
> CHARM I
>
> Dame, Dame, the watch is set:
> Quickly come, we all are met.
> From the lakes and from the fens,
> From the rocks and from the dens,
> From the woods and from the caves,
> From the churchyards and from the graves,
> From the dungeon, from the tree
> That we die on, here we are.                    (1.40-52)[28]

We do not observe a normal, vernacular kind of speech in these moments, since a trochaic metre forms the incantation that summons the Dame onstage. But this prosodic structure contains also the conversations that these strange entities have with one another immediately before they perform the charm (40-3). This strange rhythm appears in '[s]ist –' (40), '[c]all' (41), '[a]nd' (42), and '[t]hat' (43), as one hag requests her fellows to join her in the magical rite. An 'other' kind of language, then, permeates across the passage, helping to create the effect of an otherworldly 'hell' (Dedication 1.21): an effect created also through scenic devices, as fires flame from beneath the stage, smoking 'unto the top of the roof' (Dedication 1.22), in the opening moments of the masque. Another example of such language within the context of

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[28] See Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Queens', in *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques,* ed. by S. Orgel, The Yale Ben Jonson (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 80-100.

a masque can be found if we return to *The Tempest*, turning to the speeches of Juno and Ceres as they – together – bless Ferdinand and Miranda:

> *Juno.* Honour, riches, marriage blessing,
> Long continuance and increasing,
> Hourly joys be still upon you;
> Juno sings her blessings on you.
>
> *Ceres.* Earth's increase, foison plenty,
> Barns and garners never empty.
> Vines with clustering branches growing;
> Plants with goodly burden bowing,
> Spring come to you at the farthest,
> In the very end of harvest.
> Scarcity and want shall shun you,
> Ceres' blessing so is on you. (4.1.106-17)

As Juno speaks, strong stresses land on '[h]on—' (106), '[h]our—' (108), and 'Jun—' (109). They also appear when Ceres speaks: '[b]arns' (111), '[v]ines' (112), and '[s]pring' (114) establish a rhythm that can be differentiated from the language spoken elsewhere in *The Tempest*. A sense of otherworldly power, here and in the other examples above, thus manifests through a disruption and enriching of the basic patterns of early modern dramatic speech.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

The music that sounds alongside characters' speeches achieves a similar effect, reflecting wider astrological beliefs about melody as the 'best means' to attract otherworldly forces from celestial realms. Gary Tomlinson explores this idea in greater detail below:

> Such species of songs, composed appropriately and according to the rule of the stars, full to the utmost with sense and meaning, pronounced opportunely with vehement affection (arising not only from the number and proportion of the phrases but also from their resulting form) and with the impetus of the imagination, confer the greatest power on the enchanter and immediately transmit it to the thing enchanted, directing it and binding it wherever the emotions and words of the enchanter are aimed.[29]

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[29] Gary Tomlinson, *Music and Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 64.

Lorenzo says as much in *The Merchant of Venice*. He asks musicians to 'wake Diana', a classical goddess, 'with a hymn' (5.1.66): music breaks through the barriers that enclose the world of the play, communicating explicitly with an entity within a classical afterlife. In *Pericles* (c. 1608), Cerimon prays for 'rough and woeful music' (3.2.87) to 'give . . . air' (3.2.90) to Thasia, who seems – initially – a 'corpse' (3.2.62). This music sounds and stops. But it rouses, eventually, Thasia from her deathlike state.[30] '[H]ollow. . . music' (Dedication 1.26), moreover, flavours the strange anti-masque in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* and, in the climax of the later *The Winter's Tale* (c. 1610), music animates a statue of Hermione; the queen, whom others believe to be long-dead, steps down from her plinth, seemingly – to those who look on from afar – resurrected from stone and plaster.[31] In Thomas Middleton's *The Witch* (c. 1616), too, a 'noise of musicians' (3.3.37) adds otherness to the witches' *Come Away, Hecate*.[32] Shakespeare uses this motif in *The Tempest*: the magical 'ditty' (1.2.206), a song, guides an unseeing Ferdinand onstage, and 'marvellous sweet music' (3.3.19) adds mystery to the banquet in the third act of the play. These melodies add a 'special occult force', which powers those activities that take place onstage.[33]

The representations of Juno and Ceres thus draw from established theatrical traditions: the mysterious powers of an area outside the limits of vernacular space manifest in both goddesses' strange-sounding speech and in the music that accompanies their words, as both goddesses wish Ferdinand and Miranda a happy union. But, in other moments of this play, these manifestations of magical power are not so conspicuous. The text, for instance, seems

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[30] See William Shakespeare and George Wilkins, *Pericles,* ed. by S. Gossett, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).
[31] See William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale,* ed. by J. Pitcher, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).
[32] See Thomas Middleton, *The Witch,* ed. by E. Schafer, New Mermaids (London: A&C Black, 1994).
[33] See Tomlinson (1993), p. 47.

more ambivalent about Prospero's magic; no strange-sounding metre or rhyme distinguishes Prospero's first interactions with Ariel from the conversation with Miranda that precedes it:

> Thou art inclined to sleep; 'tis a good dullness,
> And give it way. I know thou canst not choose.
> [*To Ariel.*] Come away, servant, come; I am ready now.
> Approach, my Ariel. Come.                           (1.2.185-8)

The metre, here, does have some irregularity: in the first line, ''tis a good dullness' disrupts the iambic pattern begun by 'thou art inclined to sleep' (185), and the pause after 'give it way' in line 186 makes the line falter. But Prospero is not calling his spirit onstage yet. He still seems preoccupied with his daughter, who sleeps onstage before him. The summons, which begins in line 187, does not follow easily an iambic rhythm. A strong stress, for instance, begins Prospero's request for Ariel to 'come away, servant, come': '—way' and 'ser—' nestle uncomfortably alongside one another, since '—way' – a strong stress – precedes immediately 'ser—', an equally strong stress. The caesura that follows the second 'come', moreover, breaks the metrical flow of the line in half. And an iambic metre appears in the first four syllables of the final line, constructing an explicit request for Ariel to '[a]pproach' (188) the stage. Another caesura follows, separating the final '[c]ome' from the rest of the passage.

The summons, then, is not so dissimilar from how Prospero speaks with his daughter. It does not escape the closure of the play, and it is certainly very different in nature from the identifiably unusual trochaic metre that forms Juno and Ceres' charms, the hags' dialogue in Jonson's earlier *The Masque of Queens*, and the 'imperfect' speeches of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*. Prospero, in other words, turns seamlessly from his daughter to his spirit, who comes onstage immediately afterwards, as the play introduces a kind of charm that does not appear – explicitly, at least – to draw on a space that lies outside the play's world.

This kind of summons does not mean, necessarily, that there is no magical incantation at all. 'Come', for instance, figures three times in the final two lines of the passage (187-8). The repetition of this word recalls the speech of the Lady when she waits for her husband at Inverness in 1.5 of *Macbeth*:

> The raven himself is hoarse
> That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
> Under my battlements. Come you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
> And fill me from the crown to the toe, top-full
> Of direst cruelty. Make thick my blood,
> Stop up th'access and passage to remorse,
> That no compunctious visitings of nature
> Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
> Th'effect and it. Come to my woman's breasts,
> And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,
> Wherever, in your sightless substances,
> You wait on nature's mischief. Come thick night,
> And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
> That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
> Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark
> To cry, 'Hold, hold'. (1.5.38-54)

*Caesurae* precede the '[c]ome' in line 140, the '[c]ome' in line 147, and the final '[c]ome' in line 150, here. The pauses stress the enunciation of this word, adding a percussive element to the incantation. These *caesurae* appear in *The Tempest*, too: a full stop invokes a pause that separates Prospero's '[c]ome' (187) from 'I know thou canst not choose' (186), and another full stop precedes the final '[c]ome' (188), which concludes the summons of Ariel onstage. The comma in line 187 works to a similar effect. While this pause is not as substantial as the *caesurae* that emerge on either side, it still succeeds in breaking the metrical flow.

The point I make, then, is that Prospero's incantation is more quotidian than the weird sisters' strange-sounding speeches. It differs from Oberon's charm in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the fairies' ditty in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. An 'other' power, which diffuses

notably into the speeches within these latter plays, is thus not so clear-cut: Prospero's charm in 1.2 seems no different from his conversation with Miranda, and its vernacular nature brings into question the otherworldliness of Prospero's magic. This power does not reach out into another dimension. It draws, I want to suggest, on an otherworld *within* the world of the play's characters.

Indeed, *The Tempest*'s magical contract lurches ever further away from a stereotypical mimesis of magic when we consider how the relationship between Ariel and Prospero develops later in the scene. Ariel rebels against Prospero's further wishes in these moments, since – to Ariel – Prospero's 'promise / To bate [him] a full year' (1.2.248-9) restricts 'more toil' (1.2.242):

| | |
|---|---|
| *Prospero.* | If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak<br>And peg thee in his knotty entrails till<br>Thou hast howled away twelve winters. |
| *Ariel.* |                       Pardon, master,<br>I will be correspondent to command<br>And do my spriting gently. |
| *Prospero.* |          Do so, and after two days<br>I will discharge thee. |
| *Ariel.* |               That's my noble master. |

                What shall I do? Say what? What shall I do?      (1.2.294-301)

Ariel seems happy with Prospero's refreshed terms; Prospero's promise to 'discharge' his spirit in 'two days' (1.2.199) repairs any lost confidence, and Ariel looks for his next task with renewed eagerness and anticipation. Ariel's allegiance thus hinges from a set of conditions: the unconditional loyalty, which Faustus otherwise recalls when he pressures Mephistopheles to 'tell [him] anything' (2.3.68), does not seem to apply here. This mutual agreement is also

dissimilar from the magical contract in *King Henry VI Part 2*. Consider, for instance, how

Jourdain speaks to Asnath, the spirit who appears onstage to speak about the fate of the king:

> Asmath,
> By the eternal God whose name and power
> Thou tremblest at, answer that I shall ask;
> For till thou speak thou shall not pass from hence.       (1.4.24-7)

The imperative tone is difficult to miss, here: 'answer that I shall ask' (26) and 'thou shall not

pass from hence' (27) elevate the speaker above the spirit to whom he speaks. Note, in

particular, how Jourdain's language inverts the relationship: the 'thou' lacks formality and, yet,

it addresses a spirit who exists beyond the reach of this play's vernacular characters. The spirit,

then, answers a particularly demeaning form of address.[34]

This hierarchical relationship manifests, too, in the final line of the passage. As Alysia

Kolentsis argues, the modal verb 'shall' 'linguistically inscribes power relations, traces speaker

expectations, and illuminates and insists on specific rules of social interaction'.[35] It 'expresses

aspects of obligation and desire, and therefore showcases the boundary between the demands

of a speaker's public world and the wishes of his private one'.[36] Thus, when Volumnia

converses with Virgilia in *Coriolanus* (c. 1605-8), the 'shall' reveals the former's firm

insistence (1.3.71-90), capitalizing on 'her rank as Coriolanus's mother and Virgilia's elder in

her conviction that her wishes take precedence'.[37] And, in *Henry VI Part 2*, Jourdain invokes

a similar relationship. Asnath, he claims, 'shall not pass from hence' (27), as his very words

tether the spirit to the will of the speaker. Asnath, in his subsequent comments, confirms this

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[34] See Keith Johnson, *Shakespeare's Language: Perspectives Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 110.
[35] See Alysia Kolentsis, *Shakespeare's Common Language* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), p. 36.
[36] See Joan L. Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1994), p. 262.
[37] See William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus,* ed. by P. Holland, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Kolentsis (2020), p. 39.

subjugation: 'ask what thou wilt – that I had said and done' (1.4.28) is an unusual expression, since such spirits seem reluctant to speak in other plays.[38] But, crucially, Asnath obeys Jourdain's command. He provides a prediction about the king, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Somerset, descending back to a hellish space beneath the stage shortly afterwards.

Ariel, unlike Asnath in *Henry VI Part 2*, can shape the conditions of his contract, since Prospero exchanges continued supernatural servitude with Ariel's eventual freedom. He seems part of a pact that is less stable than those magical contracts in other plays. Prospero's immediate retention of magical power thus hinges on its later collapse, which would manifest when he severs ties, permanently, with his supernatural companion. This curious relationship, coupled with the ambiguous characteristics of his speech in these moments, seem closer to a vernacular incantation within the spaces of the play. These quotidian components, I want to suggest in what follows, ground the play's magical otherworld to the island, and the strange and 'other' entities that figure in this play exist in the spaces where the play's vernacular characters stand.

## 2.0. The Otherness of Islands in Early Modern English Drama

We can better understand this island as an 'otherworld' by considering the early modern England's wider fascination with those uncharted areas found overseas. The Spanish colonisation of the New World, along with the mass extractions of gold and silver from mines in Peru and Mexico, exacerbated this English interest, since such exploits invoked a political urgency to acquire such territories and materials.[39] English sovereigns were interested, too, and Elizabeth I received Richard Hakluyt's *The Discourse of Western Planting* in 1584. Hakluyt's

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[38] In 1.1 of *Hamlet*, for instance, the ghost refuses to answer Bernardo, Horatio, and Marcellus. See William Shakespeare, *Hamlet: Revised Edition,* ed. by A. Thompson and N. Taylor, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

[39] See Lorri Glover and Daniel B. Smith, *The Shipwreck that Saved Jamestown: The* Sea Venture *Castaways and the Fate of America* (London: Henry Holt & Co., 2008), p. 17; p. 20.

later *The Principall Navigations* (1589) also met a warm reception, and Robert Robinson printed three editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* in 1596: the release of consecutive editions in the same year revealed an 'extraordinary general curiosity' about Raleigh's travels abroad.[40]

This curiosity appears in easily-accessible travel stories, which 'romanticised ocean voyages to foreign places'.[41] Writers lingered on the dangers of these maritime journeys. Anthony Nixon, for instance, describes the departure of an English traveller for sea in July, 1607:

> The Governour of the Pynace . . . finding all things sufficient, and stronge for his proceeding . . . came down cheerfully, and with a resolute heart to goe forward on his journey, But many of his friends, both learned preachers, and others went about to disswade him from his adventurous enterprise: Alleaging his attempt too venturous, his purpose dangerous; and his presumption egregarious, and to be a great sinne in tempting the mercie of God in so strange and unhearde-of manner of boldnesse. WHO sodainelye made answeare that this [deliverance] being so wonderful, and beyonde hope, did more encourage and anymate his proceedinges, than any mans perswasions could possiblye prevayle to the contrarie; For now he felt the helping hand of his mercifull God to be readye to assist him in all his actions, especially in this his journey.[42]

These journeys, from one perspective within Nixon's text, seemed 'too venturous . . . dangerous . . . [and] egregarious', and those who undertook such exploits committed a 'great sinne in tempting the mercie of God in so strange and unhearde-of manner of boldnesse'.[43] Indeed, the trials and tribulations that take place within oceanic landscapes do little but encourage providential interference. William Strachey, to give another example, recollects another storm at sea in 1609:

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[40] See Joyce Lorimer, 'The Printing of *The Discoverie*', in *Sir Walter Ralegh's* Discoverie of Guiana, ed. by J. Lorimer (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. lxxvi-lxxxiii (p. lxxxiii).
[41] See Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Bookshops of Paul's Cross Churchyard,* ed. by L.C. Orlin (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 2000), pp. 325-7.
[42] Anthony Parr, *Renaissance Mad Voyages: Experiments in Early Modern English Travel* (London: Ashgate, 2015), p. 1.
[43] See Parr (2015), p. 15.

> Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them; for mine owne
> part, I had bin in some stormes before, as well upon the coast of Barbary and
> Algeere, in the Levant, and once more distressfull in the Adriatique gulfe, in a
> bottome of Candy, so as I may well say. . . Yet all that I have ever suffered gathered
> together, might not hold comparison with this.[44]

A space that resists the parameters of Strachey's world becomes clear in this passage, as the high winds of the tempest supersede those storms that take place in bodies of water closer to home. This storm seems particularly ferocious. And contemporaries recorded other such occasions. Another storm devastated a colony of Sir Thomas Warner on the isle of St. Christopher – in the Leeward Islands – in 1624 while, in 1638, John Taylor spoke of another storm, to quote Peter Hulme, as an 'attribute of savagery itself'.[45] Energised by the increasing number of English voyages, these expansive bodies of water seem dangerous, unstable, and unpredictable. This instability appears in early modern drama: in *Antony and Cleopatra* (c. 1607), the sea seems to upset the self, becoming a 'tumbled heap within which consideration – taking a stance, and positioning oneself in the world – is drowned'.[46] This space shatters the very foundations of civilisation and selfhood.

In *The Winter's Tale*, the Clown also describes a vessel that struggles in stormy waters off the shores of Bohemia:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Clown.* | I have seen two such sights, by sea and by land. But I am not to say it is a sea, for it is now the sky; betwixt the firmament and it you cannot thrust a bodkin's point. |
| *Shepherd.* | Why boy, how is it? |
| *Clown.* | I would you did but see how it chafes, how it rages, how it takes up the shore; but that's not to the point. O, the most piteous cry of the |

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[44] See Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Methuen & Co., 1986), p. 96.

[45] See Matthew Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624-1783* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 11; Hulme (1986), p. 99.

[46] See William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by J. Wilders, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1995); Laurence Publicover, 'Shakespeare at Sea', *Essays in Criticism* 64, no. 2 (2014), pp. 138-57 (p. 153).

poor souls! Sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em; now the ship
boring the moon with her mainmast, and anon swallowed with yeast
and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead.                          (3.3.81-92)

The sea is, simultaneously, the 'sky' (82). It seems contradictory, spanning across the vernacular definitions and comprehensions of those who watch it from the shore. This body of water is transgressive; to the Clown, the waves breach the restraining line of the horizon and, more broadly, the construction of the known world, 'boring [scraping]' the 'moon' above (91). Those caught within this tempest fade in and out of existence; the sailors are sometimes seen and sometimes unseen, as they wrestle – unsuccessfully – to keep the vessel afloat.[47] In another scene from early modern drama, Shakespeare takes us on board the kind of scene described by the Clown. In the opening moments of *The Tempest*, the Boatswain chastises the court party as he tries to control Alonso's ship; the gale fragments those secure spaces in which the sailors, the king, and his noble retainers are familiar, and the very foundations of kingship teeter on the edge of collapse:

*Boatswain.*                                          What cares these
                    roarers [waves] for the name of the king? To cabin! Silence!
                    Trouble us not!                                          (1.1.16-8)

In these moments, the walls of the vessel encase and protect a safe space. But an oceanic region beyond the walls of the ship eventually intrudes on this locale, delivering a vicious punishment that collapses the court characters' understandings about how the world works.

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[47] See Edward B.M. Rendall and Isabella Rosner, 'Plays, Plague, and Pouches: The Role of the Outside in Early Modern English Plague Remedies', *The Journal of Early Modern Studies*. Special Issue: Plagues in Early Modern Europe, no. 1, pp. 1-15 (p. 9).

Another kind of chaotic space thus lies beyond the shore, deconstructing the quotidian worlds

of *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*. Those islands that lie beyond the safeties of the coast

acquire 'otherness', too. To quote Brigitte le Juez and Olga Springer, they

> can represent scenic locations (more often than not deceptively enchanting) but,
> particularly when associated with shipwreck imagery, they are essentially literary
> devices that shape narratives. Imaginary islands exist as temporary paradises where
> contemplation and self-reinvention may happen, or as false havens where
> conventional laws and moral codes are put to the test.[48]

In literature, those spaces across the sea resist the workings of a vernacular world. They figure

extensively in travel literature. Taxing voyages across vast oceanic spaces, for instance,

encounter areas 'controlled by supernatural forces' in early-Irish *immrama* and, in the fifteenth-

century Book of Lismore, St. Brendan – an Irish abbot and later saint – travels across a 'mighty

intolerable ocean', descrying a 'beautiful noble island' that contains 'trains of angels'.[49]

Thomas More's *Utopia* (c. 1516) is another example, while those regions within the New

World, which figure in Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr d'Anghera's *De Orbe Nove*

*Decades*, secrete qualities that exceed the normalcies of an early modern world.[50] A powerful

example emerges within the third book of this translation's second decade: an elder son of

Comogrus – a local king – meets the *conquistadore* Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and he questions

the Spanish, who quarrel over how they are to split up the gold given to them:

> What is the matter with yowe Christen men, that yow soo greatly esteem soo litle a
> portion of golde more than yowr owne quietnes, whiche neverthelesse yow intend
> to deface from these fayre ouches [necklaces] and to melte the same into a rude
> masse. If youwre hunger of goulde bee soo insatiable that onely for the desyre yowe
> have therto, yowe disquiete soo many nations, and yow yowre selves also susteyne

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[48] See Brigitte le Juez and Olga Springer, 'Introduction: Shipwrecks and Islands as Multilayered, Timeless Metaphors of Human Existence', in *Shipwreck and Island Motifs in Literature and the Arts* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2015), pp. 1-2.

[49] See Barbara Hilliers, 'Voyages between Heaven and Hell: Navigating the Early Irish *Immram* Tales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 13, no. 1 (1993), pp. 66-81 (p. 66); Glyn S. Burgess, 'The Life and Legend of Saint Brendan', in *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the English Legend*, ed. by W.R.J. Barron and G.S. Burgess (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 1-12 (p. 6).

[50] See Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 74.

soo many calamit[i]es and incommodities, lyving like banished me owte of yowre owne countrey, I wyll shewe youwe a Region flowinge with goulde, where yow may satisfie yowr raveninge appetites.[51]

The locale in which the Spanish encounter Comogrus surpasses all expectations; like a river that quenches the thirst of a traveller, the gold that flows within this river satisfies the 'raveninge appetites' of those who find themselves within this space. The natives also become the subjects of wonder; the Spanish 'marvel at the oration' of the prince, considering earnestly 'his sayinges'. But, crucially, this response does not derive from the rhetorical skill of the speaker; the Spanish seem more preoccupied by the 'prospect of wealth beyond their wildest dreams' in a region that resists the parameters of their imaginations.[52] Echoing those wildernesses that lurk beyond the castle walls, which we considered in the previous chapter, this anarchic area across the oceanic expanse of a dangerous Atlantic defies the normalcies of a material world, and those items that are located within such spaces exceed the very fantasies of those castaways who wash up on their shores. To Amerigo Vespucci in a letter to Lorenzo di Medici, his patron, such a space teeters close to biblical landscapes, seeming close to the Garden of Eden, the 'terrestrial paradise' that figured in the biblical text of Genesis.[53]

Chaotic spaces across the sea figure in plays other than *The Tempest*. In *Richard III* (c. 1595), those who reside in Ireland exceed the capabilities of others who come from a familiar England, as a bard predicts – rightly – that Richard should 'not live long' (4.1.104-5).[54] This mysterious individual possesses powers that the play's hero cannot grasp for himself. Those spaces that lie across the Mediterranean acquire similar characteristics in *The Merchant of Venice*, as Portia's confused description of her suitor – Morocco – untethers northern Africa

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[51] See Hadfield (1998), p. 74.
[52] See Hadfield (1998), pp. 74-5.
[53] See Chloë Houston, 'Introduction', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period,* ed. by C. Houston (London: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1-14 (p. 8).
[54] See William Shakespeare, *Richard III,* ed. by J.R. Simeon, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).

from the play's everyday spaces. He holds, she remarks, a 'complexion like a devil' (1.2.125): devilish characteristics destabilise Morocco's quotidian disposition, as she conveys her misgivings to her servant, Nerissa. But *The Tempest* is the play within which Shakespeare most fully explores the imaginative possibilities of the overseas location. To Ferdinand, Miranda also seems complicated. She is, to the Neapolitan prince, a 'goddess' (1.2.422) who resides within the island landscape; as he comes to terms with the maiden who stands before him, Ferdinand draws on familiar discourses that explore the encroachment of the 'other' into those territories across oceanic spaces. Alonso has similar thoughts. He is unsure what to make of Prospero, whom he thinks may be an 'enchanted trifle' (5.1.112); the mystery of the island setting confuses the characteristics of an otherwise worldly Prospero, unhinging the sorcerer from the world of the play. Prospero, to Alonso, thus seems – to quote Vaughan and Vaughan – a 'ghostly apparition', untethered from Alonso's sense of reality.[55]

The abnormality of such spaces inform Caliban's disposition, too, as Trinculo makes clear when he encounters the islander for the first time:

> What have we here, a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish, a very ancient and fish-like smell, a kind of – not of the newest – poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now (as once I was) and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they would lay out ten to see a dead Indian. Legged like a man and his fins like arms! Warm, o'my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer: this is no fish, but an islander that hath lately suffered a thunderbolt. Alas, the storm is come again. My best way is to creep under his gaberdine; there is no other shelter hereabout. Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows! I will here shroud till the dregs of the storm be passed.

(2.2.24-40)

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[55] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 292.

Caliban, initially, resists Trinculo's conceptions of worldliness: the words 'but an islander that hath lately suffered a thunderbolt' (35-6) may resolve, eventually, the indecision of Trinculo near the end of his speech. But he does not know *what* he sees in the lines that precede 35 and 36. He is confused: Caliban seems either 'dead or alive' (26), and he seems to reach across two states of being that oppose one another. The notion that Caliban has suffered 'a thunderbolt' (35-6) also complicates things; to Trinculo, Caliban seems blackened and charred in ways that resemble – perhaps – the scars of infernal punishment. The islander, moreover, 'smells like a fish' (26). He is 'legged like a man' but with 'fins like arms' (32-3). Two anatomically distinct corpuses thus settle uncomfortably alongside one another; like Errour in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (c. 1590), which we explored in the preceding chapter, aspects of one body confuse the other, as Trinculo debates whether Caliban is – in fact – of his world.[56] The 'drunken butler' (5.1.227), Stephano, seems unsure as well:

> What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind? Ha! I have not 'scaped drowning to be afeared now of your four legs; for it hath been said, 'As proper a man as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground'. And it shall be said so again while Stephano breathes at' nostrils.

> (2.2.56-62)

Trinculo, of course, contributes to the humour, here, since the splayed legs of the jester, who has crept beneath the cloak of Caliban to shelter from the storm, mutate the already ambiguous appearance of the islander. This strange being now has four legs; Stephano seems to encounter some entity that rebels against the comprehension of those who reside in Naples. And the tricks of 'devils' (56) confuse things further, as – to Stephano – forces from elsewhere manipulate

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[56] A creature 'halfe like a serpent horribly displaide / But th'other halfe did womans shape retaine' (1.1.14) lurks within a 'hollowe cave / Amid the thickest woods' (1.1.11) in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. See Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by W.P. Trent (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers, 1903). I consider Errour, and the chaotic locale that envelops her, in chapter 1, p. 60.

what Stephano can see, echoing those discourses that underline the 'otherness' of an isolated territory beyond the shorelines of the known world. Proverbial language unsettles the island space further, since this landscape incarnates the imagery of proverbial speech: 'as proper a man as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground' (61-2), Stephano muses, as he stumbles on a sight that echoes the very speech he recollects. He continues:

> This is some monster of the isle, with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil should he learn our language? I will give him some relief, if it be but for that. If I can recover him and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's leather.
>
> (2.2.64-9)

The island continues to emit confusion, although the clouds begin to clear to some extent, since Caliban now seems 'some monster of the isle' (64). He is, then, a 'present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's leather' (68-9). But Caliban seems confused by the Neapolitan wine within the 'bottle' (2.1.277) of Stephano; to Caliban, the wine seems 'celestial' (2.2.115), elevating Stephano to become a 'brave' and, yet, intoxicated 'god' (2.2.115) from a 'heaven' (2.2.134) elsewhere. The otherworld to which Caliban refers, however, seems back in Naples, lurking – too – beyond the shores of a vast and anarchic oceanic expanse.

*

I will return to the wider implications of Stephano's liquor, and what they have to say about the kind of magic in the drama, later in the chapter. But, for now, I want to explore further how cultural conceptions of otherness seep into the locales of the island in this play. I have spoken, already, about the unorthodox entry of Ariel onstage in 2.1. No strange incantation, repetitious

words, or strange metre brings Ariel onstage amongst the court party, either. Conversely, the sprite appears when Gonzalo argues with Stephano and Antonio in comic and vernacular prose:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Gonzalo.* | I do well believe your highness, and did it to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are such sensible and nimble lungs that they always use to laugh at nothing. |
| *Antonio.* | 'Twas you we laughed at. |
| *Gonzalo.* | Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you, so you may continue and laugh at nothing still. |
| *Antonio.* | What a blow was there given! |
| *Sebastian.* | An it had not fallen flat-long. |
| *Gonzalo.* | You are gentlemen of fine mettle. You would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing. |
| *Enter* ARIEL *playing solemn music.* | |
| *Sebastian.* | We would so and then go a bat-fowling. |
| *Antonio.* | Nay, good my lord, be not angry. |
| *Gonzalo.* | No, I warrant you, I will not adventure my discretion so weakly. Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy. |

(2.1.173-89)

The exchanges between Antonio, Sebastian, and Gonzalo seem far cries from an incantation. The metre, here, is chaotic, distinct from the metrically consistent – if strange-sounding – metre used to summon supernatural beings in other plays. Consider, also, the moment when Caliban discusses his plot with Trinculo and Stephano in 3.2:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Stephano.* | Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head. If you prove a mutineer -- the next tree! The poor monster's my subject, and he shall not suffer indignity. |
| *Caliban.* | I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleased to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee? |
| *Stephano.* | Marry, will I. Kneel and repeat it; I will stand, and so shall Trinculo. |
| *Enter* ARIEL, *invisible.* | |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Caliban.* | As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant, |
| | A sorcerer, that by his cunning hath |
| | Cheated me of this island. |
| *Ariel.* | [*in Trinculo's voice.*] |
| | Thou liest. |
| *Caliban.* | Thou liest, thou jesting monkey, thou. |
| | I would my valiant master destroy thee. |
| | I do not lie. |
| *Stephano.* | Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in's tale, by this hand, I will |
| | supplant some of your teeth. |

<div align="right">(3.2.33-47)</div>

No consistent rhythmic metre is evident in the first few lines of this exchange; the strong stresses on 'good' and 'tongue' in 'keep a good tongue' (33) stand side by side, together with the accents on 'not' and 'suff—' in 'he shall not suffer indignity' (35), form prose. The pause that follows '[m]arry', coupled with a longer break after 'will I', works to this effect as well, resembling an exchange of typical conversation.

Ariel also acts unexpectedly in the central plot of the play; a complex dialogic exchange breaks up any sense of magical chant when Prospero demands that Ferdinand must 'attend' him (1.2.454). Ferdinand, however, resists, and Prospero proceeds to immobilise him with a magical charm:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Prospero.* | Follow me. -- |
| | Speak not you for him; he's a traitor. – Come, |
| | I'll manacle thy neck and feet together; |
| | Sea water shalt thou drink; thy food shall be |
| | The fresh-brook muscles, withered roots, and husks |
| | Wherein the acorn cradled. Follow! |
| *Ferdinand.* | No, |
| | I will resist such entertainment till |
| | Mine enemy has more power. |

<div align="right">*He draws and is charmed from moving.*</div>

| | |
|---|---|
| *Miranda.* | Make not too rash a trial of him, for |
| | He's gentle and not fearful. |

> Prospero.                                    What, I say,
> My foot my tutor? Put thy sword up, traitor,
> Who mak'st a show but dar'st not strike, thy conscience
> Is so professed with guilt. Come from thy ward,
> For here I can disarm thee with this stick
> And make thy weapon drop.                           (1.2.460-74)

Different speakers tumble over one another, here, muddying any clear magical activity: Miranda attempts to speak in line 461, impeding any attempt to utter magical speech. Ferdinand, then, draws his sword in defiance, invoking consequences, as an unseen force 'charm[s] [Ferdinand] from moving' (467.SD). But no incantation from Prospero brings about this charm. Indeed, Ferdinand's spoken resistance shares Prospero's final line (465); the comma after '[n]o' in 456 invokes a pause, and Ferdinand seeks to 'resist such entertainment' in line 457. The '[n]o', then, stands apart metrically. Note, too, how the '[n]o' has a strong stress: it follows the weaker syllable '—low' in '[f]ollow' (455), as Ferdinand gives a particularly emphatic refusal. This '[n]o' is fast, angry, and defiant, emerging immediately after Prospero finishes speaking and wrestling the conversational floor from the sorcerer. Prospero, in other words, has little – if any – time to mutter a charm that restrains Ferdinand with magical forces before Ferdinand begins speaking in line 465. And it is far-fetched to think that Prospero demands Ferdinand to follow him offstage (465) *after* he immobilises Alonso's son. How can an individual ask another to move despite knowing that the recipient of such a command cannot do so?

Prospero's speech in 5.1 does, however, sound more like an incantation, and we should explore this speech in full:

> Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
> And ye that on the sands with printless foot
> Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
> When he comes back; you demi-puppets that
> By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,

Whereof the ewe not bites; and you whose pastime
Is to make midnight-mushrooms, that rejoice
To hear a solemn curfew, by whose aid --
Weak masters though ye be – I have bedimmed
The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
Set roaring war; to the dread-rattling thunder
Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: the strong-based promontory
Have I made shake, and by the spurs plucked up
The pine and cedar; graves at my command
Have waked their sleepers, ope'd and let 'em forth
By my so potent art. But this rough magic
I here abjure; and when I have required
Some heavenly music (which even now I do)
To work mine end upon their senses that
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book.          *Solemn music.*          (5.1.33-57)

Four forms of address appear in the first seven-and-a-half lines of this speech. This passage, argues Jonathan Bate, resembles Medea's spell in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (7.263-89), being a 'typical, if extremely skilfully managed, piece of Renaissance imitation'.[57] Medea's incantation also structures in ways the speech of the chief hag in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* and, in Thomas Middleton's *The Witch* (c. 1616), Hecate utters a Latin equivalent. She translates her Ovidian lines into English, too:

Can you doubt me then, daughter?
That can make mountains tremble, miles of wood walk,
Whole earth's foundation bellow, and the spirits
Of the entombed to burst out from their marbles,
Nay, draw yond moon to my involved designs?          (5.2.25-9)[58]

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[57] See Publius Ovidius Naso, *The XV books of Ovidius Naso extended entytuled Metamorphosis* trans. by A. Golding (London, 1567); Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 251.
[58] See Thomas Middleton, *The Witch,* ed. by E. Schafer, New Mermaids (London: A & C Black, 1990).

This speech, as Bate observes, seemed 'witchcraft's great set-piece', figuring in Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* (c. 1531-3), Jean Bodin's *De la démonomanie des sorciers* (c. 1580), and Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (c. 1584).[59]

It is worth considering, though, how elements of Prospero's island landscape seep into the language of the Ovidian speech in *The Tempest*. The 'brooks, standing lakes, and groves' (33), for instance, may resemble the 'best springs' (2.2.157) that Caliban promises to acquire for Stephano in the comic plot of the play, and those that go with the 'printless foot' to 'chase the ebbing Neptune' (33-5) recall the coastal regions of an island landscape; the 'ebbing Neptune' refers to waves of the sea, while the 'sands' (34) allude to the seashore. This coastal setting, which appears in Prospero's Ovidian verse, envelops the supernatural as well, since those 'demi-puppets' that 'by moonshine do the green sour ringlets make' (37), coupled with those 'whose pastime is to make magic mushrooms' (38-9) reside within this space. And an oceanic space, coupled with the chaotic weather that takes place within it, lurks close by when Prospero claims to have 'bedimmed the noontide sun', 'called forth the mutinous winds', and ''twixt the green sea and the azured vault set roaring war' (41-4). The play thus brings us back to the tempestuous weather that one encounters at sea, as Prospero invokes 'dread-rattling thunder', recalling the 'tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning' that the court party experience in their vessel in the opening moments of the play (1.1.1.SD). The chaotic, inscrutable, and unpredictable weather within oceanic spaces thus power witchcraft's 'great set-piece', by which I mean Prospero's Ovidian verse, tethering his practice to those spaces in which Prospero resides.

The latter part of this speech sheds further light on how Prospero uses his magic. Indeed, the 'heavenly music' (52) that he calls for near its end sounds after he vows to destroy the items

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[59] See Bate (1993), p. 252.

that facilitate his control over supernatural forces: the charm, curiously, works on inverted terms, since his successful practice of magic now relies on his promise to 'break [his] staff' and 'drown [his] book' (57). The unconditional characteristics of magical practice, whereby the magician has complete control over the preternatural forces that they employ, do not seem to apply in these moments, since the music responds to Prospero's promise of future powerlessness. A set of contracts and negotiations, rather than items with magical power, construct this particular charm, and the contractual theme that otherwise emerges when Prospero converses with Ariel in 1.2 – which I spoke about earlier in this chapter – appears again in the final moments of the play.

A different type of magic, then, appears in the drama. It differs from those explicit, magical incantations that appear in other plays: the jarring, trochaic verse lines within *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Macbeth*, and *The Masque of Queens* are not evident, as *The Tempest* muddies the distinction between conventional verse lines, prose, and otherworldly speech, ambiguating magical incantation from vernacular dialogical exchange. Harmony does not charge these speeches, either. A worldliness emerges in the incantation instead, and those strange, hidden, and hellish spaces inaccessible to characters in some plays no longer discharge the forces that answer such ceremonies.

*The Tempest*, in some respects, echoes my prior discussions about, among other plays, *Macbeth* in these moments, since such chaotic territories recollect those unpredictable and ambiguous regions that lurk beyond the city walls. In Shakespeare's earlier tragedy, which I explored in chapter 1, these spaces lie untethered from familiar space, and the creatures who reside within them seem removed from the world of the play; the weird sisters' bodies squirm free from the grasp of Banquo's categorisation (1.3.46), and the spectre of Banquo may depart offstage to a purgatorial landscape that lies *within* those uncharted wilderness beyond

the walls of Macbeth's abode (4.1.123.SD). Such spaces, I argue, take shape in *The Tempest*. Indeed, Caliban echoes – physically – the weird sisters: two distinct creatures, Trinculo interprets initially, form Caliban's body. The fins of the fish and the legs of the man thus settle troublingly alongside one another, as the jester encounters a character who resists the rules of his world. And Ariel, we shall see in what follows, seems to reside within this mysterious locale, as his 'groans' from within the 'rift' of a cloven pine (1.2.77) draw the sorcerer to release the sprite from his prison.

### 3.0. *'Burn but his books': The Satire on Occultic Tracts in* **The Tempest**

We should thus remind ourselves about the nature of the space in which this play's characters stand; those chaotic climes that lurk beyond the shoreline diffuse their otherness into those creatures who reside in the island landscape. No obvious incantation bridges quotidian space with a magical locale, either. Mere encounter seems to do the trick, here, and 'otherworldly' entities co-exist alongside those vernacular characters who venture into these chaotic environments. What, then, enforces Prospero's control over the play's 'otherworldly' characters? Caliban may answer this question. He, to return to the speech in the opening moments of this chapter, urges Stephano to 'possess' Prospero's 'books' (3.2.92). Without these items, he claims, Prospero 'hath not one spirit to command' (3.3.94). To Caliban, these books summon and enforce control over the play's otherworldly characters, recalling the familiar reputation of written texts and their links with magical practice. He recalls, for example, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* – a collection of volumes that offered the 'practice of natural magic' and 'ceremonial magic communication' to obtain 'celestial wisdom'.[60] Within the theatre world, the works to which Caliban refers resemble Faustus's 'damnèd book' (1.1.172), which makes spirits 'fetch [Faustus] what [he] please[s]'

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[60] See Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 48.

(1.1.81), recalling, too, the function of the magic volumes that accompany Friar Bacon onstage in the hands of Bacon's student, Miles, in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.

Prospero's books echo a wider cultural understanding – within and beyond the playhouse walls – about the role of the written tract in early modern learned magic. These texts – and their significance in magical practice – have been extensively analysed in prior scholarship; the translation of Hermes Trismegistus's *Corpus hermetica*, argues Frances Yates, drove forward the European Renaissance, introducing a line of thinking that went beyond humanistic schools of thought.[61] Later scholarship has, however, critiqued Yates' thesis: early patristic theology, Charles Trinkaus argues, greatly influenced Italian philosophy, and Brian Vickers saw 'nothing new about the use of talismans and magic in correlative thinking'. These practices, Vickers argues, 'can be traced back to Greek sources and earlier'.[62]

Yates' hypothesis is simplistic, and classical and pre-classical practices seem to squirm free from her research scope. Her notion that hermetic thinking powered developments in scientific thinking is problematic, too; hermeticism used fragrances, herbs, and stones to invoke spiritual beings, standing apart from the materialism and empiricism of modern science.[63] Late-medieval Christian interpretation, which dominated society at the time, did not make room easily for those other customs and traditions that figured in occultic texts, either, and their ideas may not have disseminated beyond the small intellectual circles of the time. We can recall, here, Thomas Allen's 'devilish' watch, which I spoke about earlier in this chapter. This sophisticated object merely told the time. But those porters who brought Allen's luggage into

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[61] See Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic & The Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition & Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 2.

[62] See Charles Trinkaus, *'In Our Image and Likeness': Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Brian Vickers, 'Introduction', in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance,* ed. by B. Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 1-55 (p. 6).

[63] See Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 3.

Holme Lacy were unfamiliar with such objects, and the watch became a manifestation of the diabolical in turn, meeting its demise in the moat that ran about the dwelling's walls.[64]

All scholars agree, however, on the importance of texts to Renaissance esotericism and ritual magic. Unfamiliar cultures, which resisted Christian thinking, emerge in these newly-discovered and unfamiliar texts. The *Corpus*, for instance, appeared in Macedonia in the mid-fifteenth century, and a continuous process of evolution that began in classical Egypt shaped its early modern textual form. Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine ideas seeped into this text, and Marsilio Ficino evolved the text further when he translated it in the 1460s.[65] This Greek and Egyptian 'religious speculation' in the tract was a complicated obstacle in Ficino's effort to group these traditions within Christian thought. Brian P. Copenhaver brings this process into greater focus:

> Byzantine editors and copyists, then, may have immortalized their prejudices by selecting and redacting our *Corpus* from a larger body of *Hermetica* that certainly gave much attention to the occultism that is so inconspicuous in the theoretical treatises, especially the first fourteen. When Marsilio Ficino produced the first Latin translation of the *Corpus* in 1463, he worked from a Greek manuscript that ends at *C.H.* XIV, and the new print technology amplified the influence of this truncated version after 1471, when his new translation first appeared in print. Although other *logoi* were added to Latin translations and Greek editions in the sixteenth century, the widely read Basel edition of Ficino's works printed in 1576 still stopped with *C.H.* XVI, followed by the *Asclepius*. Ficino gave his fourteen treatises the collective title *Pimander*, the name still used in Parthey's *Poemander* of 1584, another edition of the first fourteen treatises only. The long segregation of these most un-magical parts of the *Corpus* from other *Hermetica* helped obscure the evidence of their original setting in late antiquity, and the effects of this separation on the post-medieval reception of the Hermetic tradition were also momentous. For Christian readers of the Latin West and Greek East alike, a *Corpus* purged of magic would better befit the authorship of the pagan sage described in the *Suda* around the year 1000: 'Hermes Trismegistus . . . was an Egyptian wise man who flourished before Pharaoh's time. He was called Trismegistus on account of his praise of the trinity, saying that there is one divine nature in the trinity'.[66]

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[64] See Trevor-Roper (1940), p. 62.
[65] See Brian P. Copenhaver, 'Introduction', in *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermetica and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation*, ed. by B.P. Copenhaver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. xiii-lxi (p. xvi; p. xxiv).
[66] See Copenhaver (1992), p. xli.

This text, then, attracted 'pious loathing' from Byzantine scholars. And, in Ficino's translation, the stress on Trismegistus's praise about the trinity reveals the translator's efforts to modify a text otherwise hostile to Catholic theology. This disapproval comes across elsewhere; ideas that sat uneasily with Christian understanding disappeared, creating a '*Corpus* purged of magic', as editors sought to bring the contents of the text into line with Christian theology.[67]

Kabbalistic texts underwent a similar process to their hermetic counterparts: Count Pico della Mirandola's fifteenth-century translation of the Hebrew *kabbalah* added Abrahamic mysticism to Pythagorean science and philosophy, and a 'uniquely Jewish religious tradition' became integrated 'with Christian theology, philosophy, science, and magic'.[68] The Spanish expulsion of the Jews from Iberia in 1492 exacerbated this process, bringing prominent kabbalistic thinkers – such as Isaac Abarbanel and Judah Hayyat – to Italy's philosophical schools. The writings of these scholars reflected the fluid qualities of Italy's intellectual environment. Abarbanel's writings, for instance, showcased the 'usage of Italian Renaissance Neoplatonic elements for Jewish exegetical purposes', while Hayyat's ideas about metempsychosis emphasised Italy's 'more philosophical kabbalah' in spite of the fact that Hayyat was a 'self-avowed kabbalist' who 'rejected philosophical interpretations of kabbalistic lore'.[69]

In their original textual form, then, both of these texts belong to a body of literature that escaped the parameters of Christian thinking. Those who read such writings met stiff resistance. Giordano Bruno, for instance, fled Naples in 1576, when the discovery of tracts by Desiderius

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[67] See Copenhaver (1992), p. xli.
[68] See Joseph Dan, *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 61.
[69] See Brian Ogren, *Renaissance and Rebirth in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2009), p. 4.

Erasmus within his privy led to vehement accusations of heterodoxy against him.[70] Bruno's further trial and execution reflect, too, the pressure levelled against those who read controversial texts; the consequences were severe, and prosecutors burnt Bruno at the stake at the Campo di Fiori, Rome, in 1600.[71] In 1616, also, Galileo Galilei met inquisition and condemnation after supporting Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (c. 1543); his defence of heliocentrism, prosecutors argued, contradicted the 'obvious meaning of scripture', and they placed his work in the Index to 'await correction'. These texts went alongside those tracts written by Augustinian Diego da Zuñica and Carmelite Antonio Foscarini, two more scholars who produced works that supported Copernican theory.[72] Kabbalistic thinkers became the subject of criticism, too; Jean Cantilet – a Franciscan prior – attacked Agrippa for 'Judaizing heresy' at Dôle, Burgundy, in 1510, and Paracelsus – a Swiss scholar whose experiments in medicine, astrology, and alchemy generated a considerable following – became an individual who dealt with demons.[73] The theorems within these texts escaped Christian teachings, too, meeting antipathy as a result, and the mathematics that appeared in newly-discovered Syrian and Egyptian astrological treatises gained an 'unsavoury reputation'.[74] Leading occultists, such as Agrippa, saw such practices to 'draw new powers' from agents in the celestial realm. Pico sensed the danger, here. These theorems, he argued, were particularly important in discussions about miraculous agency, since astrological practice

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[70] See Lawrence S. Learner and Edward A. Gosselin, 'Giordano Bruno', *Scientific American* 228, no. 4 (1973), pp. 86-95 (p. 86).

[71] See Eugenio Canone, 'Giordano Bruno (1548-1600): Clarifying the Shadows of Ideas', in *The Philosophers of the Renaissance,* ed. by R. Blum and B. McNeil (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010), pp. 219-35 (p. 235).

[72] See John L. Heilbron, *Galileo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 121-3; Pietro Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic*, trans. by R. Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 12-3. Also see Rachel Hilliam, *Galileo: The Father of Modern Science* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2005).

[73] See Michaela Valente, 'Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius', in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism,* ed. by R. van den Broek and W.J. Hanegraaff (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 4-8 (p. 4); Allen G. Debus, *The English Paraclesians* (London: Franklin Watts, 1965).

[74] See Nicholas Popper, '"Abraham: Planter of Mathematics": Histories of Mathematics and Astrology in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 1 (2006), pp. 87-106 (p. 89).

relied on a 'legitimate, natural magic' that had been 'corrupted, lost, or enclosed' within the Jewish *kabbalah*.[75]

This contentious reputation of these unfamiliar, occultic texts and their practitioners recurs in a post-Reformation setting, when Joseph Glanvill – a defender of latitudinarian Anglicanism – disputed the practices of John Webster – a 'radical Protestant, chemical physician, and visionary Baconian' – in the 1670s.[76] He reflected an established disapproval against those whom the texts of Trismegistus, Paracelsus, Raymond Lull, and Agrippa enthused. Meric Casaubon, too, had reservations about John Dee – a celebrated court magician to Elizabeth I, and he prefaced Dee's diary by arguing that Dee was 'deluded by the same "Divel" that had inspired Trithemius [Trismegistus] and Paracelsus'. There was, then, an 'intense struggle between those who maintained the continuing validity of traditional sources of knowledge' against those who proclaimed that 'inherited beliefs must be tested and, if necessary, rejected' in early modern England.[77] Controversial ideas thus appeared within these texts, informing the 'books' (3.2.92) that Prospero possesses to work his magic.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

This acrimony against occultism diffuses into English drama in a different form: several theatrical works trivialised occultic instruments, and playwrights sought to lampoon the significance of such technologies along with those who possessed them. An astronomer thus descends 'backwarde . . . into a pond' (5.1.18) in John Lyly's *Gallathea* (c. 1592), and an alchemist 'keeps good fires' but 'gets no gold' (5.3.3-4), as farce flavours the occultic practices in this drama.[78] In *Doctor Faustus*, Mephistopheles also scorns those invocations within Faustus's magical text. He sees an abjuration of 'all godliness' and devout prayer to the 'prince

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[75] See Tomlinson (1993), pp. 45-6; Popper (2006), pp 90-1.
[76] See Thomas H. Jobe, 'The Devil in Restoration Science: The Glanvill-Webster Debate', *Isis* 72, no. 263 (1981), pp. 343-56 (p. 344; p. 346).
[77] See Jobe (1981), p. 346; Mebane (1992), p. 6.
[78] See John Lyly, 'Gallathea', in *The Complete Works of John Lyly,* ed. by R.W. Bond 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 2 pp. 418-85.

of hell' as the 'shortest cut' of conjuration (1.3.49-51): blasphemy replaces and, indeed, supersedes an incantation from Faustus's occultic text, since these volumes do not necessarily instigate a journey from an infernal space elsewhere.

I would like to consider Marlowe's play for a little longer, since one of its passages entwines Mephistopheles' hell into the world of the play, implicitly denying the necessity of occult practice as a means to access regions that lie outside the quotidian world:

| *Faustus.* | Where are you damned? |
|---|---|
| *Mephistopheles*. | In hell. |
| *Faustus.* | How comes it then that you are out of hell? |
| *Mephistopheles.* | Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it. |
| | Think'st thou that I, who saw the face of God |
| | And tasted the joys of eternal heaven, |
| | Am not tormented with ten thousand hells |
| | In being deprived of eternal bliss?            (1.3.74-81) |

Hell seems to envelop an everyday space, here. The 'eternal joys of heaven' (79) do not take place within this area, as Mephistopheles recalls the experience of Satan and his followers, expelled from paradise; we may recall what I said in chapter 1, since Mephistopheles is cast out of this paradise in ways that resemble how Satan 'synke[s]' into a 'hell pitte' (348) in the Saddlers' production of the Harrowing of Hell.[79] Marlowe's devil also parallels the sentiments of the banished Romeo and Valentine in, respectively, *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1597) and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c. 1589-93); paradise recalls Verona and Milan, and the study – which lurks beyond the parameters of paradise – becomes a hellish territory. Summoning Mephistopheles, then, does not require an occultic incantation: there is no need to flit across

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[79] See 'XXXIII: The Saddlers, The Harrowing of Hell', in *The York Mystery Plays,* ed. by R. Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), pp. 333-43.

the borders of one world to another, since Faustus seems – already – to stand within the play's hell.

In 1.2 of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Greene also undermines subtly Bacon's Latin incantation:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bacon.* | Masters, stand still: fear not, I'll show you but his book. |
| | *Here he conjures.* |
| | *Per omnes deos infernales Belchephon.* |
| | *Enter* a woman *with a shoulder of mutton on a spit, and a devil.* |
| *Miles.* | O master, cease your conjuration, or you spoil all, for here's a she-devil with a shoulder of mutton on a spit. You have marr'd the devil's supper; but no doubt he thinks our college fare is slender, and so hath sent you his cook with a shoulder of mutton to make it exceed. |
| *Hostess.* | Oh, where am I, or what's become of me? |
| *Bacon.* | What art thou? |
| *Hostess.* | Hostess of Henley, mistress of the Bell. |
| *Bacon.* | How camest thou here? |
| *Hostess.* | As I was in the kitchen 'mongst the maids, Spitting the meat against supper for my guests, A motion moved me to look forth the door. No sooner had I pried into the yard, But a straight whirlwind hoisted me from thence, And mounted me aloft unto the clouds. As in a trance, I thought nor feared naught, Nor know I where or whither I was ta'en, Nor where I am, nor what these persons be. (1.2.115-34) |

A 'devil' (116.SD) does emerge onstage, here. But Bacon's elaborate incantation does not bring about its entrance. Indeed, Miles requests his master to 'cease [his] conjuration' (117): the imperative word 'cease' suggests that Bacon has not concluded the ritual when Miles speaks, implying instead that this devil – who escorts the 'mistress of the Bell' (124), the hostess of a tavern at Henley, onstage – *interrupts* the ritual. The manifestation of a diabolical

force also escapes the notice of those who stand onstage in these moments, since Miles refers instead to the 'she-devil with a shoulder of mutton on a spit' (118-9) as the signifier of diabolical agency. The devil, then, lurks outside the remits of these characters' conversation, and those who marvel at the sight onstage map diabolism onto those workers within the kitchen of the tavern.

This critique of occult activities surfaces also in Jonson's *The Alchemist* (c. 1610). The secret activities of a prostitute power the 'magic' on show when Doll speaks 'through the trunk, like one of [Subtle's] familiars' (1.4.5); manifestations of magical forces, again, flit free from the staged practice of magic, and humans replace their supernatural counterparts as diabolical entities that respond to the elaborate rituals which subjugate allegedly entities from a dominion outside the remits of a quotidian world.[80]

In *The Tempest*, similarly, the power of the occult books is intriguingly qualified. A 'providence divine' (1.2.159), rather than Prospero's book-derived agency, seems responsible for an escape from a tempestuous ocean, and divine intervention and the charity of a fellow mortal seem to replace conventional forms of occultism as Prospero recollects how he and his daughter emerged unscathed:

> Some food we had, and some fresh water that
> A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
> Out of his charity – who, then being appointed
> Master of his design – did give us, with
> Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries,
> Which since have steaded much.                    (1.2.160-5)

Crucially, Gonzalo also supplied Prospero with reading matter:

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80 See Ben Jonson, 'The Alchemist', in *Ben Jonson: The Alchemist and Other Plays,* ed. by G. Campbell, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 211-328.

> Knowing I loved my books, he furnished me
> From my own library with volumes that
> I prize above my dukedom.                    (1.2.166-8)

These texts, Caliban claims in 3.2, govern the spirits that Prospero commands. The 'book' (5.1.57) and the staff also exercise the 'rough magic' (5.1.50-1) that Prospero then abjures at the play's end. But the play echoes earlier treatments of these objects in theatrical traditions. These texts are inconsistent sources of power. Prospero relies also on providential power; the occultic function of the volume, which invokes – allegedly – forces that can manipulate elements of his world, is not evident during his sea voyage. Prospero tells Miranda about how they came ashore:

> Well demanded, wench:
> My tale provokes that question. Dear, they durst not,
> So dear the love my people bore me, nor set
> A mark so bloody on the business, but
> With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
> In few, they hurried us aboard a bark,
> Bore us some leagues to sea, where they prepared
> A rotten carcass of a butt, not rigged,
> Nor tackle, sail, nor mast – the very rats
> Instinctively have quit it. There they hoist us
> To cry to th' sea that roared to us, to sigh
> To th' winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
> Did us but loving wrong.                    (1.2.139-51)

That anarchic and tempestuous sea, which figures also in *The Winter's Tale* and in the opening moments of *The Tempest*, is on show again, here; sailors leave Prospero and his daughter in a rotten and unwieldly vessel (146) to 'cry th' sea that roared to us' (149) and 'sigh to th' winds' that 'did [Prospero and Miranda] but loving wrong' (149-51). Prospero cannot control the natural elements that endanger him and his daughter, leaving him with no choice but to beg for the 'pity' (150) of the storm. He conveys the wider distresses and dangers of early modern

voyages across oceanic expanses, which – to recall Anthony Nixon's comments earlier in this chapter – tempted the 'mercie of God in so strange and unhearde-of manner of boldnesse'.[81] Prospero, in other words, seems unable to use his magical power. He cannot control the 'mutinous winds' (5.1.42) as he battles his bark ashore, turning to prayer instead, and thus sharing the distress of an unfortunate traveller who begs for mercy in an unfamiliar, mysterious, and dangerous oceanic climate.

This powerlessness is also evident when Prospero tells Miranda about how Antonio made him flee Milan: Antonio opens the gates of the city to the Neapolitans, wresting control of the dukedom. This situation, Prospero recollects, was particularly lugubrious:

<div style="text-align:center">

Now the condition.
This King of Naples, being an enemy
To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit,
Which was that he, in lieu o'th' premises
Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,
Should presently extirpate me and mine
Out of the dukedom and confer fair Milan,
With all the honours, on my brother. Whereon --
A treacherous army levied – one midnight
Fated to th' purpose did Antonio open
The gates of Milan and i'th' dead of darkness
The ministers for th' purpose hurried thence
Me and thy crying self.                           (1.2.120-32)

</div>

Subterfuge appears in the comic subplot of the play as well, when Caliban plots with Stephano and Trinculo to murder a sleeping Prospero within his cell. Here, a magical companion thwarts the plot, since Ariel encounters this play's comic characters unseen, promising to 'tell my master' about their activities (3.2.115). But no spirit seems to suppress Antonio's coup; this magician is 'hurried' (131) from the city against his will, and his sense of power and security trembles and breaks, meeting the covert conspiracy of a treacherous brother.

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[81] See Parr (2015), p. 1.

These volumes rest both on the bookshelves of Prospero's library and within the vessel that Prospero brings ashore. Yet, while magical forces quash the insurrection against the sorcerer on the island, no magical forces aid Prospero prior to his landfall. If these books are powerless, then where and how does Prospero acquire the allegiance of his servant? His heated conversation with Ariel in 1.2 may answer this question, as Prospero suppresses the rebelliousness of the spirit he commands:

> *Prospero.*                                    Thou best knowst
> What torment I did find thee in: thy groans
> Did make wolves howl and penetrate the breasts
> Of ever-angry bears. It was a torment
> To lay upon the damned, which Sycorax
> Could not again undo. It was mine art,
> When I arrived and heard thee, that made gape
> The pine and let thee out.
>
> *Ariel.*                                    I thank thee, master.
>
> *Prospero.*    If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
> And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
> Thou hast howled away twelve winters.                    (1.2. 286-97)

Prospero thus encounters Ariel in perpetual 'torment'; the spirit, whose 'groans . . . make wolves howl and penetrate the breasts / Of ever-angry bears' (286-8), may recall those 'death gods [who] groan' in Seneca's *Thyestes*, which I spoke about in chapter 1.[82] Ariel's incarceration seems oddly hellish, too, as ropes 'peg' him within the 'knotty entrails' (296) of the pine. These bonds recollect the punishments within Tartarus in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1588) and Tamora's 'hellish tale' (2.2.105) in *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1594): as we saw in chapter 1,  ropes, which take the shape of 'ugly snakes' (1.1.68), restrain 'wantons' (1.1.68) in Kyd's classical hell, while cords 'bind [Tamora] here . . . / Unto the body of a dismal yew'

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[82] See Curtis Perry, 'Senecan Belatedness in *Titus Andronicus*', in *Titus Andronicus: A Critical Reader,* ed. by F. Karim-Cooper (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 15-36 (p. 23).

(2.1.106-7) in Shakespeare's later play.[83] The island, then, acquires a chaos that resembles those anarchic locations beyond the walls; Ariel stands incarcerated within a hell of his own, experiencing a 'torment / To lay upon the damned' (289-90), as hellish imagery seeps into the island's landscape.

This encounter seems particularly unusual, since Prospero 'find[s]' Ariel in his torment. The screams of the spirit thus echo from his hellish place of imprisonment: Ariel, Prospero recollects, is 'heard' (93), and the kind of magic at play seems curiously inverted when the terrible cries of the spirit bring Prospero to Ariel. Indeed, Ariel seems to summon Prospero; like Mephistopheles in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Prospero 'hear[s]' (1.3.47) some kind of 'conjuring speeches' (1.3.45), emerging from his vessel to free his future companion from an unpleasant prison. Like Dog, the devilish figure who flits in and out of the subplots in Dekker, Ford, and Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton*, Prospero detects the '[c]urses and blasphemies' (5.1.141) of another. But, in *The Tempest*, the vocal cries of an incarcerated, supernatural being conjure a *vernacular* counterpart; an unstable and chaotic clime hosts Ariel's hell, and the sorcerer travels into this liminal space to liberate him from the particularly unforgiving and hellish kind of punishment within it.

### 4.0. 'These be Brave Spirits Indeed': Playing God, Liquor, and Clothing

An inverted kind of invocation, then, constructs the form of magical union in this play, since Prospero answers Ariel's cries for help from within his prison. I shall return to the implications of this unusual relationship later. But, for now, I wish to explore the fact that Prospero does not speak from the prized volumes stored within his 'library' (1.2.167). This fact can help frame questions about Prospero's books and his form of power more generally: why does the

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[83] See Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. by C. Calvo and J. Tronch, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus: Revised Edition,* ed. by J. Bate, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

supernatural power, which we see manifest when Ariel alerts Prospero to the machinations of Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano, not similarly prevent the original treachery of Antonio? The way in which Shakespeare frames the *fabula* of *The Tempest* seems designed to cause us to ask this question. Prospero's relationship with the sea also elicits further queries: he is, as we have seen, powerless when cast adrift after he is banished from Milan. The tracts, which are part of Prospero's cargo, are powerless against the storm in these moments. But he then brings about, with Ariel's aid, a 'tempest' (1.2.194) in 1.1, establishing a familiar hierarchy of the magus over the elements. In short, before he reaches the island, the sorcerer does not seem greater than one of the play's vernacular characters or, for that matter, one of those unfortunate sailors on the *Sea Venture*. The books that lie within his vessel, in other words, do not appear to hold magical power. They seem mundane objects in this oceanic landscape; the desperate cries of Ariel, who awaits Prospero within his prison on the island, replace those invocations found within the tract, bringing these two characters together into a tempestuous allegiance.

What, then, does Caliban mean when he refers to Prospero's 'books' (3.2.89)? The way in which Caliban swears his loyalty to Stephano in 2.2 may help us answer this question (2.2.139). It is worth exploring the exchange between these characters in greater detail:

| *Caliban*. | Thou dost me yet but little hurt. Thou wilt anon, I know it by thy trembling. Now Prosper works upon thee. |
|---|---|
| *Stephano.* | Come on your ways; open your mouth. Here is that which will give language to you, cat. Open your mouth! This will shake your shaking, I can tell you, and that soundly. [*Pours into Caliban's mouth*]. You cannot tell who's your friend. Open your chaps again. |

(2.2.81-5)

The liquor within this bottle rejuvenates Caliban from his terrified disposition, since the alcohol gives Caliban 'language' (82), preventing his continued 'shaking' (83). Caliban, then, partakes in the bawdy behaviours of the early modern alehouse, since the 'drunken butler' (5.1.277)

seems no more than a patron who offers his fellow a drink. This liquor functions in a way that one would expect. It loosens Caliban's tongue and re-establishes his sense of confidence. But Caliban gives the liquor a new meaning when he recovers his sense of speech:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Caliban.* | These be fine things, an they be not sprites;<br>That's [Stephano] a brave god and bears celestial liquor.<br>I will kneel to him. |
| *Stephano.* | How did thou scape? How cam'st thou hither? Swear by this bottle how thou cam'st hither. I escaped upon the butt of a sack, which the sailors heaved o'erboard – by this bottle, which I made of the bark of a tree with mine own hands since I was cast ashore. |
| *Caliban.* | I'll swear upon that bottle to be thy true subject, for the liquor is not earthly. |

<div align="right">(2.2.114-23)</div>

A chaotic oceanic expanse beyond the shores of the island, again, encloses an otherworldly space when Caliban considers two characters – coupled with their 'celestial liquor' (115) – as entities that escape the parameters of his world. Both Stephano and Trinculo thus resist Caliban's conceptions of worldliness. And it is striking to see how this theme develops when Caliban continues to worship his friends:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Caliban.* | Hast thou not dropped from heaven? |
| *Stephano.* | Out o'th' moon, I do assure thee. I was the man i'th' moon when time was. |
| *Caliban.* | I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee! My mistress showed me thee, and thy dog and thy bush. |
| *Stephano.* | Come, swear to that. Kiss the book. I will furnish it anon with new contents. Swear! |
| [*Caliban drinks*.] | |
| *Trinculo.* | By this good light, this is a very shallow monster. I afeared of him? A very weak monster. The man i'th' moon? A most poor credulous monster! Well drawn, monster, in good sooth. |
| *Caliban.* | I'll show thee every fertile inch o'th' island,<br>And I will kiss thy foot. I prithee, be my god. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Trinculo.* | By this light, a most perfidious and drunken monster; when god's asleep, he'll rob his bottle. |
| *Caliban.* | I'll kiss thy foot. I'll swear thyself thy subject. |
| *Trinculo.* | I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster. A most scurvy monster. I could find it in my heart to beat him – |
| *Stephano.* | Come, kiss. |
| *Trinculo.* | But the poor monster's in drink. An abominable monster! |
| *Caliban.* | I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries; I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough. A plague upon the tyrant that I serve! I'll bear him no more sticks but follow thee, Thou wondrous man. |
| *Trinculo.* | A most ridiculous monster – to make a wonder of a poor drunkard! |
| *Caliban.* | I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow, And I with my long nails will dig thee pignuts, Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how To snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee Young scamels from the rock. Wilt thou go with me?          (2.2.135-70) |

The carrier of the liquor, like the liquor itself, escapes the parameters of the islander's world. Stephano plays on this theme. He has fallen, he claims to Caliban, 'out o'th' moon' (136); a celestial space replaces Naples as the residence of the butler, and a folkloric tale, whereby the moon incarcerates a man who collected wood on the Sabbath, informs Stephano's reply, amazing the islander.[84] Caliban, then, offers to 'kiss [Stephano's] foot' (147). He exacerbates the butler's alleged otherworldliness, seeing Stephano as a 'wondrous man' (162) and beseeching the Neapolitan to 'be [his] god' (147). He is particularly sincere, here, and an iambic pentameter constructs his offer to 'show [Stephano] every fertile inch o'th' island' (146) and 'show [him] the best springs' (158). This prosodic style oozes formality and respect, standing separate from the metrically uneven and comic prose of Stephano and Trinculo.

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[84] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 237.

Note, too, how Caliban's offer resembles how he received Prospero twelve years before:

> I must eat my dinner.
> This island's mine by Sycorax, my mother,
> Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first
> Thou strok'st me and made much of me; wouldst give me
> Water with berries in't, and teach me how
> To name the bigger light and how the less
> That burn by day and night. And then I loved thee
> And showed thee all the qualities o'th' isle:
> The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile.     (1.2.331-39)

A contractual theme resonates in both sets of dialogue; the 'celestial liquor' (2.2.115) within Stephano's sack of wine resembles the '[w]ater with berries' (335), which Prospero offers to Caliban in return for those 'fresh springs' and 'brine pits' (339) that allow him to survive in an unfamiliar landscape. Both Prospero and Stephano, then, offer Caliban wine, acquiring the allegiance of a companion who resists the rules of a quotidian world in similar ways. This pact, which binds Caliban to both Prospero and Stephano, does not seem so hard to obtain after all.

The point I would like to linger on, however, revolves around what Stephano calls his liquor, and how Caliban responds.

> Come, swear to that. Kiss the book. I will furnish it anon with new contents. Swear!

[*Caliban drinks*.]

> (2.2.139-40.SD)

This liquor is not a 'book'; But Caliban does not balk; the 'book' covers items that are, in fact, nothing like it, as Caliban takes a swig from the bottle without complaint. Caliban's later comments about Prospero's 'books' (3.2.89), which opened this chapter, are thus fraught with possibility. Here is the speech again:

<div style="text-align: center">

Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
I'th' afternoon to sleep. There thou mayst brain him,
Having first seized his books, or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember,
First to possess his books, for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command. They all do hate him
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books.
He has brave utensils (for so he calls them)
Which, when he has a house, he'll deck withal.          (3.2.87-97)

</div>

The playgoer may recollect Rafe and Robin, who try unsuccessfully to summon spirits from magical books in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. This attempt brings onstage an irritated Mephistopheles, who transforms both comic characters into an 'ape' and a 'dog' (3.2.40, 2); the two comic characters in *The Tempest*, the spectator may believe, cannot necessarily partake in a sophisticated ritual that breaks through the boundaries of one world and into another. And Caliban may have a similar disposition. Note, for instance, how the words 'seized' (89) and 'possess' (92) take the place of verbs more suited to the practice of learned magic. The *ownership* of the texts from Prospero's library underpins these two words; to Caliban, the practice of magic does not hinge necessarily on an acute knowledge and awareness of those mysterious algorithms within unfamiliar tracts. Rather, the magical allegiances in this play rely on the mere *possession* of such items.

<div style="text-align: center">*</div>

The term 'book', then, envelops both the liquor and the texts that Prospero brings ashore in his vessel. Again, those spaces that lie beyond tempestuous oceanic spaces seem to source such items; a library within Milan sources Prospero's occultic texts, and an alehouse within Naples provides the 'celestial liquor' that Stephano carries in his bottle (2.2.115). The wider ambiguities of an 'other' space within and beyond a vengeful ocean diffuse into both of these items, since those who reside within this locale cannot produce such commodities for

themselves. The play, then, underlines the power of these objects over those who settle within the island's landscape.

The otherness of those territories that lurk beyond the shoreline appear, too, when the court party from Naples set foot ashore. The Neapolitan ceremonial dress, which the court party adorn when Alonso's daughter marries Claribel, the King of Tunis, is particularly significant, re-acquiring mysteriously its splendour in 2.1:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Gonzalo.* | That our garments being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold nonwithstanding their freshness and gloss, being rather new-dyed than stained with salt water. |
| *Antonio.* | If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say he lies? |
| *Sebastian.* | Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report. |
| *Gonzalo.* | Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Africa, at the marriage of the King's fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis. |

(2.1.63-72)

These robes are 'new-dyed' (64), and their 'freshness and gloss' (65) restore the sense of dignity otherwise lost after an immersion in the salty water of the sea, and the court party regain their sense of resplendence and impressiveness in turn.

This restored sense of grandeur elevates the status of the court party in the next act of the play: now adorned in their finery, they receive 'several strange shapes' (3.3.18.SD) who bring a table loaded with food. This set table, which we might imagine settling comfortably in the centre of the stage, may recall Titus's tribute to Saturninus and Tamora in *Titus Andronicus*: to Tamora and Saturninus, Titus seeks to entertain 'your highness and your empress' (5.3.32), and his banquet, which servants bring in as trumpets sound, pays homage to the guests who sit and eat (5.3.25.SD). A banquet features, too, in *Timon of Athens* (c. 1606); 'more welcome are

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[Timon's guests] to [his] fortunes / Than [his] fortunes to [him]' (1.2.19-20), Timon claims, as they sit down to consume the food on show.[85] Macbeth also 'drink[s] to the general joy of the whole table': '[t]o all, and [Banquo] we thirst / And all to all' (3.4.87-90) is an elaborate toast, and the host of the feast places themselves beneath those of their guests, partaking laboriously in activities that elevate their fellow diners to new levels of status.

We should remember that the banquets in these plays are ominous portents of what is to come: Chiron and Demetrius, Titus later reveals in *Titus Andronicus*, are 'both baked in this pie' (5.3.59), conveying the nauseous truth that Tamora 'daintily hath fed' from the flesh of her two sons (5.3.60). The banquet in *Timon of Athens* obscures, too, the sinister undertones that lurk beneath it. To Flavius, it represents Timon's extravagance, doing little but revealing 'what a beggar his heart is' (1.2.198), as he foretells how his master will descend steadily into poverty and acrimony in the scenes that follow. Banquo's ghost, who intrudes on the banquet in *Macbeth*, also spoils the fun, imploding the kingly countenance of this play's hero. This collapse is evident in Macbeth's language, since the second person, which figures in the 'you' in 'which of you have done this' (3.4.46), replaces the kingly utility of the plural deixis. The 'monarch's right to a specialised mode of self-reference', which takes shape when Macbeth uses the plurals 'we' and 'our' in '[h]ere had we now our country's honour roofed' (3.4.38), collapses, as Macbeth comes to terms with the ghostly figure of his compatriot who sits in his place at the table.[86] The ghost thus unravels the authority of the new king; the appearance of the ghost shatters the sense of community – established in the 'we' – and indicates an opposition ('you'), and the illegitimacy that Macbeth's crown otherwise obscures seeps conspicuously into Macbeth's speech.

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[85] See William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens,* ed. by A.B. Dawson and G.E. Minton, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).
[86] See Kolentsis (2020), p. 112.

A similar theme appears in *The Tempest*, since those who bring out the feasting table laden with food in 3.3 echo the devotions of Titus, Timon, and Macbeth, giving 'gentle actions and salutations' (3.3.18.SD) that bid the king – and his retinue – to eat. Note, too, how the food in this scene recalls the promises of Caliban to provide subsistence for Stephano and, as Caliban recollects in 1.2, for Prospero. Those who bring out the banquet, then, mimic Titus, Timon, and Macbeth, elevating the stature of their guests above themselves at a dinner table. That these spirits are, in fact, islanders become clear when Gonzalo comments on this event with wonder:

> If in Naples
> I should report this now, would they believe me?
> If I should say I saw such islanders
> (For certes, these are people of the island),
> Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet note
> Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of
> Our human generation you shall find
> Many – nay, almost any.                               (3.3.27-34)

Like Caliban, those who bring out the feast elude the parameters of Gonzalo's world. They are of 'monstrous shape' (31), chiming with the inexplicable and indescribable appearance of the 'monster' (2.2.64) whom Trinculo and Stephano encounter earlier in this play.

But subsequent events stop short the show of devotion from those who serve food to the court party, and the mood changes quickly: the décor and ceremony of the banquet collapses when Ariel emerges onstage 'like a harpy' (3.3.52.SD) to remonstrate with Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian about their roles in Prospero's exile. The strange figures return with the table shortly afterwards. And their dance becomes more sinister in its movements after Ariel's departure: 'mocks and mows' (3.3.82.SD) take the place of salutatory greetings, rubbing salt in the wounds of a spurned Alonso and his courtiers. The second appearance of this banquet, then, *contradicts* the first. The chronology of these two events is chaotic, and there is something spontaneous about the first appearance of the feast, since Ariel comes onstage to reverse the

action immediately afterwards. Prospero, who overseas both the initial appearance and the re-appearance of the banquet, does not help things, either; 'praise be departing' (3.3.39) may seem an ironic aside that reveals how he controls what is to happen next, but he does not mention the first banquet. This lack of narrative, I think, suggests that the first banquet escapes Prospero's machinations. He eavesdrops instead, waiting for Ariel to spoil the fun, disrupt the show of hospitality, and reveal to the islanders – who have departed offstage – the offences that Alonso and his companions have committed.

These muddled events may indicate the limitations of Prospero's power, since some inhabitants resist – or are independent of – Prospero's control; the court party – courtesy of their garments – enjoy some degree of hierarchy over the islanders, but Ariel upsets this relationship, revealing the true colours of those who were to dine on the food. Those royal garments, which figure extensively in those spaces beyond the shoreline, emit an 'otherness' in the concluding moments of the play, too. Prospero converses with Alonso, Gonzalo, Antonio, Sebastian, Adrian, and Francisco, here, and Caliban intrudes onstage shortly afterwards with his fellows, who are dressed in Prospero's strange-looking clothes:

| *Stephano.* | Every man shift for all the rest, and let no man take care of himself, for all is but fortune. *Coraggio*, bully monster, *corragio*. |
| --- | --- |
| *Trinculo.* | If these be true spies which I wear in my head, here's a goodly sight. |
| *Caliban.* | O Setesbos, these be brave spirits indeed! How fine my master is! I am afraid He will chastise me. (5.1.256-63) |

Stephano fulfils his comic function, here, uttering nonsensical speech when he emerges onstage with Ariel at his heels, since the rallying cry of the intoxicated butler, to quote Vaughan and

Vaughan, 'inverts the sense of what he surely intended or at least what custom called for'.[87] Trinculo seems to have a greater sense of what is going on: the 'true spies [his eyes]' reveal his fellow castaways, and the 'goodly sight' (259-60) relieves him. Caliban, however, is not so familiar with the sight that lies before him: to him, the finely-dressed figures diffuse a conspicuous otherness. Caliban thus comes to terms with a resplendent Prospero in full ducal attire; the garb from a space beyond the shoreline elevates Prospero and the assembled court party, whom Caliban categorises as 'spirits' in 'these be brave spirits indeed' (261), as beings that escape the parameters of the islander's world. Those spaces across the sea thus acquire celestial characteristics, and those figures who stand dressed in their finery seem more like spirits to Caliban than humans.

Those hallmarks of mysterious territories, which a vast and chaotic oceanic expanse encloses, also appear in the apparel that the play's comic characters encounter as they move closer to Prospero's cell in the later stages of the fourth act. Both Trinculo and Stephano begin to squabble over these items of clothing. Caliban, however, is not so impressed:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Trinculo*. | O King Stephano! O peer! O worthy Stephano! Look what a wardrobe here is for thee! |
| *Caliban.* | Let it alone, thou fool; it is but trash. |
| *Trinculo.* | O ho, monster, we know what belongs to a frippery! O King Stephano! |
| [*Puts on a garment*.] | |
| *Stephano.* | Put off that gown, Trinculo. By this hand, I'll have that gown. |
| *Trinculo.* | Thy grace shall have it. |
| *Caliban.* | The dropsy drown this fool! What do you mean To dote thus on such luggage! Let't alone And do the murder first. If he awake, From toe to the crown he'll fill our skins with pinches, Make us strange stuff.                    (4.1.222-35) |

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[87] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 302.

Caliban's comments about this strange clothing could not be more different from those of his companions in this exchange; they are 'trash' (225), he proclaims, and he questions his fellows about why they 'dote thus on such luggage' (232). '[L]uggage', in particular, adds important qualities. These clothes seem commonplace to Caliban. But such a dismissive definition does not satisfy either Trinculo or Stephano: 'we know what belongs to a frippery [old clothing shop]', they claim, disagreeing strongly with Caliban's categorisation. To both Neapolitans, these clothes seem fit for a monarch; 'O King Stephano' (227), Trinculo exclaims, as he sees Stephano resplendent in the sorcerer's garments.

The clothes on show thus work in ways that resemble the ceremonial dress of Prospero and the Neapolitans: the 'trash' (225) elevates – in Trinculo's view – Stephano to regality, as hallmarks of those customs and traditions that propagate in a space beyond the shoreline adorn the butler. We should consider, too, how the court party respond when Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano emerge onstage, since their stolen clothing diffuses an otherness of its own to those who await them:

> *Stephano.*                                                    Ha, ha!
> What things are these, my lord Antonio?
> Will money buy them?
>
> *Antonio.*                                    Very like. One of them
> Is a plain fish and no doubt marketable.          (5.1.263-5)

The garments grant Stephano and Trinculo with a strange appearance, exacerbating the farce of their undignified entrance. Sebastian's opening remark is particularly telling, here; the customs of a strange space beyond the shorelines of familiar space manifest in the garments that both comic characters wear, and Stephano and Trinculo resist the parameters of a Neapolitan world as a result. Both comic characters thus acquire the shape of the residents

within the island landscape. They are, to Sebastian, 'things' (264), escaping from the parameters of the court party's world, and they seem to settle well within the early modern marketplace. Indeed, Sebastian's speech echoes Trinculo's comments from earlier, when the jester encounters a despondent Caliban: the coin of the 'holiday fool' (2.2.28-9) will 'buy 'em' (5.1.264), as the fools become the very individuals whom others would pay for with 'money' (5.1.265).

Items from those strange territories overseas, which lurk beyond the shores of a character's conceptions of familiar space, take shape, too, in Prospero's magic 'garment' (1.2.24). The power of this robe, and its capacity to transform Prospero from an unfortunate – but learned – castaway to the master of this play's supernatural companion becomes particularly clear in 2.1. This item of clothing, according to Vaughan and Vaughan, recurs twice in this scene, and both of its appearances take place when Prospero converses with Ariel. The passage below, which is spoken as Prospero arrives onstage with Miranda, is telling about the significance of this robe:

> 'Tis time
> I should inform thee further. Lend thy hand
> And pluck my magic garment from me. So,
> Lie there my art. (1.2.22-5)

The legacy of Prospero's prior conversation with Ariel, which is recalled when Prospero enquires whether Ariel has 'performed to the point the tempest that I bade thee' (1.2.194), becomes clear in these moments. Prospero, in other words, comes onstage adorned in his magic garment already. There is, then, a sense that the sorcerer's conversation with Miranda follows immediately his prior exercise of magical power. The clothing may return later in the scene, too; Prospero, suggest Vaughan and Vaughan, may slip 'his magic garment back on', as Ariel emerges onstage after Miranda falls into slumber, although the Folio text is not explicit about

this action.[88] It does, both scholars suggest, play a significant role when Prospero exercises his authority over Ariel.

Line 25, however, sheds the most light on the power of the garment and, by extension, the nature of Prospero's magic; his words 'lie there my art' (25) address the folds of the discarded robe that lies onstage when Miranda and Prospero speak together. The books – which Caliban considers as the objects that elevate Prospero over his spirits – are, however, nowhere to be seen. In their place, the garment becomes the unequivocal symbol of Prospero's power.

The final word in this line, 'art', is telling, too, recalling Leontes' observation of Paulina's 'magic' as 'an art' (5.3.110) in the concluding moments of *The Winter's Tale*. In this earlier play, Paulina resurrects Hermione from a statue made of stone and plaster. But the action begins to unravel as the court observe the uncanny resemblance of the statue to the living person that it portrays:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Paulina.* | No longer shall you gaze on't, lest your fancy<br>May think anon it moves. |
| *Leontes.* |                                  Let be, let be!<br>Would I were dead but that methinks already --<br>What was he that did make it? See, my lord,<br>Would you not deem it breathed, and that those veins<br>Did verily bear blood? |
| *Polixenes.* |                                  Masterly done.<br>The very life seems warm on her lip. |
| *Leontes.* | The fixture of her eye has motion in't,<br>As we are mocked with art. |
| *Paulina.* |                             I'll draw the curtain.<br>My lord's almost so far transported that<br>He'll think anon it lives.           (5.3.60-70) |

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[88] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 184.

The minute movements of Hermione, as she tries to retain her posture, are obvious in the passage above, and she weakens and breaks up the authenticity of Paulina's 'spell' (5.3.104). Paulina tries to compensate, here, making to draw the curtain to prevent further observations in case those who stand onstage 'think anon [the statue] moves' (61). She is unsuccessful: '[w]ould you not deem it breathed' (64), Leontes enquires, and he suggests that the veins of the statue '[d]id verily bear blood' (64-5), building the scene towards its climax. Polixenes adds to the suspense; 'the very life seems warm on her lip' (66), he observes, complimenting the skill of the sculpturer in some ways but – at the same time – continuing to add life-like characteristics to the statue on show. The sharp eye of Leontes uncovers more of the disguise in line 67. The eye of the statue, he observes, 'has motion in't'. The game is up, here; Paulina completes Leontes' half-line, seizing control of the conversational floor, as she intervenes in haste to conceal the statue from the gazes of those rapt by its likeness to an older, living Hermione. Paulina's 'magic', then, hinges on deception, reaching its zenith when Hermione steps down from the plinth and into the arms of Leontes later in the scene.

<div align="center">*</div>

The legacy of *The Winter's Tale*, and the deception that figures in Paulina's 'art' (5.3.110), may help us understand the kind of magic that propagates across Shakespeare's later *The Tempest*. Indeed, we must not forget that *The Winter's Tale* emerged in the theatres less than a year before *The Tempest*: Simon Forman wrote about a performance at the Globe in spring, 1611, and *The Tempest* followed only slightly later in the winter of that same year.[89] But the return of motifs from *The Winter's Tale* in Shakespeare's later play asks questions about whether Prospero's magic falls – necessarily – within typical portrayals of magic. To express things another way, does a careful illusion, rather than 'genuine' magic, grant Prospero power over his supernatural servant in this play? Or are these interactions yet another explicit exercise

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[89] See Pitcher (2010), p. 84.

of magical control? The answer to this question, I think, appears when Ariel greets Prospero –

who wears the garment – onstage in 2.1:

> All hail, great master; grave sir, hail! I come
> To answer thy best pleasure, be't to fly,
> To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
> On the curled clouds. To thy strong bidding, task
> Ariel and all his quality.                                           (1.2.189-93)

Ariel seems the subject of the play's protagonist, here; Prospero is Ariel's 'great master' (189),

and the spirit proclaims further to 'answer [Prospero's] best pleasure' (189-90). He then offers

to 'swim', to 'dive into the fire', and to 'ride on the curled clouds' (91-2), reinforcing his

unconditional servitude. There can be, in other words, no denial about the totality of Prospero's

control over Ariel in these moments.

The word 'master' in line 189, however, is worth considering in more detail, since

Prospero's status as the 'master' of his spirit inverts strikingly the relationship enjoyed by other

magical practitioners in Shakespeare's other dramas. Take, for instance, how the weird sisters

– who are outstanding practitioners of magic – address their apparitions in 4.1 of *Macbeth*:

| *1 Witch.* | Say, if thou'dst hear it from our mouths, Or from our masters? |
| --- | --- |
| *Macbeth.* | Call 'em, let me see 'em. |
| *1 Witch.* | Pour in sow's blood that hath eaten Her nine farrow; grease that's sweaten From the murderer's gibbet, throw Into the flame. |
| *All.* | Come, high or low, Thy self and office deftly show. |

[*Enter*] FIRST APPARITION: *an armed head.*                                           (4.1.61-7.SD)

These apparitions seem the sovereigns over the weird sisters, since 'masters' in 'or from our masters' (62) places them as the overlords of the hags' activities and behaviour. The witches in *Macbeth*, in other words, seem inferior to their apparitions; those who ascend from beneath the stage, descending again after they give their predictions to Macbeth, seem superior powers to those who summon them.

The 'masters' (62) in this play convey how hellish powers impose control over their subjects, who await Banquo and Macbeth on the heath. This theme returns in other plays: in *Doctor Faustus*, hellish powers restrict Mephistopheles, preventing him from giving an answer 'against [his] kingdom' (2.3.70). In *Henry VI Part 2*, also, the 'eternal God whose name and power thou tremblest at' (1.4.25-6) compels Asnath to speak. As we shall see in the next chapter, heavenly powers exert themselves in Dekker, Ford, and Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton*, too: Christian virtues, including one's capacity to be 'loving to the world / And charitable to the poor' (2.1.177-8), grant individuals a protection that cannot be breached, frustrating those diabolical powers that go against them.

In *The Tempest*, however, Prospero seems the 'master' (1.2.189) over Ariel, and his garment consolidates his position as the overlord of his spirit. And, dressed in this garment, Prospero threatens to restore Ariel's incarceration:

> If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
> And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
> Thou hast howled away twelve winters. (1.2.294-6)

Prospero resembles a divine power in these moments, sending Ariel off to hell: infernal imagery seeps into the proposed punishment, since the ropes that 'peg' (295) Ariel to the oak resemble the cords that truss up the damned in Kyd's classical hell, which I spoke about in chapter 1. The 'knotty entrails' (295) are significant as well, since an imprisoned Ariel – like

Martius in *Titus Andronicus* – stands *within* the living body of something else. Shakespeare seems to recall, here, the 'ragged entrails' (2.3.230) within *Titus'*s pit, recalling – perhaps more implicitly – those sinister spaces that lay beyond the gaping maw of a hell mouth.[90] 'Howled' (296), too, strengthens the sense of hellishness, recalling the 'fearful and confused cries' of a 'thousand fiends' (2.2.100-3), which figure in Tamora's 'hellish tale' (2.2.105). In the concluding moments of *King Lear*, also, the mad Lear screams and cries over Cordelia's dead body; the piercing exclamations of remorse, Edgar remarks in this latter play, invokes the 'promised end' or – as Reginald A. Foakes suggests in his edition of the play – the last judgement (5.3.261), as Lear imitates – to those who watch him onstage – an unfortunate soul who is cast down to hell.[91] This vivid imagery, which Prospero invokes as he castigates his spirit, seems a boast: those customs and traditions from a landscape beyond the shoreline of the island diffuse into the garment that Prospero wears, and he acquires – to Ariel – an otherworldly and godlike power, threatening to return Ariel to a 'hell' elsewhere. But the spirit, unsurprisingly, does not provide Prospero with the opportunity to demonstrate this skill, since his recollections about this sorry existence are enough to subdue him and, moreover, settle with the contract that Prospero draws up for him.

The hallmarks of Neapolitan and Milanese culture thus diffuse into the items that appear in the play. They manifest in Prospero's magical garment, and the newly-restored clothes of the court party cause consternation among those who reside within this island landscape, diffusing a sovereignty of their own. Stephano's bottle acquires a similar status, and its contents impress Caliban, who cannot fathom how such an item can exist within his world. These items

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[90] I consider the hell mouth and its significance in chapter 1. See, also, Pamela Sheingorn, "'Who can open the doors to his face?": The Iconography of Hell Mouth', in *The Iconography of Hell,* ed. by C. Davidson and T.H. Seidler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 1-19 and Joyce R.N. Galpern, 'The Shape of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England', Unpublished PhD thesis (California: University of California Press, 1977), who provide further chapter and verse.

[91] See William Shakespeare, *King Lear,* ed. by R.G. Foakes, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997).

nestle uncomfortably within an environment that cannot otherwise supply such commodities, as the play explores how the ways of life within one world diffuse forcefully into another. The chaotic and anti-structural behaviour of an oceanic expanse exacerbates the difference of these objects, as those shorelines that enclose Caliban's world evoke another partition that separates familiar space from its chaotic equivalent. In some respects, then, the shores of the island recall the walls that enclose Macbeth's keep, Rome, Verona, and Milan, which I spoke about in chapter 1. They enclose the world of a play's characters, keeping at bay an anarchic and 'other' clime that threatens to collapse the very foundations of a character's known world. In *The Tempest*, the disorder that figures in these oceanic expanses seeps into the terrestrial locales that lie within them; objects and peoples migrate from one space to another across a vengeful ocean, breaking through the obvious borders of the shoreline, and their ways of life settle uneasily within another space on the other side of an ocean. The castaways in this play thus elude the realities of the islanders, and their items exacerbate their stature as beings that come from spaces *outside* the worlds of those residents who encounter them within such spaces. To echo Caliban's comments about Stephano's liquor, they are 'not earthly' (2.2.123). And, at the same time, the islanders transfix the castaways, as the play evokes those mysterious climes that lie beyond the shores of an ocean. It is this mystery, I think, that compels a set of 'otherworldly' beings to become the subjects of those who come ashore.


### 5.0. Conclusion: The Exchange of Objects from an Otherworld Overseas

To draw this chapter to a conclusion, I would like to return to the quotation that opened it. Caliban speaks about Prospero's 'books' with some reverence: 'without them / He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not / One spirit to command' (3.2.92-4). These 'books', Caliban supposes, channel the magical power in the play. But I can now conclude that these volumes are but one set of items that enforces control over those who reside within the island landscape. Prospero's

garment is another item, while the ceremonial dress of the court party and the drink within Stephano's bottle offer other means of control. The 'magic' in this play is thus not exclusive to the tracts that Prospero holds in his possession. The dynamics that underpin how the play's characters exert control over the 'monster[s]' (2.2.96) of the island reflect a more subtle discourse about unfamiliar environments across the sea. These oceanic realms – coupled with the territories within them – lie beyond the shorelines that enclose characters' familiar space, behaving in ways that drift free of the moorings of a familiar world. It is, however, important to realise that this trend operates both ways in *The Tempest*: the island's residents are, of course, 'otherworldly' to those who come ashore but, simultaneously, the islanders consider those castaways whom they encounter within this landscape as entities from another world. It is this exchange of items from one world to another across an oceanic expanse that elicits the 'magical' contracts invoked: the items in the castaways' possession elevate them to godhood, and Prospero's threats to return Ariel to a 'hellish' existence elsewhere – along with his control over Caliban – come about as he *possesses* the 'otherworldly' items that awe the islanders. *The Tempest*'s representation of magic, then, is bound up in its interrogation – much discussed in scholarship of the past few decades  – of the roots and implications of colonial power, as the play offers a commentary on the value of unfamiliar technologies in the subduing of colonised peoples in strange territories.[92]

The 'magic' within this play hinges on the chaotic natures of these inscrutable spaces that lie beyond the borders of the shoreline, since the utterance of strange-sounding incantations, which otherwise construct the staging of magical practice on the early modern

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[92] Colonial readings of *The Tempest* are extensive, including Diana Brydon, 'Re-writing *The* Tempest', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 23, no. 1 (1984), pp. 75-88; Arthur F. Kinney, 'Rewriting *The Tempest*', *Modern Philology* 93, no. 1 (1995/6), pp. 161-77; Alden T. Vaughan, 'Trinculo's Indian: American Natives in Shakespeare's England', in The Tempest *and Its Travels*, ed. by P. Hulme and W.H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp. 49-59. David Lindley also gives a concise summary of this play's colonial readings in William Shakespeare, *The Tempest: Updated Edition*, ed. by D. Lindley, New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 9-12.

stage, do not seem to feature. Indeed, those encounters with the 'otherworldly' within this play seem to *resist* this design: the 'magical' allegiances in this play hinge on the everyday exchange of items and commodities with those who reside within faraway regions, and the play constructs another 'non-magical' means to invoke the 'otherworldly'. This play thus conveys another form of 'magic' that slips free from a fixed definition: colonial activities within distant lands may shape these alternative 'invocations' of the 'otherworldly', as Shakespeare taps into the concern and intrigue about those mysterious, uncharted, and contrarian locales across anarchic oceanic expanses.

The ferocious storm that met the *Sea Venture* in 1609, along with those tempests that wrought destruction on colonial settlements in the New World offer, I think, a fitting way to end this chapter and set the ground for the chapter that comes next. We have, here, a space that rebels against early modern understandings about how the world functions. These environments, to recall the Boatswain as he battles Alonso's ship against the gale, show contempt 'for the name of king' (1.1.17); the very foundations of familiar space shudder, bend, and break into fragments, meeting a new, unfamiliar, and liminal area that lurks beyond a shoreline. These disordered spaces, like those outside areas that I considered in chapter 1, envelop the supernatural. Otherworldliness clashes with worldliness in this space, echoing the qualities of those mysterious and uncharted landscapes beyond the walls of castles and cities.

These mysterious areas seep, too, into the very bowels of Alonso's vessel; paradoxically, the 'howling' (1.3.35) that echoes from beneath the deck of the vessel locates the hellish howling of the 'thousand fiends' (2.2.100-3) in *Titus Andronicus* into the very epitome of a safe space, which seems protected from the chaotic forces of nature. These despairing cries sound from the private and unseen climes of the ship's living quarters; the hallmarks of 'hell', it seems, are very close by, as the safety of the ship bucks, breaks, and implodes upon meeting the brutal, inexplicable forces of a vengeful ocean. Any sense of a safe,

private, and quotidian space dissipates in turn, and a sinister area manifests 'within' (1.1.34-5.SD) Alonso's vessel. It is the threats of such private, unseen and, yet, oddly familiar spaces to which I turn in my next chapter.

# Chapter Three: Private Spaces, Paranoia, and Vice in The Witch of Edmonton

Conspicuous and transgressive activities have traditionally structured the terms and conditions of the maleficent covenant in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings about witchcraft, and Julia R. Garrett has shown how an 'explicit strain of discourse about the sexual body and the nature of erotic experiences' construct conspicuous rites within these pamphlets.[1] But I show in this chapter how those implicit pacts within Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton* (c. 1621), one of the most celebrated and studied of the early modern English plays about witchcraft, convey diabolical partnerships that slip free from ritualized behaviours.[2] The limited 'bounds of dramatic representation' within early modern dramatic performance collapse the elaborate choreographies of the rituals that compose maleficent practice in their written counterparts, here, and everyday activities within private spaces convey vividly to the playgoer a set of 'ritual-less' pacts that evade typical understandings of maleficent practice.[3]

These implicit pacts figure within a heated conversation, which unfolds onstage in the closing moments of the play. Elizabeth Sawyer, a 'poor, deformed and ignorant' (2.1.3) woman, argues with Old Carter, a wealthy gentleman, here, before she walks offstage to be executed for witchcraft. She is not, she stresses, an 'instrument of mischief' (5.2.37), and she has not enticed Frank Thorney, a squire of Sir Arthur Clarington and the son of Old Thorney, to 'kill his wife' (5.2.44-5), Susan, with maleficent forms of magic. Old Carter, however, persists in his accusations that Sawyer is an 'instrument of mischief' (5.2.37) who has witched

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[1] See Julia R. Garrett, 'Witchcraft and Sexual Knowledge in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2013), pp. 32-72 (p. 34).
[2] See Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton*, ed. by L. Munro, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).
[3] See Gail K. Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), p. 15.

'the devil into my son-in-law when he killed my poor daughter' (5.2.38-9), and Sawyer retorts with what – I think – is one of the most powerful lines in the play:

Who doubts it? But is every devil mine?                    (5.2.46)

The diabolical contract Sawyer enters into earlier in the play, through which she attempts to consolidate allegiance with a typically devilish 'black cur' (5.1.28), seems obsolete, here. And Sawyer goes further. There may be, she suggests, more than one maleficent entity at work.

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Henry Goodcole, a visiting chaplain to Newgate gaol, interrogated the actual Elizabeth Sawyer in 1621, and his interrogation inspired this play. He told of an old woman 'crooked and deformed' who had given the Devil, taking 'the shape of a dogge', 'leave to sucke [Sawyer's] bloud' to take revenge against her neighbours.[4] Familiar tropes to do with the demonic pact emerge, here; the detail of Goodcole's pamphlet recalls, for example, the extraction of blood that figured in witchcraft pamphlets in the 1570s and the 1580s.[5] Faustus's elaborate blood-letting ritual in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1589), which brings about the allegiance of his devilish companion, Mephistopheles, offers an example of where such tropes feature within the theatre.[6] But *The Witch of Edmonton*'s playwrights do more than simply reproduce such tropes onstage; instead, they contextualise the central witchcraft plot with a domestic tragedy, so that the drama deviates conspicuously from Goodcole's account. In the play, Dog enters after villagers confront Elizabeth Sawyer, an alleged 'witch'; Sawyer's collection of a 'few rotten sticks' (2.1.16) had earlier elicited the entrance of one of her 'chief

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[4] See Henry Goodcole, 'The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch (1621)', in *Early Modern Witchcraft: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, ed. by M. Gibson (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 299-316 (p. 304; p. 310).
[5] See Hutton, 2017, p. 275.
[6] See Christopher Marlowe, 'Doctor Faustus A-Text', in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 185-246.

adversaries' (2.1.16), a countryman named Old Banks, who subjects her to insults and beatings. Dog thus responds to Sawyer's vocal tirade against her neighbour, promising its allegiance for her 'soul and body' (2.1.152). But, while Dog receives this 'gift' (2.1.173), it collaborates with Frank Thorney, a young squire, in the play's domestic tragedy and Cuddy Banks, a country bumpkin, in the play's comic subplot in a manner that brings about Sawyer's demise at the end of the play, breaking its contract with the wretched woman.

In the drama, then, there is some truth in Sawyer's claim, since characters other than her acquire diabolical allegiance. Dog, for instance, helps Frank murder Susan in the play's domestic tragedy, binding the husband to a tree (3.3.71) so that he appears incapable of having carried out the deed; instead, Somerton, the companion of Katherine – Susan's sister, and Warbeck – Susan's previous suitor – become suspects in the murder, with Frank – spinning a good yarn – winning the sympathy of Old Carter and Old Thorney when they arrive on the scene shortly afterwards. Dog's activities save Frank's skin in these moments, although the respite is short-lived, since Katherine exposes his duplicity later in the play. In the comic plot, too, we find diabolical encounters unrelated to Sawyer. Cuddy Banks interacts with Dog within the fields of his father, Old Banks; Dog fulfils successfully Cuddy's request to 'mingle' among some 'morris dancers in the morning', playing Sawgut's fiddle, as Cuddy embarks on a desperate enterprise to woo Old Carter's other daughter, Katherine (3.1.156). There may be, then, more than one pact in this play. Dog says as much to Cuddy. He 'serve[s] more masters, more dames than one' (3.1.159-60); the 'dame' may refer to Sawyer, but the 'masters' may suggest – in an ominous portent – two figures who lurk outside the play's witchcraft plot.

We may thus have, as Edward Sackville-West observed long ago, multiple manifestations of diabolism in this play:

> While in the theatre the interest and excitement of the play is marvellously sustained,
> so that we do not care to notice the points at which the double action fails to

amalgamate, outside it we must admit that the stories of Frank Thorney and of the witch herself are not properly integrated. We can, if we like, argue that the Dog acts as a sufficient binding force; but I do not think that this argument holds, for the reason that the figure is made to do (since the stage is after all a simplifying medium) for two different devils: the revenge-lust of the witch and the self-destructiveness of Frank.[7]

Importantly, Sackville-West's identification of 'two different devils' elicits questions concerning the significance of Sawyer's pact with the play's diabolical figure, since another devil collaborates with Frank Thorney without an explicit pact. This brief partnership does not fit comfortably within the understood paradigms of diabolical contract that have been mapped out in recent scholarship. Sawyer's blood pact with Dog does, admittedly, chime more readily with historical conceptions of maleficent practice, but it also limits the diabolism to the play's central witchcraft plot. David Atkinson's observation that Sawyer's neighbours push her 'first into witchcraft and then to the gallows' thus scratches merely the surface of Dog's capabilities. Sarah Johnson, too, limits the scope of her investigation to the witchcraft plot, identifying Sawyer's uncensored language against a domineering patriarchy as the means by which she acquires diabolical forces. She does not, however, consider how this play's male figures encounter and interact with the diabolical figure.[8] Other studies have been more alert to the nuances of this play; the devil-dog, Meg F. Pearson suggests, 'exists to destabilize', since Dog seems to wade in on the action when Frank Thorney, Elizabeth Sawyer, and Cuddy Banks teeter on the very edge of self-control. But the play's sophisticated treatment of diabolism evades Pearson's analysis, too, since characters' shows of instability *precede* – rather than follow – Dog's entrances onstage: Dog does not, then, *cause* a loss of self-control, as Pearson suggests, but rather responds to it. Unbridled 'cursing' (2.1.136), for instance, brings Dog to

[7] See Edward Sackville-West, 'The Significance of *The Witch of Edmonton*' *Criterion* 17, no. 2 (1937), pp. 23-32 (p. 30).

[8] Sarah Johnson, 'Female Bodies, Speech, and Silence in *The Witch of Edmonton*', *Early Theatre* 12, no. 1 (2009), pp. 69-91.

intervene as Sawyer speaks out against her ostracization by Old Banks. In the case of the play's vision of witchcraft, then, we seem to have Pearson's process in the reverse, since conspicuous shows of erraticism bring about devilish powers.[9]

Perhaps more importantly, the witchcraft in this play subtly defies contemporaneous constructions of the witch-figure. Sawyer does epitomise the 'elderly widow', occupying a space that stands outside the public spaces of this play's community.[10] But those other characters who invoke devilish aid resist the stereotypical description, since Frank and Cuddy hardly reflect the 'exceptionally gendered nature' of witchcraft.[11] What we have in this play's vision of diabolical encounter, then, is a process that resists a set definition of what witchcraft is.

In other plays, too, the term 'witch' appears in contexts which suggest a stretching and smudging of ideas about witchcraft. In *The Winter's Tale* (c. 1610), Leontes, the king of Sicilia, fumes over his wife's alleged infidelity with Polixenes – the king of Bohemia.[12] He responds violently when Paulina, the wife of Antigonus – a noble, comes onstage to plead the queen's innocence with Leontes' new-born child, Perdita:

> Out!
> A mankind witch! Hence with her, out o' door;
> A most intelligencing bawd.                          (2.3.65-7)

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[9] See Meg F. Pearson, 'A Dog, a Witch, a Play: *The Witch of Edmonton*', *Early Theatre* 11, no. 2 (2008), pp. 89-111 (p. 89).

[10] See Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonisation of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (London: Random House, 1993), p. 144.

[11] See Malcolm Gaskill, 'Masculinity and Witchcraft in Seventeenth Century England', in *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by A. Rowlands (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 171-90 (p. 171).

[12] See William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by J. Pitcher, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

These insults that may render the use of the term imprecise, since Leontes' 'loyal servant', 'physician', and 'most obedient counsellor' (2.3.53-4) is not a stereotypical 'witch-figure'. In other plays, too, characters throw this word about; others call the wise woman Mother Bombie a 'witch' (2.3.98) in John Lyly's play of the same name (c. 1594) and, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c. 1597), Frank Ford removes a disguised Falstaff, who appears as a wise woman, from the stage:

> I'll prat her! [*Beats him.*] Out of my door, you witch, you rag, you baggage, you polecat, you runnion, out, out! I'll conjure you, I'll fortune-tell you!

> (4.2.174-6)[13]

Again, the term 'witch' encroaches on characters who resist the stereotype. Mother Bombie, in particular, takes exception to this label; those who call her a witch, she tells Silena, 'lie', for she is a 'cunning woman' (2.3.99). And Shakespeare's later play echoes this theme, as Ford – apoplectic with rage – casts Falstaff out of his house, reflecting the wider disapproval that post-Reformation reformers levelled against these magical practitioners. These plays thus shed light on how the 'witch' escapes a consistent definition, since the 'witches' that figure in the speeches of Frank Ford, Silena, and Leontes muddy what a 'witch' figure actually is. Little seems to tether the term; inter-personal tensions, Ronald Hutton observes, seemed to power its application in an early modern world, and it became a 'serious and dangerous insult or accusation' rather than a neutral term that required qualification.[14]

Other practitioners of magic, who settled more easily in early modern society, further complicate definitions of 'witchcraft': many individuals welcomed Simon Forman's

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[13] See John Lyly, *Mother Bombie*, ed. by L. Scragg, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. by G. Melchiori, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).
[14] See Ronald Hutton, 'The Meaning of the Word "Witch"', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 13, no. 1 (2018), pp. 98-119 (p. 119).

astrological treatments, which countered illness in seventeenth-century London, and wise men and women continued to practice into the nineteenth century.[15] These practitioners lurked on the very edges of persecution: many avoided scrutiny and suspicion, since those who employed them felt that they were doing good.[16] They were, as Robert Burton observed in 1621, 'too common; cunning men, wizards, and white witches, as they call them, [were] in every village, which, if they be sought unto, will help almost all infirmities of body and mind'.[17] Those in holy orders collaborated with them, too, and William Stapleton, a monk from St. Bennet's Abbey, Norfolk, recruited two cunning men in 1528. Some treasure, which would acquire his dispensation from the monastery, was the subject of his search, and he admitted partaking in the conjuration of spirits to aid him.[18] Cunning folk were also called 'witches', and yet they recovered stolen goods and identified thieves. These services, notes Alan Macfarlane, were commonplace, although in some cases, they backfired. In 1614, for example, the cunning woman Elizabeth Gibson of Whitechapel, London, erroneously charged 'Walter Jones and Jane Grey that they robbed the Lord Ivors'.[19] And William Vowles, a cunning man from Blagdon, Somerset, came under judicial scrutiny after he accused Jane Thatcher and her husband of theft from William Allen, a local miller; Jane, Vowles claimed, had 'tempted her husband to steale [some cloth]'.[20]

The witchcraft in *The Witch of Edmonton*, I shall show in what follows, is similarly ambiguous, since other individuals apart from Sawyer encounter and engage with an explicit diabolical force, revealing a kind of maleficent practice that operates outside more conventional

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[15] See Lauren Kassel, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman – Astrologer, Alchemist, and Magician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 187.

[16] See Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 115.

[17] See Thomas (1971), p. 209.

[18] See Davies (2007), p. 94.

[19] See Macfarlane (1999), p. 121; Davies (2007), p. 99.

[20] See Davies (2007), p. 99.

and widely-understood ideas of what 'witchcraft' was.[21] In this play, Dog treats Sawyer's pact contemptuously, nullifying the ritual in this play. There is something sinister about how Dog breaks the conditions of this pact: he comes to the aid of Frank Thorney, helping him 'kill his wife' (5.2.44-5), mingling – too – 'amongst [the] morris dancers' (3.1.155-6) at Cuddy Banks' request. The 'witch' figure in this play becomes difficult to define in that Cuddy and Frank indulge in diabolical invocation which a conspicuous binding ritual does not police. The witchcraft in this tragicomedy, then, reflects the ambiguousness of the 'witch' figure; other characters besides Sawyer partake in maleficent practice, and their invocations do not hinge on elaborate, magical rites. They seem to be 'witches' themselves.

I shall argue in this chapter that private and secluded spaces, which manifest as the secluded 'knot of trees' (3.2.127) in the play's domestic tragedy and as the 'pease-field' (2.1.286) in the play's comic subplot, power such unorthodox forms of maleficent practice. These empty, unsupervised, and anarchic spaces are territories within which the moral selves of the play's characters implode, bringing those who stand within such spaces ever closer to diabolism. They seem particularly dangerous, since the perverse and disturbing rituals, which figure prominently in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts about witchcraft, are no longer necessary as a means of crossing the barrier that segregates diabolical practice from the early modern spectator. The threats of an open, unchecked, and unchallenged area take their place, as the play reveals a kind of maleficent practice that hinges on the collapse of moral restraint within them.

### 1.0. Opposites of an Ideal: Blood-Letting, Sexual Intercourse, and Maleficent Practice

I shall return to this play's nuanced invocations of diabolical aid later in this chapter. But a brief survey about *what* constituted maleficent practice, I think, should begin things. The

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[21] See Munro (2017), p. 3.

divergence from post-Reformation ideals is a crucial consideration, here. Witchcraft – argues Malcolm Gaskill – seemed the 'opposite of an ideal'.[22] It flourished particularly in areas beset by early modern Puritanism: formal prosecutions of alleged 'witches' took place in Puritan Essex, where a 'major witch panic' led to nearly 'twice as many cases as the other four major regions of witch persecution put together'.[23] Post-Reformation sentiment figured, too, in Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Suffolk, and Matthew Hopkins – the so-called 'Witchfinder General' – scourged communities of alleged 'witches' within East Anglia in the 1640s.[24]

A post-Reformation zealotry played a part in these proceedings, and the heightened Puritan 'urgency' to 'eradicate any hint of the diabolical from Christian society' constructed the axioms that the alleged 'witch' rebelled against.[25] This post-Reformist sentiment would not accommodate late-medieval Catholic practices, either, which had become – to reformers – a kind of diabolical ceremony. Biblicists saw these beliefs as part of a 'long-established heretical tradition', whereby the Pope became the 'Antichrist' whom the Devil lay behind.[26] Scripture was no longer seen to provide authority for those inexplicable phenomena that figured in Catholic traditions. Such events were now regarded as products of the Devil's wider capacity to work wonders. To quote Harman Bhogal:

> [T]he seeds of cessationism appear in the works of Luther and Calvin. Luther's approach to miracles can be broken down into three main areas: first, he believed that salvation by faith alone was the biggest miracle. Therefore, he viewed those things that confirmed the gospel as truly miraculous, and argued that the Protestant church did not need to perform miracles because 'it is miracle enough that people learn by our preaching to know Christ and obtain a joyful conscience'. Second, Luther argued that Catholic miracles were false because they lead to erroneous

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[22] See Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchcraft: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 1.

[23] See Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 173-4.

[24] See James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550-1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1996), pp. 128-9.

[25] See Waite (2003), pp. 173-4.

[26] See Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 27.

doctrine and practices, such as 'rosaries, pilgrimages, worship of saints, masses, monkery and other peculiar self-chosen works'. Luther believed that Catholic miracles failed to conform to the Word and to lead one to a deeper understanding of the faith, and so they were in fact a 'delusion of the devil'. Finally, this awareness of the possibility of perception through the spectacle of all miracles enacted by the Devil led Luther to treat all miraculous works with a high degree of caution and to emphasize a reliance on Scripture instead. He stated, 'For all that can be deceptive: but God's word does not deceive me'.[27]

The smells, bells, and elaborate rituals within elaborate Catholic ceremonies seemed, in addition, little more than devices that brought believers away from Christian truths.

Such ideas found their way into dramatic texts. In Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, for example, devilish powers are seen to lurk behind the Latin incantation, holy water, and the gesticulation of the cross, which form conspicuous hallmarks of the Catholic Mass. Mephistopheles, a devil, answers this staged rite (1.3.16-23), drawing on the Protestant emphasis on Scripture from a Protestant polemic when he converses with the conjuror onstage, who asks him whether it was the rite through which this devil was summoned:

> That was the cause, but yet *per accidens*,
> For when we hear one wrack the name of God,
> Abjure the Scriptures and his Saviour Christ,
> We fly in hope to get his glorious soul.             (1.3.46-9)

A deviation from 'Scriptures' (48) brings this devil onstage, and Mephistopheles thus draws on Protestant ideas: God's truth, in line with post-Reformation ways of thinking, did not figure

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[27] See Harman Bhogal, 'Miracles, Cessationism, and Demonic Possession: The Darrell Controversy and the Parameters of Preternature in Early Modern English Demonology', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 4, no. 2 (2015), pp. 152-80 (p. 163). Bhogal is himself building on the work of D.P. Walker.

in 'patristic interpretations nor clerical traditions, but in Scriptures alone'; indeed, *abjuring* Scriptures by partaking in a Catholic ceremony can itself result in the appearance of devils.[28]

Protestant theology also refused to accommodate those practitioners of magic who figured in intimate social communities, levelling stiff resistance against them in the mid-sixteenth century. This acrimony took shape in legislation. One such bill came to pass under Henry VIII in 1542, going against those who used 'witchcrafts, enchantments, and sorceries to the destruction of their neighbour's persons and goods'.[29] But the term 'witchcraft', again, envelops a diverse set of activities, since the Act sought to restrain the practice of 'theft magic, love magic, and treasure hunting'.[30] Edward VI repealed this bill less than six years later, but it appeared for a second time in 1563. This latter incarnation of the bill commented on how no law restrained such activities; 'many fantastical and devilish persons have devised and practiced invocations and conjurations of evil and wicked spirits, and have used and practiced witchcrafts, enchantments, charms, and sorceries'. However, 'cunning folk and learned occultists . . . were the principal targets'.[31]

Strict post-Reformation biblicism was also intolerant of festive traditions: justices from Somerset passed legislation against the ales that took place in churchyards, while the seasonal celebrations of Whitsun and Hocktide at Oxford met their end in 1640.[32] The mid-winter horn dance at Abbotts Bromley no longer took place, either, and William Blundell – a gentleman from Lancashire – reminisced in 1641 about the 'harmless mirth' from dances about a maypole.[33] Reginald Scot, observes Seth Stewart Williams, saw the dances within such

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[28] See Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 3. Also see Arthur G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1989).

[29] See Davies, (2007), p. 4.

[30] See Davies (2007), p. 4.

[31] See Davies (2007), p. 6.

[32] See Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 201.

[33] See Hutton (1994), p. 202.

ceremonies as 'key transaction[s] in the economy of demonic magic'.[34] They figure in drama

as well: in *Macbeth*, the weird sisters go 'about, about' (1.3.34) in a circular motion, working

their magic, while Ben Jonson's hags move onstage with a 'confused noise' and 'strange

gestures' (30) in the opening moments of *The Masque of Queens* (c. 1609).[35] These

'undisciplined' activities led, according to Protestant apologists, to diabolism, since revels and

festivals were tempting, playing into 'the single most important aspect of [Satan's] agency'.[36]

These 'disordered' behaviours, unsurprisingly, construct some of the rituals within

maleficent forms of magic. Grace Sowerbutts spoke about four alleged witches who partook in

sexual intercourse with 'four blacke things' outside Samlesbury, Lancashire, in 1612.[37] Indeed,

transgressive forms of sexual intercourse figure in twenty-three witchcraft pamphlets from the

seventeenth century. Of these texts, ten refer to 'carnal intercourse' between a witch and a

devil, while the other thirteen describe a 'range of sexual behaviour': several 'devils sucking

at teats in a witch's genitalia or anus' seemed a particularly common activity.[38] Blood-letting,

moreover, figured in pamphlet literature from the 1570s and the 1580s, and Ellen Shepherd –

another casualty of Mathew Hopkins' persecutions in the 1640s – recollected four grey rats

who promised her 'all happinesse' in return for her blood in 1646.[39] Elizabeth Sawyer, who

inspired Dekker, Ford, and Rowley's drama, appears in one of these pamphlets 'pale and

ghoast-like . . . without any bloud at all', and she recollects how her companion extracted her

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[34] See Seth S. Williams, '[They Dance]: Collaborative Authorship in *Macbeth*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Dance*, ed. by L. McCulloch and B. Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 237-60 (p. 247).

[35] See William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by S. Clark and P. Mason, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Queens', in *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, ed. by S. Orgel, The Yale Ben Jonson (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 80-100.

[36] See Nathan Johnston, 'The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England' *The Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 2 (2004), pp. 173-205 (p. 176).

[37] See James Sharpe, 'Introduction', in *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-19 (p. 4).

[38] See Charlotte Rose-Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2017), p.p. 117-8.

[39] See Hutton (2017), p. 275; Emma Wilby, 'The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland', *Folklore* 111, no. 2 (2000), pp. 283-305 (p. 295).

blood from a place a 'little above [her] fundament [her buttocks or anus]'.[40] She describes a

transgressive, alien, and vivid bestiality, receiving sexual gratification from a being who takes

the shape of an animal.

In Dekker, Ford, and Rowley's play, the forearm – rather than the buttocks or the anus

– becomes the point of extraction. The limited 'bounds of dramatic representation' in early

modern performance, Gail Kern Paster argues, may have informed this revised stage action.[41]

The revision, however, has a deeper meaning within the theatrical context of the time; by using

Sawyer's forearm as the place of incision, the playwrights recall the ill-fated pact with

Mephistopheles in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*:

> Lo, Mephistopheles, for love of thee
> Faustus hath cut his arm, and with his proper blood,
> Assures his soul to be great Lucifer's
> Chief lord and regent of perpetual night.          (2.1.53-6)

Here, Faustus cuts his 'arm' (54), consolidating his pact with the play's devil. And, in a similar

vein (if you will forgive the pun), Dog 'sucks [Sawyer's] arm' (2.1.64.SD). The forearm, then,

replaces the graphic and bloody act of cunnilingus within the pamphlet that formed a key source

for the play; the rite on show seems an ominous portent of what is to come, since playgoers

were likely to recollect the doomed fate of Faustus in Marlowe's earlier drama.

A set of 'shared allusions', which "'can be said to propagate [themselves] from brain

to brain," and, in the case of early modern London, from playhouse to playhouse (and beyond)',

thus shapes the maleficent pact in this play.[42] Dog transfuses blood in ways that recall those

exchanges of bodily fluid within pamphlet discourse, and the forearm as the place of incision

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[40] See Henry Goodcole, (2000), p. 304; p. 310.
[41] See Paster, (1993), p. 15.
[42] See Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 2.

chimes with those devilish pacts within an earlier drama. The horror of the fate that awaits Faustus, which becomes clear when devils drag him – screaming – offstage thus informs the sense of doom in *The Witch of Edmonton*, since Sawyer – like Faustus – faces a particularly unpleasant demise in the final moments of the play.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Such established motifs of maleficent practice, however, do not cover in entirety the witchcraft in *The Witch of Edmonton*. Indeed, Sawyer professes her ignorance about her preternatural companion and its function, and her familiar escapes her conceptions of what witchcraft is.[43] For example, when she lists the shapes in which familiars might come -- 'mice, rats, ferrets', and 'weasels' (2.1.118-9) – she does not entertain the possibility that one might take the form of the 'black cur' (5.1.28) she encounters later in the scene. At this moment, her question 'what art thou' (2.1.138) exacerbates our sense of her ignorance concerning the kind of magic she invokes.

Dog's behaviour also differs from what might be expected of a diabolical companion. This malevolent spirit does humour her to some extent, satisfying Sawyer's conceptions of those familiars who 'appeared and sucked, some say, their blood' (2.1.120). So far as Sawyer is concerned, this action fulfils the terms of a contract that binds a devil to its practitioner. But Dog later breaches its contract, rebelling against the ritual that should – in witchcraft narratives – give these two characters a peculiar and unique bond. Instead, Dog orchestrates the tragic events in the play's domestic tragedy, urging Frank to murder his wife, Susan, without first consulting its mistress. He aids Cuddy Banks in the comic subplot, too, playing Sawgut's fiddle

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[43]Sawyer does, however, refer to those 'old beldams' (2.1.117) – a 'loathsome old woman' – who possess supernatural agents, nodding to stereotypical images of the 'witch-figure' as an 'elderly widow' See Cohn (1993), p. 144; Oxford English Dictionary, 'beldam | beldame, *n.*, 3., < beldam | beldame, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> (Accessed 15th January, 2021).

in the morris dance. Dog also rebels directly against the wishes of Sawyer; Old Banks escapes

harm, since Dog refuses to 'touch [Old Banks'] life' (2.1.171), elaborating further:

> Fool, because I cannot.
> Though we have power, know that it is circumscribed
> And tied in limits. Though he be curst to thee
> Yet of himself is loving to the world
> And charitable to the poor.                          (2.1.174-8)

Dog's 'circumscribed' power cannot fulfil Sawyer's command, here; '[h]ast thou not vowed'

(2.1.172), Sawyer enquires, as she comes to terms with another power that restricts her

authority over the companion whom she allegedly controls. These moments may also recollect

Marlowe's play, since Mephistopheles similarly resists the power of the ritual that comes

allegedly from within Faustus's 'necromantic books' (1.1.52):

| [*Faustus.*] | [...] Tell me who made the world. |
|---|---|
| *Mephistopheles.* | I will not. |
| *Faustus.* | Sweet Mephistopheles, tell me. |
| *Mephistopheles.* | Move me not, for I will not tell thee. |
| *Faustus.* | Villain, have I not bound thee to tell me anything? |
| *Mephistopheles.* | Ay, that is not against our kingdom. But this is.<br>Think thou on hell, Faustus, for thou art damned.  (2.3.65-71) |

External powers seem to curb the effectiveness of the binding ritual in Marlowe's play, since

laws from Mephistopheles' 'kingdom' (70) limit the power of Faustus's magic. Likewise, in

*The Witch of Edmonton*, Old Banks' disposition protects him from harm: he is both 'loving to

the world' and 'charitable to the poor' (177-8), which guarantees protection from the

maleficent power of his adversary – the 'poor, deformed and ignorant' Sawyer (2.1.3). Dog,

then, escapes successfully the hierarchical relationship that forms a diabolical pact. He mocks

the fidelity to Sawyer, which was recorded in Goodcole's pamphlet, and he breaks through the typical model of maleficent practice by refusing to harm a man 'charitable to the poor' (2.1.178): one who, ironically, abuses the 'witch' figure onstage in 2.1.[44]

The kind of magic on show in this play, then, evades Sawyer's conception of what 'witchcraft' is. And Sawyer cannot come to terms with the nuanced form of magic at play until it is too late. In the closing moments of the play, she partakes in a passionate exchange with a white-clad Dog, portraying vividly her misguided beliefs about the strength of her contract, as she tries – again – to assert her authority over the play's devil:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sawyer.* | Thou art a lying spirit. |
| | Why to mine eyes thou art a flag of truce? |
| | I am at peace with none; 'tis the black colour, |
| | Or none, which I fight under. I do not like |
| | Thy puritan paleness; glowing furnaces |
| | Are far more hot than they which flame outright. |
| | If thou my old dog art, go and bit such |
| | As I shall set thee on. |
| *Dog.* | I will not. |
| *Sawyer.* | I'll sell myself to twenty thousand fiends |
| | To have thee torn in pieces, then.            (5.1.49-59) |

Dog, again, refuses to live up to his side of the bargain, and his 'I will not' (57) counters Sawyer's command to 'go and bite such as I shall set thee on' (56). Sawyer's promise to take revenge by selling herself to other devils compounds her misunderstanding. Blood-letting, she supposes, continues to establish control over the devil with whom she converses, and this blind belief elucidates her tragic demise, settling uneasily alongside Dog's activities beyond the main

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[44] In Goodcole's interrogation, Sawyer recalls that her preternatural companion 'never failed me at that time'. See Goodcole (1621), p. 308.

witchcraft plot, since those maleficent forces of which she speaks do not underpin her threats and insults.

## 2.0. Spectators' Perspectives and the Threats of Hidden Space

Typical conceptions of 'witchcraft', then, do not cover how the devilish agent behaves in this play. Dog resists the strictly hierarchical relationships that seem so integral to maleficent practice, since Sawyer's blood-letting ritual, which otherwise enforces obedience in those narratives that describe diabolical invocation in early modern England, cannot restrict Dog nor his activities. He revises the blueprint of 'witchcraft' in other ways, too, aiding Cuddy Banks and Frank Thorney despite lack of a ritualistic contract with them. As a result, and as we shall now see, an alternative kind of diabolical invocation comes into focus. What terms, I shall now ask, bring Dog onstage to collaborate with those who seem peripheral to the play's witchcraft plot? The answer, I shall suggest, can be found through attention to the play's geography, since private, secluded spaces set the scene for the play's diabolism. These unseen and private environments, I think, can be associated with the wider mystery of a hidden space within the playhouse, and – as we have also seen in the preceding chapters – they are particularly ambiguous.[45]

The economic imperatives of performance, whereby the stage lay in a closed space, obliging playgoers to pay a fee to watch a play, created the conditions within which playhouses

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[45] Spectators' perspectives restrain what takes place onstage, but those ambiguous spaces – which lurk beyond the boundaries of the dais – resist empirical verification. They encroach on theatre architecture: Sebastiano Serlio, Vicenzo Scamozzi, Giambattista Aleotti, and Andrea Palladio produced theatres within the private dwellings of the Italian aristocracy, and those public areas that lay beyond the walls of both the auditorium and the stage space escaped spectators' perspectives as a result. The enclosed *Sala Grande*, then, replaced the open spaces of the *cortile* [courtyard], which had hosted previously the pageants, processions, entries, and the large-scale performances endemic in medieval drama, and its walls segregated the world of a play from 'the busy, everyday world of the *piazza*' (Weimann 2000, p. 186). See Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 20-6; pp. 38-9. Also see Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 185-6.

featured these concealed spaces. In English theatre design, John Brayne devised a closed

playing space in the yard of the Red Bull Inn, Stepney. This architectural plan sought to resolve

the financial insecurities of playing companies, since spectators 'could not enter [the playing

space] until they had passed – the box office', resolving what Charles W.R.D. Moseley called

the 'chancy' means of money collection that took place at performances situated within the

open spaces of the London street.[46] Brayne's idea took shape in the short-lived Red Lion, the

'first permanent building to provide regular performance of plays', and James Burbage –

Brayne's brother-in-law – constructed the Theatre in Shoreditch in 1576 (Figure 1).[47] Walls

enclosed the tiring house, the permanent stage, and the auditorium, and its shape drew – perhaps

– from the roofed banqueting house that English carpenters built at Calais in 1520.[48]

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[46] See Charles W.R.D. Moseley, *English Renaissance Drama: An Introduction to Theatre and Theatres in Shakespeare's Time* (Penrith: Humanities Ebooks, 2007), p. 13.
[47] See James Roose-Evans, *London Theatre: From the Globe to the National* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), p. 15.
[48] See Richard Hosley, 'The Theatre and the Tradition of Playhouse Design', in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1598*, ed. by H. Berry (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1979), pp. 47-79 (p. 60).
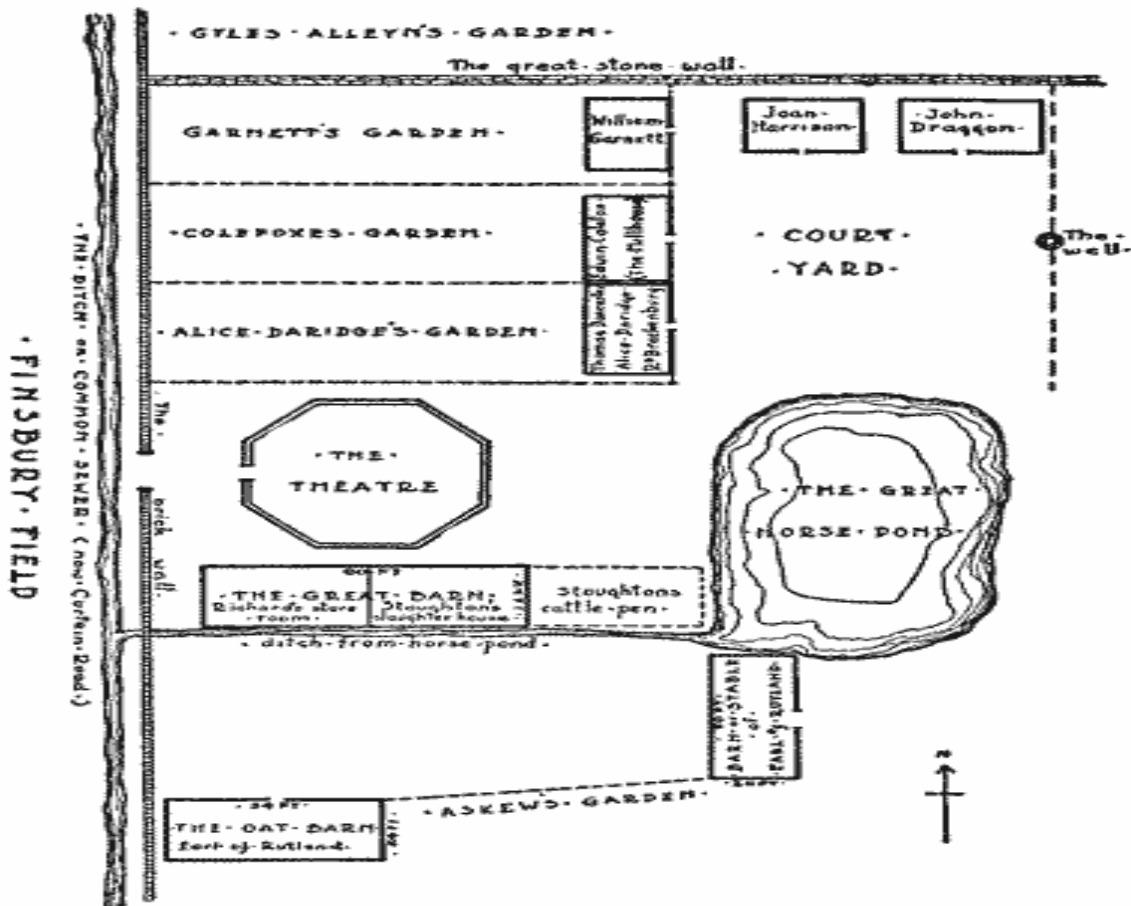
*Figure 1.* J. Quincy-Adams, *A Plan of Burbage's Holywell Property.* Note, in particular, how walls enclose the playing space, cutting-off the auditorium from the environs that surrounded the building. See Quincy-Adams (1960), p. 34.

Those enclosed bull-baiting arenas and bear gardens, which attracted spectators to Bankside, may have informed the construction as well, although 'extensive modifications of Burbage's design' figured in the final product.[49] Another walled playhouse, the Curtain, appeared close by the following year; the Rose came next in 1587, and a further amphitheatre, the Swan (Figure 2), was built 'on the south bank of the Thames west of the Rose, close to the Paris garden, where the chief bear-baiting house stood'.[50]

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[49] See Janet S. Loengard, 'An Elizabethan Lawsuit: John Bayne, his Carpenter, and the Building of the Red Lion Theatre', *Renaissance Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1983), pp. 298-310 (p. 300).

[50] See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 15.
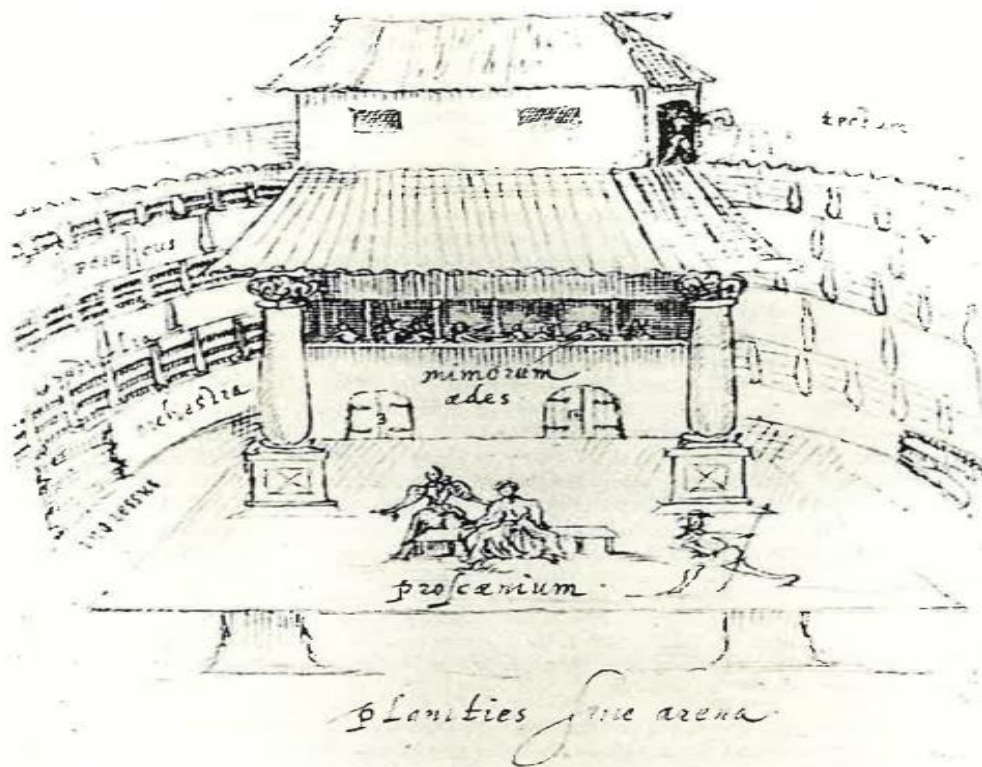
*Figure 2.* A. Gurr, *A drawing of the interior of the Swan, copied in Amsterdam by Arend van Buchell from one made in London in 1596 by Johannes De Witt. Its galleries were polygonal, with external stair turrets, and an 'ingressus' that provided access from the yard to the lowest level of gallery.* See Gurr (2003), p. 18.

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The walls that enclosed a theatre's performance space thus cut off the visible areas of the stage from those hidden regions beyond the walls and doors of a theatre: the strictly localised remits of early modern performance create those unfamiliar and hidden spaces that lurk beyond the stage door and, by extension, the very walls of the playhouse, as playgoers came to terms with a set of shapeless and unstable territories that writhe free from definition. Thus, as we saw in *Titus Andronicus* (chapter 1), hellishness seeps into a hidden space beneath the stage, when Martius describes to his brother – Quintus – the 'misty mouth' (2.2.236) of the Cocytus that

flows close by.[51] And, in *Twelfth Night* (c. 1601-2), those hidden spaces within Feste's private

dwelling resist the realities of the onstage space.[52] They seem fraught with contradiction when

Malvolio calls out to Feste from 'within' (4.2.20.SD):

| *Feste.* | Fie, thou dishonest Satan! I call thee by the most modest terms, for I am one of those gentle ones that will use the devil himself with courtesy. Sayst thou that the house is dark? |
|---|---|
| *Malvolio.* | As hell, Sir Topas. |
| *Feste.* | Why, it hath bay-windows transparent as barricadoes, and the clerestories toward the south-north are as lustrous as ebony, and yet thou complainest thou of obstruction? |
| *Malvolio.* | I am not mad, Sir Topas. I say to you this house is dark. |
| *Feste.* | Madman thou errest. I say there is no darkness but ignorance, in which thou art more puzzled than the Egyptians in their fog. |

(4.2.31-44)

What lies within this backstage space is inconsistent; casks 'filled with earth and stones' form

the expansive 'bay windows' (34) within the abode, and 'ebony' (38) – a substance known for

its blackness – contradicts the function of the clerestories that appear within the house. Infernal

qualities confuse the spatial geography of the dwelling, too, since the house incarcerates

Malvolio in ways that resemble how hell imprisons the 'dishonest Satan' (31) after his exile

from heaven.

Hidden areas also encroach on the stage space in *Macbeth*'s Porter scene, which we

explored in chapter 1. To help us think through this connection, we should re-visit how this

comic character answers the incessant knocking of Lennox and Macduff at the 'south entry'

(2.2.67) of the castle at Inverness:

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[51] See William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus: Revised Edition*, ed. by J. Bate, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

[52] See William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. by K. Elam, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).

(*Knock*) Knock, knock, knock. Who's there? Faith, here's an English tailor come hither, for stealing out of a French hose. Come in, tailor; here you may roast your goose. (*Knock*) Knock, knock. Never at quiet. What are you? But this place is too cold for hell. I'll devil-porter it no further. I had thought to have let in some of all professions that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire.

(2.3.12-9)

Conceptions of quotidian space do not cover those hidden areas behind the stage door, and those who stand within such areas escape the axioms of a quotidian world. Thus, the transition in pronouns – from 'who' (12) to 'what' (16) – portrays vividly how these characters resist the structures of the everyday. Lennox and Macduff, in other words, no longer seem worldly beings to the Porter. They seem *otherworldly* instead. The stage door, which offers access to the hidden region of the backstage, exacerbates this sense of disorder, screening the bodies of both characters from the view of the playgoer. This hidden region escapes the remits of the Porter's world and, by extension, the world of those who watch the drama unfold. It lies beyond the 'certain spatial limits imposed by our faculty of perception', and 'the main directions of organisation – before-behind, above-below, right-left' seem dissimilar within it, wriggling free from the axioms that govern spectators' conceptions of space.[53]

The potential meanings of offstage space are compounded in *Macbeth* through the fact that Duncan's dead body lies somewhere backstage, flitting free from the shackles of quotidian definition. Macduff's aggrieved speech shapes this ambiguity when he comes onstage to report the grim sight that lurks just beyond the stage door:

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[53] See Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* trans. by C. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1991), pp. 29-30.

| Macduff. | O horror, horror, horror. |
| | Tongue nor heart cannot conceive nor name thee. |
| Macbeth, Lennox. | What's the matter? |
| Macduff. | Confusion now hath made his masterpiece. |
| | Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope, |
| | The Lord's anointed temple, and stolen thence |
| | The life o'th' building.          (2.3.63-9) |

Poetic devices translate the hideous sight that lies offstage, since vernacular terms cannot convey the 'horror' (63) of Duncan's bloodied corpse: neither 'tongue nor heart [can] conceive' (64) the grisly vision, and elaborate metaphor describes things instead. Confusion, Macduff claims, thus 'hath made his masterpiece' (66) within the bedchamber; allegorical modes of description replace their material counterparts, untethering the hidden space backstage from the world of the play, as Macduff struggles to tell others of the sight that he has encountered. Duncan's corpse, too, eludes quotidian description, since Macduff likens the body of the deceased king to an 'anointed temple' (68): the walls of a church replace the flesh of the king, which Macbeth's dagger punctures (67), stealing 'thence / The life of the building' (68-9). This corpse continues to shift restlessly later in the scene. Indeed, the cries of alarm bring Malcolm and Donalbain onstage, where they hear Macbeth's and Macduff's accounts of these tragic proceedings:

| Donalbain. | What is amiss? |
| Macbeth. | You are, and do not know't: |
| | The spring, the head, the fountain of your blood |
| | Is stopped, the very source of it is stopped. |
| Macduff. | Your royal father's murdered.          (2.3.98-101) |

Macbeth's turn at talk brings Donalbain's speech to a premature conclusion; '[y]ou' – a strong stress – settles uncomfortably alongside the '—miss' (98), another strong stress. Macbeth thus

revokes the sense of prosodic completeness, portraying vividly his consternation. He lapses into figurative speech, echoing – perhaps – Macduff's opening show of grief. Metaphor, again, seems to convey what more literal language cannot, as Macbeth comments on the sudden stoppage of the 'spring, the head, [and] the fountain of [Malcolm and Donalbain's] blood' (99). Parallelisms also dilate the time that Macbeth spends speaking: 'stopped' (100) figures twice in the same line, as Macbeth – echoing his fellow thane – stages his struggle to get the words out. He re-enacts, perhaps, those parallelisms that convey the deep grief of Marcus in *Titus Andronicus*, who encounters a mutilated Lavinia onstage in 2.3.[54] The sight of Duncan's silver skin 'laced with his golden blood' (2.3.113) thus impedes Macbeth's speech, reducing the efficiency of Macbeth's dialogue, since the horrible sight backstage eludes – supposedly – the grasp of plain speech.

The walls of a hovel enclose another hidden space in *King Lear* (c. 1606), granting shelter from a storm 'too rough / For nature to endure' (3.4.2-3).[55] But something unexpected lurks already within the dwelling:

| | |
|---|---|
| F*Edgar. [within]* | Fathom and half, fathom and half: Poor Tom!F |
| *Fool.* | Come not in here, nuncle, here's a spirit. Help me, help me! |
| *Kent.* | Give me thy hand. Who's there? |
| *Fool.* | A spirit, Fa spirit.F He says his name's Poor Tom. |
| *Kent.* | What art thou that dost grumble there i'the straw? Come forth. |

(3.4.37-44)

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[54] Hamlet's 'temporally stagnant mourning', Thomas Ward argues, also expands time, since his 'conventional terms of verbal disfluency' resist 'the smooth progression of harmonious speech' (p. 924). See Thomas Ward, 'Hamlet's "Moderate Haste" and the Time of Speech', *English Literary History* 87, no. 4 (2020), pp. 911-41.

[55] See William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. by Reginald A. Foakes, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997).

This space seems to lurk beyond sensory experience, and its spatial distance takes shape when Kent asks who is 'there' (41) from onstage: the adverb 'there' – in contrast to the Fool's 'here' (39) – invokes an area that lies beyond the localised spaces of the stage itself. The walls of the hovel, which the boundaries of the stage enclose, screen this locale from those who stand onstage and those who watch the play from the auditorium, and those individuals who stand within this hidden area resist the definitions that govern a material world: materiality seems to implode as an exiled Edgar – a man who resolves to 'preserve [himself]', taking 'the basest and most poorest shape' (2.2.177-8) – becomes a 'spirit' (3.4.39). His body, then, shifts restlessly in a space that absconds from the definition of the onstage, as the play constructs a liminal and anarchic area that oversees the transformation of an otherwise impoverished and worldly figure into something else.

These suggestive spaces figure in later plays. In Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *The Changeling* (c. 1622), for instance, both Beatrice-Joanna and De Flores escape the moral commitments of marriage within the private climes of a bedchamber; either euphoria or pain echoes from a hidden region backstage, as Alsemero – who stands conspicuously onstage – overhears both characters' 'scene of lust' (5.3.114-5).[56] The offstage bedchamber also oozes ominous characteristics in John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (c. 1633), when Giovanni and Annabella – a brother and sister – consummate their incestuous relationship within it (2.1.1.SD).[57]

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

I have spoken thus far about those mysterious and hidden spaces that escape the parameters of the stage. But these private areas appear onstage as well, emerging conspicuously in *Macbeth*'s

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[56] See Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *The Changeling*, ed. by J. Daalder, New Mermaids (London: A&C Black, 1990).

[57] See John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, ed. by S. Massai, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

banquet scene when the murderer – covered in Banquo's blood – arrives onstage amidst the

dining lords to report the deed to his king:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Macbeth.* | You know your own degrees, sit down. At first and last, |
| | The hearty welcome. |
| *Lords.* | Thanks to your majesty. |
| *Macbeth.* | Ourself will mingle with society |
| | And play the humble host. Our hostess keeps her state, |
| | But in best time we will require her welcome. |
| *Lady.* | Pronounce it for me, sir, to all our friends, |
| | For my heart speaks, they are welcome. |

*Enter* First MURDERER.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Macbeth.* | See, they encounter thee with their hearts' thanks. |
| | Both sides are even: here I'll sit i'th' midst. |
| | Be large in mirth; anon we'll drink a measure |
| | The table round. – There's blood upon thy face. |
| *1 Murderer.* | 'Tis Banquo's then. |
| *Macbeth.* | 'Tis better thee without, than he within. |
| | Is he dispatched? |
| *1 Murderer.* | My lord, his throat is cut; that I did for him. |
| *Macbeth.* | Thou art the best o'th' cut-throats; |
| | Yet he's good that did the like for Fleance. |
| | If thou didst it, thou art the nonpareil. |
| *1 Murderer.* | Most royal sir, Fleance is scaped. |
| *Macbeth.* | Then comes my fit again: I had else been perfect; |
| | Whole as the marble, founded as the rock, |
| | As broad and general as the casing air: |
| | But I am now cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in |
| | To saucy doubts and fears. But Banquo's safe? |
| *1 Murderer.* | Ay, my good lord: safe in a ditch he bides, |
| | With twenty trenched gashes on his head, |
| | The least a death to nature. |
| *Macbeth.* | Thanks for that. |
| | There the grown serpent lies; the worm that's fled |
| | Hath nature that in time will venom breed, |
| | No teeth for th' present. Get thee gone, tomorrow |
| | We'll hear ourselves again. |

*Exit* [First] *Murderer.*

<pre>
Lady.                                            My royal lord,
                 You do not give the cheer: the feast is sold
                 That is not often vouched, while 'tis a-making,
                 'Tis given with welcome. To feed were best at home:
                 From thence, the sauce to meet is ceremony,
                 Meeting were bare without it.
</pre>

*Enter the* Ghost of BANQUO, *and sits in Macbeth's place.*

<pre>
Macbeth.                                      Sweet remembrancer.
                 And health on both.
</pre>

<pre>
Lennox.                          May't please your highness sit.        (3.4.1-37)
</pre>

Several conversations take place, here; '[y]ou know your own degrees' (1) begins things, as Macbeth invites his fellow lords to take their places at the table. His fellows, then, respond. Both parties thus seem within the same conversational space, since the lords offer '[t]hanks' (2) for Macbeth's 'hearty welcome' (2). This ceremonial conversation continues up to line 7, and Macbeth's deixis, which takes shape in '[o]urself' (3), 'our' (4), recalls the conversations that a king may partake in at court.[58]  And the Lady indulges in courteous dialogue, too, since those royal pronouns, which figure conspicuously in Macbeth's opening address, recur when the Lady requests her husband to welcome 'all our friends' (6) to the table.

The Lords' perspectives thus envelop the opening moments of the passage, shaping the dialogue, since Macbeth and the Lady engage in discourse that those seated expect to hear, fulfilling their stature as sovereigns over those others who sit at the table. But, as the passage continues, Macbeth and the Lady enter another conversational space that escapes the perspectives of those who sit down to eat; an informal style of address replaces the formal, figuring when Macbeth comments on those who 'encounter *thee* with their hearts' thanks' (emphasis mine) (8), excluding the guests from the verbal exchange. This intimate

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[58] We may recall the collective pronouns that figure within Claudius's courtly speeches in the opening moments *Hamlet*, here (1.2.1-16). See Daniel Kaczyński, 'Hamlet's Use of the Royal Plural', *The Explicator* 78, no. 3-4 (2020), pp. 139-42.

conversational space, which seems different from the ceremonial setting, continues, and it resists the conditions of the onstage space in these moments: the first person pronoun takes the place of the royal plural, as Macbeth announces his intention to 'sit i' th' midst' of his fellow lords (9). And, by line 10, the royal plural returns to Macbeth's dialogue: 'anon *we'll* drink a measure / The table round' (emphasis mine) (10-11), Macbeth pronounces to his onstage audience, addressing again his intent to partake in merriment to those who sit at the banqueting table.

The ceremonial setting of the scene thus re-asserts itself, shaping the dialogue of the speaker. But Macbeth, again, squirms from its grip, turning to the First Murderer in the final half-line of line 11 and eschewing – again – the perspectives of those who sit at the table. This transition also takes shape in deictic devices; 'then comes *my* fit again' (emphasis mine) (19) jars against those royal pronouns that address the court in the opening moments of the passage, while '*I* am now cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in / To saucy doubts and fears' (emphasis mine) (22-3) shatters the structure that otherwise propagates across the scene. Macbeth thus converses with the First Murderer in a space that resists the pomp of the occasion, and his kingly countenance – which manifests otherwise when Macbeth addresses those who await his company at the banqueting table – implodes when he converses with others in conversational spaces beyond the perspectives of his subjects.

By line 37, these complex exchanges of conversation come to their end, and Macbeth responds to Lennox's request that he 'sit' (37) amidst his compatriots. At this moment, he has not seen the spectre who sits in his place at the table:

| *Macbeth.* | Here had we our country's honour roofed, |
| | Were the graced person of our Banquo present, |
| | Who may I rather challenge for unkindness |
| | Than pit for mischance. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ross.* | His absence, sir, |
| | Lays blame upon his promise. Please't your highness |
| | To grace us with your royal company. |
| *Macbeth.* | The table's full. |
| *Lennox.* | Here is a place reserved, sir. |
| *Macbeth.* | Where? |
| *Lennox.* | Here my good lord. What is't that moves your highness? |
| *Macbeth.* | Which of you have done this? |
| *Lords.* | What, my good lord? |
| *Macbeth.* | Thou canst not say I did it: never shake |
| | Thy gory locks at me. (3.4.38-48) |

Macbeth, again, addresses all of those who are onstage: another royal plural appears in '[h]ere had we *our* country's honour roofed' (emphasis mine) (38), and another forms 'the graced person of *our* Banquo present' (39). 'Who may *I* rather challenge for unkindness' (emphasis mine) (40), however, conveys a temporary slip out of royal composure, as the speaker chides Banquo for his absence at the feast. Those who listen to his words may sympathise with his staged show of grief: Banquo's absence '[l]ays blame upon his promise' (42), Ross claims, and he beseeches his lord to 'grace us with [Macbeth's] royal company' (43). But a second, unscripted slip from the conventions of this public space follows soon afterwards, when Macbeth comes to terms with the spectre who sits amidst them: '*[t]hou* cannot say *I* did it' (emphasis mine) (47) contains informal deictic devices that convey how the speaker's public show of composure unravels completely.

The conditions that govern the public space of the feasting hall cannot accommodate the spectre, either. Indeed, the regal setting of the banquet, which takes shape in the royal pronouns that flavour Macbeth's speeches earlier in the scene, has vanished when the speaker converses with his former captain:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Macbeth.* | [*to Ghost*] Why, what care I? If thou canst nod, speak too. |
| | If charnel-houses and our graves must send |
| | Those that we bury back, our monuments |
| | Shall be the maws of kites. |

*Exit Ghost.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Lady.* | What? Quite unmanned in folly. |
| *Macbeth.* | If I stand here, I saw him. |
| *Lady.* | Fie, for shame. (3.4.67-72) |

A first person pronoun replaces the royal pronoun in 'what care I?', here, and Macbeth challenges the ghost to 'speak' (67). This scene's public space, however, envelops proceedings afterwards; the regal setting, which otherwise governs the space of the banquet, takes shape when Macbeth muses – for all to hear – about those 'charnel-houses' and '*our* graves' that 'must send / Those that *we* bury back' (emphasis mine), concluding his speech with the further observation that '*our* monuments / Shall be the maws of kites' (emphasis mine) (68-70). The Lords and the Lady may hear these final three lines, and the Lady tries to settle things by proclaiming that Macbeth – who jars against the merriment of the scene – seems '[q]uite unmanned in folly' (71). The courtly setting, moreover, cannot include the conversational space in which both characters then converse with one another; informal deictic devices replace, again, their regal equivalents, as Macbeth turns to his wife to proclaim that '[i]f *I* stand[s] here, *I* saw him' (emphasis mine) (71).

The boundaries of the stage, then, encase the spectre, since Banquo's ghost mingles amidst those other characters who live within the world of the play. But the public space of the banquet cannot envelop the space in which the spirit stands, and Macbeth converses with a ghost in a space that resists the closure of the ceremony:

*Enter* Ghost.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Macbeth.* | I drink to the general joy o'the whole table, |
| | And to our dear friend Banquo, whom we miss – |
| | Would he were here. To all, and him we thirst, |
| | And all to all. |
| | |
| *Lords.* | Our duties, and the pledge. |
| | |
| *Macbeth.* | Avaunt, and quit my sight! Let the earth hide thee. |
| | Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold; |
| | Thou hast no speculation in those eyes |
| | Which thou dost glare within. |
| | |
| *Lady.* | Think of this, good peers, |
| | But as a thing of custom; 'tis no other, |
| | Only it spoils the pleasure of the time. |
| | |
| *Macbeth.* | What man dare, I dare. |
| | Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear, |
| | The armed rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger, |
| | Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves |
| | Shall never tremble. Or be alive again, |
| | And dare me to the desert with thy sword; |
| | If trembling I inhabit then, protest me |
| | The baby of a girl. Hence, horrible shadow, |
| | Unreal mockery, hence.        (3.4.87-105) |

This second conversation with the spectre resists the customs and traditions that orchestrate the banquet; 'quit *my* sight' (91) replaces '*our* dear friend' and 'whom *we* miss' (87), and Macbeth pleads with the spectre to take another shape, which will ensure that '*my* firm nerves / Shall never tremble' (100-1). The ghost, he pleads, should 'dare *me* to the desert with thy sword', 'protest[ing] *me* / The baby of a girl' to counter his 'trembling' (emphases mine) (103-4): Macbeth no longer orates like a king, here, and the speaker enters a conversational space that deconstructs the very foundations of his kingship and sovereignty. Indeed, the supernatural, often associated with offstage space, seems to break onto the stage itself, disrupting its spatial structure and decorum.

These deictic devices, which I have spoken about above, shed light on spaces that defy the terms of a play's public space, pointing to an area that exceeds – as Robert Weimann argues – the 'bounds of representational closure'.[59] Thus, in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, the stricken scholar resists the social structures of a post-Reformation world within a space that skulks beyond the remits of his contemporaries, 'abjur[ing] the Scriptures and his Saviour Christ' (1.3.48) within his study and secluding himself from his students after he makes his pact with Mephistopheles. These pupils – who are unaware of Faustus's activities – consider his frail form to derive from 'some sickness by being over-solitary' (5.1.17-8). Lady Macbeth, too, escapes the gendered structures of her world, pleading spirits to 'unsex [her]' (1.5.38-41) within an empty stage space, and Macbeth resists his obligations to his king, Duncan, resolving – as a consequence of the Lady's goading – to be 'like the innocent flower' but 'the serpent under't' (1.5.65-6).

Those activities that take place within these private spaces escape the social structures, traditions, and expectations that compose the world of a play. Arden says as much in *Arden of Faversham* (c. 1592): his wife's meetings with her lover, Mosby, at 'privy [private] meetings in the town' (1.1.16) upset the permanence of marriage, and the ring – which 'at our marriage day the priest put on' (1.1.18) – adorns now Mosby's finger.[60] Those private spaces in Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling* contravene, too, the permanence of marriage: betrothal no longer seems binding when Beatrice-Johanna – speaking to De Flores – recollects how she is 'forced to marry one / I hate beyond all depths' (2.2.110-1), and her response is to retreat into private spaces with De Flores, within which they consummate their transgressive desires. Giovanni also unsettles marital union in Ford's later play, killing a 'love [Annabella]

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[59] See Weimann (2000), p. 199.
[60] See Anon., *Arden of Faversham*, ed. by M. White, New Mermaids (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1982).

for whose each drop of blood / I would have pawned my own heart' (5.5.102-3) and denying the betrothed Soranzo the 'sad marriage bed' (5.5.98). The hidden space of the bedchamber, moreover, oversees the murder that is to follow, and Giovanni emerges from the offstage space (which he has occupied with Annabella) to rupture the order of the public space of the feast. The sense of order, custom, and tradition that figure within these plays' representations of familiar space turns on its head, meeting an antithesis of order within a cordoned-off and private space beyond the walls of a bedchamber or house. And, as we shall see below, the threats of such anarchic spaces figure in *The Witch of Edmonton*, upturning the moral dispositions of those individuals who stand within them.[61] Thus, in the comic subplot of the play, the secluded 'pease-field' (2.1.286) within which Cuddy pursues lustfully a malevolent impersonation of Katherine into water offstage escapes the perspectives of the play's other characters. Internal passions reach their climax within this space: Cuddy seeks to 'mount after [Katherine] so nimble' (3.1.102), promising to take her to the 'house [that] stands in the highway' (3.1.107) for sexual intercourse, and his desire apexes in an eager chase of the spirit into water.

Importantly, this private space resists the securities of its public equivalent since, earlier in the play, Sawyer's presence onstage prevents the transformation of Cuddy's internal passions into action. The vice is certainly on show, here, taking shape in phallic and penetrative undertones, as Cuddy conveys his lecherous thoughts for the 'wealthy yeoman's daughter' to Sawyer (2.1.240). He seems 'up to the very hilts' (2.1.251) in love and, when Sawyer requests him to speak 'plain' (2.1.237), he assures her to be as plain 'as a pikestaff' (2.1.238). Both of these expressions are none too subtle references to his erect penis. But language – rather than action – expresses his inner turmoil. Other characters' perspectives thus envelop Cuddy, forcing him to suppress his passions in front of others. But, within the unchecked fields of

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[61] Three authors collaborated on *The Witch of Edmonton*; the drama is a particularly porous textual space, and a wide array of different themes and ideas figure within it. As such, Lucy Munro provides a detailed account of its complex authorial background. See Munro (2017), pp. 19-25.

Cuddy's father, they collapse, and Cuddy's internal thoughts escape their shackles, surging uncontrollably when he encounters the object of his desire within a space that eludes the remits of other characters' verification.

Prose replaces a poetic metre, here, as Cuddy prepares to chase – in a disorderly fashion – the spirit offstage:

> Tarry and kiss me, sweet nymph; stay.
> Tarry and kiss me, sweet.
> We will to Chestnut street,
> And then to the house stands in the highway.
> Nay, by your leave, I must embrace you.                    (3.1.104-8)

Stresses on '[t]arr—', 'kiss', 'sweet', and 'stay' (104) construct a consistent rhythm in these moments, as the speaker makes good on his promise to meet the spirit 'in metre' (3.1.100). A ditty-like verse thus expresses the lust of the fool. But the lust soon breaks free from its moorings: the pause after the first word of line 108 breaks apart the metric consistency of the lines that precede it. Lecherous desire breaks through the lyric of poetic fantasy, here, materialising in the prose of Cuddy's conversation.

Cuddy's lust, then, seems all too real at the end of the passage, since the '[n]ay, by your leave' (108) butts against the possibility of that lust not being satisfied, giving the desire of the fool a harder edge. And vice overcomes a moral disposition elsewhere in this multi-authored play. Lust, for instance, overcomes Sawyer's moral disposition within an isolated stage space, taking shape when she requests her companion to 'kiss me' (4.1.174), and she asks Dog to 'tickle' her, too (4.1.186). Queasily intimate undertones also emerge when she moves offstage to 'play' with her devil (4.2.301). Frank, too, seems to succumb to his 'unruly lust' (1.1.92) within a space that eludes the perspectives of the play's other characters. Indeed, 'all the country whispers', Sir Arthur Clarington observes, with the news that Frank 'hast undone a

maid' (1.1.82-3). The sense of confidentiality and secrecy, which envelops the dubious

activities that take place within such spaces is also apparent when Frank informs Clarington

that he and Winifred are now 'man and wife' (1.1.11), since the knight's startled response to

these developments reveals his ignorance of these proceedings (1.1.112). Winifred, moreover,

castigates Clarington about his 'former deeds of lust' (1.1.189) within, we can presume, his

private chambers. Those secret spaces within the private dwellings of this play thus seem

foreboding and anarchic backdrops, and lecherous desires uproot the moral dispositions of

those who stand within them.

      Wrath also develops in these unchecked territories, manifesting when Sawyer curses

Old Banks on an empty stage in 2.1, an act which brings Dog onstage:

> Still vexed? Still tortured? That curmudgeon Banks
> Is ground of all my scandal. I am shunned
> And hated like a sickness, made a scorn
> To all degrees and sexes. I have heard old beldams
> Talk of familiars in the shape of mice,
> Rats, ferrets, weasels, and I wot not what,
> That have appeared and sucked, some say, their blood.
> But by what means they came acquainted with them
> I'm now ignorant. Would some power good or bad
> Instruct me in which way I might be revenged
> Upon this churl, I'd go out myself
> And give this Fury leave to dwell within
> This ruined cottage, ready to fall with age,
> Abjure all goodness, be at hate with prayer
> And study curses, imprecations,
> Blasphemous speeches, oaths, detested oaths,
> Or anything that's ill, so I might work
> Revenge on this miser, this black cur
> That barks and bites and sucks the very blood
> Of me and of my credit. 'Tis all one
> To be a witch as to be counted one.
> Vengeance, shame, ruin light upon that canker.    (2.1.113-35)

The metrical fluidity of this speech is certainly unexpected since, in the context of the time, an

uneducated woman who speaks in verse is surprising. Indeed, '[s]till vexed? Still tortured?

That curmudgeon Banks' (113) seems iambic; a weak stress comes in '[s]till', '[s]till', and '—cur', while 'vexed', 'tort—', '[t]hat', '—mud—', and 'Banks' form strong stresses that follow their weaker counterparts. But, as the passage continues, Sawyer's unbridled wrath begins to unravel the prosodic structure; a strong stress, which forms '[t]alk' in '[t]alk of familiars in the shape of mice' (117) confuses the iambic metre that precedes it, and '[r]ats' and 'ferrets' (118) establish a staccato that upsets any sense of iambic flow. Sawyer's verse, then, begins to teeter on the edge of prose. It seems imperfect, as her internal passions conspicuously uproot the controlled composure that begins the passage.

The iambic metre does re-assert itself in line 119. But Sawyer – again – struggles to rein in her control, since the '[b]las—' in '[b]lasphemous speeches' brings out of kilter the consistent prosodic rhythm of lines 120, 121, 123, and 124. And any sense of restraint dissipates in the final line of the speech; a strong stress begins '[v]eng—' in 'vengeance' (135), and an unbalanced, unpredictable, and unstable passion thus takes shape when this verse line threatens to become prose. Sawyer, then, seems unsuccessful in her struggle against this passion. She cannot suppress her freefall into wrath and 'cursing' (2.1.137), and moments of metrical disfluency overcome a conventional prosodic structure, breaking free from those more restrained kinds of blank verse. A disorder thus overcomes moral structure in this private space, incarnating in the harsh, un-metred curse of the final line.

A 'knot of trees' (3.2.127) screens another space within the play's domestic tragedy and, in ways that resemble the collapse of Sawyer's disposition, Frank's wrath develops unchecked within it. The composure of this husband dissipates quickly, here, as Frank urges Susan, his second wife, to return home:

> *Frank.*  Why, you almost anger me. Pray you, be gone.
> You have no company and 'tis very early;
> Some hurt may betide you homewards.

| *Susan.* | Tush, I fear none; |
| | To leave you is the greatest hurt I can suffer. |
| | Besides, I expect your father and mine own |
| | To meet me back or overtake me with you. |
| | They began to stir when I came after you; |
| | I'll know they'll be not long. |
| | |
| *Frank.* | [*aside*.] So, I shall have more trouble. |
| (*Dog rubs him*). | |
| | Thank you for that. |
| | Then I'll ease all at once. 'Tis done now, |
| | What I ne'er thought on. (3.3.7-17) |

Anger challenges the otherwise settled disposition of the husband in these moments, manifesting ominously when Frank warns his wife that she 'almost anger[s] [him]' (7). Some hurt, he claims, 'may betide you homewards' (9). Susan, however, does not share Frank's concern: the tension rises to its peak, since she refuses to heed Frank's words. Frank's internal vice, then, overcomes his countenance in line 15, and Dog – who 'rubs' Frank (15.SD) – calms the tumultuous set of emotions that rise within the speaker. Any sense of relief, however, is short-lived, since Frank settles on murder as the solution. Susan, Frank claims, thus might 'have safe returned' to her lodging (3.3.39). But she stays. She has 'dogged [her] own death' (3.3.39), becoming a tragic witness as she stands opposite Frank in an area that lurks beyond the perspectives of other characters in the play.  This clearing, like the empty stage space in which Sawyer berates her 'adversary' (2.1.16) and the 'pease-field' (2.1.286) in which Cuddy succumbs to his desire, evades the others' perspectives, and the moral dispositions of the play's characters destabilise within them.

### 3.0. 'I Was Your Devil': Hidden Spaces and Virtuous Devils in The Witch of Edmonton

Those private areas within this play, I have shown thus far, evade the perspectives and definitions that otherwise govern this play's public spaces, since the securities of post-

Reformation ways of life collapse within them, meeting the instability of a hidden territory that escapes the scrutiny of an onstage audience. They recall those regions that lie on the other side of city walls (chapter 1) and those provinces that appear beyond the borders of the shoreline (chapter 2). And, like those territories explored in this thesis's preceding chapters, those characters who stand within the hidden spaces within this play eschew the definitions that dictate the nature of a play's everyday, shedding light on a kind of diabolical practice that those conspicuous rituals cannot otherwise contain.

This hidden area diffuses a disorderliness that upsets the very structure of those who stand within it since – within such spaces – characters escape the axioms that govern the world of the play. These regions resist worldly definition. Comparisons might be made with Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, in which the study of the scholar escapes the perspectives of his students, and a devilish entity takes the form of the 'old Franciscan friar' (1.2.25) who counsels Faustus within this space. Indeed, the study itself provides the play's devilish agency, conveying the play's wider sense of the dangers of a certain kind of knowledge-seeking. In *Othello* (c. 1603), also, Iago plots against the Moor within the play's private environments, away from the public domain in which Othello is confident in his identity; these secluded spaces in which Iago conducts his peculiar form of 'magic' enable the events which cause him to be categorised by the hero as a 'devil' (5.2.284) whom he cannot kill.[62] And, as I argued earlier, those thanes who knock incessantly at the gateway in *Macbeth* stand in a hidden space that the world of the Porter and – for that matter – the spectator cannot otherwise cover, resisting the definitions that propagate throughout the Porter's speculative speech about 'who' (2.3.12) or 'what' (2.3.16) may stand outside the walls of the keep. In *King Lear*, too, the walls of the hovel screen another mysterious space. Those figures within this area flit free from the

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[62] See William Shakespeare, *Othello: Revised Edition*, ed. by E.A.J. Honigmann, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

definitions that propagate across this play's public spaces, since an exiled Edgar becomes a 'spirit' (3.4.39). Those hidden spaces within the bedchamber also untether Beatrice-Johanna and De Flores from public space in Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *The Changeling*, and both characters become – to Alsemero – 'cunning devils' (5.3.108), rehearsing 'again [their] scene of lust' for a 'black audience' within hell (5.3.114-6).

The hidden spaces in the plays above thus flit free from the order of the everyday world, and the customs, traditions, and beliefs that ground a play's depiction of familiar space collapse within them. This trope appears conspicuously in *The Witch of Edmonton*: Old Banks, who abuses the 'poor, deformed and ignorant' (2.1.3) woman within a space that escapes the perspectives of the play's other characters, embodies the devilish 'black cur / That barks and bites and sucks the very blood / Of me and of my credit' (2.1.131-3). This private space thus encloses a set of activities that contravene precepts of Christian virtue, and this old man – who is otherwise 'loving to the world / And charitable to the poor' (2.1.177-8) – becomes Christian virtue's opposite instead. Frank, too, slips free from the restraints of this play's familiar spaces, becoming 'a devil like a man' (1.2.172) and a 'monster' (1.2.176) who partakes in 'unruly lust' (1.1.92) within a region that escapes the perspective of his father. And, later in the play, those secluded spaces, which a 'knot of trees' (3.2.127) screens from the perspectives of the play's other characters, transform the husband to a devilish entity, 'letting [the] blood' (4.2.149-50) of his victim, Susan, in ways that resemble how a devilish familiar sucks the blood from those who exercise control over them.

Those hidden regions that lurk beyond the walls of Sir Arthur Clarington's dwelling secrete similar levels of mystery. They enclose the knight's 'former deeds of lust' (1.1.189), and an anarchic manifestation of internal vice overcomes the social laws of a post-Reformation world within them. Winifred, who resides within this hidden area prior to the play's opening

moments, does not seem anchored to familiar space, either, as she recollects those moments of illicit desire within the dwelling:

> When I am gone, think on my just complaint.
> I was your devil, O be you my saint!
>
> *Exit.*                                                    (1.1.217-8.SD)


The explicit barriers that separate an infernal entity from those characters within the world of the play collapse, here, and those who stand within such spaces become ambiguous, escaping the remits of a vernacular world. A dichotomous categorisation, whereby a devil seems dissimilar from those who reside within a material world, thus cannot cover the 'devil' (218), and maleficence oozes into the everyday spaces of the play. Winifred thus contravenes conceptions of the devil as a specific type of fearful entity, such as the 'black animal' that attended the meetings of witches, which figured in Hans Fründ's recollections at trials in Valais in 1428.[63] She invokes a figure that eludes sixteenth- and seventeenth-century conceptions of the diabolical familiar: the maiden seems anatomically unlike the 'dunnish culloured ferret' with 'fiery eyes', who approached Joan Prentice within her home in 1579, appearing dissimilar – also – from those 'four blacke things' that participated in the sexually transgressive ceremony outside Samlesbury in 1612.[64] Susan Barber's recollection of those 'three rugged blacke spaniell dogges', who aided alleged witch-figure William Godfrey – a farmer from New Romney, Kent – in 1617 cannot grasp Winifred's conception of a 'devil', either, since Winifred sheds light on a devilishness that diffuses into those characters who reside within the world of the play.[65]

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[63] See Hutton (2017), p. 270.
[64] See Millar (2017), p. 56; Sharpe (2003), p. 2.
[65] See Malcolm Gaskill 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man: Witchcraft, Conflict, and Belief in Jacobean England', *Historical Research* 71, no. 175 (1998), pp. 142-71 (p. 164).

The chaotic area in which Winifred and Clarington reside untethers the maiden from the world of the play. Thus, Winifred's self-professed status as a 'devil' settles uneasily alongside her otherwise virtuous disposition, complicating things further, since devilish purpose encroaches on a character with an otherwise strong moral inclination. Winifred's ambition to transform from a 'loose whore' to a 'repentant wife' (1.1.63), then, fits neatly within early modern societal constructs. To recollect the discussion in chapter 1, it may recall how Everyman substitutes 'penitential pain in this life for the far more terrible pain that lies ahead', chiming too with Annabella's long show of repentance in John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (c. 1633), which elicits a 'death more blessed' (5.1.57).[66] This virtuous disposition becomes clearer in 4.2, when she betrays Frank to his peers, avenging Susan's murder. Her wish for justice is commendable, here, although her emotional distress threatens to unsettle her sense of purpose:

| *Winifred.* | The wrongs which singly fell on your daughter<br>On me are multiplied: she lost a life,<br>But I an husband and myself must lose<br>If you call him to a bar for what he has done. |
| --- | --- |
| *Old Carter.* | He has done it, then? |
| *Winifred.* | Yes, 'tis confessed to me. |
| *Frank.* | Dost thou betray me? |
| *Winifred.* | Oh, pardon me, dear heart! I am mad to lose thee,<br>And know not what I speak; but if thou didst<br>I must arraign this father of two sins,<br>Adultery and murder.                                (4.2.184-93) |

Winifred intends 'her husband and [herself] to lose' (186) their trial to compensate for the loss of Susan's life (185). She unravels Frank's public display of innocence, which dissipates completely when Frank interjects unsolicited, accusing her of betraying him (189). But her

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[66] See Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory: Expanded Edition* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 207-8.

inner turmoil threatens to dissolve this composure: turning to her husband, the '[o]h' (190) –

coupled with the break that follows it – dissolves the iambic rhythm that structures the first part

of the passage, upsetting the prosodic structure of her verse line.[67] This sense of metrical

disfluency, however, is short-lived, and a consistent metre forms 'I am mad to lose thee' (190),

persevering across the rest of the  passage, as Winifred suppresses successfully the tumultuous

set of emotions that surge within her.

Those private spaces within the dwelling of the knight thus mutate the very fabric of

those characters who stand within them. The threat of these hidden areas operates in a similar

way elsewhere in the play; an area outside the remits of the public stage space encloses

Katherine, who has allegedly 'bewitched' (2.1.243) Cuddy with a 'little devil [that flew] out of

her eye like a bird-bolt' (2.1.244). The 'pease-field' (2.1.286), too, seems to behave differently

from public space, and the definitions of those characters whom others encounter within them

dissipate. Thus, a devilish spirit in Katherine's 'form, habit and likeness' (5.1.120) encounters

Cuddy within this secluded space, luring Cuddy ever closer to diabolical agency.

But, again, the activities within this play's secluded regions complicate our sense of the

vernacular world from which they are differentiated, in that the behaviour of the spirit within

the fields of Cuddy's father behaves in ways unlike Katherine herself. Katherine's virtuous

disposition is evident when Old Carter brings the corpse of Susan onstage in 4.2 to confront

Frank within the bedchamber of his own home. The passage is worth examining in detail:

> *Frank.*                                                    No, no, no. [*aside*] A wing?
> Would I had wings but to soar up yon tower,
> But here's a clog that hinders me.
>
> [*Seeing Old Carter approach*.]
>                                                                    What's that?

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[67] Note how the deictic transition from 'you' (187) to 'thee' (190) and 'thou' (191) conveys how Winifred turns
from Old Carter to speak to her husband.

> [*Enter* OLD CARTER] *with* [SUSAN'*s body*] *in a coffin.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Old Carter.* | That? What? Oh, now I see her! 'Tis a young wench, my daughter, sirrah, sick to the death, and, hearing thee to be an excellent rascal for letting blood, she looks out at a casement and cries, 'Help, help, stay that man; him I must have or none!' |
| *Frank.* | For pity's sake, remove her. See, she stares<br>With one broad open eye still in my face. |
| *Old Carter.* | Thou puttest both hers out, like a villain as thou art. Yet see: she is willing to lend thee one again to find out the murderer, and that's thyself. |
| *Frank.* | Old man, thou liest! |
| *Old Carter.* |                             So shalt thou i'th' gaol.<br>[*to Katherine*] Run for officers. |
| *Katherine.* |                             O thou merciless slave!<br>She was, though yet above ground, in her grave<br>To me, but thou hast torn it up again.<br>Mine eyes too much drowned now must feel more rain. |
| *Old Carter.* | Fetch officers. |
| *Exit Katherine.* | (4.2.145.SD-161.SD) |

It is interesting to see how Katherine behaves in these moments. Certainly, she refers to someone as a 'merciless slave' when Old Carter asks her to 'run for officers' (157). But to whom does she speak? The deictic device 'thou' in line 159 is one give-away, here, since Katherine employs the formal 'you' when she converses with Frank before she discovers the murder weapon within his coat pocket (4.2.60). The intimate style of address in 159, in other words, settles uneasily when one considers Frank's formal relationship with Katherine. Old Carter, however, enjoys an intimate and familiar relationship with his daughter, providing a more suitable explanation for this style of address. He seems the recipient of her speech later in the passage, too, since 'up' in 'thou hast torn it up again' (160) recalls the ascent of the corpse from the grave below. Katherine, in other words, reproaches her father as he brings a dead Susan to the world of the living to 'lend one [eye] again to find out [her] murderer' (156).

The bedchamber, again, seems threatening in this scene, and a particularly vengeful form of justice takes place within it. As such, Old Carter's loss of control, which reaches its peak when he brings the dead body onstage to torture Frank, may recall the wrath of Old Banks when he beats Sawyer in 2.1. But Katherine rebels against this form of justice, since the word 'merciless' in 'thou merciless slave' (157) echoes Frank's call for pity when he stares into the unseen eyes of his victim, coming to terms with his deed a few lines earlier (151). Instead, a merciful disposition comes across: Katherine's grief for Susan is all too real, and her movement offstage (161) exposes her wish to see justice done. But the cruel form of justice, which takes shape in Old Carter's wrathful activities within this space, does not sit easily with her disposition at all. It is here where her moral fortitude becomes clear; the anarchic threat of the private space, which overcomes Old Carter, does not bring about Katherine's descent into vice. Instead, she comes across as a forgiving character, suppressing the threats of the bedchamber in a remarkable show of moral strength. Those uncharted spaces within the 'pease-field' (2.1.286), however, defy the disposition of this upright figure; the social standings of this character collapse within a space that resists the workings of a play's world, and a devilish impersonation – quite unlike the 'real' Katherine – takes its place.

### 4.0. Conclusion: An Unclear and Terrifying Form of 'Witchcraft'

Sawyer's conversation with Old Carter, whereby she enquires whether 'every devil' is hers (5.2.46), began this chapter. It also seems a suitable place to end things, recalling as it does how 'witchcraft' encompasses a plethora of different characters and professions. This term, like those hidden spaces that linger outside the remits of familiar space, escapes definition, since the play groups the young squire and the country yokel alongside the haggard woman as 'witch-figures' who invoke diabolical agency, exposing a kind of maleficent practice that eludes the structures of gender and social hierarchy.

But how does this kind of magical practice take shape? The dangers of those regions that lurk outside the remits of others' sensory experiences, I have shown, construct a nebulous and unclear pathway to diabolism. These spaces escape the axioms that construct this play's public expanses, and no sense of order restricts the activities that take place within them. Those who stand within these cordoned-off areas at the various moments within the play also resist those rules that govern the world of the play, becoming – to those individuals who cannot otherwise access these territories at pivotal moments – 'devils' that bring other characters closer to diabolism. The invocation of this play's devilish figure, then, hinges on a symbiosis between characters and these hidden environments. And those hidden spaces that lie outside the perspectives of this play's characters resist social customs, traditions, and expectations, since characters' internal passions rise unchecked within them, bringing the play's devilish figure onstage to do mischief.

Importantly, these uncharted regions orchestrate a kind of supernatural encounter that resists a conspicuous rite. Indeed, the play trivialises those ceremonies that traditionally grant diabolical entities with a passage into the play's everyday spaces: the structures of a perverse blood-letting ritual, which feature extensively in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century 'witchcraft' discourse, do not apply in this play, as characters' ventures into private spaces – coupled with the set of transgressive activities that take place within such climes – form a set of seemingly 'non-magical' invocations of their own. A conspicuous and transgressive 'ritual', then, does not contain the 'witchcraft' in this play. Conversely, 'witchcraft' hinges on the everyday activities of those other characters; dubious shows of internal passion, which manifest unbridled within the uncharted territories, replace any clear-cut and fixed invocation of diabolical agency, and the lingering threats of maleficent practice seep worryingly into the sinful nature of the drama's characters.

The ambiguity of the 'witch-figure' in *The Winter's Tale*, *Mother Bombie*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which I spoke about briefly in the opening moments of this chapter, thus resonates in *The Witch of Edmonton*: Cuddy Banks and Frank Thorney seem dissimilar from the 'secret, black, and midnight hags' (4.1.47) in *Macbeth*, and they differ from those strange practitioners in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* and Middleton's *The Witch*. Elizabeth Sawyer, too, does not seem a typical magical practitioner, professing ignorance about the maleficent forms of magic that proliferate across sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pamphlet literature (2.1.121-2). The witch-figure in this play, then, envelops a diverse collection of characters, and the play conveys a kind of 'witchcraft' that is not dictated by gender and social hierarchy.

But, while this drama portrays 'witch-figures' who do not align neatly with the narratives encountered in many early modern witchcraft pamphlets, the hidden spaces in this play, and how they associate with diabolical invocation, do invoke a potent precariousness, and in this sense bear an association with the uncharted regions that feature in early modern narratives about witchcraft: those which oversee the deviant rituals that took place within them. For example, the walls of a domestic abode screen the area in which a devil encounters Susanna Edwards in the shape of a boy in 1682, obscuring the bedchamber where the boy lay with Edwards, sucking at her breasts.[68] Another space that lies outside the remits of others' perspectives can be found in a secluded Scottish lochside within which Elspeth Reoch – a woman from Kirkwall, Orkney – encountered two strange-looking men, one 'clad in black' and another wearing a 'green tartan plaid' in 1616.[69] And, two years later, another uncharted

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[68] See Millar (2017), p. 56.
[69] See Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), p. 90.

space sets the scene when the black-clad entity returns, 'deal[ing] with Elspeth' within her chamber:

> And upon the third night that he came to her she being asleep and laid his hand on hir breast and woke her. And thereafter seemed to lie with her.[70]

Representations of these kinds of hidden spaces – within both plays and pamphlet literature concerning witchcraft – seem to convey a sort of uncertainty about what may take place within them. They dispel a disorder that resembles those unstable regions that lurk beyond the gateway of Inverness, which I explored in chapter 1 and, as we saw in chapter 2, those areas that lie beyond the shoreline of vast oceanic expanses. And the activities that take place within these spaces likewise defy the rules, customs, and traditions that propagate across early modern society, seemingly untethered from the world in which early modern individuals lived and hinting at a kind of 'magical' interaction that does not require an explicit 'ritual' to formulate.

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[70] See Purkiss (2000), p. 91.

# Conclusion: 'Ritual-less' Magic? Agoraphobia in England

In this thesis, I have sought to uncover how mysterious, uncharted, and secluded spaces inform the staging of magic on the early modern English stage. The significance of these regions, and the ways in which they are differentiated from the normative spaces of these plays, have not been discussed in scholarship exploring the lingering presence of magical belief in post-Reformation ways of life and its representation within the theatres.[1] I do not mean to denounce the quality of these scholarly works, since they have traced dexterously *one* particular form that magical practice may have taken on the stage: namely, one that involved rituals. My findings, however, have demonstrated that other forms of representation existed within the theatre, since a fixed model of magical practice does not structure the supernatural encounters in *Macbeth* (c. 1606), *The Tempest* (c. 1611), and *The Witch of Edmonton* (c. 1621).[2]

This scholarly focus on a 'model' of magical practice, whereby richly-choreographed and elaborate activities grant supernatural entities access into the spaces of the everyday, has rested in part on established cosmological geographies; Alan E. Bernstein, Peter Brown, Walter Burkett, and Henry A. Kelly, to name only a few scholars, have shown how a supernatural domain seems spatially distant from a quotidian world in Mesopotamian, Greek, and Christian traditions (chapter 1).[3] Other scholars have explored how this distance and apartness manifests

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[1] See Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations* (London: Routledge, 1996); Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London: Routledge, 2004); Robert Stagg, 'Shakespeare's Bewitching Line', in *Shakespeare Survey 71: Re-creating Shakespeare*, ed. by P. Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 232-41.

[2] See William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by S. Clark and P. Mason, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); William Shakespeare, *The Tempest: Revised Edition*, ed. by V.M. Vaughan and A.T. Vaughan, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton*, ed. by L. Munro, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

[3] See Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Walter Burkett, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* trans. by J. Raffan (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1985); Henry A. Kelly, 'Hell with Purgatory and Two Limbos: The Geography and Theology of the Underworld', in *Hell and its Afterlife: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by I. Morreira and M. Toscano (London: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 121-36.

in the world of the theatre; the floor of the early modern stage encloses a hell in many early modern plays, and the contrarian nature of such otherworldly climes is apparent also in those metrically jarring and strange-sounding incantations within Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1596), *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c. 1597), *Macbeth*, and Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* (c. 1609).[4]

The hallmarks of these supernatural spaces, and their apparent distance from the parameters of a play's quotidian world, manifests most clearly in the peculiar speeches and elaborate activities that take place onstage, and these ceremonies were conspicuous markers for the staging of magic. Thus, as we saw in chapter 2, metrically perverse verse lines with seven syllables embody 'scenes of spoken supernatural action', while those ceremonies that solidify pacts with devilish agents hinge on conspicuous markers: the staged extraction of blood from the forearm solidifies Faustus's contract with Mephistopheles in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1589-92), and Elizabeth Sawyer partakes in a similar rite in *The Witch of Edmonton* (2.1.164.SD) to consolidate allegiance with her devilish companion (chapter 3).[5] These magical 'markers', and their absence in later plays, have informed subsequent scholarly commentaries about the decline of magic on the stage; as Barbara H. Traister argued, Jonson's 'scorn of the occult is well known', and his *The Devil is an Ass* (c. 1613) 'embodies that scorn':

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[4] In addition to Robert Stagg's article on the conjuring speeches within *Macbeth*, see George T. Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (London: University of California Press, 1988), p. 114. Also see William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by S. Chaudhuri, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by J. Drakakis, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010); William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. by G. Melchiori, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000); Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Queens' in *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, ed. by S. Orgel, The Yale Ben Jonson (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 80-100.
[5] See Christopher Marlowe, 'Doctor Faustus A-Text', in *Christopher Marlowe: Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 137-83.

No magicians appear in Jonson's play. Pug's attempt, after his arrival in the human world, to lure men and women into evil acts is a failure. The humans, including his foolish master Fitz-Dottrel, outstrip him in creating evil, and the little devil is borne offstage in disgrace.[6]

To Traister, the staging of magical practice on the stage seems to leave a footprint, and the absence of these imprints underpins her understanding of the apparent lack of magic in Jonson's play. Conceptions of what these impressions may be, and how they may shape the 'magician', may inform her conclusions; the 'magical book and a wand', which otherwise conjure successively demons 'one after another' in the dumb show of Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter* (c. 1607), are absent in Jonson's drama.[7] The 'books, staff, and robe', which seem 'physical signifiers a Jacobean audience would have associated with [magical] power', do not appear in Jonson's comedy, either.[8]

Scholarly discourse that explores how early modern English plays conveyed magic on the stage, then, has shown a tendency to focus on the conspicuousness of both the objects and the rites that grant the supernatural with a passage into the everyday. These facets of magical practice have constructed a definition of what magic may be. But using 'markers' to *define* the practices that elicit encounters with the supernatural, I argue, has limitations, since magic itself seems to elude definition. As Mark A. Waddell suggests, opening his recent work *Magic, Science, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (2021):

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[6] See Barbara H. Traister, 'Magic and the Decline of Demons: A View from the Stage', in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. by L. Hopkins and H. Ostrovich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 19-30 (pp. 27-8).
[7] See Traister (2014), p. 25.
[8] See Vaughan and Vaughan (2011), p. 64.

> Magic, as a concept, is even more difficult to pin down than either natural philosophy or religion. For the first two, we have modern parallels and analogues that, while imperfect, at least give us a foothold as we try to understand what they were in the past. But in modern societies, "magic" has many different meanings, some of them contradictory. Many people today use the term "magic" to describe trickery, fakery, and illusion, as in stage magic where hapless assistants are sawn in half only to reappear, totally unharmed . . . At the same time, others use the word "magic" to describe the actual, physical manipulation of the world, such as in works of fiction where the flick of a wand conjures up fire or water or butterbeer, or in real-world traditions like Wicca, whose followers believe that magic can bring good luck, attract wealth, or heal the sick. Someone alive today might explain magic using science and logic – for example, revealing acts of stage magic as optical illusions and clever misdirects – but for others, magic is part of spiritual systems as disparate as Louisiana Voodoo, Nordic shamanism, and LeVeyan Satanism.[9]

Waddell, quite rightly, remains cautious about what 'magic' may be. This term seems to encompass an extraordinarily diverse set of ideas; to some, magic rests on 'trickery, fakery, and illusion', while others employ this term to convey 'the actual, physical manipulation of the world'. The word may also include practices that seem supported on 'science and logic' and, yet, this designation includes 'spiritual systems'.

I have been similarly cautious. I have not intended to construct a definition of 'magic'. Rather, I have sought to *extend* our understanding of what magic *could* be to an early modern English playgoer since, in the dramas within each of my chapters, an encounter with the 'otherworldly' does not require the prior 'use of ritual activities or observances'.[10] Indeed, my work has shown how encounters with a supernatural agent can hinge on one's mere travel into those hidden regions outside the remits of familiar space: a seemingly *'non-magical'* invocation elicits an encounter with an 'otherworldly' agent, and the characters within these plays explore a chaotic kind of space *within* their world that defies the structures of the

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[9] See Mark A. Waddell, *Magic, Science, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 6.

[10] See Oxford English Dictionary, 'magic, n. 1., a.' < magic, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> (Accessed 19 October 2021).

everyday. The meetings with the 'otherworldly' within *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *The Witch of Edmonton* thus wriggle free from the rite-oriented model that signifies explicitly the practice of magic, escaping the shackles of the very rituals that seem to orchestrate a supernatural encounter. In these plays, everyday activities within unstable, secluded, and chaotic spaces seem to extend the possible kinds of magical 'invocation', and 'magic' steps back from those transgressive ceremonies and incantations that have otherwise categorised its practice. This kind of 'magical' invocation, I hope to have shown, may encompass other, everyday activities that take place within the world of the play, and its subtlety makes it difficult to categorise in terms of the objects and incantations that shaped *one* particular kind of magic on the early modern English stage.

Those 'non-magical' invocations within these plays, I can conclude, should discourage the quest for a *definitive* sense of what an early modern playgoer may have considered magic to be. The varied nature of early modern dramatic literature makes it unwise to seek within it a single or straightforward definition of what constitutes magic within this body of work. These plays are, after all, entertainments rather than treatises on magic and, as we have seen across this thesis, their representations of magic are also shaped by their concern with other factors (such as colonisation in *The Tempest* or personal morality in *The Witch of Edmonton*). But these texts do, at least, expose the astonishing range of ideas about magic that propagated across this period. They are particularly valuable sources of information in this regard, since the writings of religious figures and sceptics do not capture this range of ideas about 'magic' and the 'otherworldly' that may figure within an early modern play. What these plays provide us with is an alternative source of information about how magic was considered in this period, and one that may in some respects offer a window on more 'popular' forms of belief; to quote Jeffrey S. Doty and Musa Gurnis, 'playwrights, actors, and fans mingled, trading performances, imitations and stories' within the 'ale-houses, taverns, and inns associated with the

entertainment business', and the colourful kinds of conversation that occurred within these buildings informed the material within an early modern English play.[11] In this sense, presentations of magic within these plays grant us with a valuable insight – albeit a misty one – on early modern belief in the supernatural.

[11] See Jeffrey S. Doty and Musa Gurnis, 'Theatre Scene and Theatre Public in Early Modern London', *Shakespeare* 14, no. 1 (2018), pp. 12-25 (p. 12).

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