

As if looking into a mirror which reflects in turn another mirror, we look back from the present to the Renaissance and find the Renaissance looking back to its own past, to antiquity.

From the various perspectives of literature, art, philosophy and history, the contributors to this volume seek to capture this moment of double refraction whereby the past is revealed in the present.

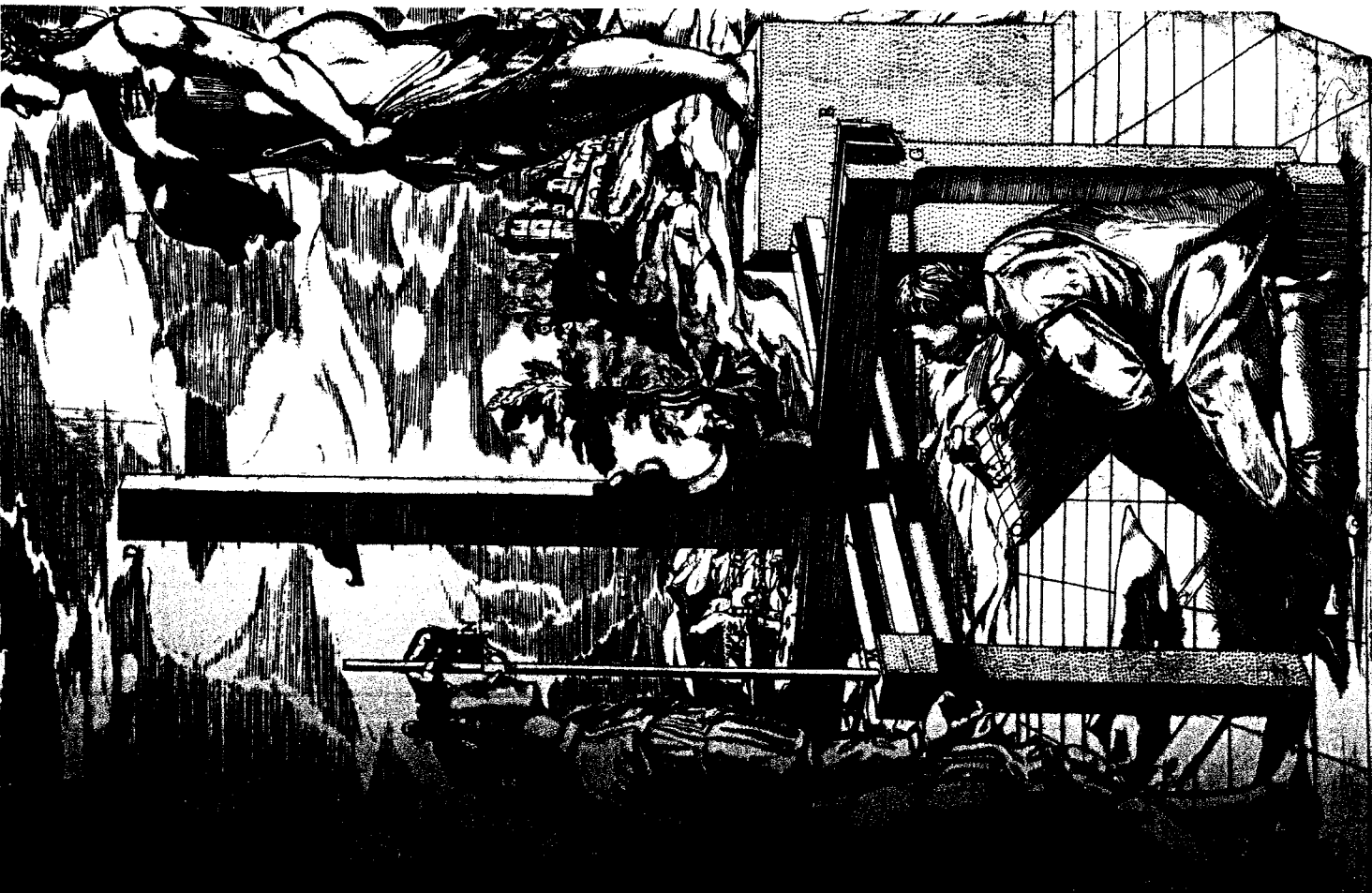
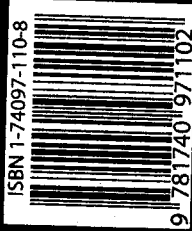
Was Montaigne really a sceptic? Should Machiavelli be described as a pragmatist? Was antiquity itself an invention of the Renaissance? These and an array of other questions are addressed, forming a spectrum of topics at issue both then and now.

A number of essays look at Shakespeare: the trope of the heart in *Hamlet*, the gift of tennis balls in *Henry V*, the childbirth rituals in *The Winter's Tale*. Ian Wright speculates upon the political and dramaturgical ramifications which the King's Progress to Oxford in 1605 may have had for Shakespeare.

Others examine diverse topics such as the Renaissance obsession with time, the figure of the reclining female nude in art works of the era, and the revolutionary changes in how the nature of matter was perceived. Ralph Elliott explains how the combination of "inkhorn" and "wordhoard" terms brought about the unsurpassed flowering of the English language at this time.

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# Renaissance Perspectives

Edited by Jan Lloyd Jones and Graham Cullum

Australian Scholarly  
Melbourne

In Honour and Memory  
of W. M. (Bill) Maidment  
(1924–2005)  
University Teacher

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## INTRODUCTION: BIRTHS, REBIRTHS, SHIFTING HORIZONS

Patricia Dobrez

A modern bourgeois in coat and bowler hat, his back turned to the viewer, looks towards a forest from a balcony. Sturdy tree trunks support a canopy of leaves. The scene is back-lit, sculpting openings. A surreal touch: Botticelli's Flora has been superimposed on the man in the bowler hat, so that the forest backdrop takes on the appearance of the orange grove understood to belong to the Medici in one of the most admired paintings of the Renaissance, the *Primavera*. More precisely, it recalls it ambiguously, with a difference.

The figure of the bourgeois stands in for the artist and the artist is Magritte, testing perception and preconception in *The Ready-made Bouquet* (1957), as he does in a number of comparable paintings which engage the notion of representation-within-representation with something like Gadamer's desire to bring us to an acknowledgement of the historicity of understanding.

In confronting Magritte's picture, the spectator's gaze is drawn towards the quotation from the *Primavera*. Flora, facing the viewer against the figure of the man with his back to us, prompts a reading of Magritte in terms of Botticelli, and packaged with Botticelli the Italian *Rinascita*, and so the history of Western painting, in particular the technical mastery of spatial recession and dimensionality which served the illusionism of the *Quattrocento*. However, Renaissance expectations are thwarted by substitution of flat, seemingly cut-out and pasted-on figures for Botticelli's plastic forms. An important question is being asked in that the viewer is

required to think about what we bring to our decipherment of things from what has gone before us.

Contained in Magritte's image of the past eclipsing the present is the suggestion of a regressive series. The spectator who is looking at *The Ready-made Bouquet* will have Flora superimposed on his or her back too, as will any comer viewing this viewer viewing. In the spectacle of the man facing the future in terms provided by the past, Magritte teases out the interpretative problem which occupies Gadamer under the heading "Heidegger's Disclosure of the Fore-Structure of Understanding": "A person who is trying to understand is exposed to distraction from fore-meanings that are not borne out by the things themselves. Working out appropriate projections, anticipatory in nature, to be confirmed 'by the things' themselves, is the constant task of understanding."<sup>1</sup> By attending to Western visual prejudices or pre-judgements, the viewer of Magritte's picture is in a position to interpret *The Ready-made Bouquet* not as a painting of anomalous figures in a landscape but as the posing of a question to do with the historical horizon of the modern painter's perception. A traditional image, Flora stands in for a past which still belongs to Magritte's world, bringing home the fact that the artist in turn belongs to the world of Botticelli. Past and present – a present whose horizon is in the process of shifting and reconstituting itself – are mutually containing.

Magritte's question arises for us as writers and readers of the present book of essays on the Renaissance. Our position as we attempt to interpret the past is that of the man in the picture, post-Enlightenment man-in-a-bowler-hat, bourgeois, secular – Musil's Man Without Qualities, wanting to begin again, at war with prejudice. Such is the "prejudice against prejudice" which marks us as belonging to our moment, as having our own peculiar view from history's moveable balcony.

As we readers of *Renaissance Perspectives* position ourselves to come to terms with what we presently think of Machiavelli,

Montaigne, Wyatt, Shakespeare, Marlowe and their contemporaries, we need to bring with us the understanding that their thinking and attitudes exist as the past within us – sometimes getting in the way, sometimes distracting us, throwing us off course, yet ultimately bringing us home to ourselves.

Others who have preceded us, taking the view from other balconies, have also sought to foreground the Renaissance. The past has many uses. There is the testimony of Jacob Burckhardt's monumental work *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). A study which assumes a meeting of horizons, those of Renaissance Italy and its classical past, this founding text of cultural analysis focuses on two dominant preoccupations of the historian's own age, the formation of the modern state and the rise of individualism. Of course Burckhardt is not unique in looking to the past to throw light on a changing present. Voltaire, who despised Shakespeare for his rudeness ("Lettre à l'Académie", 1776), appropriated the Italian Renaissance to his vision of liberty, and did so with passion. In the 1890s, the period of a coming turn-of-the-century *Jugendstil*, Berenson identified in the age of the Venetian Schools – that of Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio, Giorgione – a spirit of juvenescence. He writes in his Preface to *The Venetian Painters* (1894):

The Renaissance is even more important typically than historically. Historically it may be looked upon as an age of glory or of shame according to the different views entertained of European events during the past five centuries. But typically it stands for youth, and youth alone – for intellectual curiosity and energy grasping at the whole of life as material which it hopes to mould to any shape.<sup>2</sup>

Doubtless Berenson, in projecting his essays on Italian Renaissance painters, took his cue from Pater's legendary "studies" published in 1873. Foreshadowed by the previously-published essay on Winckelmann (Winckelmann as "last fruit of the Renaissance"),<sup>3</sup> *The Renaissance, Studies in Art and Poetry* anticipates Wilde's *enfant terrible* call to "Hellenize" – although in his review of *The Picture of*

*Dorian Gray*, Pater is at pains to distance himself from the novel's popularizing extravagances. At the same time we find him quoting the following manifesto as an example of "Mr. Wilde's more serious style": "What the invention of oil-painting was to the Venetians, the face of Antinous was to late Greek sculpture, and the face of Dorian Gray will some day be to me."<sup>4</sup>

Scholars and reinventors of the Renaissance have not always written with equal seriousness or intensity of purpose. The most focused interest in Renaissance art, culture and politics – attempting to repeat the *Rinascita* movement of the period interpreted by Vasari – has had built into it a desire for *aggiornamento*. This desire need not be consciously foregrounded. Harold Bloom's reading of Pater's project stresses "anxiety of influence", the wish to "make it new": "Pater's entire vision is that of a latecomer longing for a renaissance, a rebirth into imaginative earliness", a "renaissance of [the] Renaissance". Bloom's Pater seeks for example to free himself from an association with Ruskin, his unacknowledged mentor with whom he "maintained a revisionary stance", elevating the Renaissance above the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless and paradoxically, it is through his venture into "earliness" that Pater most reveals himself as a man of his own age of historicizing scholarship, so that a work like *Marius the Epicurean*, which in Schleiernmachiian fashion so intently and with such prodigious scholarship sets out to perceive the past as the past would have perceived itself, is seen to have near cousins in the hermeneutical writing of George Eliot's *Romola* or historical paintings by Poynter, Leighton, Alma-Tadema, or Ford Madox Brown – all firmly of their time.

With the advantage of after-thought, we can understand why Pater needed to face the difficulties of any reconstruction of the past. In *Appreciations* he condemns mere "antiquarianism" as vain, warning his generation that "anything in the way of an actual revival must always be impossible...as if the Middle Age, the Renaissance, the eighteenth century had not been". At this point he almost

approaches the Gadamerian insight. (Compare Pater's "We cannot truly conceive the age: we can conceive the element it has contributed to our culture" with Gadamer's "Every age has to understand a transmitted text in its own way, for the text belongs to the whole tradition whose content interests the age and in which it seeks to understand itself".)<sup>6</sup> His argument, however, is more Schleiernmachiian and nineteenth-century. Valuing a scholarship capable of providing insights through factual knowledge and professing an active and empathetic participation in *Rinascita*, the self-styled new Vasari not only sets out to survey antiquity through Botticelli's eyes but longs to be Botticelli, to be a Renaissance man:

Of the Greeks as they really were, of their difference from ourselves, of the aspects of their outward life, we know far more than Botticelli, or his most learned contemporaries; but for us long familiarity has taken off the edge of the lesson, and we are hardly conscious of what we owe to the Hellenic spirit. But in pictures like this of Botticelli's [the *Birth of Venus*] you have the record of the first impression made on it by minds turned back towards it, in almost painful aspiration, from a world in which it had been ignored so long; and in the passion, the energy, the industry of realisation, with which Botticelli carries out his intention, is the exact measure of the legitimate influence over the human mind of the imaginative system of which this is the central myth.<sup>7</sup>

Like Berenson after him, describing "Venus Rising From the Sea" in terms of a Paterian comparison with music,<sup>8</sup> the author of *The Renaissance* celebrates an icon of Western art, and one which itself glorifies the notion of classical rebirth. Yet in *The Renaissance*, *Marius the Epicurean* and *Plato and Platonism* Pater is more a prisoner of his age than even he would like to think, having everything in common with his contemporaries engaging entirely contemporary issues in historical disguise: Arnold's balancing act with the "Hebraic" and the "Hellenic" or Swinburne's oppositional installation of a prodigal Venus in place of Christianity's "sister of

sorrows" or Dante Gabriel Rossetti extolling "spirit materialized".<sup>9</sup> From our twenty-first century horizon it all appears as simply "the Victorian debate" – between faith and uncertainty, restraint and liberty, puritanism and a valorizing of pleasure and beauty. Despite his intention to recuperate the past, Pater's portraits – of Plato, Marius, Botticelli, Rossetti – reveal the serialized face of a nineteenth-century aesthete troubled by the enervating doubts of his times. As Gadamer observes: "We are always affected, in hope and fear, by what is nearest to us, and hence we approach the testimony of the past under its influence".<sup>10</sup>

The issue which comes to the fore for us when observing the Victorians' use of the idea of the Renaissance is that of our own prejudice. We are prompted to ask what debate or leading preoccupation informs our continuing interest in diverse historical figures and works of philosophy, art and literature, belonging to "this elastic period" – as Graham Cullum calls it in the opening essay of *Renaissance Perspectives*. Is our appeal to the periodizing notion simply a left-over, a lingering habit which has more to do with the rigidity of academic disciplines as they have established themselves within universities – or is it something we bring to the hermeneutic process in the knowledge of what *we* are about? In other words do, for example, the contributors of the present book invoke the idea of the Renaissance simply as a convenient taxonomic label while pursuing a modern interest in performances, representations of female nudes, science and child-bearing, among other things? I shall delay looking at the evidence of the essays in order to examine briefly the nearest example I have been able to find of an "innocent" eye responding, from historical distance, to a traditional work. I apologize that my example comes from Western culture. Even more striking instances of virginal response (unprejudiced by Western "fore-meanings") might be found at the cultural distance of Korea, Tibet or Easter Island, but doubtless, as globalization proceeds, these will become increasingly harder to find.

Who in Vasari's day would have predicted that Botticelli would take root in the antipodes? And – in the soil of the yet to be mapped southern land mass – through a future representative of the European peasantry belonging to a new world society determined to banish feudalism once and for all? That representative is the turn-of-the-century Australian bush poet John Shaw Neilson ("Jock") who gives us an antipodean reading of the *Primavera* in which Mercury is interpreted as a "luminous boy" in the "blossoming" time of love, Cupid as a thief, and Venus as a young girl who "listens like the orange tree" to an inward music which is "almost sound", falling like the light of "full gold evening" on the Orange Tree.<sup>11</sup> The orange, emblem of the Medici – featured as golden balls on the family arms; a "play on the words *citrus Medica* (the Latin name for the citrus plant) and Medici"; nuptial gift of the Graces to Juno, with the added significance of being the plant of the garden of the Hesperides (see Giovanni Pontano, *De Horris Hesperidum, sive de cultu citriorum*, Venice, 1513)<sup>12</sup> – is borrowed by Neilson, first to signify his delight at the greening of the Mallee country on the outskirts of the Victorian Murray River irrigation town of Mildura, and then, like Botticelli's work, to point to something beyond sense experience:

The young girl stood beside me. I  
Saw not what her young eyes could see  
– A light, she said, not of the sky  
Lives somewhere in the Orange Tree.  
("The Orange Tree")

Unlike Pater, surrounded by evidence of centuries of scholarship, poring over Botticelli illustrations of Dante in the Bodleian Library, Neilson accidentally turns up an illustration of the *Primavera* – perhaps in the not long-established Melbourne public library, or in the house of a friend, or in that wonderfully egalitarian institution founded in 1883, Cole's Book Arcade, the legendary Emporium

with the Rainbow above its door ("3 stories [*sic*] high...with frontages to Bourke and Collins Sts....visited every day [except Sundays], year in, year out, by about 5000 people").<sup>13</sup>

Early Neilson biographer James Devaney records the genesis of "The Orange Tree" as related to him by the poet:

I stayed with my sister in Mildura. She was living in a little cottage on the river bank...I did a little job weeding amongst the oranges for a few days. It was then that I was struck with the beautiful light there is in May in northern Victoria. It was there that I got the main idea of "The Orange Tree", but I was unable to finish that rhyme until 1919.

The date is around 1916. An autobiography recorded by several hands on account of the poet's weakened eyesight registers the impact the *Primavera* plate made on Neilson and the way in which its imagery fuses with his Mildura experience to structure and colour the visualization of spring in the poem:

There was...something which I tried to drag in, some enchantment or other. I cannot well describe it. I have seen Prints of Botecelli's [*sic*] wonderful picture "Spring". I think that is its name. Its [*sic*] has lovers, it has maidens & greenery & I think a robber in the background. Of course I know nothing about art at all but anything of Botecelli's I see fills me with emotion.<sup>14</sup>

We could easily dismiss Neilson's as a naive response and be led to believe that any use he makes of Botticelli's painting has to be wildly off the historical mark. But this is not the case. In fact his poetic intelligence, uninformed by knowledge of particular Florentine symbolic meanings (many of them only recently recuperated by scholars – the *Primavera* as Medici wedding-gift, for example), allows him to intuit the figural allegory's general neo-Platonic meaning: to ascend through love of the sensible world to unity with an incorruptible beauty belonging to a timeless realm. Not that Jock would have been able to give a name to what he intuitively. Richard

Jenkyns, in *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, notes that "Emerson recalled lending a volume of Plato to a farmer, who returned it with the comment, 'That man has a good many of my ideas'!" The comparison, however, is probably unfair to the bush poet Neilson, who would have known Shelley ("The One remains, the many change and pass"), and could easily have been primed to think in terms of the all-embracing One through contact with the very lively Spiritualist and Unitarian circles flourishing in Melbourne at the turn of the century.<sup>15</sup>

"The Orange Tree" is structured as question-and-answer dialogue between Experience and Innocence, as a disillusioned older man recalls his youthful "fluttering heart", and in so doing betrays his sense of loss to a confident girl in the springtime of life – until, tired of his talk, she pleads for silent receptivity: "plague me no longer now, for I Am listening like the Orange Tree".<sup>16</sup> From the outset almost everything Jock wrote was consistent with the doctrine of love taught by Marsilio Ficino, philosopher at the Medici court, who is said to have influenced Botticelli's conception of the *Primavera*. Early poems show Neilson trying out the realist Lawson-style of *Bulletin* poem, but he never got the hang of it, preferring instead to develop an esoteric language of symbols capable of articulating something like Ficino's vision – in his case a vision of spring (the light "full of love")<sup>17</sup> rescued from regret and loss. If, as Gadamer argues, horizons fuse, this unlikely historical conjunction is something to marvel at.

Given that an antipodean is able to return so vividly to the past in a movement of *aggiornamento*, what can we expect from the present book of essays? Post-Enlightenment forgetfulness of its secular prejudice? Take it or leave it relativism? Some exercise of the imagination which can overcome a cultural distance from the Renaissance as great as that of the *Quattrocento* from antiquity? It remains to be seen.

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Two essays function as book-ends to this volume's diverse contributions on the history of ideas, the visual arts and literature. Graham Cullum and Derek Allan raise the issue of time, central in many ways to any historical study. In the opening section of his essay Cullum looks at the Renaissance looking at itself looking at the past: Ficino straightforwardly welcoming a "golden age restored"; Samuel Daniel pondering what can possibly be learned from that "huge domb heap", Stonehenge – "And whereto serue that wondrous *trophie* now...?"; Erasmus wishing to be young again at the near approach of another golden age, yet at the same time exhibiting "anxiety about the project" of the Renaissance – an anxiety dramatized in Shakespeare's "perspectivalism", his cutting between angles which undermines "the very notion of 'redeeming time'". Such anxiety delivers us decisively into a problematical modernity where nothing like Ficino's confident teleology seems possible. What then remains of the notion of a historical rebirth? Allan's essay, explicating Malraux, returns to issues of art and temporality. Views of art as evading time or, conversely, entering into the historical process, are both flawed; instead of representing reality, art rivals it, establishing its own dialogue between past and present. In the case of the Renaissance, antiquity – never actually lost – is noticed again, reassessed. In this sense, the Renaissance produces antiquity, rather than antiquity producing the Renaissance.

Politics, ethics, science and philosophy come into focus in essays concerned with the history of ideas. Simon Haines discusses the foremost political theorist of the Renaissance, Machiavelli, on the backdrop of conduct books like Castiglione's *The Courtier* and "life models" like Pico's "Oration on the Dignity of Man". Thomas Mautner and Frances Daly examine the Renaissance's major essayist, Montaigne, the one foregrounding Montaigne's supposed scepticism, the other his writing on the subject of death. Mautner

sees Montaigne relativizing mores but not morality. In Daly's essay especially, the Renaissance emerges as "openness to...instability", a foretaste of modernity. Scott Fuller and Jorge Salden take up this theme in their account of the Renaissance idea of matter, eventually – via Giordano Bruno – "accorded...the primacy traditionally attributed to form" – a shift which makes modern science possible.

Several essays in this collection touch on the visual arts, notably Cullum's, Allan's and Livio Dobrez's. Neville Potter concentrates on art history, in particular the genealogy – or, as he argues, genealogies – of the image of the reclining nude, traced from Boccaccio's *Decameron* to Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (and, ultimately, Manet's *Olympia*) or, again, through another literary source, the *Poliphili*. Livio Dobrez moves between literature and the visual, with some references to developments in music. His argument is for the use of periodizing art history terms in English literary criticism, especially the term "mannerism". In this perspective, "Renaissance" would be given more specific application and "mannerism" might better suit, say, Donne's poetry or Shakespeare's later plays. In the context of English literature, a number of essays on authors such as Shakespeare, Marlowe and Wyatt flesh out Ralph Elliott's comments on the exciting linguistic achievement of the period. Elliott contrasts the Anglo-Saxon "wordhoard" with the Renaissance intrusion of pedantic "inkhorn" terms. Iain Wright follows James' 1605 Oxford progress, with its ceremony, spectacle and theatrical performances, hypothesizing its impact on Shakespeare. Duncan Driver follows the image of the "heart" in its general period context and in *Hamlet* in particular. Paul Campbell follows the trope of tennis, again in its historical context and in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. On the backdrop of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century pageantry, Suparna Roychoudhury investigates the impact of the court masque on Shakespeare's late plays. Judi Crane researches Renaissance customs of female confinement and birthing (Renaissance birth in yet another sense) with reference to *The*

*Winter's Tale*. Finally, Geoffrey Bomy rescues the central section of Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* from its critics, making it pivotal to an understanding of the protagonist's character and situation – bearing in mind that Faustus, part mediaeval, part modern, epitomizes Renaissance man. And Natalie Craig comments on Wyatt's translation of Petrarch, the premier poet of Renaissance love.

A book on the Renaissance necessarily raises questions of time, history and the possible recuperation of the past. In one way or another this issue is central to all of the essays mentioned above. Those dealing with literature especially set out to bring the past to life: Wright recreates 27 August 1605, Driver and Campbell period tropes, Crane Renaissance childbirth rituals, and so on. Other contributors emphasize the residual presence of the Renaissance in our own times – Daly pointing out the relevance of Montaigne's *memento mori* to a present in which individual death is made invisible while mass death provides media fodder; Fuller and Salden bringing the Renaissance up to date as regards contemporary secular science, and so on. Still other contributors either allude to the contemporaneity of the Renaissance or exemplify a movement in which the present colours our study of the past – Crane introducing modern psychological perspectives (“male anxiety”) to a reading of childbearing in the Renaissance; Haines a sense of twenty-first century unease about the future of ethics to his reading of the Machiavel; Cullum a thoroughly contemporary problematization of time and historical progress to an already – in Livio Dobrez's terms – mannered and self-problematizing Renaissance. Implicitly, these concerns return us to Magritte's man in the bowler hat, to a Gadamerian vision of shifting horizons – *Renaissance Perspectives* taking its stand in the twenty-first century, looking back to the Renaissance – via intervening centuries and their interpretations – while the Renaissance itself, from its own modern standpoint, looks back to antiquity. Whether straightforwardly recuperative or

problematizing, the essays in this book recommend themselves as, in Samuel Daniel's expression, a living, “speaking picture of the mind”.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. edn, Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, trans. (New York: Continuum, 1993) pp. 265 and 267.
- <sup>2</sup> Bernhard Berenson, *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (London: Collins, 1969) p. 7.
- <sup>3</sup> Walter Pater's 1873 Preface to *The Renaissance. Studies in Art and Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1913) p. xvi.
- <sup>4</sup> *Selected Writings of Walter Pater*, Harold Bloom, ed., introd. and notes (New York: Signet, 1974) p. 265.
- <sup>5</sup> Bloom, Introduction, *Selected Writings of Walter Pater*, pp. xxv, xvii and xvi.
- <sup>6</sup> Pater, *Appreciations, in Selected Writings of Walter Pater*, p. 196; Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p. 296.
- <sup>7</sup> *The Renaissance*, p. 61.
- <sup>8</sup> *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, p. 87: “Throughout, the tactile imagination is roused to a keen activity, by itself almost as life-heightening as music”.
- <sup>9</sup> See Pater's discussion of Rossetti in *Appreciations*, p. 203.
- <sup>10</sup> *Truth and Method*, p. 305.
- <sup>11</sup> *The Poems of Shaw Neilson*, A. R. Chisholm, ed. and introd. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1965) p. 1. The impact of the imagery of the *Primavera* is stressed by Cliff Hanna in *The Folly of Spring. A Study of John Shaw Neilson's Poetry* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1990), but Hanna's Neilson emerges as having rationalist and secular interests – see “Family Interview” in *John Shaw Neilson: Poetry, autobiography and correspondence* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1991) pp. 339–49.
- <sup>12</sup> See Mirrella Levi D'Ancona, *Botticelli's Primavera, A Botanical Interpretation including Astrology, Alchemy and the Medici* (Florence: Leo S. Olshki, 1983), pp. 66, 42–43 and note 52.
- <sup>13</sup> *The Poems of Shaw Neilson*, p. 1; *The Renaissance*, p. 54 (for an account of the editions Pater speaks of see Kenneth Clark's Introduction to his *The Drawings by Sandro Botticelli for Dante's Divine Comedy*, London,

Thames and Hudson, 1976, pp. 8-9); back cover, *Cole's Funny Picture Book*, no. 2 (Cole's Book Arcade was a temple to literacy and a magnet for a newly-educated populace).

<sup>14</sup> James Devaney, *Shaw Neilson* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1944) pp. 105 and 110; *The Autobiography of John Shaw Neilson*, introduced by Nancy Keesing (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1978) p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980) p. 228; Adonais, lll; Neilson could recite Shelley by heart (Cliff Hanna, *Jock, A Life Story of John Shaw Neilson*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1999, p. 91); members of Spiritualist circles included a future Prime Minister who channelled Bunyan, Henry Handel Richardson's father – the model for Richard Mahony – and E. W. Cole of the Book Arcade: see Alfred J. Gabay's account in *Messages from Beyond, Spiritualism and Spiritualists in Melbourne's Golden Age* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> *The Poems of Shaw Neilson*, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> "The love of Light", in Hanna, *John Shaw Neilson, Poetry, autobiography and correspondence*, p. 11.

## 1

## RECUPERATION AND LOSS: TEMPORALITY IN RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

Graham Cullum

Writing to Capito in 1517, Erasmus details an inaugural perspective:

...at the present moment I could almost wish to be young again, for no other reason but this, that I anticipate the near approach of a golden age, so clearly do we see the minds of princes, as if changed by inspiration, devoting all their energies to the pursuit of peace. The chief movers in this matter are Pope Leo and Francis, King of France.

And if this letter craftily flatters those Princes who might be said to promote a universal, if illusory European peace, it also promotes a self-congratulatory view of the Humanists' recuperation of learning and their dissemination of new forms of cultural authority. "Polite letters", he goes on, "which were almost extinct, are now cultivated and embraced by Scots, by Danes, and by Irishmen". Notwithstanding his studied humility – "the humblest part of the work has naturally fallen to my lot" – Erasmus was, and took himself to be, one of the central figures in this process of cultural recuperation, and his great editions of the Greek New Testament, entitled *Novum Instrumentum* and published by Froben in Basel (1516; 1519; 1522; 1526, and 1535 during his own lifetime), did as much to promulgate the new philology as it did – ultimately and indirectly – to call into question the Vulgate and the intellectual

<sup>18</sup> Guillemeau, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93, 94.

<sup>21</sup> Jeanne Addison Roberts, "Shakespeare's Maimed Birth Rites" in Linda Woodbridge and Edward Berry, eds, *True Rites and Maimed Rites: Ritual and Anti-Ritual in Shakespeare and His Age* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) p. 124.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>23</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Charles Wohler, Society of Archbishop Justice, June 2003.

[http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1549/BCP\\_1549.htm](http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1549/BCP_1549.htm)

<sup>24</sup> Cressy, p. 205.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>26</sup> "Churching of Women", *Catholic Encyclopedia*, June 2003.

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03761a.htm>

For an account of limited admission to churching in medieval France, see Paula M. Rider, "The Implications of Exclusion: The Regulation of Churching in Medieval Northern France", *Essays in Medieval Studies* 15 (1998): pp. 71–80.

<sup>27</sup> Cressy, p. 206.

<sup>28</sup> Valerie Traub, "Jewels, Statues and Corpses: Containment of Female Erotic Power in Shakespeare's Plays" in Deborah E. Barker and Ivo Kamps, eds, *Shakespeare and Gender: A History* (London: Verso, 1995) p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Cressy, p. 74.

<sup>31</sup> Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) p. 270.

## STAGING WONDERS: SPECTACLE AND INNOVATION IN SHAKESPEARE'S ROMANCES AND THE COURT MASQUE

Suparna Roychoudhury

The court masque enjoyed newfound popularity during the early seventeenth century, guided by royal appetites and the shrewd theatrical techniques of designers like Inigo Jones. Though Shakespeare did not write directly for the court, it is difficult to imagine that he was uninfluenced by such a prominent theatrical and artistic movement that had been spreading across Europe for some time. This is more so given the potent aura of spectacle and wonder that characterizes his late plays; in particular, the four romances, *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*.<sup>1</sup> Inevitably, this poses some important logistical questions: what Shakespeare knew of Jones' elaborate perspective scenery, for instance, and whether his playing company had such resources at their disposal. But equally illuminating are the conceptual links between plays and masques. For embedded in the interplay between courtly and commercial practices are ideas about power and theatricality, poetry and spectacle, realism and wonder. It is with these ideas in mind, in addition to the relevant historical and political contexts, that the influence of the new staging methods is perhaps best charted.

## I

Tudor court records indicate that "masques", "revels" and "pageants" had been staple entertainments for Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. These, in turn, derived from much older folkloric traditions of mummiming, seasonal games and pagan rituals.<sup>2</sup> In Europe, the use of spectacular shows on stage had begun with the Italian *intermezzi* – short grotesque or comic diversions performed as interludes in between play acts.<sup>3</sup> The Stuart masque distilled these influences into its formula of poetry and song interwoven with music and dance. It proposed remote and palatial settings, pageants, *imprese* and *tableaux vivants*; nymphs, satyrs, gods and monsters. Unlike the *intermezzi*, these exotica were the main event: the masque did not distinguish spectacle from dramatic realism. If anything, its habitual climax, the moment at which the dancers descended from the stage and chose partners from the courtly audience, emphasized their symbolic integration. Queen Anne and Prince Henry were keen advocates of the masque, and had imported Jones from the Danish court<sup>4</sup> in order to produce entertainments written by various English dramatists, such as George Chapman, Thomas Campion and Ben Jonson.

Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, previously itinerant troupes were gradually called into royal service.<sup>5</sup> Gorgeous theatre halls were built for court entertainments, like the Italian *Teatro Olimpico* and *Teatro degli Uffizi*.<sup>6</sup> Jones himself would sumptuously redesign the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace in 1609, but his distinctive sets began altering the playing space before then. Instead of the outward jutting stage of the public amphitheatres, his was a two-dimensional scene framed by a proscenium arch. The acting occurred in the shallow forestage, behind which lay the backdrops and scenic machines used to produce illusions and spectacular effects. Classical devices like the *periaktos* – rows of rotatable prisms depicting three different settings,

one on each face – were resurrected and put to new use. The *machina versatilis* was a double-sided setting that could be swivelled on a pivot from beneath the stage. The *scena frons* consisted of movable flats which slid vertically onto the stage on grooves in the floor. Well-placed three-dimensional cutouts gave the impression of depth, while cloud machines could bring down gods at sloping angles. Lighting was controlled through use of reflectors, shields, bottles of coloured water, and by "heightening" costumes with metallic fabrics and sequins.<sup>7</sup>

The theatrical experience of the Jacobean masque was infused with political significance. Performances were frequently attended by foreign emissaries and courtiers. Seating arrangements emblematically highlighted the centrality of the monarch, who occupied the best seat, the physical spot at which the illusions were most convincing. Proximity to him was thus a privilege in more than one sense.<sup>8</sup> The requisite dancing area kept clear before the stage pushed the audience towards the three sides of the room: not everyone was well positioned to enjoy the full effect of the perspectives. But part of the thrill was to observe the monarch – also a performer of sorts – as spectator.<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth had long cultivated the idea of statecraft as stagecraft, of princes set on political stages, and although James was a rare and unenthusiastic performer, the Stuart masque exploited its slippery allegorical reality to take this even further, often involving the monarch, or citing his authority, in its representational bids to expel chaos and restore universal harmony.

When James came to the throne in 1603, he named Shakespeare's playing company the King's Men and made them part of the royal household. They appeared before court several times a year, most frequently around the Twelfth Night season, performing from their own repertory or else as hired actors in court entertainments, including masques.<sup>10</sup> Of the four romances, only two, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, are known definitely to have been performed at court, first in 1611 and then again in 1613

as part of the marriage celebrations for Princess Elizabeth, alongside several masques. On some occasions, then, plays and revels inhabited the same theatrical and political space. That said, it is unlikely that the plays were staged like masques: commercial playing companies most probably lacked the necessary resources to move and maintain complex sets.<sup>11</sup>

The King's Men began performing at the indoor Blackfriars theatre after 1608. With its smaller stage, artificial lighting and consort of musicians, it was arguably a closer approximation of the court venues than the Globe. However, the staging apparatus available to indoor halls like it – trapdoors, side entrances, possibly an upper gallery – was not dissimilar to that of the amphitheatres. Plays like *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale*, which premiered at the Globe, probably continued to be performed there after the move to Blackfriars.<sup>12</sup> During Shakespeare's time, Inigo Jones developed only a handful of productions outside the court: he designed four plays at Christ Church, Oxford, for a royal visit in 1605. These were received indifferently – the court officials quibbled about the placement of the king's seat, and despite the use of the *periaktos*, spectacularity was thought lacking in Jones' modest, classical sets. The universities, with their preference for debate and oratory, did not see perspective scenery again until 1636.<sup>13</sup>

Without knowing more, it is premature to assert that Shakespeare's plays and the masques popular at the time were intimately connected, or that theatrical innovations permeated freely between court and playhouse. But it is fair to say that Shakespeare himself was exposed, through the patronage his company enjoyed, to the masque aesthetic – the notion of drama as a collaborative and interdisciplinary exercise between writers, musicians, choreographers and designers. He too was conducting stylistic experiments – with music and dance, spectacle and special effects, genre and collaborative authorship. If the commercial playhouses had to make do with less, this is not detectable in the plays Shakespeare wrote

after James came to the throne. The quality of theatrical imagination at work in the romances is as rich as ever. Simply demarcating public and court theatre does not make sense of these unmistakably masque-like elements; they demand consideration, in spite of seemingly contrary historical evidence.

## II

That the romances evoke the masque at all suggests the extent to which Shakespeare managed to successfully approximate the staging effects that Inigo Jones was separately engineering. Assured of royal support since 1603 and having two playhouses at his disposal, Shakespeare makes full use of the theatrical resources available to the King's Men: trapdoors and musicians, "heaven" and "hell". That the Globe could comfortably stage descending gods is implicit in the repeating motif of the *deus ex machina* in three of the four romances: Diana in *Pericles*, Jupiter in *Cymbeline*, Juno in *The Tempest*. Three out of four also contain dramatic storms featuring thunder and lightning, inviting the further use of fireworks, cannons or lead balls rolling down tin troughs.<sup>14</sup>

The masque employed songs and dance to metaphorically illustrate the cosmic Pythagorean harmony supposedly embodied by the court. Of course, Shakespeare uses music throughout the canon, but in the romances the musical elements become tightly integrated into the emotional fabric of the drama, intoning the space between life and death, between the wondrous and the everyday. Cerimon uses "the still and woeful music that we have" (*Pericles*, xii, 86) to revive Thaisa; Arviragus and Guiderius use it to eulogize Innogen and ritualistically guard her from exorcism. It is Hermione's cue to "be stone no more" (*The Winter's Tale*, V, iii, 99); it is Ariel's way of casting spells.

Pageantry was another established component of the masque. The coronation processions of both Elizabeth and James were

majestic passages through triumphal arches, accompanied by musicians and richly costumed actors.<sup>15</sup> Figures on the masque stage were often silent, since playacting or personation were not respectable activities for courtiers. The courtly pageant is echoed in the speechless procession of knights in *Pericles*. But pantomimes were also seen in the ritualistic antics of the mummers and Morris dancers of folklore.<sup>16</sup> Leonatus' dream in *Cymbeline* is written in this vein: though the apparitions of the Leonati come ostensibly from the "stiller seats" of Elysium, their mournful cries, offered up to the pagan god Jupiter, could easily be played to occult effect. The dumb show, in some ways similar to the pageant, was also a theatrical convention of the popular theatre, used to synopsise forthcoming events or else in lieu of unrepresented ones.<sup>17</sup> *Pericles* makes repeated use of this device — to depict the arrival of news from Tyre, to show Thaisa's pregnancy, and, later, to convey news of Martina's death.

The benefit of scenic equipment like the *scena ductilis* or the *periaktos* was the ability to produce rapid and dramatic scene changes. The curtain traverse was another effective method of staging surprises. *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), for example, began with the curtain not being drawn but simply dropped, and so exposing an oceanic tableau of mermaids and sea-monsters.<sup>18</sup> In *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), a cloth traverse painted as night is pulled back to reveal a floating island. Thomas Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* (1607) did something similar to "at once discover" its grove of golden trees. *Pericles*, too, uses the obscuring curtain to convert the three-dimensional stage into a kind of two-dimensional screen, whereby the dramatist is able to selectively control the spectator's visual experience. It is used to reveal the apparent death of Thaisa, the "tomb" of Martina, the sight of Pericles in abject grief, and finally the Temple of Ephesus. In *The Winter's Tale*, the lifting of the curtain stupefies the characters themselves when Paulina dramatically unveils the "statue" of Hermione. Analogous to the set changes is the unmasking of the masque dancer. Henry VIII and his

companions frequently participated in court revels under outlandish disguises, posing as Turks, Spaniards, or even Robin Hood's men. At a key moment, the mask would be promptly discarded, to the gleeful surprise of all around.<sup>19</sup> Needless to say, all the romances close with similarly amazing discoveries.

Stage transformations facilitated the fluid ephemerality to which masque frequently aspired. Offstage, its transience presented itself in a different form, namely in months of preparation culminating in a few fleeting hours. This, however, was not seen as a shortcoming: Jonson rather suggested the opposite in his introduction to *Hymenaei* (1606), in which he states that the transitoriness of the masque does not detract from but rather accentuates the everlasting glory of princes.<sup>20</sup> The masque posits an idealized correlation between courtly, aesthetic and cosmic harmony — all melt effortlessly into one another. The reanimation of Hermione can be read in a way that supports this: moved by the sentiment of a king, the very laws of the universe seem to shift, so that his beloved may be restored. How well the motif of the animated statue is suited to the masque is implied by Thomas Campion's use of it in his *Lord's Masque* (1613), in which Jupiter turns several "women-statues of silver" into living ladies.

The visual appearance of the masquer was emblematically significant to the Renaissance sensibility, which was intrigued by hieroglyphs and icons. The recurring motif of the tempest-tossed ship, for instance, was a commonly known symbol of human helplessness. Other tableaux in the plays — the headless man, lovers playing at chess, a sexually vulnerable maiden asleep with the tale of Tereus open in her lap — have the visual poignancy of such emblems. The pleasurable interpretation of these is realized grimly when Cloten dons Leonatus' robes to rape Innogen. He chooses the costume deliberately for its optical connotations, of course, intending to associatively intensify her suffering, while exacting a revenge of perversely symbolic neatness, given her earlier diatribe

that "she held the very garment of Posthumus in more respect" than she did him (III, v, 132-33).

Stuart tastes contributed to the tradition of the antimasque, also "antemasque" or "antic-masque". The synonyms illustrate the historical, cultural and theatrical influences concentrated in the form. The antimasque depicted a world of "disorder and vice" that was afterward symbolically dispelled by the noble masques.<sup>21</sup> Prompted by the Queen's desire for a "foil or false masque" that might precede the main event,<sup>22</sup> it importantly separated the speaking part of the masque, enacted by professional players, from the courtly dance sequences. It could also incorporate "antic", pagan and folkloric elements. An early Jacobean instance was the coven of witches in *The Masque of Queens* (1609), abruptly dispersed by the magnificent House of Fame – not dissimilar, perhaps, to the expulsion of Sycorax and the subsequent subjugation of Ariel and Caliban in *The Tempest*.

In *The Winter's Tale*, essential dichotomies are evident amidst the pastoral merry-making of the sheep-shearing festival: in it, the philosophical debates of the courtly characters – about art and nature, for instance – mingle with the banter of rustics and clowns. Such sylvan amusements were often staged for Elizabeth, at which she, like Perdita, was expected to preside: serpents and nymphs would squat in the bushes, sometimes all day or in the rain, waiting for the Queen to pass by and arbitrate in their disputes.<sup>23</sup> The problem is that the Shakespearean antimasque elements are never fully supplanted with serene order. When the sheep-shearing ends, Polixenes threatens to disown his son, while Autolyclus makes off with the spoils of his pick-pocketing. In *The Tempest*, it is Prospero's masque that is interrupted by the contemptible reprobates, rather than the other way around. The epic adventures of heroes like Pericles do not negate the world of fishermen and brothel-keepers, do not even reform incestuous kings and murdering queens like Antiochus and Dionyza.

It is the use of language that primarily differentiates Shakespeare's spectacles from those of the court. Take the betrothal masque in *The Tempest*, possibly the most spectacular moment in the romances, with its singing and dancing goddesses and nymphs. Jonson would have described such a scene in precise detail. His commentary for *The Masque of Queens* devotes a full paragraph to the dance of the witches. The sets and costumes are intricately described, and loud blasts of music stipulated for key moments. Admittedly, audience impressions did not always tally with the gloss: the opening seascape of *The Masque of Blackness*, envisaged as a naturalistic display of billowing waves, was lamentably noted by a contemporary as "all Fish and no water."<sup>24</sup> Still, Jonson's assumptions are specific – symbols from Cesare Ripa's allegorical guide *Iconologia*; dances by choreographer Hierome Herne; scene changes by *machina versatilis*.

Shakespeare does not indicate how Juno might be lowered to the stage, how the "graceful" dance might be staged or what the music might be like. Maybe he was expecting to direct the performance himself, and had no need for notes. Instead, wonder is conveyed through dialogue, and the language is evocative rather than prescriptive. Iris remarks that Juno's peacocks "fly a-main", leaving it unclear as to whether the birds appear on stage. Ceres mentions Iris' "saffron wings" but this could be just a pretty metaphor, akin to Ceres' own "rich scarf" of "proud earth". Though only three goddesses are seen, Mercury, Venus and Hymen are also implied. In *Cymbeline*, the theophany of Jupiter is likewise appended with descriptions of the "sulphurous" breath of the preening eagle. Jonson, who was evidently confident that his spectacles would speak for themselves, does the opposite. In *The Masque of Beauty* he devotes nearly one hundred lines to the appearance of the nine personifications of beauty, but ensuing dialogue registers them only as "these nymphs".

It could be that by coupling these godly descents with bombastic poetry, Shakespeare is attempting to breathe life into a tired stage device. Certainly, he seems reluctant to presume that a rug will be available to furnish Ceres' "short-grassed green", or fireworks for Jupiter's thunderbolts – it is a text that could be played equally well at court or in public, indoors or outdoors. These are the tactics of a dramatist who wrote for outdoor playhouses where scene changes and nightfall were often signalled through the script. Nonetheless, the romances do not shy from creative challenges: just think of the vanishing banquet in *The Tempest*. Ascribed to a "quaint device" and possibly rigged using a revolving tabletop and trapdoor, this marvel distracts from the potential clumsiness of the scene by using a screeching harpy as tactical distraction, as well as a group of spirits, "dancing with mocks and mows", to carry off the still standing table.

The ideology of the court masque, instilled as it is by wonder, faith, transcendental virtue and beauty, is intrinsically romantic. Many of the dramatic defects of the Shakespearean romances are in fact defining characteristics of the masque. Gower's frame narrative and the interjection of Father Time in *The Winter's Tale* are meta-theatrically self-conscious, inserting themselves between spectator and performer as persistently as the ornate proscenium arch that framed the masque stage. The multiple mythologies – classical and Christian in the long-suffering Pericles; British and Roman in *Cymbeline* – remind one of the amalgamated architectural designs of Inigo Jones, combinations of Doric columns with crenellated turrets and gothic trefoil, epic heroes with Renaissance artists and figures of Arthurian legend.<sup>25</sup> If Shakespeare partially modelled *Cymbeline* or Prospero on James, he was doing no different from Jonson with Prince Henry in *Oberon* (1611) or Queen Anne in *The Masque of Queens*.

But the plays probe the validity of the ideas that support the masque as much as they engage with its salient features. Consider the treatment of emblems in the plays. In *Pericles*, Simonides

explicates for Thaisa each of the *impresa* borne by the passing knights: a wreath of chivalry signifies desire for renown; an upside down torch betokens unchecked passion; a withered branch connotes greed. In translating the import of the dumb shows, Gower too resembles the "emblem theorist".<sup>26</sup> Verbal explanations commonly accompanied masque performances, since not everyone possessed the erudition to unearth the meaning of the visuals. But, by the time *Cymbeline* comes to be written, the symbols are inscrutable to all. The soothsayer cannot unravel his own vision of the eagle flying into the sun, and the lopped cedar branches and lion's whelp of Jupiter's riddle seem equally ambiguous. The exposition of these two puzzles, suspiciously supplied only after all enlightening *denouements* have occurred, is less than convincing, as *Cymbeline's* flat response perhaps implies: "This hath some seeming" (V, vi, 454). Such obscurity may not have irked a public that loved mysteries and enigmas: the opening premise of *The Masque of Blackness* is a riddle, after all, as is that of *Pericles*. But it is not difficult to imagine the playwright poking fun here at the convoluted allusiveness of the masque.

As Shakespeare perhaps intuits, the elaborate costumes of the masque were not only dramatic signifiers. By Jacobean times, costumes were astonishingly flamboyant and exorbitantly expensive,<sup>27</sup> a statement of James' political supremacy. Prospero's magical robes are imbued with power; it is only by disrobing that he finally renounces his sorcery. And it comes as no surprise that Stefano and Trinculo, hungry for power, are so easily lured by the "glistening apparel" Ariel uses to trap them. Historical accounts indicate that court performances were not always decorous, lapsing on occasion into riots and drunken toms.<sup>28</sup> Perpetually inebriated and motivated by greed, Trinculo and Stefano seem to caricature the courtly penchant for materialistic excess.

The plays are aware of the fundamental difference between sight and sound that the masque highlighted. *Cymbeline* begins with two

nameless courtiers discussing the royal family. A similar exchange occurs in the final act of *The Winter's Tale*, where three anonymous gentlemen gossip about the reunion of Leontes and Perdita. The effect is to remind viewers that they are hearing and not seeing a crucial part of the play, to call attention to the contest and separate merits of spectacle and drama, image and rhetoric, between pictures of light and motion, as Inigo Jones perceived it, and the power of poetry, as Jonson did. An age that was provoked as much by allegory and hieroglyphs as by the auditory treats of the public theatre was prone to such conflicts, and it was apparently a contentious enough issue for Jones and Jonson to fall out over in 1631.

Gower's self-deprecation does read like an apology for rhetoric. "Accept my rhymes" (i, 12), he beseeches, and asks the audience to submit his narration to "th' judgement of your eye" (i, 41). Yet, vision can be unreliable, too. As the religious connotations of that word and the pseudo-supernatural revival of Hermione imply, seeing often verges on believing. Wrongful presumption of death is a theme that recurs throughout the canon; it is only in the romances that Shakespeare neglects to inform even the audience of his intentions. Moreover, having so dramatically resurrected Hermione, he proceeds to supply rational explanations that are superfluous, as though to test the judgement of the viewer, who must reconcile miraculous sight to rationalistic dialogue. The Stuart masque relied on just this combination of illusion and delusion. Its audiences were similarly encouraged to subscribe to the fictions manufactured onstage – even when they plainly saw the mounting strings, the wheels underneath the pageant cars, and the skewed angles of false perspectives.

### III

In coming years, Inigo Jones would devote his talents more towards the realism of his sets, rather than fantastical displays.<sup>29</sup> Shakespeare's own interest in masque-like rituals, revels and court

performances predates the Stuart period, stretching back to the masque of Hymen in *As You Like It*, "Pyramus and Thisbe" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the Russians' masque in *Love's Labour's Lost*. If anything, it seems that the theatrical innovations and changing aesthetic of the Jacobean court focused his contemplation of the form, urging him to engage, along with other practitioners of the stage, with the new ideas on offer. He might not have been writing masques but he was certainly reacting to them and the way they were performed, and harnessing whatever illusionistic devices were available to him in order to do so – music and dance to suggest mystical harmony; visual feasts of pageantry and dumb shows; emblems and costumes concentrated with symbolic meaning; and grotesque foils.

In addition, the romances are structured and thematically conceived to reflect the political and artistic implications of the masque. The dramaturgical pastiche of *Pericles*, for instance, conflates overlapping mythologies and diverse influences – from the European continent, from the ancient world. Royal and representational doctrines meet in the emblematic iconography of *Cymbeline's* politics. The motif of doubleness in *The Winter's Tale* exposes the dichotomy between courtly order and base chaos, and of the emerging dialectic between play and masque, auditory and visual. And finally, there is the deliberate fusing of power, art and magic, supremely articulated in the figure of Prospero. That the term "masque" does not figure in the romances perhaps indicates Shakespeare's intentions of moving past the purely imitative, into a deeper consideration of cultural motivations and theatre itself. The wonders of the Renaissance masque lay as much with its ethereal imaginings as with the ingenuity of its machines. They imply the conflicted alliance between intellectual and sensual response that constitutes dramatic experience.

**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Taken from *The Norton Shakespeare* (London: W. W. Norton, 1997). Subsequent references are incorporated into the text.
- <sup>2</sup> See Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship Between Poetry & the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).
- <sup>3</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968) pp. 60-63.
- <sup>4</sup> Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981) p. 146.
- <sup>5</sup> Alvin Kernan, *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright: Theater in the Stuart Court 1603-1613* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) p. 133.
- <sup>6</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) p. 6.
- <sup>7</sup> Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1 (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973) pp. 5, 17.
- <sup>8</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 11.
- <sup>9</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 16.
- <sup>10</sup> Alvin Kernan, *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright*, p. xvi.
- <sup>11</sup> Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp. 24, 204.
- <sup>12</sup> R. C. Fulton, *Shakespeare and the Masque* (New York: Garland, 1988) p. 190.
- <sup>13</sup> Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, p. 5.
- <sup>14</sup> Andrew Gurr, "The Shakespearean Stage", in *The Norton Shakespeare*, p. 3301. See also Doreen Delvecchio and Antony Hammond, *Introduction to Pericles, The New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 15.
- <sup>15</sup> Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, ch. 1, pp. 1-39.
- <sup>16</sup> Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque*, pp. 20, 29.
- <sup>17</sup> Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show* (London: Methuen, 1964) p. 25.
- <sup>18</sup> Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, p. 20.
- <sup>19</sup> W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels: 1485-1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) pp. 67-69.
- <sup>20</sup> Quoted in *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, p. 106.

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *The Masque of Queens*, in *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, p. 132.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew H. Wikander, *Princes to Act: Royal Audience and Royal Performances, 1578-1792* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) pp. 23-36.

<sup>24</sup> Namely the courtier Dudley Carleton. Quoted in Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, p. 89.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, pp. 65-67.

<sup>26</sup> Peter G. Platt, *Reason Diminished: Shakespeare and the Marvelous* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> Alvin Kernan, *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright*, pp. 112-13.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones*, p. 23.